

# Forty Rivers

*Landscape and Memory in the District of Ancient Tegea*



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2007

Cover Illustration: 'The Past from the Window of the Present.' Photograph (by the Author) of the ruins of the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea seen from the belltower of the village church at Alea.

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## PREFACE

The first time I visited the district of ancient Tegea was in October 1990 during a student's course at the recently established Norwegian Institute at Athens. The main target of our excursion to Tegea was a visit to the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea and the ruins there of a large Classical temple, according to the second century AD commentator Pausanias, built by the famous Scopas of Paros. The previous year the man who was also our guide at Tegea, the Norwegian archaeologist Professor Erik Østby, had initiated an excavation project in the sanctuary. When Prof. Østby asked me a couple of days later if I wanted to take part in the excavation at Tegea, I did not realise that I would make one of the most important decisions for my professional as well as for my personal life when I accepted. Despite the impression that the ancient site made on me back in 1990 I must admit, however, that it was its situation in the landscape of the present that really puzzled my curiosity. Before I came to Tegea I had pictured the typical Ancient Arcadian sanctuary to be something like the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai, a large Doric temple at a remote location in the Arcadian mountains. There is also a large Doric temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea, but its place in the landscape of the present could not possibly have been more remote from that of the Bassai sanctuary. The sanctuary of Athena Alea is situated down on a relatively flat mountain plain, a place that has been anything but abandoned by post-ancient history. The foundations of the temple of Athena Alea are situated inside the Tegean village Piali. When the building remains were uncovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the excavators had to dismantle a good part of the houses of this village, and the ruins of the ancient building now appears as a scar in the village. It is first of all an interest in the historical processes that causes such spectacular interferences between the landscapes of the present and the places, monuments and visual culture of the past

that has made me revisit the District of Ancient Tegea many times. This dissertation is the result of these visits.

From 1998 to 2001 I was Research Fellow at the Dept. for Cultural Studies and Art History at the University of Bergen. My most important supporter and patient reader has been my main supervisor Prof. Gunnar Danbolt. I also thank my other supervisor Prof. Tomas Hägg. In the final phase of the project Prof. Richard Holton Pierce has also contributed much with interesting discussions about the history of the Greek landscape, and I am also grateful to him for taking the time to improve my English. The bulk of the four years that I was on a grant from The University of Bergen I spent at the Norwegian Institute at Athens. During the first two years of my stay at Athens the Norwegian Institute provided me with an office, and round the clock access to the Johannes Triandaphyllopoulos Library. I am especially grateful to the friendly and helpful staff of the Norwegian Institute at that time, Audny Hegstad Diamantis and Merete Ludviksen. The final year of my stay at Athens I spent at the Nordic Library at Athens. Its two librarians, Vibeke Espholm Kourtovik and Christina Tsampazi-Reid, have been most helpful. I have also benefited much from discussions with fellow researchers and students at the Nordic Library, especially Jonas Eiring, Petra Pakkanen, Jari Pakkanen, and Jenni Hjohlmann.

During the many years that I have done fieldwork at Tegea there are numerous people in the local communities that have been friendly and helpful. Nikos Reppas has been a great guide, teacher and friend for many years. I also wish to thank the staff at the Tegea Archaeological Museum, and Theodoros Spyropoulos, the former Ephor of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Laconia and Arcadia. The scholars and students that have participated in the two Norwegian field-projects at Tegea, The Excavations in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea (1990-1994), and The Norwegian Arcadia Survey (1999-2001), has represented an inspiring forum for me. Erik Østby has been a support and inspiration for many years. I am also very grateful for the long cooperation at Tegea with Knut Ødegård. Chiara Tarditi, who was my field supervisor during the excavation of the sanctuary, learned me most of what I know about excavation techniques. I have also benefited much from discussions with the rest of the research group that took part in the survey at Tegea, Knut Krzywinski, Vincenzo Cracolici, Richard Fletcher, Harald Klempe, Maria Pretzler, Thomas Heine

Nielsen, Voytek Nemeč, Fredrik Fahlander, Terje Østigård, and Anne Bjune. I also thank our collaborative partners at The Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Thomas Risan, and May Liss Bøe Sollund, Odd Stabbetorp at The Norwegian Institute for Nature Research, and Aristotelis Koskinas of the Greek Landscape Archaeology Group. They have all contributed with insightful comments to my work. For financial support of the fieldwork at Tegea I thank Alf Tangvald at Hydro Agri Hellas.

After I returned to Norway in 2001, I have worked as a Lecturer in Art History at the University of Bergen. During the difficult period of completing my dissertation parallel with a full time teaching job I have enjoyed the support of good friends and colleagues at my department. I would especially like to thank Henning Laugerud, Siri Meyer, and Sigrid Lien for their support. Last, but not least, I thank my wife Hege A. Bakke-Alisøy. I thank her for the professional contribution to the Norwegian Arcadia Survey, for her patience, good advice, her will to pass on to me her knowledge of Aegean Prehistory, and for being a great travel companion.

Bergen, 7. December, 2007.

# INTRODUCTION

Although there are many references in early Greek literature to the Tegeans and their land, Pausanias' travel guide from the second century AD gives us the first detailed account of the cultural geography of Tegea.<sup>1</sup> Without ever having visited the place it is fairly easy to find one's way in the landscape of ancient Tegea just from reading Pausanias' description of it. If one actually goes to Tegea, however, the matter becomes a lot more complicated, and it is at times difficult to make any connection at all between Pausanias' text and the Tegean landscape. The most common way to deal with this kind of discrepancy between text and landscape in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century historical discourse has been to blame the author. Since the German philologist Herman von Willamowitz Moellendorff branded Pausanias as completely unreliable after he had made a fool of himself in front of a group of German nobility that he guided through Greece using Pausanias as his main source, this positivist fallacy has tended to strike Pausanias.<sup>2</sup> Because many of the places and monuments that he described were long since deserted and derelict already in his own time, we would perhaps have been just as disappointed as Willamowitz if we could time-travel back to Tegea in the second century AD. What Pausanias based his descriptions on – local tradition, literary references, or simply by making them up – is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to reconstruct. What is possible to reconstruct, however, is his rhetorical ability to visualise distant times and places. This rhetoric of distant times and places is the *raison d'être* of this dissertation, and in that sense Pausanias is both an important source and a methodological paradigm.

According to Pausanias the territory of ancient Tegea was in Southeastern Arcadia in the interior mountain district of the Peloponnesian Peninsula (**Map 1**).

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<sup>1</sup> On Pausanias as a source for early Greek history compared with other major sources see Hejnic, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed account of this incident as well as its consequences for 20<sup>th</sup> century reception of Pausanias as an historical source see Ackerman, 1987.



The cultural and economic centre in this ancient landscape was an urban settlement on a fertile mountain plain that the Tegeans shared, and often struggled over, with their fellow Arcadians, the Mantineans. Pausanias also has it that Tegean territory extended beyond the plain and into the surrounding mountains.<sup>3</sup> Since the Roman Emperor probably had restricted the territorial influence of the Tegeans after they supported Marc Anthony at Actium, Pausanias is here recalling a past geography. In this geography of the past Mt. Parthenion in the east was the Tegean border at Argive territory, and in the southern Mt. Parnon was the Spartan frontier. Many times during its early history Sparta had tried to occupy the rich agricultural territory of the Tegean Plain. The Greek historian Herodotus recounts in some detail the heroic resistance of the Tegeans against Sparta in the sixth century BC. Before one campaign the Spartans sent an embassy to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi to inquire about their opportunities in Arcadia. The oracle replied that the Spartans would meet heavy resistance in Arcadia, but that they could have “the dance-floor of Tegea,” and she continued; “you can caper there, and measure out her beautiful plain with a rope.”<sup>4</sup> This reply made the Spartans so confident of victory that they dragged iron fetters all the way over Mt. Parnon “because they expected to reduce the people of Tegea to slavery.”<sup>5</sup> The arrogant Spartans lost the battle, and some of them were taken prisoners and forced to work as land measurers on “the dance-floor of Tegea ... measuring out her beautiful plain with a rope” as the oracle ironically had predicted. In Tegean captivity they were forced to wear the very chains that they had brought with them all the way from Sparta.

When Pausanias visited the district of ancient Tegea probably more than 700 years after the Spartans had suffered their humiliating defeat, he was entering a landscape of ghosts. It is something that has always irritated political and economic historians who read Pausanias that he can spend page after page summarising local variations of mythological events while he spends little space on recent Roman monuments, political

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<sup>3</sup> In the case of Argos Pausanias is very specific in locating the border at Hysiai, a location on the slope on the Argive side of the mountain pass in Mt. Parthenion. See Pausanias, 8.54.7. The Spartan border Pausanias situates at a place called Hermai, which was a common sanctuary of Hermes, where the borders between Argos, Sparta and Tegea met. See Pausanias 2.38.7.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, 1.66.

<sup>5</sup> *ib. id.*

and religious institutions, and social and economic conditions in the places that he visits.<sup>6</sup> His account of the territorial extent of the Greek city-states reflects a past geography when they were independent and powerful before the introduction of Roman rule. In Pausanias' account of the district of ancient Tegea he says absolutely nothing about current economic activity and settlement structure, but he does take care to report in detail the state of the rusty old remains of the Spartan iron fetters that, according to him, were still hanging in the old Tegean sanctuary of Athena Alea.<sup>7</sup>

#### RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY AT TEGEA

Although the Spartan fetters have yet to be recovered from its ruins, it is first and foremost the extensive architectural remains of the ancient Tegean sanctuary of Athena Alea that has attracted both scholarly and popular attention at Tegea during the past 200 years. According to Pausanias, Scopas from Paros was the architect of a Classical temple in this sanctuary.<sup>8</sup> It has been assumed that this Scopas was the same as the man who is elsewhere known as one of the major late Classical Greek sculptors.<sup>9</sup> This information was, no doubt, one of the main reasons why early Western travellers took an interest in Tegea and why regular archaeological excavations at Tegea started already in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Another reason why Tegea came to play a role in modern archaeological exploration of Greece is that both Pausanias and other ancient sources indicate that a city wall encircled the urban centre of ancient Tegea.<sup>10</sup> Although the main research issues and methodology have changed since the modern archaeological exploration of ancient Tegea started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these two monuments (the city wall and the Classical temple of Athena Alea) also define the two most recent archaeological field projects at Tegea. The Norwegian Excavations in

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<sup>6</sup> As is pointed out by Helene Whittaker the idea about Pausanias' silence on Roman monuments and institutions should be modified. In such cases as the theatre at Epidaurus (Pausanias, 2.27.5) Pausanias does, in fact, praise the Romans for their ingenuity in theatre building, but such cases are rare. See also Whittaker, 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias, 8.47.2.

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.5.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the works of Scopas see Stewart, 1977.

<sup>10</sup> Pausanias does not actually describe the wall, but he mentions gates in the wall. See for instance Pausanias, 8.53.4; and Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 6.5.9

the sanctuary of Athena Alea, conducted by the Norwegian archaeologist Erik Østby, took place from 1990 to 1994, and was the first field project in the area under the auspices of the Norwegian Institute at Athens. During this excavation, where I participated as a student, I spent a lot of time talking to the Norwegian archaeologist Knut Ødegård who was one of the field supervisors. We soon found that we had a shared interest in landscape studies. Since at that time I was contemplating writing a doctorate in Greek landscape studies and was looking for a case study, I joined Ødegård in the preparation of what was to become the second Norwegian field project at Tegea.

The Norwegian Arcadia Survey (henceforth NAS) was conducted by Ødegård and the Norwegian Botanist Knut Krzywinski. Field-work took place from 1999 to 2001. The project took the late 19<sup>th</sup> century definition of the perimeter of the ancient urban centre of Tegea as its starting point. Rather than simply aiming to define the extent of the ancient urban centre and identify the remains of the city wall, however, the purpose of The Norwegian Arcadia Survey (NAS) was to offer a broader spectrum of disciplinary approaches to the long-term history of the district of ancient Tegea. It became clear already when we had our first preliminary field-season in the form of a workshop at Tegea in July 1997 that the focus of the project would be geographical rather than historical. The disciplinary fields that participated in NAS included archaeology, history, art history, geography, geology, and botany.<sup>11</sup> My own involvement with the field-work was mainly connected with the archaeological group since I supervised one of the archaeological field teams. During the preliminary seasons in 1997 and 1998, however, I also participated in drilling core samples for pollen analysis, collecting reference material for the botanical survey, obtaining georadar profiles, and setting up the digital geographical database that would be used for documentation. Since the project also included students from different disciplines we tried to maintain this inter-disciplinary practice during the field-seasons from 1999 to 2001 by allowing students to circulate between the disciplinary field teams. Even though it is impossible for all archaeologists to become geologists during a couple of

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<sup>11</sup> The disciplinary fields that participated in NAS certainly had their chronological preferences. The archaeological survey was focused on an intensive investigation of the relationship between the urban centre and the countryside in antiquity, whereas the geological team was focused on hydrology and sedimentation processes during the last cool interval of the glacial period (130.000 to 20.000 years ago).

weeks of fieldwork, we wanted all participants to have some experience with the research issues and methodologies of the disciplines involved in the project. Members of the research group of NAS were mainly expected to contribute to the project with research formulated from the viewpoint of their distinctive disciplines, and the project should accordingly be termed multi-disciplinary rather than inter-disciplinary. It was, however, the explicit ambition of the research group that working together in the field as well as in workshops and seminars before and after the fieldwork would encourage groups of, and individual, researchers to bridge disciplines.

When I first became involved with the research group of NAS in 1997, my main contribution to the project was supposed to be a study of local tradition connected with historical places and monuments in the district of ancient Tegea. The dissertation that is presented here is the result of these studies. In 1997 my main interest was in how the veneration of the local past at Tegea was expressed in architectural monuments, visual culture and literary representations from different historical periods ranging from antiquity to the early modern period. At the outset I planned that my dissertation should consist of a chronologically ordered sequence of historical tableaux of the local past. My choice of material (monuments and literature) for this study was decided on the basis of my educational background in art history and ancient Greek language and literature. Equipped with the theoretical apparatus of post-modern historical relativism I imagined that neatly distinctive landscapes of memory would emerge from the reading of literary descriptions from antiquity, the medieval and early modern periods. The main reason why my dissertation has turned out slightly different from the historical constructionist project I embarked on is my encounter with the geographical and ecological approaches that developed as the shared platform for the NAS research group.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Although from time to time there will occur references to material obtained during the field campaign of NAS from, 1999 to 2001 and to preliminary analysis undertaken during several workshops from 2003 to 2006, there has been no attempt to address the primary results of NAS in this dissertation. Presently the NAS research group is working with the publication of results from the project, which will appear as a monograph in the international publication series of the Norwegian Institute at Athens with Knut Ødegård and myself as co-editors. See Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

## THE REGIONAL TURN IN MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES

Ever since the publication in 1949 of Fernand Braudel's *geohistorical* study of the Mediterranean region in the Age of the Spanish king Philip II the Mediterranean region has been a reference case in discussions about the relationship between geography and history. Together with his predecessor Lucien Febvre Braudel represented a new trend in geographical thinking in the 20<sup>th</sup> century often referred to as New Geography.<sup>13</sup> An important theoretical contribution from the French geohistorians was that they shifted the geographical focus from *nations* consisting of connections between land and people to landscapes understood as connections between the natural environment and human culture. Braudel's aim was that geohistory should represent an alternative to the dominating political historical discourse. Although geohistory has not perhaps been the dominant paradigm in post-war historical discourse, Braudel's line of thinking was no doubt very influential in the kind of landscape archaeology that developed through numerous archaeological survey projects in Greece since the 1960's. More recently this research has also prompted a regional focus in Mediterranean landscape history.<sup>14</sup> Regional landscape studies in the Mediterranean area have a long history. The extensive travel literature on Greece, both the ancient paradigms such as Pausanias as well as 19<sup>th</sup> century Western European travellers, can be regarded as part of a regionalistic tradition. Some of the learned travellers from the 19<sup>th</sup> century like William Loring also used methods, however immature from a retrospective viewpoint, that are very similar to the methodology of current archaeological surveys.

The first methodically consistent archaeological surveys in the Mediterranean region were undertaken in Italy rather than in Greece, but it is the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition (henceforth UMME) in the Southwestern Peloponnese that has become the main early reference project for other regional survey projects in Greece.<sup>15</sup> The project started out as a small-scale investigation of the locality of Bronze Age Pylos in the mid 1950's. Under the influence of the so-called American New Archaeology in the 1960's UMME developed into an interdisciplinary landscape survey that involved cooperation between archaeologists and ecological scientists. Like Lewis

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<sup>13</sup> See Braudel, 1992; and Febvre, 1922.

<sup>14</sup> See Horden & Purcell, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> For the publication of this project see McDonald & Rapp, 1972.

Binford, who was one of the most eager propagators of New Archaeology in the 1960's, participants in the UMME became more and more concerned with the ecological aspects of the historical landscape they investigated.<sup>16</sup> Renfrew and Wagstaff's study of the island of Melos from 1982 was especially influential in adopting the holistic ecology of the so-called New Archaeology movement.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the ecological perspective Renfrew and Wagstaff attempted to make the Melos project an 'archaeology of everything' in which Thucydides' Melian Dialogue was taken into account in the same archaeological mode of interpretation as were surface scatters of pottery fragments. Although this ecologically minded 'archaeology of everything' was never formulated as its explicit theoretical approach it also influenced the multi-disciplinary approach of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey.

The ecological paradigm in regional landscape survey projects in Greece is indebted to Braudel's understanding of landscape as a dynamic force in human history. Whereas Braudel tended to focus on the slowly unfolding processes in large geographical areas, ('the Mediterranean') recent landscape surveys in Greece have been more focused on regional issues.<sup>18</sup> In *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* from 2000 Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell adopted a pronounced regional focus. Although they recognise Braudel's achievement in integrating geography and history, they reject Braudel's concept of total history.<sup>19</sup> Both landscape historians who have adopted Braudel's geohistorical approach and landscape archaeologists in the Mediterranean survey tradition that goes back to UMME are mainly interested in the spatial analysis of

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<sup>16</sup> Binford first outlined the aims of New Archaeology in Binford, 1962. See also Trigger, 1989, 294ff; and Hodder, 1986, 1.

<sup>17</sup> See Renfrew & Wagstaff, 1982.

<sup>18</sup> The regional focus was already very much present in UMME. Regional surveys in Greece have become so numerous during the past 10-15 years that I only mention a few influential examples here. In addition to UMME and the Melos project there are especially two regional surveys that have become major reference projects. Between 1978 and 1991 John Bintliff and Anthony Snodgrass directed a regional survey of Boeotia in Central Greece. See Bintliff & Snodgrass, 1988. Another important multi-disciplinary survey project in Greece grew out of a series of field-projects in the Southern Argolid conducted by H. M. Jameson in the 1950's. Like many other regional survey projects the Argolis Survey was published in a series of monographs and articles aimed at the specialist audience. See for instance Runnels et al, 1995. One of the few introductions to Greek survey archaeology, published by three of the central participants in the Argolis Survey, *A Greek countryside: the southern Argolid from prehistory to the present day*, has also been most influential in the dissemination of the idea of regional historical ecology in Greece. See Jameson, Runnels, & van Andel, 1994.

<sup>19</sup> See Horden & Purcell, 2000, 39.

physical remains and economic conditions. Horden and Purcell also have a keen interest in cultural history, and especially in the spiritual landscape. As an alternative to Braudel's geographical determinism and reductionist total history Horden and Purcell propose an ecological viewpoint more in the line of what K. S. Zimmerer has termed New Ecology.<sup>20</sup> Historical ecology, Horden and Purcell agree, "concerns itself with instability, disequilibria and chaotic fluctuations."<sup>21</sup> With this dynamic concept of historical ecology Horden and Purcell propose to approach Mediterranean history as a complex web of *micro-ecologies* that emphasise unpredictable historical scenarios, extra-ecological factors such as the spiritual landscape, and local variations. However new and dynamic the concept of ecology may be in New Ecology, Horden and Purcell emphasize that the historical approach to ecology should be mindful not to subordinate itself to yet another paradigm from the natural sciences as was the case with New Archaeology. Their insistence on the primacy of cultural dynamics in historical discourse can also stand as a motto for my own approach to geography and ecology:

... the historical ecology of the Mediterranean cannot, in the end, however 'new' it becomes, stand as a scientific pursuit. The dynamic and flux of social allegiances and ordered behaviour in the Mediterranean region will defy scientific modelling. Historical ecology, as opposed to other kinds, will therefore investigate these processes in a different spirit. The study of them may clearly be enhanced by frequent invocation of the natural ecologist's terms, procedures and self-reinventions. But without sustained attention to what is distinctively historical about the place of humanity within the environment, and particularly to the complexity of human interaction across large distances, the study of the Mediterranean past will ultimately not have advanced very far beyond Plato's simile of frogs round a pond.<sup>22</sup>

If the following study has advanced a little beyond the pond, it is first of all because I have sometimes allowed myself to drift into the Tegean woods, wetlands and mountains that from a disciplinary viewpoint 'belong' to the ecological sciences. Many of the strolls in this landscape, such as the discussions on geology and other ecological subjects in chapter one, started out as discussions with geologists and other ecologists who have participated in the multi-disciplinary collaboration of NAS. Hopefully my continuous cross-examination of the NAS ecologists, combined with reading up on

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<sup>20</sup> Zimmerer, 1994.

<sup>21</sup> Horden & Purcell, 2000, 49.

<sup>22</sup> Horden & Purcell, 2000, 49.

ecological subjects, has reduced the number of errors in my text. It is, however, impossible not to take a wrong turn every once in a while in unfamiliar territory. My contribution to the discussion about the historical ecology of the Tegean Plain is, and remains, the contribution of a cultural historian. My viewpoint is that of a cultural historian looking at the landscape. This perspective is distorted by the cultural memory deposited in literary representations and in landscape as visual culture.

#### LANDSCAPE AND VISUAL CULTURE

To view cultural memory as a landscape of images is a traditional notion. Classical works in cultural memory studies such as Simon Shama's *Landscape and Memory* from 1995 are often attentive to the phenomenon that cultural memory is expressed in the form of images, be they concrete images such as monuments, works of art, popular visual culture, abstract images in the form of literary visualisations, religious visions, or personal memory images.<sup>23</sup> What has escaped Shama, as well as many other cultural memory students, is that the idea about a connection between visual culture, landscape, and memory is deeply rooted in the Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition. All ancient commentators agree that images (*imagines*) and places (*loci*) make up the basic building blocks of the kind of technical memory (*ars memoriae*) that the rhetorical student must cultivate if he wants to learn his arguments by heart.<sup>24</sup> Quintilian explains that the mnemotechnical devices (*imagines et loci*) that the rhetor uses to prepare his performance are merely imitations of natural, spontaneous memory. The mnemotechnical power of place, argues Quintilian, is so persistent that when we revisit a location we can even remember what we were thinking about when we visited this place sometime in the past.<sup>25</sup> Apart from this rare philosophical aphorism in Quintilian most ancient rhetorical literature about *ars memoriae* is very technical. In Aristotle's conceptual taxonomy *memoria* signifies the technical side of memory that the

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<sup>23</sup> Shama, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> The classic study of the cultural history of *ars memoriae* is Frances Yates study from 1966. See Yates, 1966. See also Oexle, 1995.

<sup>25</sup> See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 11.2.17.

rhetorical handbooks deal with.<sup>26</sup> Aristotle also talks about another form of memory, *reminiscentia* that represents what Frances Yates calls “a deliberate effort to find one’s way among the contents of memory.”<sup>27</sup> The Aristotelian concept of *reminiscentia* implies a kind of cultural theory that the German cultural historian Gerhard Oexle has termed ‘memory culture’ (*Memoria als Kultur*).<sup>28</sup> One way to regard the bases for this rhetorical understanding of *reminiscentia*, recollection, is that it is based on the same structure as technical memory (*memoria*), that its building blocks are images and places, or landscapes as I have preferred. Because the topic for this dissertation falls under the Aristotelian category of *reminiscentia*, its subtitle should perhaps rather have been ‘Landscape and Recollection in the district of ancient Tegea.’ When I have made the heretical choice to use memory it is connected with current terminology in social memory studies. This applies to the cultural historical tradition represented by Simon Schama’s famous *Landscape and Memory* from 1995, and it is also the case with recent archaeological discussions about landscape, monuments and sacred places.<sup>29</sup>

There are especially three areas in Mediterranean cultural history where the relationship between landscape and cultural memory has been a major topic during the past 15 to 20 years. One is the ideological critique of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century classical archaeology raised by scholars such as Michael Shanks.<sup>30</sup> In this context cultural memory is usually defined as politically motivated attempts to redefine history. This kind of cultural memory study is often closely related to historiography, and in most European contexts this critical approach to cultural memory is often associated with ideological critique of the cultural foundation of the modern nation state.<sup>31</sup> Historiography does play a part in the following discussion, but there is no emphasis on

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<sup>26</sup> This is, for instance, his view in the *Topics*: “... memory of things themselves is immediately caused by the mere mention of their places.” See Aristotle, *Topica*, 163b24-27.

<sup>27</sup> Yates, 1966, 34. Aristoteles’ distinction between *memoria* and *reminiscentia* is based on his theory of knowledge, where the visual plays an important part in the imaginative faculty, for “the soul never thinks without an image.” Aristotle, *De Anima*, 432a17. His theory of memory and recollection is found in *De memoria et reminiscentia*. See also Yates, 1966, 31ff.

<sup>28</sup> See Oexle, 1995.

<sup>29</sup> For two influential works from the 1990’s that discuss the prehistoric relationship between landscapes, monuments, and memory see Tilley, 1994; and Edmonds, 1999.

<sup>30</sup> See Shanks, 1996.

<sup>31</sup> Martin Bernal’s *Black Athena*, which aimed at rehabilitating the Afroasiatic roots of Classical Greek culture, is perhaps one of the most pronounced recent attacks on the Western European memory of Ancient Greece as its cultural origin. Bernal approached these issues in the first volume of *Black Athena*. See Bernal, 1987. For a selection of critical discussions of Bernal’s thesis see Lefkowitz & Rogers, 1996.

classical ideology critique in my approach to cultural memory in the district of ancient Tegea. Another area of great interest in this connection is the renewed focus on active interest in the Greek past during the period of the Roman Empire known as the Second Sophistic. Scholars such as Jas Elsner and Susan Alcock have contributed interesting studies of the role of visual culture and landscape in this period.<sup>32</sup> A third tradition in Mediterranean archaeology that is also of great interest here is the study of local cultural memory expressed in sanctuaries and ancestral places. One of the most interesting contributions to this debate during the past generation is the French historian François de Polignac's *La Naissance de la cité grecque* from 1984. Contrary to the traditional political model of the development of the early Greek city-state (*polis*), de Polignac claimed that early sanctuaries situated in the extra-urban landscape represented the main cultural engine of the polis. Especially since de Polignac's study was translated into English in 1995 the relationship between the polis and its memorial landscape has become a key topic in ancient Greek cultural history.<sup>33</sup> Another school of thought concerned with the relationship between civic and commemorative space in ancient Greece has been more directly concerned with the veneration of ancestral places. De Polignac also emphasises the role of the kind of ancestors who were called heroes in ancient Greece.<sup>34</sup> Another structurally less spectacular, but in our context very interesting, type of ancestral veneration can be found in burial contexts. Reuse of earlier graves, as well as other forms of secondary intrusion in funerary contexts, even looting, is also an important source material for the reconstruction of the local landscape of memory.<sup>35</sup>

Different kinds of chthonic landscapes, be they hero shrines, local saints, sacred springs, monstrous creatures that personify natural phenomena, or even cemeteries are especially interesting because they often combine specific topographical locations

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<sup>32</sup> See for instance Alcock, 1993, Elsner, 1995; Alcock, 2002; Cherry & Elsner, 2003, and Alcock & van Dyke, 2003.

<sup>33</sup> One example that testifies to de Polignac's influence is an anthology edited by Robin Osborne and Susan Alcock in which both de Polignac and other researchers who work with Greek sanctuaries were invited to make contributions to the ongoing discussions prompted by de Polignac's study. See Alcock & Osborne, 1996.

<sup>34</sup> See de Polignac, 1995, 128-149. An interesting local example of hero cult at Tegea is connected with Orestes. See Boedeker, 1993, and MacCanley, 1999. For further discussions hero cult see articles in Hägg, 1999.

<sup>35</sup> See Antonaccio, 1995.

(*loci*) with a particular form of visual culture phenomena, ghosts. As the visual culture theoretician Nicholas Mirzoeff has pointed out, ghosts are, even though we cannot exactly see them, very much visual.<sup>36</sup> From this perspective visual culture discourse can, as Mirzoeff suggests, bridge the gap between speculative metaphysics and scientific study, because spirits and ghosts are also material in so far as they are understood as visual, which is, of course, not exactly the same as being visible. In this context of the introduction it is also tempting to suggest that there is a very pronounced tendency in Greek culture to recognise the visual character of spiritual phenomena. This was certainly the case in ancient Greek culture with its broad range of visual arts applied in the representation of gods, chthonic creatures, heroes and men. From the traditional account of the ancient Greek view of afterlife, visualised in Odysseus' journey to the Underworld, we also have a vivid description of this visual character. Beyond the waters of the Styx even the great heroes of the Trojan campaign are reduced to mere spectral resemblances of their bodies.<sup>37</sup> Since we will also approach examples from the post-ancient, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, it is also relevant to point out here that Byzantine and Greek Orthodox Christianity assign a special value to spiritual visualisations, icons.<sup>38</sup> The kinds of image that I will approach in the following are of both types. There are a few examples of genuine local visual culture from the district of ancient Tegea, and they certainly play a part in the discussion. Monuments are, of course also visual phenomena, and there are also visible examples of monuments from different historical periods at Tegea. Equally important in our connection are the many invisible ghosts that occupy her memorial landscape. Many of those ghosts are no more than rhetorical shadows that appear from the reading of historical texts.

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<sup>36</sup> See Mirzoeff, 2002.

<sup>37</sup> When Odysseus visits the underworld, the spirits of the dead approach in the form of images. Especially revealing is his encounter with one of his crew-members, Elpenor. See *Odyssey*, 11.62-78. For a general discussion of the topic of encounters between the dead and the living in the ancient world see Ogden, 2001. On the Elpenor-incident see especially Johnston, 1999, 3-35.

<sup>38</sup> In the context of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey two other members of the NAS research group have been working with the Tegean spiritual landscape. They address the phenomenological study of funeral sites: Tegea is one case study by the Swedish archaeologist Fredrik Falander, and Hege Agathe Bakke-Alisøy's study of current local tradition another. See Falander, 2003; and Bakke-Alisøy, forthcoming.

## EKPHRASTIC LITERATURE AND DOCUMENTED MONUMENTS

This dissertation will address literary and archaeological sources from the Late Neolithic to the early modern Period within the local historical frame of the district of ancient Tegea. The main focus in discussions of literary sources is on the rhetoric of visualising the past, or, to paraphrase Mirzoeff, on the rhetoric of ghosts. As I have already commented this interest has also taken me in the direction of historiography, but the main type of literary rhetoric I have focused on is best exemplified by Pausanias. His travel description of the southern Greek mainland and the Peloponnese was written in the second century AD. It is in many respects a typically eclectic work of the Second Sophistic, and combines elements from the geographical tradition from Homer, Herodotus and Strabo with a very particular form of rhetorical *ekphrasis*.<sup>39</sup> In the ancient rhetorical education *ekphrasis* was a general form of visualisation exercise, and it could be directed towards the rhetorical visualisation of a spectacular event such as an armed conflict, the description of a place, or a work of art. Rhetorical visualisations of great works of art from distant times and places can be found in the earliest Greek literature. The description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* held its position as *paradeigma* for the *ekphrasis* of works of art throughout antiquity, and ekphrastic topoi from this text have been recycled during practically every classisist movement in European cultural history.<sup>40</sup> Pausanias was certainly not the first ancient geographer to weave *ekphrasis* of works of art into geographical discourse, but he cultivated a rhetoric in which the narrative structure is made up of the geographical distribution (*loci*) of works of art (*imagines*). This gives his work the character of an intertextual game with the structural devices of *ars memoriae*. In Aristotelian terms Pausanias' text can be read as a paradigm for the rhetoric of recollection, and his text is one of the most important suppliers of ghosts to the Tegean memorial landscape.

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<sup>39</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of Pausanias in the context of ancient travel writing see Pretzler, 2007. On the Second Sophistic see Anderson, 1993.

<sup>40</sup> For an overview of ekphrasis of works of art in ancient literature, as well as an interesting discussion of the special case of this rhetorical phenomenon in Byzantine sermons, see Hägg, 1989. In Imperial literature this form of literary visualisation of works of art developed into a specialised genre, Philostratus' *Imagines* being the only example that has been preserved for posterity. For an interesting viewpoint of the imaginary character of Philostratus, *Imagines*, see Bryson, 1994.

Memory, or reminiscence in the Aristotelian sense, is a literary and rhetorical subject, and many of the examples which I will take up have specific literary topoi as their starting point. My aim with this project, however, has been to apply the rhetorical theory of *memoria/reminiscentia* in the discussion of concrete landscapes, monuments and local visual culture in the district of ancient Tegea. This approach has also directed my attention to previous archaeological activity at Tegea and towards the kind of ghosts that are awakened by people who excavate long since abandoned tombs and sanctuaries. Already in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century there was sporadic archaeological activity in the area. Some of the first learned Western travellers such as the British Colonel W. M. Leake visited Tegea two decades before the Greek War of Independence.<sup>41</sup> During the war the French king sent a scientific expedition to the Peloponnese to accompany the French forces that came to the assistance of the Greek Liberation Army. The expedition visited Tegea, and made interesting observations there about the landscape and its ancient monuments.<sup>42</sup> Neither Leake nor the French expedition made any attempt to excavate the monuments that they observed. The first regular archaeological exploration in the area was undertaken a few years after that war by the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross, who at that time had been appointed head of the Greek archaeological service set up by the new king of Greece.<sup>43</sup> Around the turn of the century French archaeologists were engaged both in the exploration of the urban site of ancient Tegea, and in conducting an excavation of the remains of the sanctuary of Athena Alea. Another interesting personage in our connection is the Greek archaeologist Konstantinos Romaios, who was born and raised in a mountain village in the district of ancient Tegea. Romaios made several investigations in the area that span a period of more than fifty years. He was no doubt a man with a most intimate knowledge of the past and present cultural landscape in the district of ancient Tegea, and his work is an unvaluable source in the exploration of Tegean landscapes of

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<sup>41</sup> See Leake, 1830.

<sup>42</sup> In the tradition of the French Scientific Encyclopaedia the The French Royal Scientific Expedition in the Morea was published in a monograph series, in which each monograph covered the observations of a specific scientific discipline. Of most immediate interest for the discussion of the cultural landscape and historical ecology is Boblaye, 1836 (on the geographical distribution of historical monuments), and Boblaye & Virlet, 1833 (on geology).

<sup>43</sup> See Ross, 1841.

memory. Apart, perhaps, from Pausanias Romaios has been the most industrious evoker of ghosts in the district of ancient Tegea.

Archaeological activity at Tegea has been directed primarily towards ancient monuments, and towards monuments of the Archaic and Classical periods in particular.<sup>44</sup> Some Roman and Early Christian monuments have been uncovered mainly in the central urban area.<sup>45</sup> Although its ruins have not attracted much scholarly attention, there are also remains of a medieval town, and a relatively large Byzantine church inside the ancient urban site.<sup>46</sup> Most authors who have been concerned with these ruins agree that they should be identified with the town called Nikli in the Late medieval epic poem *The Chronicle of the Morea*.<sup>47</sup> Nikli, as we shall see, is one of the most interesting post-ancient ghosts that haunt the memorial landscape of the district of ancient Tegea. Apart from some references in the work of local historians little has until recently been known about remains in the area from the period of Ottoman and Venetian occupation.<sup>48</sup> Some surveys of Venetian archives have been published, and the 'Ottoman Pausanias' Evlyia Çelebi, who wrote an extensive travel description of the Ottoman Empire in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, has some references to the area.<sup>49</sup> As I will try to argue in chapter four, there is good reason to believe that the present structure of the agricultural villages in the district of ancient Tegea originated in this period.

As far as the Prehistory of the area goes, Tegea was included in a survey of prehistoric sites in Southeastern Arcadia conducted by the British archaeologist Roger Howell.<sup>50</sup> The only two excavated prehistoric sites in the district of ancient Tegea are located on the relative fringes of Tegean territory. In the 1920's the American archaeologist Carl Blegen excavated a Neolithic settlement near the modern village Ayioryitika in the Parthenion Valley, which is a side valley to the northeast of the main

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<sup>44</sup> See Dörpfeld, 1883; Dugas et al, 1924; and Pakkanen, 1998.

<sup>45</sup> See Orlandos, 1973.

<sup>46</sup> See Vasilikopoulou, 1980.

<sup>47</sup> For an edited publication of this text see Schmitt, 1967.

<sup>48</sup> The most important local historian is Nikolaos Moraïtis, who published a book about the history of Tegea in 1932. See Moraïtis, 1932. Some Venetian archives from the area were published in Panagiotopoulos, 1987. On the Venetian period see also Topping, 1976. A local history of Tripolis, which is the largest modern town in the area was published in 1972. See Gritsopoulos, 1972.

<sup>49</sup> On Evliya Çelebi in the Peloponnese see Wolfart, 1970.

<sup>50</sup> See Howell, 1970.

Tegean basin.<sup>51</sup> In the 1950's Romaios excavated a Bronze Age cemetery located just next to a settlement from the Classical period in the Northern Parnon area.<sup>52</sup> In the archaeological literature this site is known as Analipsis, because the only structure that is presently in use on the site is a chapel of the Ascension. The location of this site is on the extreme southwestern edge of ancient Tegean territory. This site is most interesting in our context because in addition to structures from prehistoric and historical periods, there have been documented stray finds from the Neolithic to the medieval/early modern periods. Apart from Ascension Day when the villagers at the neighbouring Vourvoura pay their respects to the chapel, the place is presently visited only by goats and the occasional hunter or curious archaeologist. Analipsis presently appears as the archetypical archaeological ghost town. As we will see when we enter the gates to the complex history of interaction between the past and the present at this remote location in the Tegean mountains, we will also become familiar with a density of ghosts like no other single place in the district of ancient Tegea.

#### THE COURSE OF THE FORTY RIVERS

In his description of Tegean geography Pausanias takes up the river Alpheios, the main surface river in the Peloponnese that originate in the Arcadian mountains. At Tegea Pausanias recorded a local tradition that the main river in the Tegean Plain was connected with the Alpheios through subterranean channels. Although Pausanias' geological argument is actually not as far-fetched as one might think, this Upper Alpheios, as we shall learn, is more interesting as a ghost than as a hard geological reality. For this reason Alpheios was the working title of this dissertation for a very long time. The present hydrological feature that has been identified with Pausanias' Upper Alpheios is called Sarandapotamos (**Map 2**). This main stream of the Tegean Plain originates in the Northern Parnon, not far from the Analipsis site. The present river name probably originates in the early modern, or perhaps late medieval, period. Its designation is Greek, and it means The Forty Rivers (Saranda Potamos). The forty in

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<sup>51</sup> See Blegen, 1928; Petrakis, 1992; and Petrakis, 2002.

<sup>52</sup> Romaios published many articles about this place, the first already in 1904. See Romaios, 1904. For a more comprehensive account of a lifetime of work here see Romaios, 1961b.

Saranda Potamos is a traditional signifier of “many streams,” signifying the typical hydrological pattern of many small streams that run from the surrounding mountains unto the plain where they gather in one meandering surface river. This hydrological pattern is a metonymy for the many fluxes of memory streams that flow through the Tegean memorial landscape: from beginning to end this dissertation is structured as a journey along the banks of the Forty Tegean Rivers of Memory. Its first part (*Periegesis: a Time-Travellers Manual*) is a preparation for the journey. We will start the ascent *To the Mountains* in chapter one with an introduction to the Tegean landscape, to its rocks and rivers, woods, pastures, and cultivated fields. In chapter two I present a central case study, the sanctuary of Athena Alea, and try to place that in a theoretical framework. Chapter three takes up a discussion of regional travel, communication, and infrastructure in the district of ancient Tegea from prehistory to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Chapter two is an introduction to what it is like, for the time-traveller, to move in these landscapes. We will be criss-crossing the Tegean Plain between major outlying centres, travelling from the open landscape of the plain, through the wooded side-valleys, and across narrow mountain passes.

The final three parts of the dissertation unfold three different viewpoints, or horizons, of the Tegean landscape of memory. Part two addresses its terrestrial horizon through a discussion of individual settlement histories. Chapter four focuses on the settlement history of the Tegean Plain. One of the most important local settlement histories in the plain is that of the urban centre of the ancient Tegean polis. The urban centre of Tegea will also serve as a reference site for the discussion of how the settlement patterns of the historical present relate to the settlement patterns of the past, the settlement history of the Tegean Plain told upside down. In chapter five we will climb the Tegean Mountains in search of more elevated dwelling places. One of the most interesting examples is Analipsis, which is the only example in the area where it seems relatively certain that there is some form of continuity between the Bronze Age and the early historical periods.

In parts three and four we shall journey beyond the terrestrial horizon of the Tegean landscape. Part three (*the subterranean horizon*) approaches two different phenomena. On the one hand, I take up what could be called the genealogical animation of local

landscapes (chapter six). This again covers a wide range of phenomena from hero-worship to mythological narratives about local primeval monsters. In chapter seven I will take up a form of ancestral veneration that can be documented by archaeological finds. Again Analipsis is the main case study. I have subsumed all these heterogeneous phenomena under the landscape metaphor of a valley (*the valley of shadows*). There are two reasons for this. The valley is a traditional mythological metaphor for the channel to the subterranean world. Also, for much of the discussion in chapter seven, especially in the section concerned with tomb-cult, we will also occupy ourselves with the topographical Valley of the Forty Rivers (*Sarandapotamos Valley*).

The final and fourth part is a series of discussions about what I have termed the horizon of the mountains. Its three chapters are devoted to the places, monuments and images of the individual divinities Hermes, Pan, and Artemis. The image of 'the horizon of the mountains' is inspired by the mythological dwelling place of the Greek gods on Mt. Olympos. As the mythological dwelling place of the ancient Greek gods Mt. Olympos is a cultural metaphor for how the divine powers view the terrestrial world of humans. They view it from a distance, and they view it from above. That the gods dwell in the mountains, however, can sometimes also be regarded as a metonymic designator of their specific locations in local landscapes of memory. Not all sanctuaries that will be addressed in part four are located in the Tegean mountains, but all three divine persons (Hermes, Pan, and Artemis) have a special relationship with mountains. What is most important in our connection is that they all have a special relationship with the Arcadian mountains, something that, as we shall see, is recognised not only by the Arcadians, but also by other Greeks.

PART ONE

*PERIEGESIS,*  
A TIME-TRAVELLER'S MANUAL

## CHAPTER I

## TO THE MOUNTAINS

[...] the Arcadians inhabit the interior, being shut off from the sea on every side; hence Homer says that they came to Troy in vessels which they had borrowed from Agamemnon, not in ships of their own.

(From Pausanias, *Rountrip of Greece*)<sup>53</sup>

From the viewpoint of the urban centres of the Mediterranean coastal cultures (Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Venice) the Arcadian highlands were always regarded as uncivilised. This ancient primitivist image of Arcadia is personified in the stereotypical Greek mountain dweller the shepherd. As we ascend the Tegean Mountains, the stereotypes dissolve: the preferred dwelling place for much of the history of the Tegeatike was the plain rather than the mountain, and agriculture rather than pastoralism was the economic basis for the ancient city-states in the Arcadian highlands.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, in Arcadia, where the mountain was never far away, the flexibility of mountain-life probably always represented potential strategies for refuge during periods of instability on the plain. The interaction between the semi-nomadic population of the mountains and the sedentary population on the plain is probably one of the most characteristic long-term features of this region. Consciousness of the ever-present potentiality of mountain-life has always been an integral element of Arcadian cultural identity.

The geographical diversity of the district of ancient Tegea includes plains and valleys as well as mountains, and its historical societies were as complex and ‘advanced’ as any contemporary Mediterranean society. One of the reasons why the ancients, nonetheless, regarded all Arcadians as primitive mountain-people may, as the citation above from Pausanias illustrates, have been that they were separated from the sea, that dynamic and swift Mediterranean micro-ecology which more than anything else was

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<sup>53</sup> Pausanias, 8.1.1.

<sup>54</sup> See Roy, 1999.

connected with Greek civilisation. This was especially so in the case of the Classical Athenian Sea Empire, which, of course, is rather over-represented in our sources for ancient Greek culture.<sup>55</sup> When the Ten Thousand of Xenophon reached the Sea after their long march across Anatolia, they shouted *Thalatta, Thalatta* in joyous recognition.<sup>56</sup> That the sea is thus taken to represent home for the Greeks is an Atheno-centric preference for a specific landscape type. In Arcadia it was always to the mountains that people would look for their landscapes of memory: the many Arcadian mercenaries amongst Xenophon's troops may not have been screaming their hearts out when they saw the sea.<sup>57</sup>

The first part of the journey into the Tegean mountains is somewhat of a parody of the Aristotelian structure of the universe. It starts with a discussion of inorganic matter (Rocks and Rivers), which Aristotle places at the bottom of the scale of being, and continues with what Aristotle considered as the lowest level of organic matter, plants and vegetation, things that are stationary, but which nonetheless have a soul.<sup>58</sup> We shall further concern ourselves with animals, which according to Aristotle possess a higher form of soul than plants, mainly in the context of pastoralism.<sup>59</sup> The persistence of these Aristotelian categories in the humanistic discourse on landscape is still an obstacle to the application of an interdisciplinary concept of landscape. The use of geological metaphors in the discussion of Tegean landscapes of memory is thus also a demarcation of my anti-Aristotelian project. This is, however, a superficial anti-Aristotelianism. The Aristotelian manner of thinking about nature is teleological. This means that all things in nature develop from a state of potentiality to one of actuality, which is another way of expressing the Aristotelian relationship between matter

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<sup>55</sup> See for instance the discussion in van Andel & Runnels, 1987, 3-10. This was also the case with another Mediterranean city-state, Venice. Venice had a very small territory, but built its Mediterranean wealth and power in the medieval and early modern periods on the sea. See Morris, 1990.

<sup>56</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.7.24.

<sup>57</sup> A good example of how this mountaineer-identity of the Arcadians could also be found outside Arcadia was illustrated by James Roy in the fact that Xerxes, who had employed many Arcadian mercenaries, at one stage used the image of Pan, the primary iconographic vehicle of Arcadian mountain-identity, on his coins. See Roy, 1972.

<sup>58</sup> The theory set forward by Aristotle in *De Anima*. For a brief discussion see Copleston, 1985, 326ff.

<sup>59</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima*, 2.3.

(potentiality) and form (actuality).<sup>60</sup> As Fredrick Copleston has pointed out, however, Aristotle's 'natural' teleology is far from all pervasive.<sup>61</sup> The best example of this from Aristotle's own writings is his discourse on monsters in *The Generation of Animals*.<sup>62</sup> The production of monsters transgresses traditional Aristotelian teleology: in the Aristotelian discourse their anomalous teleology can only be explained as originating in a kind of defective matter. Appropriately, our ascent to the Tegean mountains will end in an encounter with the local fossil record of monstrosity.

## 1. ROCKS AND RIVERS

... the formation termed *c ramique*, consisting of pottery, tiles and bricks, intermixed with various works of art, enters so largely into the alluvium and vegetable soil upon the plains of Greece, and into the hard and crystalline breccias which have been formed at the foot of declivities, that it constitutes an important stratum, which might, even in the absence of zoological characters, serve to mark part of the human epoch in a most indestructible manner.

(From George Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, 1872)<sup>63</sup>

The central territory of ancient Tegea was in a land-locked mountain plain in the northeastern interior of the Peloponnesian Peninsula. In antiquity Tegea shared this plateau with Mantinea in the north and with Pallantion in the southwest (**Map 1**).<sup>64</sup> The Tegean part of this plateau is physically defined towards Mantinea by a narrow gate in the northern mountain barrier, and towards Pallantion in the southwest by a marshy area, the present Lake Taka, in the lowest section of the plateau (**Map 2**). The ancient Greek term that signifies the territory of the city-state is  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$  (*kh ra*).

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<sup>60</sup> This view of nature as fundamentally teleological is, for instance, clearly expressed in Aristotle, *Physics*, 2.1.192b13ff.

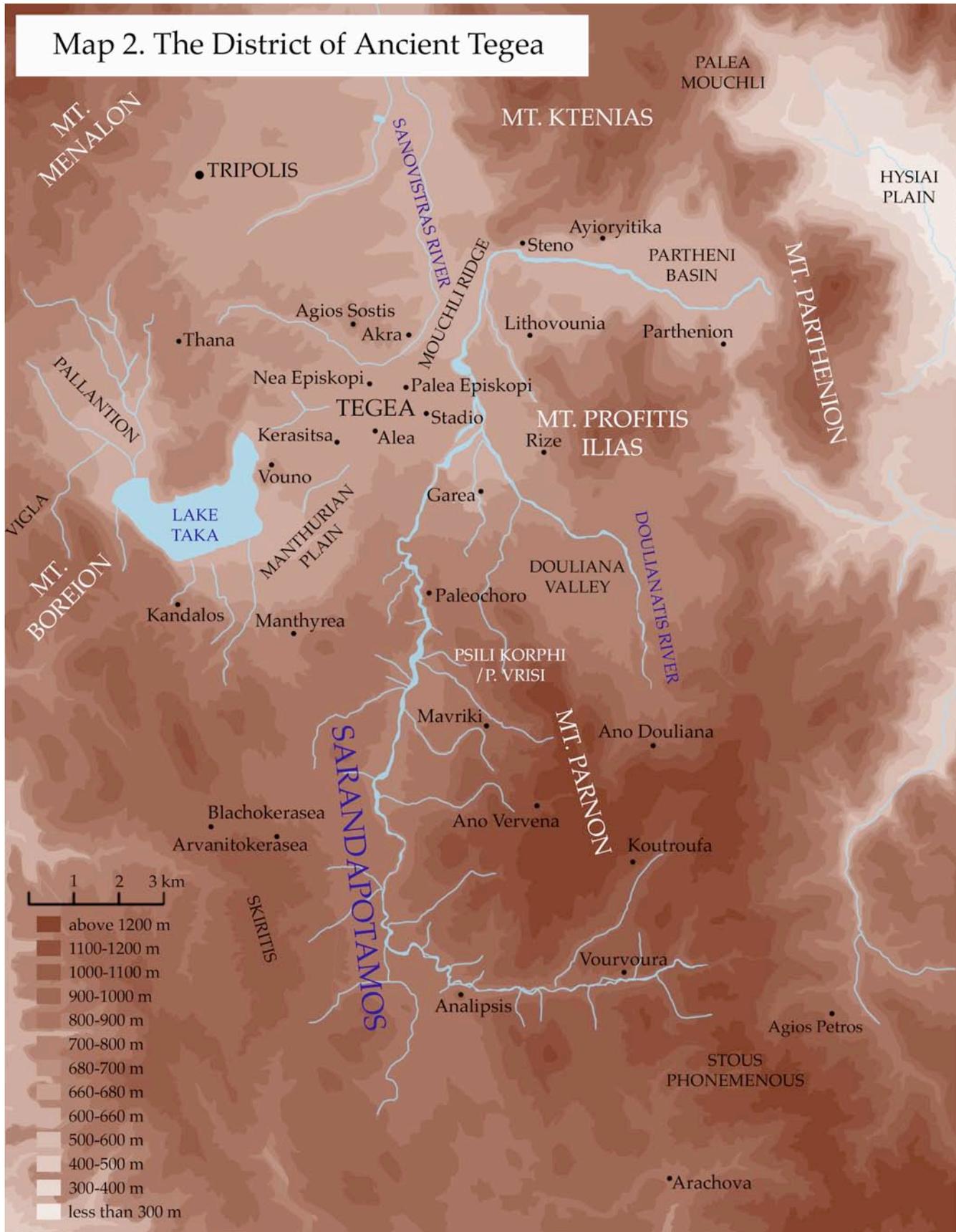
<sup>61</sup> See Copleston, 1985, 325.

<sup>62</sup> Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, 767b13-23.

<sup>63</sup> Lyell cited from Vita-Finzi, 1969, 77. In a revised version (1872) of his classical work *Principles of Geology* from 1830-1833 George Lyell, the father of modern geology, is here quoting one of the publications of the French *Expedition Scientifique de Mor e* that was undertaken in 1829. The work quoted by Lyell is Boblaye & Virlet, 1833, 372. On Lyell and the *Expedition Scientifique de Mor e* see chapter two under "Two Hundred Years of Travellers, Surveyors, and Archaeologists."

<sup>64</sup> Although there are traces of intense early cultural activity at Pallantion, its political prominence was probably limited to the Roman period, when it was connected with the foundation of the Roman Palatine. It is, indeed, no historical coincidence that archaeological excavations were taken up at Pallantion during the early 1940's. On the early sanctuaries of Pallantion see  stby, 1995.

Map 2. The District of Ancient Tegea



Although the Tegean Plain was the most important part of its territory, the cultural geography of its *khôra*, the Tegeatike, certainly extended beyond the plain.<sup>65</sup> We have already seen how Pausanias presents us with a model of the Tegeatike. With the exception of the border toward the Argolid that extended into the Argive side of the pass in Mt. Parthenion, it would appear that the borders in this model were formed by hydrographic divides in the landscape. The drainage systems of the Sarandapotamos (the ancient Upper Alpheios) and the Doulianatis (the ancient Garates) create the two main surface rivers on the Tegean plain (**Map 2**).<sup>66</sup> The relatively high elevation of the Tegean plain (650-700 m), and the fact that there is no surface drainage of the plateau, creates a local environment that is somewhat different from typical Mediterranean coastal plains. As in the coastal plains, however, the alluvial sediments on the Tegean plain possess good agricultural potential. Since there is no surface drainage of the plain, the ground water table is low. Before modern hydraulic devices were introduced, water resources for agricultural irrigation were almost inexhaustible. Annual variations in rainfall and snow melting, and potential blocking of the subterranean dispersal system (see below) created an unstable natural environment. Excessive flooding in the wet season followed by catastrophic erosion has probably always been a problem.<sup>67</sup> The high elevation also facilitates a colder climate than in the coastal plains.

There are three distinct side valleys to the Tegean plain, to which special attention will be devoted in this discussion. The most extensive is the Sarandapotamos Valley (1) in the south, and it stretches from Kandalos, Manthyrea, and Paleokhoro in the north to Analipsis in the south. Analipsis is situated at the edge of another small mountain plain at just below 900 m, which is composed of less fertile and older sediments than the Tegean plain is.<sup>68</sup> The Douliana Valley (2) is more shallow and open. The Partheni

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<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between the *khôra* proper and the outlying regions see Daverio Rocchi, 1988.

<sup>66</sup> See Pausanias, 8.54.1 (Alpheios); and 8.54.4 (Garates). From the south the Sarandapotamos collects streams from the northern most tip of the Parnon range. The Vale of Sarandapotamos is thus sharply defined by the high peaks of the Parnon range in the southeast, but is more open towards the southwest.

<sup>67</sup> For the arguments about the hydrology of the Tegean Plain I am very much indebted to discussions with Professor Wojciech Jozef Nemeč at the Department of Earth Science at The University of Bergen, who visited NAS in 1997 and in 1998, and to NAS' own field geologist Associate Professor Harald Klempe at Telemark University College. For further discussion I refer to Klempe's forthcoming article in the NAS-publication. See Klempe, forthcoming.

<sup>68</sup> For a discussion about 'old' and 'recent' fills in Greece see Vita-Finzi, 1969, 77ff.

Basin (3) is rather an extension of the Tegean plain towards the east.<sup>69</sup> Due to its low elevation – most of the valley bottom is below 660 m – it presently collects the surface water both from the Sarandapotamos and the Doulianatis. The highlands (above 900 m) of the Tegeatike consist of four topographically distinct mountains to the south and east of the Tegean plain. In the west the Sarandapotamos Valley is separated from the Asea Valley by a narrow mountain range that is probably identical with ancient Mt. Boreion.<sup>70</sup> Separating the Sarandapotamos Valley in the east from the Douliana Valley is the northernmost tip of the Parnon range with peaks above 1300 m. This feature is the crown of the Tegean landscape, and its metamorphic geology also yields the crown jewel, so to speak, of ancient Tegean architecture, the only local source of marble. It is also the location of one of the most important early extra-urban sanctuaries of the Tegean polis. The Archaic building here was built entirely of marble from the Parnon stratum, and is, in fact, one of the earliest buildings in the Greek world built entirely of marble.<sup>71</sup> Above and to the east of the village Rize at the entrance to the Douliana Valley rises Profitis Ilias, which also separates the Douliana Valley from the Partheni Basin. Above the village that is presently called Parthenion (early modern Vertsova) rises a mountain which is probably identical with the ancient Mt. Parthenion.

The central Peloponnesian bedrock can be divided into two different isopic zones, the Pindos – and Gavrovo zones.<sup>72</sup> In the Early Jurassic, 190 million years ago, the Gavrovo zone was a continental platform covered by shallow, warm tropical seas where

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<sup>69</sup> The denomination of these three valleys is completely arbitrary. None of them are regular toponyms, but have been adopted here for easy reference. The Sarandapotamos Valley, the valley where the river Sarandapotamos has its origin, is regularly used in the literature about the area. On the analogy of this denomination I have adopted the term *the Douliana Valley* because the second major surface river (the Doulianatis) of the Tegeatike has its origin here. The Partheni Basin is a neologism based on a reference to the district of the Tegean demos of the Korytheans. See Pausanias, 8.54.5. I do not mean to suggest that this name was ever used in antiquity.

<sup>70</sup> Pausanias, 8.44.4.

<sup>71</sup> On this sanctuary see Romaios, 1952. For a comprehensive discussion of its place in the history of Greek, and especially Arcadian, architectural tradition see Østby, 1995. On early extra-urban sanctuaries in general see de Polignac, 1995.

<sup>72</sup> The physical features of the land are shaped by the tectonic and erosion dialogue between what geologists call *isopic zones*; “a series of different rocks with a similar geological history that contrasts with that of the adjacent zones.” See Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 219. For general geological reference I have used Skinner & Porter, 1995. For hydrology I have used Pielou, 1998. The most comprehensive geological treatment of Greece that also takes archaeological sites into particular consideration is Higgins & Higgins, 1996. See also Jacobshagen, 1986; and Vita-Finzi, 1969, 77-82. Useful, although not always up to date, information on geology is also provided by Phillipson, 1959. On karst geology in the Peloponnese see Burdon, 1967, 308-16; Marinos, P. G., 1978, 537-51; and Morfis & Zojer, 1986, 1-301.

limestone was formed under conditions similar to those of the present Bahamas. The Pindos zone was an ocean basin floored by oceanic crust where deep-water limestone was formed. During the Mid-Cretaceous, 110 million years ago, the ocean basin started to close up. This compression caused uplift by movement along thrust faults, and shed sandstone sediments (flysch) into the Pindos ocean basin. Later the Pindos basin was thrust over the Gavrovo continent – covering flysch and Mesozoic shallow-water limestone with Cretaceous deep-water limestone. Gavrovo geological elements are sometimes exposed where Pindos deep-water limestone has been eroded. Geologically recent (Neogene) tectonics in the central Peloponnese is dominated by regional extension. The present valleys and plains in our area, like the Tegean Plain itself, are horsts and grabens caused by this Neogene faulting. In addition to Mesozoic shallow-water limestone and flysch of the Tripolitza series, which is a sub-zone of the Gavrovo zone, and deep-water limestone of the Pindos zone, our area also contains such metamorphic rocks as quartzite and marble that have formed along tectonic faults. A layer of sparkling multicoloured marble with medium to fine grain is situated on the northern slopes of Mt. Parnon in the vicinity of the modern villages of Douliana and Mavriki (**Map 2**). Douliana marble was extensively utilised by ancient Tegea, and has also been attested elsewhere in Arcadia.<sup>73</sup> The Douliana marble used in the Classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea is of a greyish-white quality, but other shades of this multicoloured deposit may also have been utilised in antiquity. Observations made during the recent survey at Tegea also indicate that more immediately available sources of local limestone were utilised for building activity in antiquity.<sup>74</sup> On and especially along the edges of the Tripolis Plain there are also deposits of conglomerate that belong to the most recent (Quaternary) rock formations in the area. Because this rock is both easier to work and more easily available in terms of transportation than limestone and marble deposits, it was also utilised in Tegean

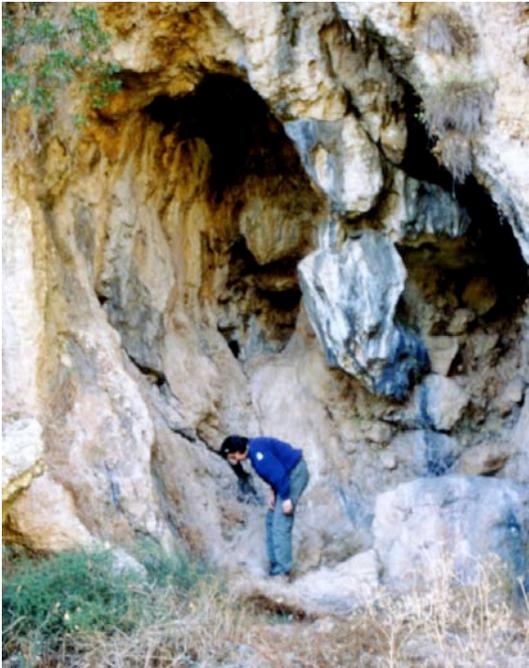
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<sup>73</sup> Contrary to what some text-books on Greek sculpture claim, local marble sources, although rare, are found in the Peloponnese. See for instance Kiilerich, 2002, 41. The ancient marble quarries at Douliana are discussed in chapter two.

<sup>74</sup> At a building site discovered just south of the village of Nea Episkopi (formerly *Ibrahim Effendi*) during the 2000 field campaign of the NAS building blocks of a distinctly dark grey-bluish limestone were observed. These blocks may originate in a probable site of an ancient quarry at the foot of Mt. Profitis Elias in the vicinity of Lithovounia which I located in 1998.

architecture.<sup>75</sup> Quarrying of conglomerate and, in some cases, also of limestone where available probably took place on or near the construction site.<sup>76</sup>

The interior plains of eastern Arcadia, with the central territories of ancient Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos, Alea, Pheneos, and Stymphalos, all lack surface drainage, and are drained internally by sink-holes, so-called *katavothria*. Most of these mountain plains (poljes) were still open valleys in the Early Tertiary (Palaeogene) period, 65-25 million years ago. These Palaeogene valleys all drained westwards into the Alpheios drainage system (**Map 1**) in western Peloponnese. As erosion of the riverbed was unable to compensate for tectonic uplift during the Neogene period, large bodies of water were trapped and created extensive lakes in the Arcadian Mountains.



*Figure 1.1*  
Karst feature in the  
Sarandapotamos Valley.

Eventually the Arcadian mountain lakes drained through a system of subterranean channels that was created as the acidic surface water widened existing fissures in the

<sup>75</sup> For instance the foundations of the large 4th century BC Doric temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea is of local conglomerate. It has been suggested (see Dugas, 1924, 9 & 13; and Østby, 1986, 79.) that this conglomerate must have been quarried at the hill of Agios Sostis, but it may just as well have been quarried on the building site.

<sup>76</sup> The quarrying site of the conglomerate foundations of the Classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea has never been located, but conglomerate outcrops are located in several places, only a few kms from the sanctuary, and were probably quarried at some of those sites. Since this conglomerate erodes very easily once exposed, the chances of discovering this quarry site are minimal. During the 1999 field season of the NAS a possible local quarry site was located on the eastern slope of the hill of Hagios Sostis, which has always been considered a possible candidate for the Tegean Acropolis. For a recent review see Voyatzis, 1991, 16-17.

reactive limestone bedrock. Investigations using modern tracer techniques have confirmed that both *katavothria* in the Tegean Plain (Taka and Parthenion) drain in the east.<sup>77</sup> This kind of subterranean drainage system is a characteristic feature of so-called karst landscapes, which are common in Greece. Another characteristic karst feature is the subterranean network of caves with flowstones, stalactites, and stalagmites. In our area features of this type are especially exposed in the limestone bedrock of the Sarandapotamos Valley (**Fig1.1**). That this area is also rich in karst springs has certainly been an important environmental factor in its historical ecology.

The basic structure of karst geology was well known in antiquity, and ancient geographers are sometimes surprisingly correct in their arguments about how karst flows work in the landscape.<sup>78</sup> The peculiar features of karstic caves were also an element in the ancient Greek imagination of the ecology of the subterranean world, which we shall return to in chapter six. Superficial knowledge about karst geology is also the epistemological background for the Tegean tradition recorded by Pausanias about the connection between the Upper Alpheios, the main surface river in the Tegeatike, and the Alpheios proper that runs from the Asea Valley via the Megalopolis Plateau and into the Alpheios Valley (**Map 1**), from which it has its outlet into the Ionian Sea:<sup>79</sup>

The river Alpheus is the boundary between the lands of Lacedaemon and Tegea. Its water rises at Phylace, but not far from its source it is joined by another water from a number of small springs, and so the place has got the name of Symbola ('meetings'). It is well known that the Alpheus is distinguished from all other rivers by the following natural peculiarity: it often vanishes underground and reappears again. Thus, after proceeding onward from Phylace and the place called Symbola, it sinks underground in the Tegean plain: it rises again in Asea, and after uniting its stream with the Eurotas, descends for a second time into the earth. It comes up at the spot which the Arcadians call Pegae ('springs'), and flowing past the land of Pisa and past Olympia it falls into the sea above Cyllene, the port of Elis. Even the Adriatic could not stop its onward course: it flows through that wide and stormy sea, and in the isle of Ortygia, off Syracuse, it shows that it is the true Alpheus, and blends its water with Arethusa.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> See Pritchett, 1965, 124-125; and Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 70ff.

<sup>78</sup> Examples of correct predictions are rare. See Herodotus, 6.67; Diodorus, 15.49; Strabo, 8.6.371; and Pausanias, 8.22. All examples discuss the connection between Lake Stymphalos and the Erasinos river in the Argolid. Modern tracer techniques have confirmed this connection. See Pritchett, 1965, 122-3.

<sup>79</sup> In addition to Pausanias' reference to this river as Alpheios in the Roman period, one Archaic inscription from the Sarandapotamos Valley confirms that Pausanias' Upper Alpheios is based on an older tradition. See Romaïos, 1904. This inscription will be discussed in chapter four.

<sup>80</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.1-3.

What I have called the Alpheios proper refers to that part of Pausanias' *ekphrasis* of the river course that starts in the Asea Valley to the southwest of the Tegean plateau, and which has its outlet in the Ionian Sea on the northwestern coast of the Peloponnese.<sup>81</sup> This river was, and remains, the largest Peloponnesian surface river. The myth about Alpheios the river god who follows the Arcadian nymph Arethusa across the Adriatic all the way to Sicily is well documented in ancient literature.<sup>82</sup>



Figure 1.2 Bronze vessel inscribed with the word ΑΛΦΙΟΣ. The vessel was discovered on the bank of the Sarandapotamos not far from Vourvoura in the Northern Parnon district.



Figure 1.3 Athenian red figure vase with Heracles and the Lernean Hydra.

Since this was a recognised myth in the Greco-Roman world, there is no need for Pausanias to provide an explanation for the river's peculiar behaviour, flowing unmixed all the way from Elis in the Peloponnese to Syracuse in Sicily. That the river which ran from the Northern Parnon through the Sarandapotamos Valley and onto the Tegean Plain was connected with the Alpheios proper is a piece of information that is only provided by Pausanias. Since there is no reason why Pausanias should have

<sup>81</sup> Exemplary river descriptions can be found in early texts such as Homer and Hesiod. See Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.503ff; and Hesiod, *Theogony*, 233ff. The Homeric example we shall return to in chapter four. Another important literary paradigm, especially for later metaphysical interpretation is Plato's subterranean rivers in the *Phaedo*. See Plato, *Phaedo*, 111b-113c. On river mythology in general see Brewster, 1997.

<sup>82</sup> See, for instance Strabo, 6.2.4, who denies that this myth can be correct. For a commentary on this passage see Baladié, 1980, 54-55.

invented this connection, it is probably based on local tradition at Tegea.<sup>83</sup> That this theory represents an old Tegean tradition is corroborated by the discovery of an early inscription on the bank of this river between Vourvoura and Analipsis high up in the Sarandapotamos Valley (Fig1.2).<sup>84</sup> In an attempt to give rhetorical validity to this tradition Pausanias refers to the karstic nature of the Alpheios in pointing out its natural peculiarity of vanishing underground and reappearing again. This was already well known since it was established by recognised mythologists that the Alpheios also disappeared at Elis and reappeared as far away as in Sicily. Pausanias' Arethusa story thus explains by analogy the connection between the Upper and the 'lower' streams of Alpheios. That there are, in fact, no subterranean rivers that run from the Tegean Plain to the Asea Valley is, in this connection, of no consequence. What is important is that such a tradition did exist at Tegea, and that Pausanias felt the need to use his knowledge of karst hydrology and recognised Greco-Roman mythology to make it probable that the Tegean tradition was correct.

## 2. IMAGES OF EARLY IRRIGATION CULTURE

Recent sedimentation history and hydrology have been addressed in historical discussions of our area since early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>85</sup> There were two motives for this discussion. First there was the problematic topographical status of Pausanias' Upper Alpheios. After excavations were taken up in the Tegean plain (mainly in the sanctuary of Athena Alea), it also became evident that many important monuments in the central area of the ancient city had been covered by alluvial sediments after antiquity.<sup>86</sup> The ecological dynamics of the plain was thus quickly put on the agenda of modern historical discussions. French surveyors who visited the area in 1829 already pointed out that the Sarandapotamos is the main agent responsible for the deposition of these

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<sup>83</sup> On the voice of local tradition in Pausanias' *ekphrasis* of Tegea see Pretzler, 1999.

<sup>84</sup> See Romaios, 1904; and Pritchett, 1965.

<sup>85</sup> The early studies will be taken up in chapter two.

<sup>86</sup> See Milchhöfer, 1880, 53; and Dugas, 1921, 337. Although on a different scale, of course, the situation at this anctuary is not all that different from the situation in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, which was almost completely covered in silt from the Alpheios before excavations started there in the 19th century. See Knauss, 1998.

sediments.<sup>87</sup> The discussion, which was taken up again by William Kendrick Pritchett, has focused on one topographical issue, a possible change in course of the river on the plain (first suggested in 1834 by Ludw. Ross).<sup>88</sup> Previous attempts to reconstruct the ancient course of the Upper Alpheios have focused on the possibility that the river, which now takes a more NE course on the plain and empties into a *katavothra* in the Partheni Basin, had its outlet in the *katavothra* of Lake Taka to the SW of the Tegean city. This scenario is featured in **Map 5**. For this to be possible the river would have flowed either around or, in fact, through the ancient city centre. The German hydraulic engineer and historian Jost Knauss, who reviewed the situation in an article in 1989, found all previous suggestions of a westward course on the plain incompatible with the present watershed there.<sup>89</sup> The more recent analysis of hydrological dynamics of the Tegean Plain, undertaken during the NAS, now draws a picture that is rather in tune with early investigations.<sup>90</sup>

The ancient Tegean city is located on an alluvial fan. Although the geological time-frame of much of the actual transportation of sediments from the side-valleys down onto the plain may be recent (Holocene) in geological terms, the processes that we are dealing with within the frame of human occupation of our area (the past 5-6000 years as far as the archaeological record goes) are rather those of erosion and re-deposition during periodic flooding than of substantial sedimentation.<sup>91</sup> This has at times created a very unstable natural environment. There is good reason to believe that attempts at extensive cultivation and settlement, which we do have in this area in antiquity, would have been accompanied by hydraulic measures, such as building dams, irrigation networks, and perhaps even attempts at re-directing surface fluxes. A channel directing the main flux of the Sarandapotamos westwards towards Lake Taka would, in fact, have been a convenient way of controlling the Tegean Fan (**Map 5**).<sup>92</sup> To the south of the village of Alea on the Tegean Plain there are, in fact, still traces of a channel that

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<sup>87</sup> See Boblaye & Virlet, 1833, 328-329.

<sup>88</sup> See Ross, 1841, 69ff; and Pritchett, 1965, 122-130.

<sup>89</sup> See Knauss, 1988.

<sup>90</sup> See Klempe, forthcoming.

<sup>91</sup> The earliest regular settlement on the plain is the Neolithic village at Ayioryitika. See Petrakis, 2002; and also the discussion chapter three.

<sup>92</sup> A similar solution was also suggested by Pritchett. See Pritchett, 1965, 125.

directs water in this direction. One of the suggested courses in **Map 5** follows this channel. A pattern that also corroborates the scenario featured in **Map 5** can also be observed in the surface scatters recorded during the recent archaeological survey of the Tegean urban centre: some areas in the urban centre display a clear density of surface scatters, whereas others are virtually empty.<sup>93</sup> Areas where the void in surface scatters has been most clearly identified are covered with fine, almost powdery, alluvial silt, whereas areas with a relative density in surface concentrations tend to have a more mixed and older surface soil. Clearly, re-deposition of alluvial sediments by periodic flooding along the ridge of the fan is one factor to be reckoned with in any discussion of this area.<sup>94</sup>

If a large part of the Tegean Fan was cultivated in antiquity, this also broadens the historical context of Pausanias' Upper Alpheios. The early modern denomination of the main surface stream in the plain, the Forty Rivers, typically reflects the hydrological variability of an unstable alluvial fan. It was also pointed out by Pausanias that this river was "often vanishing underground and reappearing again." Nonetheless it was evident to the Tegeans, as it was to Pausanias, that this 'hydrological freak' was one river, and that it was connected with the great Peloponnesian River, Alpheios. The linguistic cultivation of the hydrological variation in the Tegean Fan (the Forty Rivers) as one river in antiquity could, accordingly, also reflect the physical modification of the environment on the plain. If this was the case, we are dealing with a situation that corresponds well to a kind of mythological appropriation of river plain cultivation that we know from other places in the ancient Greek landscape. It is a commonplace of these mythological narratives that it is the hydraulic engineer *par excellence*, Heracles, who defeats some kind of primeval hydrological monster.<sup>95</sup> The one mytheme about Heracles that would bear a close affinity with the Tegean case is his struggle with the

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<sup>93</sup> There may, of course, be other explanations for these voids in documented surface scatters inside the Tegean urban centre. Ever since we first started to work at Tegea in 1997 the nature and origin of formation processes in the Tegean Fan have been recurring topics in our discussion. Further studies of the collected material (environmental, topographical, and archaeological) will be the bases for more definite results. See Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>94</sup> This brief review of the situation is partly based on my own observations in the field as well as ongoing discussions in the interdisciplinary research group of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey. A more thorough treatment of these problems will appear in our publication. For brief discussions of some results see Ødegård, 2005; Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming; and Fahlander, 2003, 146ff.

<sup>95</sup> On Heracles as a mythological hydraulic engineer see Salowey, 1994.

Lernean Hydra (Fig. 1.3). As has been demonstrated, this story probably reflects the memory of initial draining of the Lerna swamp on the western side of the Argolid Bay.<sup>96</sup> As with the many streams which are expressed in the early modern toponym *Sarandapotamos*, the Lernean Hydra also has many heads so that, whenever the hero manages to cut off one, it is replaced by another: as the ancient hydraulic engineer tries to block one stream on the alluvial fan, the loose sediments will just give away and create another.<sup>97</sup> In this way the ancient Greek image of hydrological monstrosity, personified in the many-headed monster Hydra with a name that also signifies its hydrological origin (ὕδρα means water snake), features the place-specific memory of the dangerous powers of the local hydrological environment. In contrast to this multivalent monstrosity (the Forty Rivers; the many-headed Hydra) stands the unity of the *one* cultivated river valley.

The first monster that we have come across here is the river. In light of the catastrophic erosion pattern that is so characteristic of the Greek landscape, with torrential rains, and following redistribution of sediments in the lowlands, the river is a very recognisable monster. The medieval to early modern denomination *Sarandapotamos* (the Forty Rivers) is reminiscent of exactly this hydrological monstrosity. Coming to terms with this monster, the freak of nature as it is visualised in the figure of the Lernean Hydra, was a basic condition for taming the ancient Greek landscape.<sup>98</sup> The control of the surface streams on the Tegean Plain would also have been a basic condition for the civilisation of the Tegeatike, and for the growth of its urban centre in the Archaic period.<sup>99</sup> Pausanias' Upper Alpheios is a phantom of this cultural process in the Tegean memorial landscape.

It is interesting to note that an analogous cultivation of this primeval monster of nature (the river) can also be found in Aristotle's *Physics*. Because of its characteristic multi-valence, and escape of definition, Aristotle is not – in contrast to the water-loving

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<sup>96</sup> See Salowey, 1994, 79.

<sup>97</sup> In chapter four we shall also see that there may be relics of a similar Heracles mytheme at Tegea.

<sup>98</sup> Like Perigrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell I believe that the hydraulic capacity of ancient societies has been gravely underestimated, something which the case of Tegea clearly illustrates. See Horden & Purcell, 2000, 237-257.

<sup>99</sup> In chapters three and four we shall return to the early examples of cultivation of surface water on the Tegean Plain.

pre-Socratics – very fond of the hydrological flux as a figure of thought. He also has some problems, in the *Physics*, with an example where he tries to decide the *place* (τόπος) of a moving boat on a river, which is itself moving. His solution is as revealing about the cultural epistemology of river cultivation in 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Greece as it is rhetorically brilliant. The place of the boat on the river, to Aristotle, is the whole river, because to him the river “is at rest as a whole.”<sup>100</sup> This, of course, Aristotle could say with certainty, because some Heracles had already tamed the multi-valence of the archetypical Greek surface river. We are thus also able to identify the hydraulic epistemology of Aristotle’s metaphysical idea about the *topos* of the river as the whole river.

From this many headed freak of inorganic nature we shall continue to climb along the Aristotelian ladder, to the lowest form of organic nature. We shall first turn to one species of plant, with reference to which the Arcadians would probably have agreed with Aristotle in his claim that the plants possess a soul. For this species, and its indigenuous botanical variety, was the very visualisation of the Arcadian soul in the landscape.

### 3. THE IMAGE OF THE ARCADIAN OAK

The oaks in the oak forests of Arcadia are of different kinds ; some they call ‘broad-leaved,’ and others *phagoi*. The bark of a third sort is so spongy and light that they make floats of it for anchors and nets at sea. Some Ionians, for example Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, name the bark from this oak *phellos* (cork).

(From Pausanias, *Roundtrip of Greece*)<sup>101</sup>

Images of the Greek landscape have been cultivated by more than 2000 years of Western cultural history. The image of Arcadia as a distant land of pastoral bliss is just one of many such images.<sup>102</sup> Here I will focus on the memory image of one Arcadian plant, the oak. The citation above is taken from Pausanias’ description of the border between Mantinea and Tegea and will serve as a starting point here. In isolation it

<sup>100</sup> (ὅτι ἀκίνητον ὁ πᾶς), Aristotle, *Physics*, 4.4.212a19-20.

<sup>101</sup> Pausanias, 8.12.1.

<sup>102</sup> See Panofsky, 1955; and Snell, 1953.

reads like a straightforward taxonomy of different kinds of oak that can be found in the Arcadian highlands. In the narrative context of Pausanias' text this botanical taxonomy is woven into the description of the Tegean Plain and thus comes to participate in the cultural signification process of the Tegean memorial landscape. For similar purposes this species (the oak) also participates in other identity-building configurations in Arcadian culture. As a sign of their primitive lifestyle Arcadians are sometimes referred to as *acorn-eating men*,<sup>103</sup> signifying a kind of prehistoric hunter-gatherers that have not yet learned the art of cultivating the soil. The oak serves as an important local identity marker.

The place in question on the Tegean Plain was called *Pelagos*, which means 'the open sea,' and according to Pausanias there was an oak forest there. *Pelagos* is sometimes also referred to as the name of that forest. The most important historical event that was remembered to have taken place at *Pelagos* was the battle at Mantinea in 362 BC.<sup>104</sup> The death of the great Theban general Epaminondas at this battle was the fulfilment of an ambiguous prophesy delivered by the oracle at Delphi:

Epaminondas had been warned before by an oracle from Delphi to beware of *Pelagus* ('sea'). He therefore feared to go aboard a galley or to sail in a merchantman; but it turned out that Providence meant by *Pelagus* the oak wood of that name, and not the real sea.<sup>105</sup>

The oak excursus in Pausanias' text occurs right after a long passage on the achievements of Epaminondas. It is almost as though Pausanias seals the local memory file that contains the achievements of the Boiotian general by referring to the diversity of oak species in the Arcadian landscape. This peculiar *logos* requires some explanation. When Pausanias elsewhere pays any attention at all to vegetation, it is usually in the context of culturally significant groves, often in connection with sanctuaries.<sup>106</sup> With a few exceptions this is also the case in Pausanias' description of the Tegeatike. He refers to oak forests in four different frontier situations bordering on the immediate agricultural *khôra* of the Tegean polis. These instances typically all occur on major routes out of the agricultural *khôra*. The first is the *Pelagos* forest *en route* to Mantinea.

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<sup>103</sup> (βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες), Herodotus, 1.66.2.

<sup>104</sup> See Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 7.5.21ff. See also further below on the linear history of Tegea.

<sup>105</sup> Pausanias, 8.11.6.

<sup>106</sup> See Birge, 1996.

The second oak forest mentioned by Pausanias was on the route to Argos (through the Partheni Basin) in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Demeter in Korythensis. On the way to Thyrea (the Douliana Valley) Pausanias also mentions a sacred oak tree in a roadside sanctuary of Pan, and a fourth oak forest (*Skotias*) is also described on the route from the *Laconian Hermai* high up on the SE frontier.<sup>107</sup>

What is most interesting about Pausanias' belt of oak is that it covered the Tegean frontier against non-Arcadian territories. Oak forests were also such a culturally distinguishing feature of the Arcadian landscape that Pausanias, as we have seen, included a taxonomy of the different species distinguished by the Arcadians themselves in this discourse. When the Arcadians were sometimes referred to as *balanophagoi* ('acorn-eaters'), this represents a means of illustrating their primitive, almost prehistoric, customs; but it is also a direct reference to what was regarded as a distinguishing mark of the Arcadian landscape.<sup>108</sup> By calling them acorn-eaters Herodotus provides a rhetorical elaboration of the configuration of autochthony between the people of Arcadia and the land of Arcadia.<sup>109</sup> In this topology the land of the Arcadians is not exactly configured as the soil of Arcadia, but rather as the kind of vegetation characteristic of this region. Unlike other, more civilised people, Athenians for instance, who live off cultivated, and even imported grain, the Arcadians live off the natural vegetation of their landscape. Their autochthony is thus inscribed on the landscape in a different manner than that of the Athenians.<sup>110</sup>

The Pelagos forest where Epaminondas fell in 362 did not represent a frontier between Arcadia and the land of non-Arcadian people. It did, however, represent the frontier between two Arcadian poleis which were almost constantly in conflict with each other, Tegea and Mantinea. It was an Arcadian frontier zone right in the middle of Arcadia: being such a distinguishing mark of Arcadia one might almost say that the

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<sup>107</sup> Pausanias, 8.11.1 and 5 (Pelagos); 8.54.4 (on the road to Thyrea); 8.54.5 (Demeter in Korythenses); and 3.10.6 (Skotias).

<sup>108</sup> In certain places in the present landscape of the Tegeatike this landscape feature is still distinguishable. The Douliana valley, where the sanctuary of Pan mentioned by Pausanias on the way to Thyrea was located, is presently populated by a thick forest of deciduous oak and plane trees, and the mountain valley below the *Hermai* (at stous Phonemenous) is still occupied by a forest of oak trees (*Skotias*).

<sup>109</sup> For a discussion of these concepts see Nielsen, 2002.

<sup>110</sup> On Athenian autochthony see Loraux, 1996. We shall return to the relationship between Athenian and Arcadian autochthony in chapter four.

oak forests of the Arcadian mountains were to the Arcadians what the Aegean was to the Athenians. Although this is hardly the etymological origin of the ancient place name *Pelagos*, it does give sense to the metaphorical playfulness of the Delphic Oracle saying that that Epaminondas ‘drowned’ in an Arcadian sea.<sup>111</sup>

As the British landscape historian Oliver Rackham has pointed out, many of the most persistent modern ecological fallacies about ancient Greece were formulated already in the Age of Enlightenment, and have since been uncritically repeated in Western imagination of the Greek landscape.<sup>112</sup> A brief glance at one of the most famous 18<sup>th</sup> century geographers of ancient Greece, the distinguished French scholar abbè J. J. Barthelemy, and his appropriation of the Pelagos-motive can further illustrate some points about the modern image of the land that was once Greece.

Like so many other 18<sup>th</sup> century scholars abbè Barthelemy found his way to ancient Greece in Rome, where he was sent in 1754 on a scientific mission. Although he never actually went to Greece, his journey had a profound effect on scholarly exploration of ancient Greece. Inspired by his Italian journey abbè Barthelemy started work on his *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grece vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siecle avant l'ere vulgaire* in 1756.<sup>113</sup> The book is a mixture of scholarship and fiction, which in many ways is typical of the geographical literature of the age of Enlightenment.<sup>114</sup> The journey of the young

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<sup>111</sup> The origin of the ancient place name is probably connected rather with the fact that the frontier zone on the plain between ancient Mantinea and Tegea was formerly more of a marshy area than it is today. The Sanovistras River, which still flows in this direction, from Tegea towards Mantinea, would also have been augmented by the streams of the Sarandapotamos (ancient Upper Alpheios) that flowed through, or around, the ancient urban centre of Tegea. It so happens there is still a small pond here. During a recent name-reform when many Turkish and Slavic village names in the area were given ancient Greek names, the small village called *Bosin* which is right next to this pond was named Pelagos (The old village name appears on William Loring’s map from the end of the 19th century. See Loring, 1895, Pl. I.), but there are no oak trees anywhere in the vicinity of this village. Along a modern road that runs between the centre of modern Tripolis and Mantinea, further to the northwest of current Pelagos, there are, however, small groups of oak trees. As far as I have been able to observe, this locality is among the few places on the plain where there are oak trees that have not been obviously planted in modern gardens. This fragment of the old Pelagos forest still has so much of an appeal to the cultural memory of a classicist like myself that I see no reason why it should not be treated as a cultural heritage monument in the same manner as the architectural monuments of Mantinea and Tegea are.

<sup>112</sup> See Rackham, 1992.

<sup>113</sup> Abbè Barthelemy started his classical education in the French Jesuit College, and also attended the seminary of the Lazarists, after which he assumed the title of abbè, although he never took holy orders. In the capacity of being the leading French numismatist of his time he became Keeper of the Medals at the King’s library in 1753. See Barthelemy, 1788. See also Irwin, 1997, 51-52; and Hartog, 2001, 6, 44-45, 109, 115, and 126.

<sup>114</sup> On 18th century travel literature see Batten, 1978; Chard, 1999; and Buzard, 2002.

Anacharsis is set in 4<sup>th</sup> century Greece. This allows Barthelemy to let his hero walk in the gardens of Plato's Academy where Plato himself also receives him "with much simplicity and politeness."<sup>115</sup> It also allows Barthelemy to set into motion his extensive knowledge of ancient literature and already published archaeological discoveries in Greece and to synthesise that knowledge into a holistic image of ancient Greece. Barthelemy's *Voyage* contains detailed descriptions of landscapes, civic institutions, and daily life in 4<sup>th</sup> century Greece. Many of Barthelemy's 'discoveries' – e. g. the idea that ancient Greece was a most fertile country with a good water supply, large forests, and rich agriculture – was taken up by later studies of ancient Greece, and some of them are, as Rackham points out, still haunting the Western image of the land that once was Greece.<sup>116</sup>

Barthelemy's fictional time-travel was equipped with the new rhetorical tools of the Enlightenment. His text was scattered with long scholarly notes and references to ancient literature as well as to contemporary archaeological literature. It was common in the 18<sup>th</sup> century for scholarly publications in archaeology to appear first with a volume of plates (drawings, water-colours, and maps). Due to the time-consuming printing process the text volume would usually appear at least a year after its illustrations. Barthelemy thus also published a volume, mainly consisting of relatively detailed maps of ancient Greece, one year before (1786) the final publication of his book (1787). This also emphasised the scholarly and encyclopaedic character of his work and, because it was one of the most detailed current accounts of ancient Greek geography, Barthelemy's maps became the guides for many future explorations of the ancient Greek landscape. For an understanding of its effect on discoveries in our area, it is revealing to make a comparison between a Venetian map (**Fig. 1.4**) of Morea from 1634, and Barthelemy's map of Arcadia (**Fig. 1.5**). Since the denomination Tegea came out of use locally sometime during the Early Middle Ages, it is not marked on the Venetian map, but Barthelemy, who based his map on reading Pausanias rather than on an actual survey, has included Tegea. His map is, in fact, the first topographical representation of the Peloponnese that reintroduces Tegea. Both maps feature the

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<sup>115</sup> Cited from Irwin, 1997, 52.

<sup>116</sup> See Rackham, 1992.

Alpheios proper (Asea-Megalopolis-Elis) more or less as Strabo and Pausanias described it. Barthelemy's geographical representation is, however, more clearly based on Pausanias as it has also included the Upper Alpheios, which according to the ancient perieget ran from *Phylake* in the mountains between Sparta and Tegea, and passed a certain place *Symbola*, before it entered the Tegean plain, where it disappeared into a chasm. It is also worth noticing that Barthelemy also has included the second river of the Tegean plain, the *Garates*, which is mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>117</sup>



Figure 1.4 Venetian map of Morea from 1634.

Several other topographical elements from Pausanias' description of the Tegeatike are also illustrated in Barthelemy's map: *Mt. Cresius* on the Tegean plain between Tegea and *Pallantion*, a 'mound of earth' (*la Butte*, referred to by Pausanias as the *Khôma*) also on the Tegean plain between *Pallantion* and Tegea, *Mt. Borée* (*Boreos*) between the Tegean plain and the *Asea* valley, and *les Hermes* (referred to by Pausanias as *The Laconian*

<sup>117</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.4.

Herms) in the mountains on the border between Tegea, Sparta, and Argos.<sup>118</sup> Barthelemy also featured two major roads from Tegea, towards Mantinea and Argos, from Pausanias description. Great care has also been taken in representing the *Bois Pelagus*.

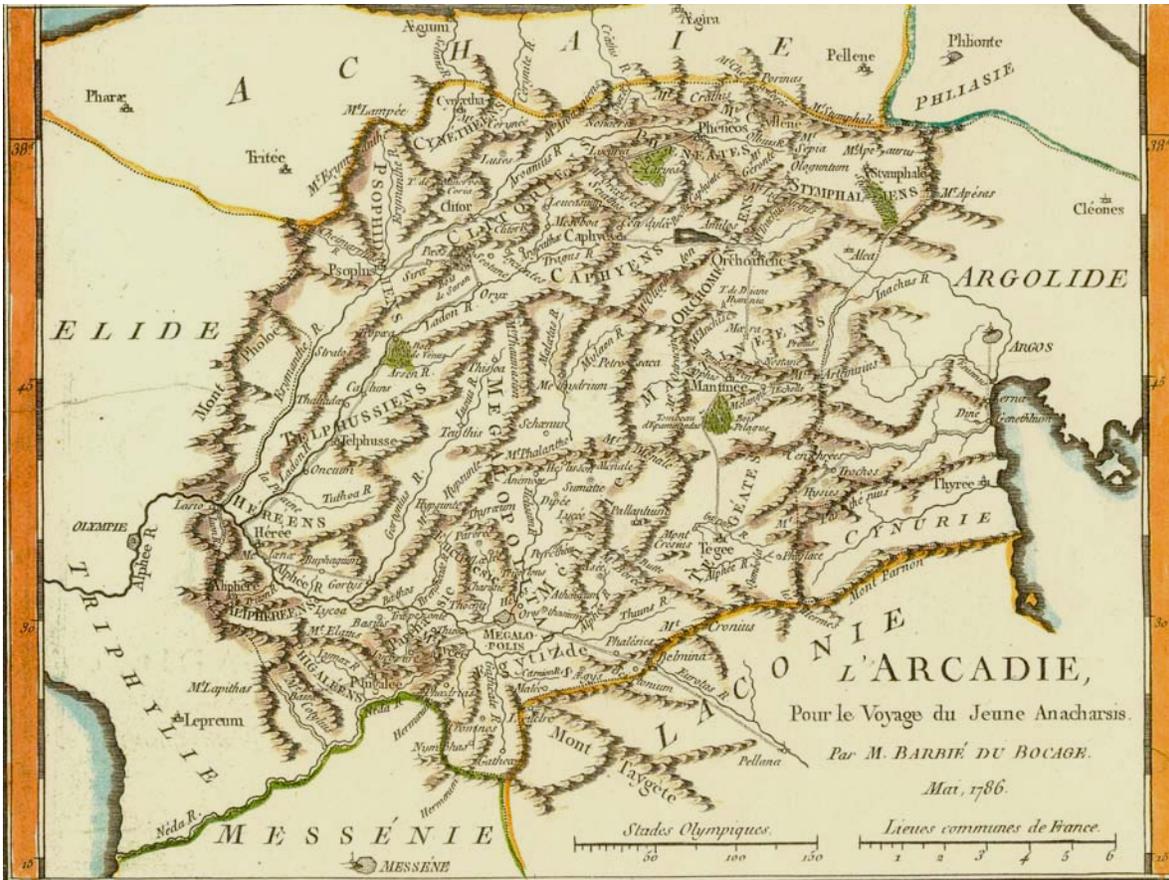


Figure 1.5 Abbé J. J. Barthelemy's map of Arcadia.

The prominent position of the Pelagos oak forest in abbé Barthelemy's imaginary map and narrative also influenced the image of the Tegean-Mantinean Mountain plain as covered by an oak forest. An early 19<sup>th</sup> century example of this is the English traveller William Martin Leake, who to his great disappointment could find no big oak forest on the Tegean Plain.<sup>119</sup> It is also an example of the kind of durable memories of the landscapes of the Glory that was Greece which probably go back to antiquity and which have continued to dominate also the modern image of the vegetation history of this landscape.

<sup>118</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.7 (Mt. Kresion); 8.44.5 (Khôma); 8.44.4 (Mt. Boreos); 3.1.1 (The Laconian Herms).

<sup>119</sup> See Leake, 1830, I, 102.

Although some researchers who work within the field of ancient Greek history have found it very difficult to accept that the tradition of textual transmission from antiquity does not always provide the primary source material for the ancient past, current approaches to vegetation history such as scientific analysis of fossil plant material have in recent decades caused severe cracks in the traditional image of the ancient Greek landscape.<sup>120</sup>

Much thanks to the virtual explosion in regional survey projects in Greece during the same period, more systematic study of cultural landscape features has also directed attention towards altogether new Greek landscapes of memory. At Tegea this work is in its infancy. Although some information has also been available from palynological investigations in the area, we will presently have to be content with correcting abbè Barthelemy's image of the Tegean Plain with a more superficial landscape analysis.<sup>121</sup>

#### 4. MEMORY AND HISTORICAL ECOLOGY

It is the frequency of change from year to year, in both production and distribution that makes Mediterranean history distinctive. The history must therefore be founded on the study of the local, the small-scale – the specific ('definite') wadi, cove or cluster of springs and wells. But in the pursuit of that study it must never be forgotten that such tiny units are not crisply bounded cellular entities with their own destinies. They are not definite in the sense that they have fixed boundaries. Rather, their definition is always changing as their relations with wider wholes mutate.

(From Perigrine Horden & Nic. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 2000.)<sup>122</sup>

In their recent study *The Corrupting Sea* Perigrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell have outlined a program for the study of Mediterranean history which, although the heritage of Braudel's geohistorical project is evident, is rather in opposition to Braudel's structural analysis of the Mediterranean region. Horden and Purcell have

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<sup>120</sup> One example of the former, which is criticised by Oliver Rackham, is J. D. Hughes' study of 'How the Ancient Viewed Deforestation.' See Hughes, 1983. See also Rackham, 1992; and Isager & Skydsgaard, 1992.

<sup>121</sup> Palynological investigations at Tegea were undertaken both during the Excavation of the sanctuary of Athena Alea 1990-1994 and during the NAS. See Bjune et al 1997. One of the most interesting results from the preliminary analysis of palynological material from Tegea is the occurrence of olive pollen, since it was assumed at the start of the investigation that Tegea is situated at an altitude where olive cultivation would be impossible. For other discussions of the discovered olive pollen in the samples from Tegea see Roy, J., 1999, 329, and notes 45 and 46; and Morgan, 1999, 387, and note 27.

<sup>122</sup> Horden & Purcell, 2000, 74.

rather emphasised the cultural multi-valence of small-scale, specific, what they call *definite*, places. Their dynamic historical ecology of definite places establishes certain rules of thumb about the relationship between Mediterranean landscapes and human culture.<sup>123</sup> The most important of those rules is that what they call a definite place should not be regarded as something that can be reduced to local natural landscape background (rocks, rivers, sediments, vegetation, wild-life), but rather must be viewed as a continuously changing process of interaction between man and the local environment.<sup>124</sup> The most important achievement of Horden and Purcell's project, from my point of view, is that it represents one of the first attempts in Mediterranean history since Braudel to bridge the gap between the ecological and humanistic concepts of landscape. From this perspective human culture has influenced Tegean micro-ecologies so severely since the Bronze Age that the natural and the cultural have become indistinguishable. Trees and plants in the area have been exposed to woodcutting for a few thousand years, and browsing and burning goes back to the earliest human settlements.<sup>125</sup> One example of a definite place in the Tegeatike is the Tegean Plain. We have already seen that the sedimentological and hydrological conditions of the Tegean Plain create conditions that are extremely sensitive to annual fluctuations in precipitation as well as to the degree of cultural intervention with hydrological fluxes, and we have seen how this historical dynamics was represented in the local tradition about the upper Alpheios recorded by Pausanias. The Tegean Plain has probably experienced several stages of agricultural specialisation since antiquity, which has also influenced its micro-ecological dynamics. Another important factor in the agricultural dynamics of the plain is also the degree and types of livestock herding that have been practiced in the Tegeatike.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> See Horden & Purcell, 53-88.

<sup>124</sup> The diversion between their and my own approach is a matter of what kind of linguistic filter we prefer to express ourselves through. They prefer to think about these things in the language of definite micro-ecologies. I prefer, as I have stated in the introduction, to think about this relationship in geological terms. Since there are no such things in our discourse as definite extra-human micro-ecologies, I see no reason why we should not also talk about the relationship between human culture and landscape as a geological relationship. That there is no geo-historical reductionism implied in my doing so I hope that I have made abundantly clear.

<sup>125</sup> See Rackham, 1992.

<sup>126</sup> For current reviews of early Greek agriculture and pastoralism, and especially the problematic relationship between the two see Halstead, 1996; and 1996a. Since there is presently very little specific

Although there will be some time yet before a reliable sequence of the most important phases of the agricultural history of the Tegeatike can be established, a brief glance at changes that have taken place during the past two hundred years and which can be documented without the use of scientific environmental information, can illustrate the potential dynamics of this one definite place.



Figure 1.6 Landscape prospect executed by the two heroes of the Greek War of Independence P. Zografou and Y. Makrygiannis illustrating different stages in the struggle for Tripolis up to 1821.

When the French archaeologist Victor Berard composed his survey of Tegean topography at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he made the following summary of the state of the Tegean plain: “wheat, wine, and hashish presently occupy three quarters of the plain, marshes and standing water cover the remaining quarter.”<sup>127</sup> Although the situation for the main settlement on the plain, Tripolis (**Map 2**), had been dramatically changed during the Greek War of Independence in the beginning of the century, it

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information about the long-term relationship between agriculture and pastoralism from our area, we shall confine ourselves mainly to discussing its symbolic implications.

<sup>127</sup> (“le blé, le vignes et le haschish occupent aujourd’hui les trois quarts de la plaine, les marais et les eaux dormantes couvrent l’autre quart.”), Berard, 1892, 536.

appears that some things in the rural sections of the plain did not change much. A historical landscape prospect (**Fig. 1.6**) executed by two of the heroes of the Greek War of Independence, P. Zografou and Y. Makrygiannis, to illustrate different stages in the struggle for Tripolis up to 1821, clearly visualises Berard's 1/4 of the plain as occupied by marshes and standing water.

The grain and wine in Berard's description represent two elements in the classical Mediterranean agricultural trinity (grain, wine, and olive),<sup>128</sup> but in the state that it was found in at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it represents rather the survival of an early modern agricultural pattern. The traditional agricultural pattern was much altered at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. With the influx of Asia Minor Greeks in the 1920's many swamplands in Greece were irrigated to clear new agricultural land.<sup>129</sup> In this period the Lake Taka *katavothria* were cleared, thus creating a more predictable hydrological environment, new species such as potatoes were introduced, and the ground water table of the plain was perforated with wells and irrigation canals. Fruit trees, apples, some quince, but mostly morello (*kerasia* in Modern Greek) presently occupy the flood belt between Lake Taka and Tegea which is among the most fertile sections of the plain.<sup>130</sup> The main village in this area is called *Kerasitsa*, and still houses the distribution centre for morello crops in the area. Another interesting tree in the present cultural landscape is the mulberry, which is indicative of silk cultivation. Silk production was an important economic factor in the Peloponnese – or the *Morea* as it was called after τό μωρόν, which is Greek for mulberry tree – in the medieval and early modern periods. William Martin Leake reported silk production many places in the Morea in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, before the Greek War of Independence. At Tripolitsa silk production was concentrated around the town, with an annual production of 2000 okes.<sup>131</sup> The mulberry trees in the Tegean Plain are thus faint traces of an important

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<sup>128</sup> See Braudel, 1992, 176.

<sup>129</sup> See MacGrew, 1985; and Clogg, 2002, 99ff.

<sup>130</sup> The requirement for irrigation here was already noted by William Martin Leake. See Leake, 1830, I, 84.

<sup>131</sup> See Leake, 1830, I, 347 and 433; for a description of the cultivation process see 349ff. (The Ottoman measure of weight, *okka*, which remained in use in Greece until 1959 even though the metric system had been adopted already in 1876, corresponds to 1.2829 kilograms. Annual silk production was accordingly a little more than 2.5 tonnes.) See Leake, 1830, II, 50. Elsewhere in the Tegean Plain the silk industry appears to have been in severe decline already at this time. Leake reports from the village of Piali, where the remains of the sanctuary of Athena Alea are located, that there were only "a few plantations of

feature in the medieval to early modern cultural landscape. There are very few, if any, traces of olive cultivation, the third element in Braudel's Mediterranean triad, on the Tegean Plain and adjacent side valleys.<sup>132</sup> Since the climate can be harsh in winter, with average minimum temperatures in January at  $-7^{\circ}$ , olive cultivation would be risky at best.<sup>133</sup>

The mountain slopes surrounding the Tegean Plain represent another definite place where an altogether different form of cultural dynamics has altered the landscape radically during the past few hundred years. Because of the recent abandonment of the Greek countryside, a dramatic kind of discontinuity in this section of the cultural landscape has also occurred during the past decades. There is a general tendency in many Mediterranean regions for abandonment of the countryside to result in rapidly increasing reforestation of mountain slopes.<sup>134</sup> Judging from traces of terracing this landscape was extensively cultivated until its recent abandonment. It is debated whether terrace agriculture took place at all in antiquity. Some terraces might go back to the early modern period, but others may not date further back than just after the Greek War of Independence in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>135</sup> Many cultivation terraces have now been reduced to pastures for flocks from near by villages, or are almost completely covered by prickly-oak or pine.<sup>136</sup>

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mulberry," (Leake, 1830, I, 98.) where, in fact, isolated trees or rows of trees, can still be found. In the Peloponnese this industry, or any other industry for that matter, was never really resumed after the economically devastating decade of the Greek War of Independence.

<sup>132</sup> The few olive groves, and isolated trees, in the side valleys to the Tegean plain are rather unsuccessful attempts to introduce new olive trees that have a better resistance to low temperatures.

<sup>133</sup> On climate and temperature range see Polunin, 12-22. Until recently the potato has dominated the contemporary agricultural landscape of the Tegean Plain. Fortunately efforts to return to more traditional products such as wine (under the district label of Mantinea) have increased, and have also greatly improved, during recent years.

<sup>134</sup> The state of the Greek forest is a very controversial, and also politically heated, subject. The past years have seen an evident increase in forest fires. The 2007 season was particularly severe with many people killed in the Western Peloponnese. Many Greeks feel that their forests are threatened by arsonists, incautious tourists, and real-estate speculators who intentionally set fire to the forest in order to build illegally, which is undoubtedly a problem in Greece. As has been pointed out by Oliver Rackham, however, the main reason for the increase in forest fires is reforestation. See Rackham, 1992. Forest fires are evidently also enhanced by the fact that it is fire-adapted species such as pine that are increasing in the present Greek landscape.

<sup>135</sup> See Rackham & Moody, 1992, 123-130; and Foxall, 1992.

<sup>136</sup> This is a typical pattern throughout the Mediterranean region. On the case of Crete see Rackham & Moody, 1992.

Both rapid reforestation of mountain slopes in the highlands and the use of agricultural terraces on the mountain slopes for browsing are augmented signs of the recent abandonment of the countryside. Mountain villages like Mavriki, Vervena, Ano (*Upper*) Douliana, Koutroupha, and Vourvoura in the northern Parnon (**Map 2**) were traditionally seasonal settlements connected with exploitation of mountain pastures (*transhumance*) in the adjacent highlands. It has been argued that this kind of vertical transhumance between lowland and upland within the same district is a most ancient form of pastoral lifestyle in the Mediterranean area.<sup>137</sup> Although it is difficult to find definite evidence of this practice in antiquity, it does provide a scenario of dialogue between plain and mountain that serves Horden and Purcell's dynamic concept of definite places very well. Its persistence in the Tegean landscape even quite recently, when there has otherwise been a dramatic decline in pastoral highland economy in the Mediterranean area, could, in fact, indicate something about its long-term status. Some families still move between their winter settlements down on the coastal plain of Astros in ancient Kynouria (the Hysiai Plain in **Map 1**) where they have their olive and citrus groves and their summer settlements in the northern Parnon.<sup>138</sup> Few of these families have flocks to day, and some of those that do have adopted the practice of moving them in trucks. The old summer pastures in the highlands are seldom, if ever, exploited. What is required for fodder for the present livestock in these mountains is met by increased vegetation in abandoned agricultural terraces near the villages. Sometimes during the summer season fodder is also driven to the mountain settlements in trucks.<sup>139</sup> This modern analogy in no way provides any kind of proof of an old tradition of local seasonal transhumance. By virtue of the flexibility which this semi-nomadic lifestyle provides even in the age of mechanised transport and

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<sup>137</sup> See Horden & Purcell, 85. For a somewhat divergent view see Halstead, 1996; and 1996a.

<sup>138</sup> In the lowlands one can find antecedents to some of the villages in the Northern Parnon district (Vervena and Douliana) such as Kato (*Lower*) Vervena and Kato Douliana. Since these toponyms are both medieval to early modern in origin, they probably reflect a practice of vertical transhumance from these periods. According to the Secretary of the Athletic Association at Vourvoura, Mr. Nikitas Panopoulos, Vourvoura, which is also situated in the Northern Parnon, has a substantial population in the summer, and most of the old houses in the village are actually in a very good shape. In the winter only a dozen men, and the keeper of the *Pandopolio* and *Kafeion*, stay here. Some men also visit during the hunting season. Personal communication. The same pattern applies to most of the villages in the northern Parnon.

<sup>139</sup> During many visits to this area in recent years I have frequently observed this practice.

depopulation of the countryside, it still illustrates the flexible potential of this landscape; and it is this changeable flexibility rather than the static continuity that we are after in our analysis of definite places in the Tegeatike.

## 6. MONSTERS AND MAGNIFICENT MEN: THE ANCIENT PALAEOONTOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE

Under this hill [at Megalopolis] there is also another sanctuary of the boy Aesculapius: his image is erect, and measures about an ell: the image of Apollo measures not less than six feet. Here, too, are *bones of superhuman size*: they were said to be the bones of one of the giants whom Hopladamus mustered to defend Rhea, as I will relate hereafter.

(From Pausanias, *Roundtrip of Greece*.)<sup>140</sup>

One of the main tools in current reconstruction of past environments, the study of fossil plant remains (*palynology*), was first made possible after the development of modern optics (magnifying glasses and microscopes). Interest in fossil fauna remains (*palaeontology*), on the other hand, goes back to antiquity. In the Archaic and Classical periods this interest developed into a virtual bone rush after the material remains of prehistoric monsters and magnificent men. In antiquity this type of myth about local monstrosity and heroism represented elements in the local landscape of memory that were regarded just as valid as the veneration of local saints in the Christian era. A special kind of monstrosity was, as we have seen, also a problem which concerned a thinker like Aristotle. In Aristotle's teleological model of being, monsters represent ontological anomalies because they defy all categories.

From time to time it has been claimed that there is a connection between the Greek and similar models of the mythological past peopled by monsters and men of magnificent size and discoveries of giant bones in the form of fossil remains of megafauna.<sup>141</sup> In more recent discussions, however, geographical correspondence between documented finds of megafauna in Greece and local mythological tradition has not exactly been at the focus of scholarly interest. That this has been so is probably a combination of scepticism about the old nature-myth school in early anthropology

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<sup>140</sup> Pausanias, 8.35.5.

<sup>141</sup> See for instance Pritchett, 1982, 45-46.

represented by 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars such as Max Müller,<sup>142</sup> but more recently also a lack of interdisciplinary dialogue between palaeontologists and classical archaeologists and historians. A recent study by the American ethnologist Adrienne Mayor – who exhibits a rare combination of interest in Classical Greek mythology, archaeology, and Mediterranean palaeontology and geology – has made a valuable contribution to bridging this disciplinary gap.<sup>143</sup> In opposition to traditional nature-myth explanations, Mayor’s survey is a sober modern observation of a peculiar phenomenon and tries to explain local phenomena rather than the origin of Greek mythology altogether as Max Müller did when he tried to demonstrate that the narrative of the siege of Troy originated in a solar myth.<sup>144</sup>

Local tradition about the Gigantomachy (the battle between gods and the race of giants) and Zeus’ killing of Typhon with his thunderbolt places these events in the Megalopolis basin to the west of the Tegean plain.<sup>145</sup> As Mayor has shown, it is possible to connect these traditions with two features in the local fossil record. The Megalopolis basin (**Map 1**) holds some of the largest lignite deposits (a low-grade coal formed from accumulated plant remains)<sup>146</sup> in Greece that are presently exploited in the large power plant at Megalopolis run by the Greek Electrical Service. If lignite is struck by lightning, it can easily catch fire and continue to smoulder for a very long time. One can only imagine what effect such constantly burning places would have on the ancient Greek imagination. The lignite deposits at Megalopolis also contain the richest deposits of fossil remains of megafauna that have been discovered in Greece in modern times. The palaeontological record of the Megalopolis basin thus exhibits both elements of the anatomy of the giants (fossil remains of bones) and also a geo-mythological link (extensive lignite deposits) to the narrative about Zeus striking Typhon with his thunderbolt.

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<sup>142</sup> See Müller, 1878. It is notable here that Frazer, who must still be considered as one of the most important modern commentators on Pausanias, was certainly not unaffected by this tradition. The classical discussion of this tradition, which also seeks to contrast it with the beginning of modern anthropological theory (Lucien Lévy-Bruhl) in the first half of the 20th century, is Evans-Pritchard, 1965. See also Ackerman, 1987, 75ff.

<sup>143</sup> See Mayor, 2000.

<sup>144</sup> See Evans-Pritchard, 1965, 22.

<sup>145</sup> See Mayor, 2000, 97ff.

<sup>146</sup> See Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 72.

Mammoth species like *Mammuthus primigenius*, the woolly mammoth, are usually associated with Northern Europe and Siberia. During the last Ice Age, however, they moved deep into southern Europe. Remains of *M. primigenius* and possible remains of the ancestral mammoth, *Mammuthus meridionalis*, have both been found at Megalopolis. *M. Meridionalis* was more than three meters high at the shoulder, and had slightly curved tusks up to two and a half meters long.<sup>147</sup> Bones and tusks of prehistoric elephants and mammoths have also turned up in several locations along the Alpheios proper, where it cuts through Pleistocene sediments. Recently in 1994 two huge tusks about three meters long – probably belonging to the four meter tall Pleistocene *Palaeoloxodon antiquus* ('the ancient elephant') – were discovered during the construction of a road NW of Olympia, and in 1997 more big bones were uncovered in the lignite mine operated by the Greek electric company in the Megalopolis basin.<sup>148</sup>

Similar discoveries have been reported at other locations on the Arcadian mountain plains.<sup>149</sup> The famous discovery of the bones of Orestes in the Tegeatike, and the tradition about the preserved tusks of the Calydonian boar in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea indicate that in the Tegeatike too discoveries of spectacular fossil remains of megafauna were made in the past. As in the Alpheios Valley the most likely locations for such chance discoveries in the Tegeatike are where the periodically shifting streams of the Tegean Plain cut down to Pleistocene sediments. A good case for such conditions can, in fact, be made both for the Bones of Orestes and the Tusks of the Calydonian Boar: The boar's tusks were kept in the sanctuary of Athena Alea until they were reportedly moved to Rome in the reign of Augustus.<sup>150</sup> This sanctuary is located at a critical point in the hydro-topography of the Tegean Fan (**Map 5**). Because this is the one place where it is most likely that there were examples of early hydraulic measures, such as digging of artificial channels to consolidate the streams of the Upper Alpheios, this area is one of the best local candidates for chance discovery of fossil remains of

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<sup>147</sup> See Mayor, 2000, 101, figs 2.10 and 2.26. The Greek geologist Theodoros Skoufos excavated the fossils at Megalopolis in 1902. Skoufos transported no less than five tonnes of Pleistocene fossils to Athens University after only a few months of excavation.

<sup>148</sup> Mayor, 2000, 99. Pre-historic fossils found along the bank of the Alpheios can be seen in the museums of Olympia, Megalopolis, and Dimitsana.

<sup>149</sup> See Pritchett, 1982, 45-6; and Mayor, 2000, 298.

<sup>150</sup> Pausanias, 8.46.1.

megafauna. Similar conditions can be suggested as probable for the case of the bones of Orestes: the place that Pausanias assigns as the location of Orestes' grave at Tegea was located by the second major surface stream of the Tegean Plain which Pausanias called Garates (presently Doulianatis, **Map 2**).<sup>151</sup>

The initial discovery of these two fossil deposits in the Tegeatike may, accordingly, have contributed to some of the most ancient features of the Tegean landscape of memory. Throughout antiquity these treasures of cultural memory were kept and guarded in some of the most important cultural institutions of the Tegean polis, where they constituted important elements in the visual culture of the local past. It is also very typical, and also similar to the medieval recycling of saintly relics, that they were both stolen and re-situated in new topographical contexts outside Arcadia.<sup>152</sup> According to Herodotus the bones of Orestes were dug up at Tegea by a secret Spartan mission, and thereafter moved to Laconia.<sup>153</sup> The tusks of the Calydonian Boar have an even more promising itinerant tale. As I have argued there is good reason to believe that the fossils were actually found at Tegea, rather than at Calydon, and perhaps even on the sanctuary site. In the mythological narrative, however, these bones always already came from somewhere else. According to local mythology the famous Tegean huntress Atalanta had taken the tusks from Calydon on the mainland to Tegea.<sup>154</sup> This was a privilege that she was afforded because she had been the first amongst the pan-Greek hunting party to strike the beast. It should also be ascribed to the cultural weight of this tradition that the Calydonian Boar Hunt is a very old myth in Greek culture, and is documented in early Greek pictorial art as well as in the Homeric cycle.<sup>155</sup> As to the later historical journey of this relic Pausanias informs us that in the first century BC Augustus had taken the tusks from Tegea to Rome. Here it made a great spectacle in the Imperial cabinet of curiosities.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> See Pausanias, 8.54.4. We shall return to the complex story of the Bones of Orestes and its relationship with Tegean and Arcadian topography in chapter four.

<sup>152</sup> On the role of saintly remains in medieval Western culture see Brown, 1981.

<sup>153</sup> Herodotus, 1.68.6. We shall return to this example in chapter four.

<sup>154</sup> See Pausanias, 8.45.2.

<sup>155</sup> See Homer, *Iliad*, 9.529-599. Boar hunts are a favourite motive in Early Archaic art, but the earliest secure example of the Calydonian Boar Hunt is depicted on the neck of the famous 'François Vase' from around 570 BC. See Carpenter, 1991, 186-187, and fig. 284.

<sup>156</sup> Pausanias, 8.46.1.

This excursion into the anomaly of monstrosity illustrates the weight of an interdisciplinary focus in the discussion of local landscapes of memory. From the Humanities' side of the table it might be objected here that there is an uncomfortable flavour of reductionism in this approach to local mythology. I would claim that rather the contrary is the case. By viewing these local mythologies as conscious interpretative strategies in the discovery and preservation of a specific feature in the local landscape, we have gained more of a current understanding of ancient Greek landscapes of memory than if we simply regard them as works of fiction.

## CHAPTER II

## LINEAR AND NON-LINEAR MODELS OF THE PAST

I do not think that one will be far wrong in accepting the conclusions I have reached from the evidence which I have put forward. It is better evidence than that of the poets, who exaggerate the importance of their themes, or the prose chroniclers, who are less interested in telling the truth than in catching the attention of their public, whose authorities cannot be checked, and whose subject-matter, owing to the passage of time, is mostly lost in the unreliable streams of mythology.

(From Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*)<sup>157</sup>

One way to approach the Aristotelian concept of cultural memory (*reminiscentia*) is to place it together with related ideas about how the past influences the present such as myth, tradition, and history. Now, myth and history have traditionally been considered as opposing paradigms of the past. Ancient Greek historians were not unfamiliar with this opposition. In fact, many modern commentators have claimed that it is from the examples of Herodotus, and perhaps Thucydides especially, that modern historical discourse has inherited its method of inquiry (*ιστορία*), which draws a sharp distinction between myth and history. In modern thinking this method of distinguishing historical fact from mythical fiction reached its climax with 19<sup>th</sup> century positivism. Nowhere else in ancient Greek literature is this tension between the logic of history and ‘the unreliable streams of mythology’ more eloquently expressed than in the introduction to Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War* cited above. It has often been pointed out that the rhetorical nature of Thucydides’ text is embedded in the dramaturgy of its dialogues.<sup>158</sup> The point is not to conceal the rhetorical structure, but rather to boast about it:

In this history I have made use of set speeches some of which were delivered just before and others during the war. I have found it difficult to remember the precise words used in the speeches which I listened to myself and my various informants have experienced the same difficulty; so my method has been, while

<sup>157</sup> Thucydides, 1.21.

<sup>158</sup> See for instance Nietzsche, 1982, 1028f.

keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words that were actually used, to make the speakers say what, in my opinion, was called for by each situation.<sup>159</sup>

What Thucydides says can be characterised as an outline of a linear poetics of history, which is formulated in opposition to ‘the unreliable streams of mythology’. Like myth memory connects the past and the present in a stochastic, nonlinear manner. Ever since Thucydides history has been regarded as a linear connection between the past and the present. When Thucydides makes the speakers in his text say “what, in my opinion, was called for by each situation,” he confines every voice in his discourse to what the Greek rhetorical theorists called *kairos*.<sup>160</sup> The voices of Thucydides’ text sing together in a polyphonic harmony that accompanies the stringent logic of Thucydides’ teleological story of the Peloponnesian War.

This Thucydides’ linear poetics of history can be regarded as the rhetorical predecessor of Aristotelian narrative linearity as put forward in the *Poetics*. We have already seen how the local topography of monstrosity cuts across Aristotelian categories. In this chapter we shall occupy ourselves with the transgression of another Aristotelian figure of thinking, linear history. In the following I have provided two paradigms of historical thinking with examples from the district of ancient Tegea. The first is made up of a summary report of the linear history of the district of ancient Tegea, from the rise of the ancient Greek polis to the resurrection of the Modern Greek Nation. This is an Aristotelian story. Like Aristotle’s own paradigmatic *muthos*, the story of Oedipus according to Sophocles, this story has all the ingredients of Aristotelian poetics. It has a beginning (the ancient polis), a middle (the struggles to maintain Greekness from the first ‘barbaric’ invasions in late antiquity to the final struggle against the *Tourkokratia* in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century), and an end (the rise of the Modern Greek Nation). In the second part of this chapter I will turn to an analysis of the inter-textual relationship between Pausanias’ retrospective *ekphrasis* of the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and the architectural history of this place. A closer inspection of the relationship between the text and the monument will take us closer to the

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<sup>159</sup> Thucydides, 1.22.

<sup>160</sup> The Greek *καιρός* or the Latin *aptum* emphasises the importance of timing, of the right place and the right time. See Cicero, *De Orator*, 1.69.

stochastic realms of local memory, and thus also present an opportunity to introduce the method of inquiry, as well as a couple of key analytical concepts, in this dissertation.

## 1. THE LINEAR HISTORY OF THE DISTRICT OF ANCIENT TEGEA

As BELGIUM has been called the cockpit of Europe, so the plain of Tripolis may be called the cockpit of the Peloponnesos. Occupied by two states which rarely united for common defence, Tegea and Mantinea, it lay between two powerful and hostile, countries, Argos and Sparta. The flatness of the plain was admirably suited for an ancient battlefield. The fragmentary history which has come down to us records no fewer than four, possibly five, pitched battles here. There was, no doubt, much other military activity.

(From William Kendrick-Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*)<sup>161</sup>

When Tegea enters the discourse of linear history, from the time when the spread of alphabetic writing in Greece from the eighth century BC and onwards eventually produces textual narratives of the local past, the Tegean landscape had already been inscribed by civilisations of the past for a long time.<sup>162</sup> These prehistoric landscape features have continued to influence the later history of the region, and we shall return to them in due time. Because of a decline in local literary culture during phases of the post-ancient history of this region, there are also other virtual ‘Prehistories’ to be taken into consideration in our survey of Tegean landscapes of memory. Because of the existence of these Prehistories this review of the historical monumentalism of literary accounts is no real summary of the history of the region that we are discussing. If we were to borrow a current metaphor for historical linearity, time’s arrow, ours would have to be a broken arrow.<sup>163</sup> The most important place on the trajectory of this arrow is the ancient polis of Tegea. Like many other ancient Greek places Tegea enters monumental history with a reference in Homer’s so-called Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*.<sup>164</sup> Homer says nothing specific about the Tegeans in Agamemnon’s contingent on the Trojan Expedition apart from emphasising that like other Arcadians they were

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<sup>161</sup> Pritchett, 1969, 37.

<sup>162</sup> Although textual traces from the past have, in some fortunate cases, e. g. Pylos in Messenia, also been preserved from the Bronze Age elsewhere in the Peloponnese, the history proper of Tegea remains a closed book until the introduction of alphabetic writing in Greece.

<sup>163</sup> Gould, 1991.

<sup>164</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 2.607-609.

unfamiliar with the sea, and accordingly came to Troy in warships that were not their own.<sup>165</sup> Proper historical narratives that refer to the area first occur in connection with the rise of Sparta as Peloponnesian overlord in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, and it is in the role as Sparta's antagonist that we first encounter Tegea on the stage of history.

Sparta's response to increasing pressure on land caused by a rise in population during the eighth and seventh centuries appears to have diverged slightly from that of other Greek poleis. Rather than colonising land beyond the nautical frontiers of the Greek world, the Spartans set out to conquer adjacent territories on the Peloponnesian Peninsula.<sup>166</sup> The first area that was exposed to Sparta's Peloponnesian colonisation already at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, was Messenia to the west of the Eurotas Valley and on the other side of the Taygetos range (**Map 1**).<sup>167</sup> Sometime in the middle of the seventh century the Messenians revolted (the Second Messenian War), at which time they were probably also supported by Arcadian states. During this turbulent period many Messenians took refuge in Arcadia.<sup>168</sup> That this influx of Messenian refugees to the Tegeatike was later considered to be a problem by Sparta is attested in a decree referred to by Aristotle.<sup>169</sup> The decree explicitly forbids Tegea to receive refugees from Messenia, and was probably set up in the vicinity of the Upper Alpheios on the border between Tegea and Sparta. After the Second Messenian War Sparta made several attempts to invade the Tegeatike, but with little success. The ancient historians portray the resolution of early territorial conflicts between Tegea and Sparta as a shift in the expansive strategy of Sparta: around 550 BC Sparta made a treaty with Tegea that was to become the beginning of the Peloponnesian League.<sup>170</sup> It should be noted that early Spartan expansion was never a question of either enslavement or alliance. The Spartan constitution, which was attributed to the mythical founder Lykourgos, also admitted a

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<sup>165</sup> This topos is repeated by many ancient authors, including Pausanias. See Pausanias 8.1.1.

<sup>166</sup> It is probably due mainly to this internal colonisation politics of Sparta that she only had one oversea's colony, Taras in Southern Italy. See Cartledge, 2002, 106ff.

<sup>167</sup> See Cartledge, 2002, 102ff.

<sup>168</sup> The date of the second Messenian War is very problematic, and based mainly on the assumption that the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus, who fought in the war, lived around the middle of the seventh century. That the Messenians were also supported by Arcadian poleis in the Second Messenian War is based on an emendation in a later source. See Strabo, 8.4.10. See also Cartledge, 2002, 109-110.

<sup>169</sup> See Pritchett, 1965, 125, note 17.

<sup>170</sup> Cartledge, 2002, 120.

third alternative, which can be considered a middle way between enslavement and alliance: while the indigenous Messenian population was inserted into the Lacedaimonean civic structure as *helots* (serfs), many local communities in Laconia were admitted to a special status as *perioikoi* – a status that they are attributed in the light of their geographically peripheral location in relation to the Spartan centre. *Perioikoi* literally means ‘the dwellers-around’. Although *perioikoi* were normally denied full citizenship, their status included certain economic and cultural privileges. A landscape called *Skiritis* (**Map 2**) that belonged to the territorial sphere of Tegea on the Laconian frontier probably acquired perioecic status at a relatively early stage, and most certainly before Sparta made an alliance with Tegea in the middle of the sixth century.<sup>171</sup>

Despite recurring differences Tegea remained an ally of Sparta throughout the fifth century. At the beginning of the century Tegean hoplites fought side by side with Spartans against the Persians at Plataiai (479 BC).<sup>172</sup> In the fifth century Tegea was also in frequent conflict with her immediate neighbour to the north, Mantinea, which during the first half of the century stayed on good terms with Sparta. Around the middle of the century, however, Mantinea became a moderate democracy, and eventually joined forces with Sparta’s enemies in 420. During the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) Tegea remained a faithful Spartan ally. At the time of this monumental conflict the most extensive land battle ever fought in the Greek world took place in Tegea’s backyard: the battle at Mantinea in 418 BC gathered large forces (including Tegean) on the victorious side of Sparta against Athens, Mantinea, Argos and their allies on the other.<sup>173</sup> That the Spartans buried their dead in Tegea after the battle is an indication of the very strong bonds between Tegea and Sparta.<sup>174</sup> These bonds appear to have been maintained into the fourth century as the Tegeans also fought on the side of Sparta in the Corinthian War (395-386 BC).

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<sup>171</sup> On early Spartan history in general see Cartledge, 2002. For a current review of early Tegean history see Nielsen, 2002. For earlier discussions of early Tegean history see especially Callmer, 1943; and Hejnic, 1961.

<sup>172</sup> Herodotus, 9.51-54; 60-70. On the relationship between Sparta and Arcadia in this period see Andrewes, 1952.

<sup>173</sup> Thucydides, 5.63-74.

<sup>174</sup> Thucydides, 5.74.

In 371 BC at Leuktra in Boeotia the hitherto invincible Spartan army was defeated by the Thebans. This event would have a long-lasting effect on the relationship between Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies. The pro-Spartan fraction in Tegea remained strong also after the Battle at Leuktra, but in 370 the new situation with a weakened Sparta resulted in destabilisation and civil war (*stasis*) at Tegea. With help from Mantinea the pro-Spartan fraction was quickly overthrown and forced to seek refuge at Sparta. Much encouraged by the new Theban involvement in Peloponnesian affairs, Mantinea and Tegea joined forces in the same year and initiated the formation of an Arcadian League. The following year (370/369) the Thebans returned to the Peloponnese and also liberated the Messenians from the yoke of Sparta. Led by their brilliant general Epaminondas the Theban army and their allies penetrated deep into northern Lacedaimonean territory, and even threatened Sparta itself.

The Arcadian League dissolved already in 363 on account of a disagreement between Tegea and Mantinea.<sup>175</sup> The immediate result of the dissolution of the Arcadian League was a restructuring of the political landscape of the Peloponnese: together with the other southern Arcadian poleis Tegea maintained the alliance with Thebes, whereas Mantinea joined forces with Sparta and Athens. Thus, the stage was set for the second great Battle of Mantinea in 362 BC. Thebes and the southern Arcadian poleis including Tegea won the battle, but the nominal Theban victory was overshadowed by the death of Epaminondas at Pelagos near Mantinea.

In the second half of the fourth century the influence of the rapidly growing power of Macedon was also felt in the Peloponnese. For protection against the constant threat of Spartan recovery the Arcadians supported Philip II. After the Battle at Chaironeia in 338, where the Macedonians annihilated substantial future opposition in Mainland Greece, Philip campaigned in the Peloponnese, and like Epaminondas he penetrated deep into Northern Laconia. As a result of Philip's campaign Tegea also resumed control of their old territories on the Lacedaimonean frontier. Like many other Peloponnesian poleis Tegea resisted the Macedonian overlords in the early Hellenistic period. Cassander's attempt to invade Tegea in 316 failed after a long siege, and Tegea also took part in the alliance against Macedon that was defeated in the Chremonidean

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<sup>175</sup> On the Arcadian League see Nielsen, 1996.

War in 266/65 BC. When the Achaean League (formed around 280 BC by twelve northern Peloponnesian states) was expanded in the 240's, several Arcadian states joined the alliance, but Tegea remained independent. She had, however, joined the loose confederation of tribes (*ethnoi*) in the Aitolian League.

In the early 220's Kleomenes III of Sparta attempted to reform Sparta by reintroducing Lycurgean institutions, and in 229 Kleomenes invaded both Tegea and Mantinea. The revived vitality of the Spartan army under Kleomenes forced the Achaean League to seek an alliance with its former enemy Macedon, which finally defeated Kleomenes in the Battle of Sellasia in Northern Laconia in 222. After the Battle of Sellasia Tegea was taken and forced into the Achaean League. In the last decade of the third century Tegea experienced several episodes with Sparta, was invaded twice, but eventually rescued by the Achaeans under Philopoimen from Megalopolis, the Arcadian statesman and former mercenary who was to become one of the last great ancient Peloponnesian war heroes. In 200 Philopoimen gathered many troops in Tegea in order to attack Sparta.<sup>176</sup> In 192 he held an Achaean assembly meeting in Tegea, and proceeded to attack Sparta again. The second century BC was otherwise dominated by the emergence of Roman influence in Greece.<sup>177</sup>

After L. Mummius sacked Corinth in 146 BC, the Peloponnese became a part of the Roman Province of Macedonia. Together with all the Arcadian poleis except Mantinea Tegea supported Marc Anthony in his conflict with Octavian. After Marc Anthony's defeat at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, Augustus punished Tegea by looting its sanctuaries for some of their most precious dedications, and probably also by restricting Tegean influence over the southern frontier against Sparta. Around the beginning of our era Strabo reports that Tegea was still a thriving city, whereas the other Arcadian poleis were deserted.<sup>178</sup> Also Pausanias, writing in the second half of the second century AD, portrays the civic centre of Tegea as intact and active. Many rural

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<sup>176</sup> Polybius, 16.36.

<sup>177</sup> On the Hellenistic history of Sparta see Cartledge and Spawford, 2002, 3-92.

<sup>178</sup> Strabo, 8.8.1-2.

sanctuaries – and probably also the rural settlements of the Tegeatike – seem, however, to have been abandoned by the time of Pausanias.<sup>179</sup>

Very little is known about Tegea in the later phases of antiquity from historical sources. We know that a bishop from Tegea called Ophelimos participated in the 4<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451 AD.<sup>180</sup> For more detailed information about the Early Christian culture of Tegea and how the city was affected by post-Roman intervention during late antiquity and the early medieval period we must turn to archaeology. From the period of Slavic immigration into inner Peloponnese in the early medieval period there are no monumental historical narratives to turn to. From the beginning of modern scholarly interest in this period in the 19<sup>th</sup> century one of the main sources for this period has been Slavic place-names.<sup>181</sup> Although early 20<sup>th</sup> century name reforms enhanced by the central government of the Modern Greek Nation have contributed to a virtual ethnic cleansing of the non-Greek elements in the landscape, some of the Slavic village names may go as far back as medieval times.<sup>182</sup> There is some historical irony in this, considering the prominence of the ancient and Byzantine heritage in modern Greek cultural identity, for they are probably the most ancient place-names that have been continuously in use in the local landscape up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The ancient name Tegea fell into historical oblivion sometime in the early medieval period. This also applies, with a few dubious exceptions, to other ancient place-names of the rural Tegeatike.<sup>183</sup> There was still a town on the Tegean Plain in the late medieval period, but although it was situated right on top of the ruins of the

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<sup>179</sup> See Pretzler, 1999, 89-90. This probably also applies to the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. See below.

<sup>180</sup> For a brief discussion of Ophelimos see Alexandros, 2000, 32.

<sup>181</sup> An important early study that focuses on this material is Fallmerayer, 1830. The discussion was especially taken up again by Vasmar, 1941. For a recent review of early Slavic history in the area see Barford, 2001.

<sup>182</sup> This policy has continued even into the most recent years. In connection with a reform in the local administration structure in Greece, which was previously characterised by small village-counties (on the origin of this system in the Ottoman period see chapter three) and a lack of strong regional centres, all the villages in close proximity of the Athena Alea village (the popularly presumed centre of the ancient polis of Tegea) were joined under the administrative unit of one county with the denomination Tegea.

<sup>183</sup> The best candidate is an early modern Christian sanctuary situated in a pass between the Tegean Plain and the Argolid. The sanctuary is located on the northeastern slope of the mountain that was probably called Mt. Parthenion in antiquity. The name of the Christian road-side sanctuary is Agia Parthena. The local etymology is that the *parthena* in question is the Virgin Mary. Since she is otherwise always denominated as *Panagia* by the Greek Church, the name probably refers to a local saint, and her accidental origin may be the ancient name of the place. See Pikoulas, 1999, 259-260.

ancient city, it was never referred to as Tegea. This name disappears from the historical sources after the time of Ophelimos. Byzantine Tegea was probably called Nikli, as it is in the medieval Frankish epic poem *The Chronicle of the Morea*.<sup>184</sup> Nikli is probably also identical with the place that is referred to in the hagiography of St. Nikon (10<sup>th</sup> century) as Amyklion.<sup>185</sup> After the 4<sup>th</sup> crusade, and the Latin occupation of Constantinople in 1204, the Western crusader lords divided the former Byzantine territories among themselves. Nikli thus became a part of the Frankish Principate of Morea. After the brief Frankish intermezzo on the Tegean plain in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it appears that Nikli was abandoned.<sup>186</sup>

The abandonment of the urban site on the Tegean Plain probably took place sometime during the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>187</sup> During this period the cultural landscape of the Tegeatike appears to undergo the process usually called *incastellamento* by medieval historians.<sup>188</sup> The best-documented case is the Byzantine refuge site of Mouchli (**Map 2**), which is situated on the edge of the Partheni Basin, in a pass between the Tegean Plain and Argive territory. Since this was the site where the Seat of Amyklion was moved after the fall of Nikli, it was probably the most prominent of the local fortresses. What is referred to by one source as the Fortress of Drobolitza, located on the northwestern edge of the plain where the present Tripolis (**Map 2**) is situated, was probably another.<sup>189</sup> Like Mistras in Laconia (**Map 2**) Mouchli must also have been prey to the political, military, and eventually also the cultural instability that dominated the Peloponnese in the Late medieval period. The ethnic, linguistic, and religious elements of this landscape probably already contained a wide variety of the components that would also dominate the new regime – Byzantines, Frankish and Venetian Westerners, Christian Slavs and Albanians, Vlacks and, eventually, also Jews and Turks.

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<sup>184</sup> See *The Chronicle of Morea*, 1715.

<sup>185</sup> See *Vita Niconis*, 33.4. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century a new Seat called Amyklion was established here under the Mitropolit of Lacedaemon. See Vasilikopoulou, 1980.

<sup>186</sup> On the history of Nikli see Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 49-59.

<sup>187</sup> Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 56-59.

<sup>188</sup> See Horden & Purcell, 2000, 59, 265, and 280.

<sup>189</sup> On Mouchli see Alexandros, 2000, 45-49; and 63ff; and Moutzopoulou, 1960. On Drobolitza see Alexandros, 2000, 89.

Like Mistras in Laconia Mouchli fell to Mekhmet the Conqueror in the 1460's. After the fall of the last Byzantine outpost in the Tegeatike, the area fell prey to two unfortunate circumstances. The first was that it became isolated from the coastal centres. The second was that the Peloponnese now entered a phase of its history where it was situated in the midst of the conflict between the two main players along the east-west axis of the Mediterranean – the Venetian and the Ottoman Empires.<sup>190</sup> The first conflict (1463-1479) broke out right after the initial Ottoman conquest of the Morea. Military conflict resumed between 1499 and 1505, and again between 1537 and 1540. The early phases of this period are poorly documented. When Ottoman administration was eventually established in the Tegeatike, the centre of the region was moved to the site of the present town of Tripolis. In 1684 war again broke out with Venice. One of the most tangible results of this conflict was that the forces of general Morosini occupied the entire peninsula. The Morea stayed in Venetian hands till 1714, when military conflict with the Sultan resumed. Detailed records from Venetian archives of this period provide the earliest quantitative sources for the demography of the area.<sup>191</sup> The conflict between Venice and the Sultan from 1714-1715 resulted in the defeat of the former. The final period of Ottoman rule in the peninsula lasted from 1715 till the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (1821-30),<sup>192</sup> an historical event which could be characterised as the narratological climax of the linear narrative of Greek history. During the late Ottoman period Tripolitsa became an important economic and political centre in the Morea, but this period was also one of rapid decline in Ottoman control over its provinces. In 1769 Russia sent a small force to the Peloponnese in support of a limited uprising. In the internal disturbance that ensued and which culminated in the Greek War of Independence, the Arcadian Highlands, once again, became an important arena of military conflict. In 1821 it was in the Mani and Achaia rather than Arcadia that the initial revolt broke out. The official date for the outbreak being the 25<sup>th</sup> of March when Germanos, archbishop of Patras raised the revolutionary banner in the town's square. The capture of Tripolitsa by Theodoros Kolokotronis

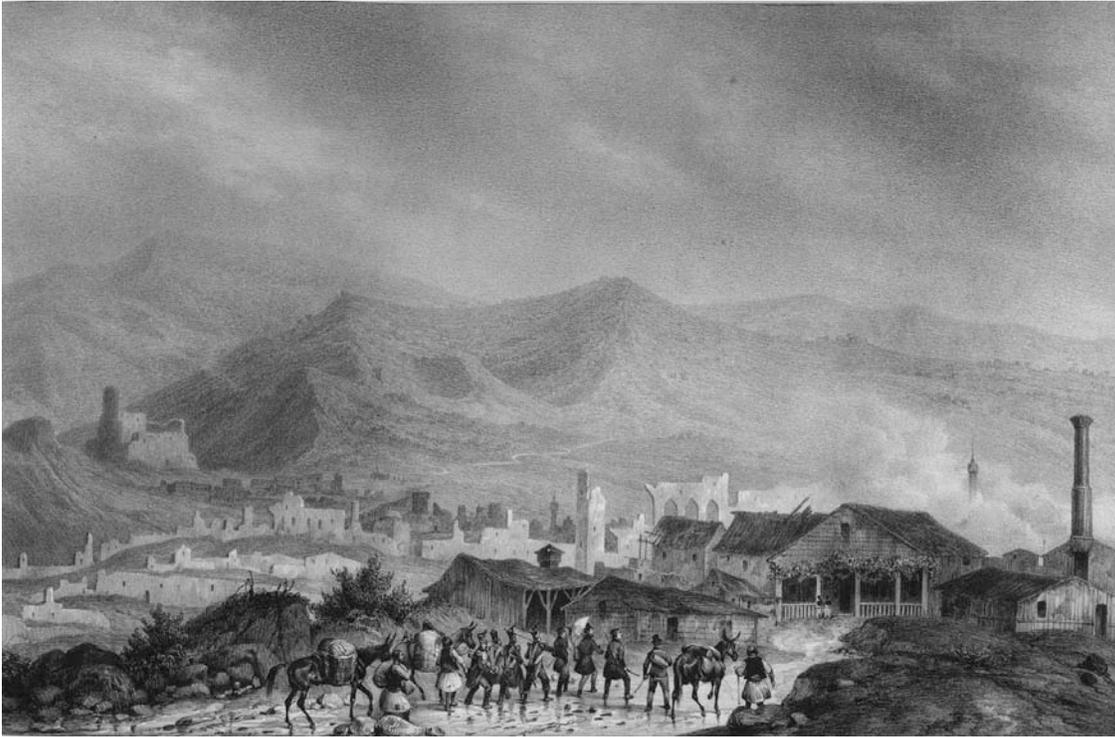
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<sup>190</sup> For a brief summary of the advances of Venice in this period see Morris, 1990, 114-134. For reference on Ottoman history I have used Goodwin, 1999; MacCarthy, 1997.

<sup>191</sup> The relevant documents have been published in Panagiotopoulos, 1987.

<sup>192</sup> For a short review of these later periods see Clogg, 2002, 7-45.

during the spring and early summer of the same year was, however, instrumental in the military success of the uprising. From the mountains surrounding the Tegean Plain Kolokotronis and his army of Peloponnesian irregulars would attack the main city down on the plain.



*Figure 2.1* Portrait of Tripolitsa compiled for the publication of the Royal French Morea Expedition. Some members of the expedition team are pictured in the foreground as they enter the ruins of the city with a small band of French soldiers.

This theatre of war has been immortalised in the eyewitness prospect by Zographo and Makryiannis (**Fig. 1.6**) which shows the preparatory stages before the Battle at Tripolis in 1821. Of early 19<sup>th</sup> century Tripolitsa, which the two heroes of the Greek War of Independence have carefully rendered both with urban fortifications and minarets of the many mosques of the city, hardly anything remains to day: what was not destroyed by Kolokotronis was effectively obliterated by the fierce raids that followed. In 1825 Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehmet Ali the ruler of Egypt, was building up large forces in the Morea; and the plundering at Tripolitsa was devastating. Although the Ottoman overlords were driven out of the Morea by the late 1820's, the district of Tegea would remain an unstable and isolated area for some time still.

In 1829 the French king dispatched troops to the Peloponnese in support of the Greek Liberation Army. As a part of the support unit there was also a group of surveyors and scientists who, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, undertook the first comprehensive modern exploration of the peninsula. In a prospect (**Fig. 2.1**) of Tripolitsa compiled for the publication of the Royal French Morea Expedition some members of its team are shown in the foreground as they enter the ruins of the city. On the hills to the left in the image there are some isolated ruins of fortifications outside the city, perhaps remains of the medieval city of Drobolitza, which represents the most ancient phase of Tripolis' history. According to the conventions of the landscape prospect, this monument of the past of this landscape has been rather freely emphasised by the image-maker. It was not, however, towards the fragmented medievalism of this district that the interest of foreigners travelling in this area would turn; and it was also at other places in the landscape of the Tegean Plain that the ancient past would be sought. By the time the French expedition had entered Tripolitsa, there had already for some time been ongoing exploration of ancient places and monuments in the Tegeatike.<sup>193</sup> One English traveller had identified what is still the most impressive ancient monument at Tegea, the sanctuary of Athena Alea, a few decades earlier. It is to this monument that we shall now turn, and also to a concept of history that may diverge somewhat from the linear story that I have thus far related.

## 2. THE TROPOLOGY OF MEMORY: THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA ALEA AS EXEMPLUM

The Sanctuary of Athena Alea has been at the centre of archaeological attention in the Tegeatike for a long time. It was the ruins of its Classical temple amongst the houses of the early modern village Piali that was the focus for the early archaeological tourists who came to the area, and it is presently by far the best documented, and visually most impressive, archaeological site in the district of ancient Tegea (**Fig. 2.2**). The first regular modern excavation on the site was undertaken in 1879 by the German

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<sup>193</sup> We will return to the history of these early explorations in chapter two.

archaeologist G. Milchhöfer.<sup>194</sup> From 1879 until 1910 German, Greek, and French archaeologists uncovered the remains of a large Classical Doric temple in the sanctuary.<sup>195</sup> The building stands on a foundation of mainly conglomerate blocks, but was from floor to roof built entirely of Douliana marble. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the French archaeologist Charles Dugas started a documentation project on the site.<sup>196</sup> Dugas also cleared the entire Classical structure and dug trial trenches elsewhere on the site.<sup>197</sup> This random digging also resulted in the discovery of the altar of the Classical temple and in uncovering substantial deposits of dedications (fine pottery and bronzes), so called *bothroi*, including material that was obviously much older than any structure identified in the sanctuary.<sup>198</sup> The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea is described by Pausanias, but contrary to what some commentators have claimed there is no testimony that indicates that the site was in use as anything but a tourist attraction at the time when Pausanias visited the area.<sup>199</sup> The virtual absence of Roman material that was observed by the most recent excavator of the Athena Alea sanctuary, Erik Østby, gives a strong indication of severe decline, or even abandonment, in this period.<sup>200</sup> At the time of Pausanias the sanctuary of Athena Alea may have been more of a cultural memorial to the glorious past of ancient Tegea than a still thriving cultural institution at the centre of Tegean civic life.

Early excavations at Tegea also uncovered a few fragments of original sculpture fragments by Scopas. Pausanias also devoted quite some *ekphrastic* energy to the description of the earlier architectural history of this sanctuary. In addition to *the contemporary temple*<sup>201</sup> the perieget distinguishes two earlier phases:

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<sup>194</sup> See Milchhöfer, 1880.

<sup>195</sup> See Milchhöfer, 1880; Dörpfeld, 1883; Romaios, 1909; Mendel, 1921; Dugas, 1921; and Dugas et al, 1924. Another ancient structure inside the sanctuary area, the remaining basin of which was probably a fountain house or well house from the Classical period, will be discussed in chapter four.

<sup>196</sup> See Mendel, 1921; Dugas, 1921; and Dugas et al, 1924.

<sup>197</sup> Thus contributing to the complex stratigraphic situation that I referred to in the introduction.

<sup>198</sup> On the early material see Dugas, 1921. The material from the early French excavations have especially been taken up again in Voyatzis, 1991.

<sup>199</sup> The assumption that Pausanias's description can be used as testimony of an active sanctuary in the Roman period can, for instance, be found in Erik Østby. See Østby, 1994, 47.

<sup>200</sup> See Østby, 1994, 47. As a general principle one should, of course, be cautious about making assumptions based on negative evidence. It is significant, however, that in the city area, not far from the sanctuary, the recent survey has now documented great activity in the Roman period. See Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>201</sup> (ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν), Pausanias, 8.45.5.



*Figure 2.2*  
The ruins of the temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. Some village houses at Alea (previously Piali) are visible in the background. The photo is taken from the bell-tower of the village church (Ag. Nikolaos) at Alea.



*Figure 2.3* Remains of foundations for interior colonnades in the Archaic temple inside the foundations of the Classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.



*Figure 2.4* One of the four *in situ* stylobate blocks with markings from the interior wooden columns in the cella of the archaic temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea.

The *ancient* (ἀρχαῖον) sanctuary of Athena Alea was made by Aleus; but in after time the Tegeans constructed a temple for the goddess, [that is] great and a *worthy sight* (θέας ἄξιον), but this one was destroyed by a sudden fire when Diophantes was archon at Athens, in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, in which Eupolemus, an Elean, won the foot-race [395/4 BC].<sup>202</sup>

Since what Pausanias said about earlier phases of the sanctuary was consistent with the finds of early dedications on the site, Dugas concluded that either there must have been

<sup>202</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.4. I have modified Frazer's somewhat free translation here.

an earlier, probably Archaic, temple on the site and that the traces of this building had been completely eradicated by the 395 fire and the subsequent building of the new temple or that the remains of this building were situated elsewhere on the site and had simply not yet been located.<sup>203</sup> Although the site had not been left altogether unnoticed after Dugas' 1924-publication, the interpretation of the history of the architectural remains of the sanctuary had changed little when investigations were taken up again in the 1980's. At this time the Norwegian archaeologist Erik Østby had taken an interest in some architectural blocks inside the foundations for the cella walls of the Classical temple (**Fig. 2.3**).<sup>204</sup> Dugas had dismissed these blocks as belonging to a much later building that was constructed on the ruins of the Classical temple, e. g. a Byzantine church. This interpretation seemed reasonable since stray finds of early ecclesiastic architecture had also been recorded on the site.<sup>205</sup> Østby, on the other hand, has argued that these blocks are remains of an Early Archaic Doric temple. He identified four *in situ* stylobate blocks with marks from the interior wooden columns in the cella (**Fig. 2.4**). If Østby is correct, then it is very tempting to identify this building as the temple Pausanias said was destroyed by fire in 395 BC.

After having published his theory Østby undertook an investigation of what appeared to be intact layers inside and between the foundation walls of the Classical temple.<sup>206</sup> Material obtained from this context has since supported Østby's dating of the remains of the Archaic temple to around 600 BC. Beneath the early Archaic remains Østby also found traces of simple architectural structures (post-hole remains), a bothros with dedicatory material, and even a small metalworking shop. This shop was probably set up right in front of these earlier buildings to produce dedicatory material as a combined production facility and religious kiosk.<sup>207</sup> The diffuse cultural activity which this archaeological material indicates appears to go back to the earliest phases of

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<sup>203</sup> See Dugas, 1921, 340; and Voyatzis, 1990, 24. For a more detailed discussion of the architecture see Østby, 1986; and Østby, 1994.

<sup>204</sup> See Østby, 1986. A similar interpretation was, independantly, suggested by Naomi Norman. See Norman, 1984.

<sup>205</sup> See Dugas, 1924, 11-13. Among other remains an Early Christian iron gate was found here by the Greek archaeologist Athanasios Orlandos. See Orlandos, 1935.

<sup>206</sup> This limited investigation would develop into a full-scale excavation program that lasted from 1990 to 1994. See Østby, 1994; and Østby et al, 1994.

<sup>207</sup> This area was excavated by the Swedish archaeologist Gullög Nordquist. See Nordquist, 1997.

the Early Iron Age.<sup>208</sup> As with the Archaic temple it is also very tempting to associate this early building activity on the site with the “*ancient* (ἀρχαῖον) sanctuary of Athena Alea” which “was made by Aleus.”

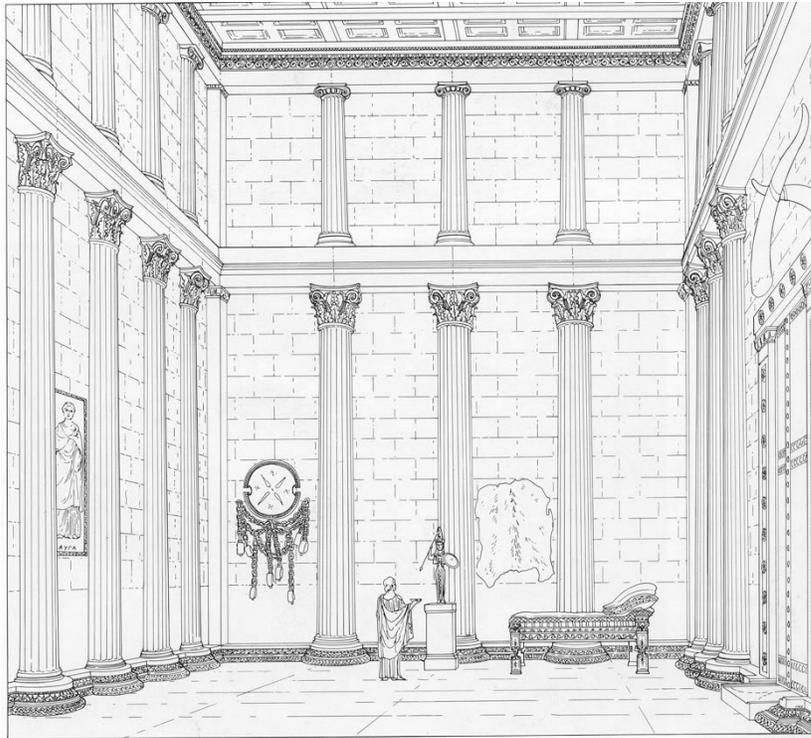


Figure 2.5  
Reconstruction drawing by Andrew Stewart of the interior of the Classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.

In the following the relationship between past (history) and present (interpretation) at this place can be regarded as a paradigm for my approach to the non-linear relationship between the past and the present.<sup>209</sup> In order to realise the exemplary character of this place, we must return, once again, to Pausanias. The ancient perieget says something rather peculiar about the Archaic temple, which neither he nor anyone else could possibly have seen during the past 500 years before his day, that it was a *worthy sight* (θέας ἄξιον).<sup>210</sup> The literary motivation for using a metaphor of vision to describe something that cannot be seen, probably has something to do with what we could call the *ekphrastic* inclination of the Second Sophistic: the rhetorical purpose of

<sup>208</sup> The term refers to the period between the collapse of the late Bronze Age (Mycenean) civilization on the mainland and the rise of the early polis culture.

<sup>209</sup> As the theoretical bases for this problematics I am deeply indebted to Michael Ann Holly's discussion of what she calls *past looking*, which I consider as a kind of re-application of philosophical hermeneutics to art historical discourse. See Holly, 1996.

<sup>210</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.4 (my translation). Most translators apply the reading θέας which would imply that it has something to do with the visual, a spectacle (θέα). Frazer, on the other hand, reads θεάς, which is genitive singularis of θεά, goddess, and he more freely translates the passage as "a ... stately temple for the goddess."

*ekphrasis* is precisely to make that which cannot be seen visible to the reader with the rhetorical means of the text.<sup>211</sup> The Second Sophistic is characterised by an obsession with the past of Greek culture in all its aspects.<sup>212</sup> This twists the traditional rhetorical *ekphrasis* in the direction of an *ekphrastic* game aimed at animating ancient Greek landscapes of memory, making the invisibles of the past visual in what we with a linguistic analogy could call the *historical present* of the text. The grammatical term *historical present*, which I have applied here can also be illustrated using Pausanias. When he says that the Archaic temple is “great and a worthy sight” he has, according to rhetorical convention, actually left out the verb. The complete sentence would preferably require supplying the present indicative ἐστί of the verb *to be* (εἶναι). The use of present indicative here would correspond with what grammarians call an historical, or annalistic, present.<sup>213</sup> We shall soon see that this rhetorical game of making the invisibles of the past visual in the historical present of the text is played out elsewhere in Pausanias’ *ekphrasis* of the Athena Alea sanctuary. The concept historical present will, however, also be used to make sense of many other examples in the Tegean memorial landscape, and it will be regarded here as a master trope in the tropology of memory.

Much literary attention in Pausanias’ description is devoted to describing the Scopaic temple and its collection of artworks and curiosities. In connection with his work on Scopas Andrew Stewart made a reconstruction of the interior of the Classical cella as it would have appeared with the major artworks and curiosities in place (Fig. 2.5).<sup>214</sup> As a part of the exhibit in the temple Pausanias says that he saw the hide of the Calydonian Boar which had been brought to Tegea because the Arcadian huntress Atalanta had been the first to strike the beast. Another display in the sanctuary, according to Pausanias, was the famous fetters which the Spartans had brought with them over the mountains to Tegea because they believed that the Tegeans would be an easy match on the battlefield, but with which the Spartans themselves became chained

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<sup>211</sup> See Hägg, 1989.

<sup>212</sup> See Alcock, 2002; Elsner, 1995; and Cherry & Elsner, 2003. For a more general treatment of the Second Sophistic see Anderson, 1993.

<sup>213</sup> See Smyth, 1984, 422, nos. 1883 & 1884.

<sup>214</sup> For Stewart on Scopas see Stewart, 1977.

since it was the Tegeans who won the battle.<sup>215</sup> According to Pausanias these two votives were severely decayed when he visited the site, and he is quite specific about the details of their decay: the hide of the Calydonian boar was rotten and without bristles, and the Spartan fetters were destroyed by rust.<sup>216</sup> The non-linear *ekphrastic* logic here is to demonstrate that the objects that can be seen in the sanctuary are actually not much of a sight. On the other hand, Pausanias is rather enthusiastic about describing the votives that are no longer present in the sanctuary, e. g. the old cult image of Athena Alea and the tusks of the Calydonian Boar. These objects Pausanias could not see at Tegea, because they had been removed to Rome by Augustus as punishment for Tegean support of Anthony:

The image of Athena Alea at Rome is as you go to the Forum of Augustus. There it stands, an image made wholly of ivory, the work of Endoeus. As to the boar's tusks, the keepers of the curiosities say that one of them is broken; but the remaining one is preserved in the imperial gardens, in a sanctuary of Dionysus, and is just half a fathom long.<sup>217</sup>

The description of the curiosities that can no longer be seen in the sanctuary at Tegea is an *ekphrasis* inside the *ekphrasis*, where the text involves its reader in a complex interplay of past and present, and of absence and presence. There is quite some rhetorical effort invested in making the objects for this inter-textual *ekphrasis* more of a spectacle than the things that can be seen in the sanctuary. The things that can be seen are rotten and rusty, but the things that cannot be seen are made by famous artists, and can be described with accurate measurements. The further away from the rhetorical gaze of the reader these things are, the more precise is Pausanias' description of them. The tusks of the Calydonian boar are even described according to precise measurements, almost as in a modern archaeological publication. In Pausanias' text the invisibles become, in a sense, more visual than the visibles.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> For the discussion of these two myths see chapters three and four.

<sup>216</sup> Pausanias, 8.47.2.

<sup>217</sup> Pausanias, 8.46.4-5.

<sup>218</sup> There is, of course, also a more prosaic reason why Pausanias is rather precise about describing what can be seen at Rome, but treats the display at Tegea summarily. Pausanias' readers would have been much more familiar with the capital of the Empire than with an obscure corner of the Arcadian mountains. For most Romans of the Empire Arcadia would remain a distant and mystical land of literary fiction. See Snell, 1953, 281-309.

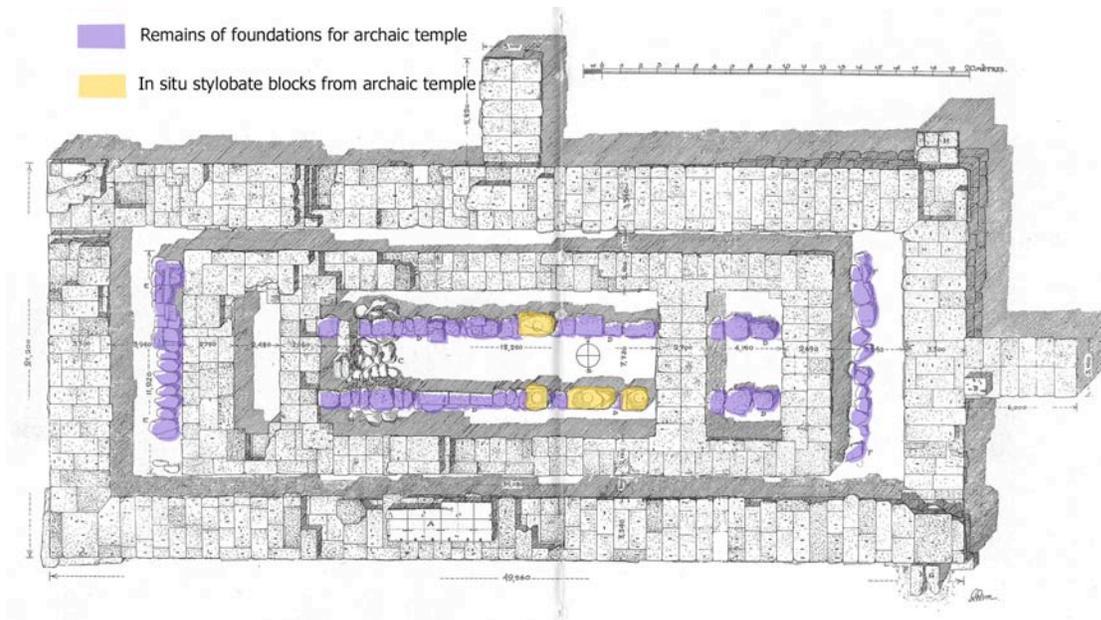


Figure 2.6 State plan of the foundations of the classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. *In situ* blocks from the foundations of the Archaic temple are indicated with colour fields.

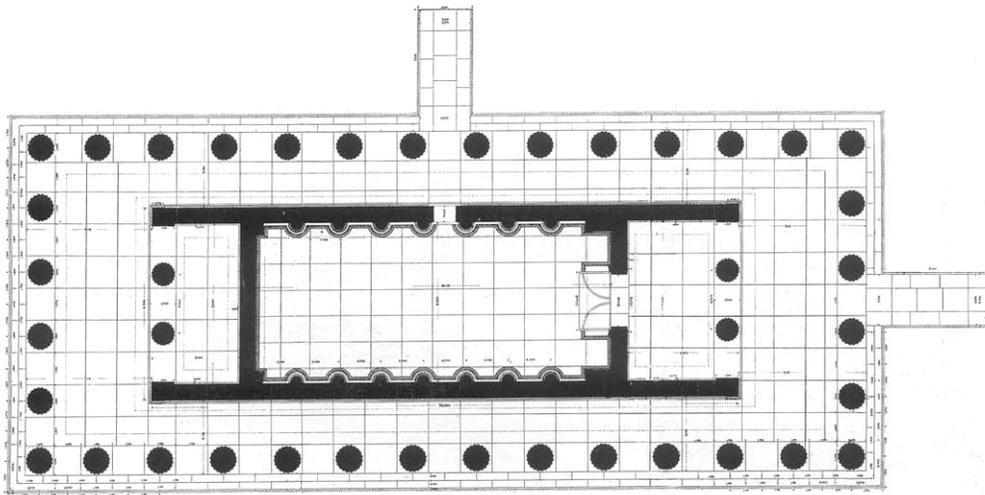


Figure 2.9 Ground plan of the Classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.

What is most interesting in our context is that the *ekphrastic* game in Pausanias' historic text of the Second Sophistic is also echoed in an architectural game played between the two major building phases of the sanctuary (the Archaic and Classical temple-buildings). As was pointed out by Østby in the 1986-publication, the relationship between the Archaic and the Classical building is one of careful

accommodation.<sup>219</sup> When the Archaic temple was destroyed by fire in 395 BC, it could not have been completely destroyed since remains of it were incorporated into the foundations of the Classical temple (**Fig. 2.6**). Quite a few isolated marble blocks from the Archaic building were carefully fitted into the conglomerate foundations of the Scopaic temple (**Fig. 2.7**).



*Figure 2.7* Isolated marble block from the Archaic temple of Athena Alea fitted into the conglomerate foundations of the Scopaic temple.



*Figure 2.8* Adjustment of one of the Archaic foundation blocks into the foundations for the wall between the opisthodomus and the cella of the Classical temple.

Two rows of foundations for the inner colonnades of the Archaic temple (including the four stylobate blocks) were preserved *in situ*, as were also foundation blocks in front of the pronaos- and opisthodomus-foundations of the Classical building.<sup>220</sup> That we are, in fact, dealing with an intentional incorporation of the ruins into the new structure is illustrated by the careful adjustment of one of the Archaic foundation blocks into the foundations for the wall between the opisthodomus and the cella of the Classical temple (**Fig. 2.8**). With geometric precision the Scopaic temple also follows the same orientation as the Archaic. In the Classical building there is also an echo of the proportions in the Archaic building; for a 4<sup>th</sup> century temple the cella of the Classical building is unusually long, also with the result that the pteron comprises six by fourteen columns (**Fig. 2.9**). The peculiar side-entrance, which is paralleled in other Arcadian temples, is another feature that could be connected with the weight of architectural tradition at this place.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Østby, 1986.

<sup>220</sup> For the comprehensive discussion of these problems see Østby, 1986.

<sup>221</sup> See Østby, 1986; and Winter, 1991.

The relationship between the ruins of the old building and the new temple is not just a matter of appropriating single blocks and isolated walls that were still standing after the fire, but also involves the structural design, and orientation, of the new building. An active attention to the past is at work here both on the immediate level of incorporating single fragments and structural elements into the foundations of the new building, and on the structural level of architectural thinking. It is almost as though the careful accommodation of the ruins of the Archaic temple into the Scopaic scheme embraces and incorporates them to expose their picturesque aesthetical qualities in a manner that is reminiscent of the incorporated ruins from the Persian sack into the wall of the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>222</sup> Even when these incorporated elements could no longer be seen, the historicist design executed by Scopas continued to visualise that which could no longer be seen, thus making the ancient temple of Athena Alea a durable element in the visual culture of the past at this place. This is also why it makes perfect sense for Pausanias to say, 500 years later, that the Archaic temple of Athena Alea was a worthy sight. The relationship between the structural design and fragmented building remains of the Archaic temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea and the late Classical Scopaic building will serve here as a paradigm of the non-linear tropology of cultural memory. It is, however, important to be attentive to the fact that we would probably have been oblivious to this configuration had it not been for the way in which this relationship is taken up in Pausanias' text. This interaction between archaeology (history) and literature (interpretation) is also another paradigmatic feature of this example. In quite a few cases in the following discussion archaeological material will serve as the primary source for the discussion of Tegean landscapes of memory. It is, however, only when the fragmented remains of the past are first set into motion in some discursive or other form of cultural appropriation in the historical present that a diagnostic feature of the local landscape of memory will come into view.<sup>223</sup> It is literature, rhetoric, and local tradition that transform broken, eroded and ugly fragments of architecture and artworks of the past into elements of the visual culture of the past. In the case of the sanctuary of Athena Alea we are most fortunate:

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<sup>222</sup> A similar interpretation of the architectural conservatism of Arcadian Doric architecture is also indicated by Catherine Morgan. See Morgan, 1999, 395.

<sup>223</sup> Thus also Elsner, 1995, 244ff.

there the relationship which is established between the architectural ghosts of the place and the ekphrastic inclination of Pausanias' text and which constitutes a paradigmatic example of non-linear cultural memory in the local landscape, becomes manifest. Because of the active incorporation of the ruins and structural design of the Archaic temple in the Scopaic building, cultural memory is also communicated in a non-verbal and visual language. I see, however, no essential distinction between what Scopas did and what Pausanias did. They both engage in an active dialogue with the architectural ghosts of the past, which qualify the Athena Alea sanctuary as an exemplary landscape of memory.

Indeed what they did by making the invisibles of the past visual in the architectural design and rhetorical *ekphrasis* of historical present exemplifies the cultural impulse of Aristotelian *reminiscentia*. The *ekphrastic* game that is played out in the text of Pausanias does not just represent a particular historicist interest of the Second Sophistic. It is also why Pausanias is both an important source for my discussion as well as a methodological inspiration. I must admit that I find Pausanias both good to read (as a source) and good to think with (as a theoretical exemplum). The ekphrastic game that he plays in the description of the sanctuary of Athena Alea is the best map for our journey through Tegean landscapes of memory. Unlike the one-eyed perspectivism of an ordinary modern map that is based on projection of geometric triangulations Pausanias' map is designed with a multi-perspectivism that is more closely related to Picasso's analytic cubism than to Alberti's monoscopic geometry.<sup>224</sup> This is, as we shall see, not to say that there are no straight roads that we can follow in this landscape. In fact, what could be conceived as straight roads in a literal sense, or at least the faint traces thereof in the archaeological landscape of the District of ancient Tegea, are certainly among the routes we shall travel in the following chapter. As in Pausanias' journey to the sanctuary of Athena Alea the journey that we are about to embark on takes place as much in time as in space.

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<sup>224</sup> See Foucault, 1989, 20-21; and Holly, 1996, 145.

## CHAPTER III

## TRAVEL, COMMUNICATION, AND INFRASTRUCTURE

A landscape can be viewed from a distance, as an image. This is how we approach a landscape portrait like the one of the Royal French Expedition entering Tripolis in 1829 (Fig. 2.1), or a map like abbé Barthelemy's geographical memory image of the Peloponnese from 1756 (Fig. 1.5). The approach to the local landscape of memory in this chapter is rather cinematic since we will be on the move and follow the travel, communication, and infrastructure of the past in the district of ancient Tegea. To aid us in this cinematic time-travel I have borrowed the French social scientist Michel de Certeau's idea about a rhetoric of walking. In *The Practice of Everyday Life* de Certeau analyses moving in the landscape as tropes in the "stylistic metamorphoses of space."<sup>225</sup> The British archaeologist Christopher Tilley characterises de Certeau's approach as a cinematic approach to memory:

A walk is always a combination of places and times- seasonal and social times. De Certeau has described an art of walking which is simultaneously an art of thinking and an art of practice or operating in the world. Movement through space constructs 'spatial stories', forms of narrative understanding. This involves a continuous presencing of previous experiences in present contexts. Spatial knowledge requires the coupling of an accumulated time of memory to overcome an initially hostile and alienating encounter with a new place. Flashes of memory, so to speak, illuminate the occasion.<sup>226</sup>

In de Certeau's own language these tropes of walking transforms space "into enlarged singularities and separate islands," and the landscape appears as "swellings, shrinkages, and fragmentations."<sup>227</sup> From our modern perspective de Certeau's rhetoric of walking can be regarded as a curving of geometric space. As Tilley points out it is first of all narratives that contribute with "swellings, shrinkages, and fragmentations," and it is

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<sup>225</sup> de Certeau, 1984, 102.

<sup>226</sup> Tilley, 1994, 28.

<sup>227</sup> de Certeau, 1984, 102.

the temporal element that creates the dynamics of this curved space. It is this “continuous presencing of previous experiences in present contexts” that we will encounter in the journey through the curved space of the district of ancient Tegea in this chapter.

In this chapter I focus on monuments like roads, bridges, and road-side shrines, but the local tropology of moving is also instrumental for the approach to other memory places and images in the Tegeatike. It is instrumental in the sense that is illustrated in the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s parable about a blind man’s walking stick. For a blind man the walking stick ceases to be an object that he perceives, but rather becomes an instrument that he perceives the world with.<sup>228</sup> In a related manner this chapter will serve as the walking stick for the blind traveller of Tegean landscapes of memory. We will be dealing with many travel histories in this chapter, but the chronological focus will be on antiquity, and our most important guide in the spaces of local communication history will be the ever-present ancient traveller Pausanias. Pausanias’ main concern was, as we have seen, to investigate the visual and discursive traces of the past. For Pausanias the past is always a network of constantly interchanging times and places that are organised according to the itineraries of his περιήγησις (guided tour). Pausanias’ periegetic vision materialises the ancient conception of extra-urban space: in antiquity human space outside the city is always unfolded as distances (*stadia*), or itineraries.<sup>229</sup> This manner of thinking about extra-urban space represents, as we shall see, an important element in the ancient tropology of moving. Pausanias’ periegetic vision has also had an impact on literary landscapes of memory into the modern era. This becomes especially apparent with 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers from Western Europe. Many of these men came to Greece with virtually no other means of orientation than the text of Pausanias. When all the wrong turns of these early Western travellers play such an important part in my discussion, it is because their topographical readings of Pausanias are woven into the fabric of the Tegean landscape of memory.

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<sup>228</sup> The parable can be found in Merleau-Ponty’s classic work on *The Phenomenology of Perception*. See Merleau-Ponty, 2003.

<sup>229</sup> On the perception of space outside the city see Daverio Rocchi, 1988.

Landed communication history has a brief modern history of study compared with the study of marine communication in the Mediterranean.<sup>230</sup> The tools and methods of these studies have not changed much since the days of early western travellers. Since physical remains of the communication networks of the past are not of the monumental character that we associate with other important ancient institutions like sanctuaries, theatres, marked places, and political assemblies, the most common method of investigation has always been to consider where in the landscape passage would have been most convenient. In combination with, often imaginative, reconstructions of ancient paths from the preserved topographical literature this early developed into a specialist field in Greek topographical research. Traditionally, research on ancient Greek roads has focused on important mountain passes where literary testimonies could support the discussion, but more quantitative approaches have also been applied.<sup>231</sup> Although they are seldom of a monumental character, the present landscape also contains remains of past routes and transportation technologies. We shall pay some of those places a visit on our journey.

## 1. TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF TRAVELLERS, SURVEYORS, AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN THE DISTRICT OF ANCIENT TEGEA

I might yet have accomplished more, had I been better provided with books of reference on the spot, or with the more various knowledge since acquired. Had Pausanias been in my hands, I should have profited greatly by his guidance in these early Grecian journeys.

(From H. Holland, *Recollections of Past Life*, 1872)<sup>232</sup>

Although the Western European phantasm of Arcadia had already been re-discovered in the Renaissance and had been thoroughly explored by poets and painters from Sannazaro to Poussin, it was not until the industrial era that the Western exploration of this mythical region of the Peloponnesian Highlands started for real.<sup>233</sup> Abbé

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<sup>230</sup> See Horden & Purcell, 2000, 123-172.

<sup>231</sup> See Sanders & Whitbread, 1990.

<sup>232</sup> Holland, 1872, 50.

<sup>233</sup> The Neapolitan poet Jacopo Sannazaro (1456-1530) caught international fame with his pastoral novel *Arcadia* (1480's). See Sansone, 1986, 99-101. The French painter Nicolas Poussin is responsible for the

Barthelemy stood on the threshold of that discovery: When he wrote his *Voyage*, the Venetians had recently provided a passage for Western travellers in the *Morea* as the peninsula was still called with its medieval name. As appears from the Venetian 1634 map of the *Morea* (Fig. 1.4), some ancient names were already being re-cycled in the landscape where many of them had been erased from local memory for more than a millennium. The title of this map is also a telling monument to this new regard for the glorious past of the peninsula: "*Morea olim* ('anciently') *Peloponensis*." It is no coincidence that the topographical *Alpheios* proper returns to this landscape around the same time (1630) that the French painter Nicolas Poussin in Rome places a personification of *Alpheios* the river god in one version of his famous *Arcadia*-motif.<sup>234</sup> Although the establishment of Venetian rule in the peninsula some 50 years later certainly improved the resolution of the Western image of this landscape, it was its economic rather than cultural potential that the Venetians explored.<sup>235</sup> Although the ancient world had remained a continuous source of inspiration for Western thinkers, architects, artists, and men of power since the Renaissance, it was always towards Rome rather than Greece that European travellers turned. For a long time this had, of course, been a matter of convenience: from Northern Europe the route to Rome was short and well trodden. There were certainly also other reasons why Rome has always had a stronger appeal to the Western imagination than Greece. Because of the persistence of the Western church in Rome, there is a remarkable sense of continuity about Rome. From the Western viewpoint there was a double sense of discontinuity about Greece. The continuity of its cultural landscape was first of all represented by the Byzantine Empire, and by Eastern Christianity. Down to the present day Eastern Christianity has been regarded by Westerners as more Eastern than Christian. In art historical discourse Byzantine conservatism was considered an obstacle to the kind of re-discovery of antiquity that took place in the Italian Renaissance. These orientalisng biases against Byzantinism made Greece less appealing to Westerners in the 17<sup>th</sup>

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reintroduction of the *Arcadia*-motive in Western painting. On Poussin and the *Arcadia*-tradition in Western art and literature see Panofsky, 1955.

<sup>234</sup> See Panofsky, 1955, 357-8. On the date of this painting, the so-called Devonshire version of Poussin's *Arcadia*-motive, see especially Panofsky, 1955, 358, note 40.

<sup>235</sup> On the economy of the Peloponnese in the Venetian period see Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 135-206.

century.<sup>236</sup> The second element in the discontinuity of what Edgar Allan Poe called ‘the glory that was Greece’,<sup>237</sup> and which has remained the characteristic English Romantic term for this Arcadian phantasm of ancient Greece, was the dark shadow of the Ottoman Empire, ‘the Sick Man of Europe.’ Although it had been an important trading partner for Western states, the Ottoman Empire represented the pivotal otherness of contemporary orientalism in 18<sup>th</sup> century Western imagination: it was considered to be despotic, culturally inferior, disorderly, and down-right barbaric. It is no coincidence that the Western re-discovery of the cultural heritage of Greece is contemporary with the Romantic Movement, where the fascination for Oriental features is unprecedented. In Western thinking Greece remained mainly a cultural phantasm for a long time.<sup>238</sup> This is why there is really nothing wrong with abbé Barthelemy’s map of Arcadia (**Fig. 1.5**), of which we reviewed some features in the previous chapter. It is just that it represents a landscape that is still very much a phantom of the Western imagination.

Before the 17<sup>th</sup> century only a few fragments of Western reports from the Morea exist after the decline of Frankish domination of the peninsula.<sup>239</sup> In the 1680’s an Englishman by the name of Bernand Randolph visited the city of *Trapolizza* (Tripolis) in the Tegean Plain. This urban Ottoman settlement was considered by Randolph to be “the only place which serves the name of a town in the whole Province [of Arcadia].”<sup>240</sup> Randolph mistakenly identified Trapolizza with ancient Megalopolis. In antiquity Megalopolis was the central communication node of the Peloponnesian Peninsula.<sup>241</sup> In the Early Modern period that position had been taken over by Tripolis (**Map 1**). That Tripolis was also called “*Mora Orta*, that is, the Centre or Middle of the *Morea*”<sup>242</sup> in the early modern period, reflects this dislocation in the Peloponnesian communication network. This dislocation is probably also the background for Randolph’s mistaken

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<sup>236</sup> On orientalism in general see Saïd, 1978. On the negative evaluation of Byzantine art in Western art history, a historiographic topos that goes back to Vasari's discussion of *maniera greca*, see Kiilrich & Torp, 1998, 16-17.

<sup>237</sup> From Edgar Allen Poe’s “To Helen,” Stanza 2; “...the glory that was Greece, and the grandeur that was Rome.”

<sup>238</sup> On the revival of Western orientalism in the late 18th and early 19th century see Saïd, 1978.

<sup>239</sup> See Alexandros, 2000, 89.

<sup>240</sup> Randolph, 1686, 12.

<sup>241</sup> See Sanders & Whitbread, 1990.

<sup>242</sup> Randolph, 1686, 12.

identification. Apart from referring to some ancient remains at one of the mosques of *Trapolizza*, Randolph makes no mention of ancient ruins in the vicinity of the city.<sup>243</sup>

After such Western explorers as Julien-David Le Roy, Nicholas Revett, and James Stuart had undertaken the first architectural surveys of ancient monuments in Greece around the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, French, English, and eventually also German archaeological tourists were slowly finding their way to the most remote quarters of the Peloponnesian Peninsula.<sup>244</sup> Around the time when Lord Elgin was dismantling the Parthenon sculptures from the Athenian Acropolis at the turn of the century, archaeological travellers also found their way to the Tegean Plain. It is also from this period that we have the first modern accounts of the ancient monuments of Tegea. The Classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea was first recognised as such by Edward Dodwell in 1806.<sup>245</sup> Another British archaeological travel description which is based on journeys undertaken before the Greek War of Independence is the famous *Travels in the Morea* by William Martin Leake. Leake was one of many Englishmen at the time who came to Greece on a special mission for the Crown.<sup>246</sup> As is also the case with Pausanias, Leake has suffered the unfortunate fate of being read with a butcher's knife: commentators have mainly been interested in particular information that he supplies us rather than with the literary qualities of his text.<sup>247</sup> Unsympathetic readers are, however, not the only things that Leake and Pausanias have in common:

The more I see of the Peloponnese, and the more I read its description by Pausanias, so much the more do I regret the shortness of the time I have to bestow upon its geography; for as to the difficulties arising from weather, mountains, torrents, robbers, or, what is worst of all, the want of roads and conveyance, I am persuaded, they may all be surmounted by the man who has

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<sup>243</sup> In 1667 and 1670 the Turkish traveller Evliya Celebi visited the area. On Evliya see Wolfart, 1970. Evliya's description of the Tegeatike will, especially in chapter four, provide an opportunity to compare the Western European with the Ottoman perception of the local landscape of memory.

<sup>244</sup> On these early architectural explorers see Irwin, 1997, 49ff.

<sup>245</sup> See Dodwell, 1819, 418-420. Because of the difficulties facing British travellers on the continent during the Napoleonic Wars, there is also an extra incitement for British tourists to go to Greece. Most of the early travel descriptions from the Tegeatike are also composed by British travellers. See Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, 1990, 11.

<sup>246</sup> See Leake, 1830. At this time both France and England contemplated invading Greece. One of the great difficulties for the preparation of the hypothetical invasion was the lack in accurate geographical knowledge. This is the political motivation for many of the semi-official English travellers at the time. See Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, 1990, 5.

<sup>247</sup> There are some studies of early English travel literature in Greece such as that of Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, 1990. Also this literature is really more focused on extracting fragments of attitudes hidden in the texts of Leake and the other travellers rather than on the texts as literature.

time enough at his command, with a sufficiency of perseverance. But these are the more necessary, as the Peloponnesus being a country yet unexplored by the geographer or scholar, every feature, position, and object in it which is described, or frequently merely alluded to by the ancient authors, is yet to be searched for at an expense of time and labour which will not hereafter be required.

Of perseverance, it must with gratitude be admitted, that we have an excellent example in our guide Pausanias, even without omitting the consideration, that, instead of exploring unknown and deserted sites, he was travelling in an ordinary manner, over the roads of a civilised country, from one celebrated place to another, in each of which he found an exegete to assist him in all his researches. So complete, however, were these researches, and so ardent his curiosity, that it requires the most detailed inspection of the country to be assured that one has not overlooked some still existing proof of his accuracy; and this is the more necessary as it often happens, that by effect of his *declining Greek style*, and of the abrupt manner in which he mentions things allusively, instead of clearly describing them, not infrequently also in consequence of the corruptions of his text, his meaning is involved in an obscurity which nothing but an exact knowledge of the locality or the discovery of extant remains of antiquity can clear away. I have every day occasion to remark instances in which it is impossible correctly to understand him, or to translate his words, without actually following him through the country, and examining the spots described, and it is not always that a single visit to a place is sufficient. In *Arcadia*, I particularly lament that I have been unable to trace the steps of the curious traveller in all the routes which radiated from its capital of *Megalopolis*.<sup>248</sup>

Leake's text is a panegyric tribute to the remarkable accuracy of Pausanias. We note that Leake has also adopted the periegetic vision of Arcadia from Pausanias.<sup>249</sup> There is, however, something very paradoxical about Leake's encomium to the ancient traveller. Leake points out that Pausanias was more fortunate than he because he travelled "over the roads of a civilised country." Leake obviously feels very strongly about the temporal distance between himself and Pausanias: he wrote about antiquity from within antiquity whereas Leake writes about it from outside. At the time of Pausanias 'the Glory that was Greece,' as it was seen by Leake and his contemporaries, was already fading. Leake always expresses this ambiguity indirectly, "by effect of his *declining Greek style*, and of the abrupt manner in which he mentions things allusively, instead of explicitly describing them." From Leake's viewpoint the Glory that was Greece is always already being communicated indirectly and in a fragmented state. The state of preservation of Pausanias' own text ("not infrequently also in consequence of the corruptions of his text") is also made out as an expression of this fascination with the

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<sup>248</sup> Leake, II, 1830, 286-288.

<sup>249</sup> See Pausanias, 7.8.3.

incomplete, the ruin! In this way reading Leake is sometimes a bit like looking at an etching by Piranesi.<sup>250</sup> With Leake there is, however, a resolution to the incompleteness of the past. It is very important for Leake's motivation for detailed scrutiny of the monuments and places of the Peloponnese that the *telos* of this work is to make complete Pausanias' incomplete, fragmented landscapes of memory.

The literary fascination with ruins in Leake's text can be seen as an attempt to recycle Pausanias' narrative method in a modern form. There is no clear narrative in Leake's book. During the course of four pages of his *ekphrasis* of the Tegeatike he alternates between discussing current economic, social and cultural aspects of the mountain district of Hagios Petros in the southeastern Tegeatike, reading an ancient inscription that names the four Tegean tribes which he found inserted into the ruins of the Castle of Nikli at Palea Episkopi (medieval Tegea) down on the Tegean Plain, and describing, not without encyclopaedic accuracy, an octopus-soup which he was served at someone's house in the village of *Achuria* (Stadio), situated less than a kilometre from Palea Episkopi on the plain, where the ancient agora and theatre of Tegea can also be found (**Map 2**).<sup>251</sup> A multitude of spaces and places unfold along the narrative itinerary of his text in a manner that is reminiscent of his literary paradigm Pausanias. From the literary point of view Leake is no less of the 'curious traveller' that he makes of Pausanias, and even though Leake also made topographical sketches which are more like modern maps, the space of his text is as curved as Pausanias'.

Notwithstanding the similarities in approaches to local landscapes and literary structure, Leake's text is no paraphrase of Pausanias. Although the most prominent ghosts that inhabit his landscapes of memory are the same ghosts that haunted Pausanias, Leake's Tegean landscapes of memory are clearly influenced by modern ways of thinking about landscape and culture. Pausanias was, as we have seen, not that interested in contemporary features in the landscape. Leake, on the other hand, is most attentive to topics of everyday life in the Ottoman Province of Morea. His interest in local relations appears to be motivated not only by his official mission, but also by a Romantic interest in trivial ethnologica such as the octopus soup he was served at

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<sup>250</sup> See Craske, 1997, 254.

<sup>251</sup> Leake, I, 1830, 87-90.

*Achuria*. His general interest in landscape, in the details of its cultivation as well as in its natural beauty, is also notable. Leake's landscapes of memory present a curious mixture of nostalgic lament over the Glory that was Greece and intimate knowledge of, and aesthetic admiration for, the current state of the cultural landscape at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. What is most interesting about Leake from the literary perspective is how these two horizons of the past mix in the aesthetic contemplation of the fragment, or the ruin as a trope of memory. When Leake says that the fragmented, incomplete state of Pausanias' text, indeed, its style and narrative structure, can be made complete by carefully following the itineraries according to which the multivalent narratives of his text are structured, and by repeatedly "examining the spots described," he not only prescribes the method, which has been followed by so many Classical archaeologists in Greece, of conducting archaeological excavations with Pausanias as their instruction manual, he also reveals the particular way of thinking about the past as a ruin. The ruin is incomplete. Elsewhere in Romantic aesthetics this incompleteness represents a picturesque quality.<sup>252</sup> With Leake, however, the fragmented text can be made complete by matching the text with the landscape in a mental game of travelling. In this mental game of reconstructing the meaning of the fragments of the past there is a distinct remainder of what, with Walter Benjamin, we could call an allegorical impulse.<sup>253</sup> From this viewpoint Leake's relationship to the ruin is perhaps rather Baroque than Romantic.

In the second half of the century the cultural status of the Peloponnesian highlands changed from being a phantasm of Western European imagination to becoming the playground for the new scientific discipline of Classical archaeology and for the appropriation of the ideological past of the modern Greek Nation.<sup>254</sup> Leake was attentive to the direction that things would soon take, and lamented the loss of the paradoxical innocence that he had experienced during his travels in the Morea; "[...] the Peloponnesus being a country yet unexplored [...] is yet to be searched for at an expense of time and labour which will not hereafter be required." What Leake predicts here is that the deluge of Western travellers that would follow in his footsteps with

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<sup>252</sup> See Crawford, 1993, 186-189.

<sup>253</sup> On Walter Benjamin's allegorical trope of the ruin see Benjamin, 1993, 155ff.

<sup>254</sup> See Bernal, 1987; and Shanks, 1996.

their geometric instruments, steam engines, and modern industry, would wipe out the last allegorical ruins in the Greek landscape. Although he may have been incorrect in many of his historical interpretations (matching text with landscape), we can, at least, grant him a certain amount of foresight in this matter.

Allegorical travel descriptions in the tradition represented here by Leake have remained a topos of marginal travel literature about Greece down to the present day.<sup>255</sup> The particular form that Leake used, and its close relationship with the text of Pausanias, in many ways reaches its equilibrium with James Frazer's commentary on Pausanias.<sup>256</sup> When Frazer travelled around in the Peloponnese at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its landscapes had undergone great changes: infrastructure was dramatically improving due to the construction of the Peloponnesian Railway, and carriage-roads were also being constructed to connect with the central territories of the Arcadian highlands.<sup>257</sup> At this time archaeological excavations were undertaken at major sites in Athens as well as in the Peloponnese. This was also the case at Tegea. What Frazer could do, in fact, was to travel from one excavation site to another. Frequently he could confirm to his satisfaction that Pausanias was as "complete" in his "researches" as Leake had claimed, but in his regard for the ancient perieget Frazer represented rather the exception in the academic community at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

An important breakthrough in the modern study of the inner Peloponnese was the French scientific mission that accompanied French troops sent to Greece in 1829. The *Expédition Scientifique de Morée* is a typical 19<sup>th</sup> century exploration mission during which historical, scientific, archaeological and topographical information on the area in question was gathered in one great encyclopaedic publication.<sup>258</sup> The culturally

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<sup>255</sup> A good example is the English travel writer Patrick Leigh Fermor. See for instance his account of Northern Greece in Fermor, 1983.

<sup>256</sup> Frazer's six volume translation and commentary appeared for the first time in 1898. See Frazer, 1965. For an insightful intellectual biography of Frazer see Ackerman, 1978; especially 53-69 on his work with the Pausanias commentary.

<sup>257</sup> In some places in the Peloponnesian Highlands the Peloponnesian Highway was still under construction when Frazer visited the area in 1895. The Tripolis-Nauplion-Athens railroad opened in 1891, and the Tripolis-Kalamata railroad in 1896. See Frazer, 1965, IV, 415; and Forsén, 2002, 98.

<sup>258</sup> The *Expédition de Morée* typically comprised studies of everything from geology, zoology and botany to archaeology, topography, and human geography. Archaeology and historical topography, Boblaye, 1836; summary volume, de Saint-Vincent, 1836; human geography, de Saint-Vincent, 1834; geology Boblaye & Virlet, 1833; zoology, Brullé et al., 1832; botany, Fauché et al., 1832. A separate volume of plates was also published as de Saint-Vincent et al., 1835.

imperialistic project of Charles X of France was to provide Greece with a national encyclopaedia after the French model. The French expedition also produced the first maps of the Peloponnese that were systematically based on modern triangulation techniques. Since the aim of this mission was not just any yet unexplored territory of oriental obscurity but the very Land that was once Greece, the French Morea Expedition was also guided by the quest for the fragmented places of the past, but the methods and literary mode of this exploration of the past were very different from those of Leake. There was for one thing a strong emphasis on the practical, topographical survey. For the first time this could be undertaken with the methods of modern geometric triangulation. It now became possible, and necessary, to convert the twisted and folded space of Pausanias and Leake, a space with many spaces and many places, into a modern, rational, and mathematically unified space. The project thus represents a kind of cultural colonisation using the geometric weapons of triangulation. Indeed, the large foldout plate in the atlas-volume of the *Expédition de Morée* of the trigonometric map of the peninsula, which is also the first plate in the volume, publicly announces the geometric order that had now been bestowed upon this landscape.<sup>259</sup> As we shall see further below, this geometrisation of the Peloponnesian landscape also laid the grounds for the construction of the first railway in Greece later in the century.

The French Morea Expedition also coincides with the formative years of modern Western geology, and great emphasis was accordingly laid on study of the physical side of the Peloponnesian landscapes.<sup>260</sup> Inspired by these studies Charles Lyell, the father of modern geology, took an interest in the peculiar formation of recent sediments in Greece. Because cultural material (especially pottery and ceramic tiles) is mixed with the upper soil types, this stratum was termed *ceramique* by the *Expédition de Morée*.<sup>261</sup> This discovery represented an important breakthrough for the distinction between

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<sup>259</sup> See Saint-Vincent et al., 1835, plate 1. Public affairs in the new Greek Nation involving everything from settling boundary disputes to infrastructure projects throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have largely been based on the topographical survey of the French expedition.

<sup>260</sup> The publication of the proceedings of the *Expédition de Morée* took place exactly during the period that George Lyell published his *Principles of Geology*. Lyell's work was published between 1830 and 1833, and the *Expédition de Morée* was published from 1831 to 1836. For a recent selection of Lyell's classic see Lyell, 1997.

<sup>261</sup> See Boblaye & Virlet, 1833, 372.

human and pre-human time in 19<sup>th</sup> century philosophy of nature.<sup>262</sup> At Tegea analysis of the sediments that cover the ancient city centre was undertaken, and the French surveyors could confirm that they consisted of river born alluvium. The composition of this alluvium also indicated to them that it was mainly the Sarandapotamos that was responsible for the deposition of these sediments, a hypothesis that has been confirmed by the recent geological survey undertaken in connection with the NAS.<sup>263</sup>

Ever since the French Morea Expedition first addressed the problem of the origin and dynamics of the Tegean Fan, hydrological and sedimentological issues have also been integrated into historical-topographical discussions of the Tegeatike. Already in 1834 Ludwig Ross, who at the time worked for the newly established Greek Archaeological Service, addressed the issue in connection with some investigations he conducted in the Tegean Plain. Since he found traces of what was probably an Early Modern regulation project in the area between the villages of Piali, presently Alea, and Achuria, presently Stadio (**Map 2**), he suggested that past regulation of the surface waters of the Tegean Fan could explain why the present course of the Sarandapotamos seemed incompatible with Pausanias' Upper Alpheios.<sup>264</sup> At the end of the century when there were large-scale excavation projects directed by French archaeologists both at Mantinea and Tegea, Victor Berard, who undertook a topographical survey of the Tegeatike, took up the issue again. Berard's survey of the Tegeatike was focused on identifying its Classical topography, which among other things resulted in a reconstruction of the Classical urban fortifications and suggested locations of the Tegean tribes and districts.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> See Gould, 1991, 1-21.

<sup>263</sup> See Boblaye & Virlet, 1833, 328-329. William Kendrick Pritchett was the first to address the information obtained by the French surveyors in his discussion of "The Course of the Alpheios River." See Pritchett, 1965, 127. On results of the recent geological survey at Tegea see Klempe, forthcoming.

<sup>264</sup> In 1834 Ross was Conservator der Alterthümer im Peloponnes. See Ross, 1841, 69-72.

<sup>265</sup> See Berard, 1892; and 1893. As we have already seen, the problematic topography of the Upper Alpheios was re-addressed by Pritchett in the 1960's, and again in the 1980's by the German hydraulic engineer Jost Knauss. See Pritchett, 1965; and Knauss, 1988. The hydrographic terrain modelling that has most recently been undertaken as a part of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey probably does not represent the last word in this controversial topographical issue. This work has so far rather confirmed that the French 19<sup>th</sup> century surveyors were mostly correct in their observations of the dynamics of the Tegean Fan.

Another important 19<sup>th</sup> century study of the Tegeatike is William Loring's one-man survey of "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese."<sup>266</sup> Loring's survey was composed around the time when James Frazer was also roaming the Peloponnesian countryside on the trails of Pausanias, and it is a typical example of Classical British topographical research from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Unlike the early 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers such as Leake, Loring is not as focused on Pausanias, but rather utilises the wide scope of sources for ancient topography that was available at the time. Unlike his contemporary James Frazer, who was standing on the threshold of comparative anthropology and is not infrequently also interested in the current state of the cultural landscape, Loring's survey is exclusively focused on the relationship between ancient literary sources and the present landscape.<sup>267</sup> This is commonplace in the type of study of Classical topography that has been especially prevalent in Britain. In our quest for Tegean landscapes of memory it is important to note, however, how this apparently dry relationship with the Peloponnesian landscape is also closely related to Pausanias' landscape of ghosts. To the extent that we can make an artistic connection between Loring and Pausanias we could say that he represents a kind of modern 'Third' Sophistic: along Loring's Peloponnesian routes it is as though the post-ancient layers of the cultural landscape are so transparent that they become virtually invisible. The most important example of this, which is the main topic of Loring's Peloponnesian landscape, is the communication network. Although he points out in a footnote that physical traces of ancient roads are "extremely rare,"<sup>268</sup> he has nonetheless uncritically adopted the approach of considering the Early Modern routes as identical with the ancient routes. As I will return to below, the ancient Peloponnesian road-network is based on an altogether different communication technology than the medieval and Early Modern ones. The ancient road network probably fell into disuse sometime during late antiquity or the early medieval period. In Loring's historical optics more than a millennium of communication history thus becomes invisible. He can only see the ancient routes in the landscape. Like Pausanias he moves in a landscape of ghosts, but he lacks the artistic awareness of Pausanias or abbé Barthelemy. Loring represents

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<sup>266</sup> See Loring, 1895.

<sup>267</sup> See Ackerman, 1987, 61 and 137.

<sup>268</sup> See Loring, 1895, 25, note 1.

the new voice of positivism in late 19<sup>th</sup> century scholarship. This ideal leads Loring on a quest for a perfect ancient Greek landscape. Unlike Leake, who is rather sympathetic in his readings of the inconsistencies of Pausanias and tolerant in his reviews of the current state of the cultural landscape, Loring is blinded by the positivistic obsession of putting things in their right places in the landscape. When he finds what the ancient authors say about the landscape is in disagreement with his metaphysical ghost of the land that was once Greece, he is forced to correct the sources. Especially Pausanias, whose text, as Leake pointed out, is riddled with inconsistencies and lacunae, is exposed to Loring's over-anxious correctness. Pausanias' Upper Alpheios, which he found just too paradoxical to come to terms with, Loring typically dismissed as "a blunder on the part of Pausanias."<sup>269</sup>

From the 20<sup>th</sup> century there are especially three topographers who have impressed their intellectual personae on the Tegean landscape – two Englishmen and one Greek. The two Englishmen, W. K. Pritchett and R. Howell, both represent outstanding scholars in their fields. Pritchett can be considered as the last of the great British topographers in the positivistic tradition from Loring. His *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* contain many articles on topics dealing explicitly with our area.<sup>270</sup> Although Howell is not the only researcher to have taken an interest in the Prehistory of the Tegeatike, his one-man survey of "Eastern Arcadia in Prehistory" provides the only comprehensive guide to the Prehistory of that district.<sup>271</sup> The third of the more recent topographers of the Tegeatike whom we will come across in this discussion is the Greek archaeologist Konstantinos Romaios. Romaios' local background provided him with a detailed intimacy with the landscapes of the Tegeatike. His national and international career as an archaeologist also put him in a position to shape the scholarly interpretation of his *Heimat* for more than half a century. He made his first archaeological investigations in the vicinity of Vourvoura and Analipsis (**Map 2**)

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<sup>269</sup> Loring, 1895, 54. This antipathy towards Pausanias amongst philologically oriented scholars goes back to the iconoclastic campaign against his text that was started in 1877 by the German *Alturtumswissenschaftler* Heinrich von Willamowitz-Moellendorf. In 1873 Willamowitz travelled to Greece with a party of German aristocrats. Willamowitz's plan was to use Pausanias as his *Baedeker*. The trip was, reportedly, somewhat of a fiasco (the great aristocratic scholar was not a great traveller), and caused severe public humiliation to Willamowitz. See Ackerman, 1987, 134.

<sup>270</sup> The relevant volumes (I-VI) are Pritchett, 1965; 1969; 1980; 1982; 1985; and 1989.

<sup>271</sup> See Howell, 1970.

around the turn of the century.<sup>272</sup> Although his career would soon also bring him to other archaeological sites and to The University of Thessaloniki, where he held a chair as Professor of Archaeology, he would time and again return to the topic of Arcadian topography and archaeology. At the end of his career he also returned to fieldwork at Analipsis on the ancient frontier between Arcadia, Laconia and Kynouria. What is perhaps most important about Romaios, in our context, is that his work spans a wide chronological field of interests. Romaios was first and foremost a Classical archaeologist, topographer, and historian. He was, in addition, a passionate student of Prehistory, and he also conducted important prehistoric excavations in Arcadia and Kynouria. It should be underlined here that Romaios' prehistoric interests did not just include the Late Bronze Age (the Mycenaean period), which had been a popular field for Classical archaeologists ever since Heinrich Schliemann excavated at Troy and Mycenae.<sup>273</sup> He was, as we shall see in the discussion of Analipsis in chapter five, very much up to speed with current discoveries in the earlier phases of Greek Prehistory. Romaios also had a keen interest in medieval archaeology and topography. Although the interest in the archaeology of medieval Greece has only recently been put at the centre of scholarly attention in the West, there is a long tradition especially of Byzantine archaeology in Greece.<sup>274</sup> It is sometimes easy to forget as a Western scholar that from the Greek viewpoint there was always a multiplicity of pasts in the landscape, the ancient and the Byzantine, what Patrick Leigh Fermor has called the Helleno-Romaic dilemma.<sup>275</sup> In the case of Romaios the archaeologist it was, however, not first of all the cherished Byzantine past that attracted his attention, but rather the despised Frankish past of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> The results from these early investigations were published as Romaios, 1902.

<sup>273</sup> See Shanks, 1996.

<sup>274</sup> For recent reviews within the field of medieval archaeology in Greece see Lock & Sanders, 1996.

<sup>275</sup> It is a curiosity, but an amusing one, to speculate about the name of this Greek archaeologist. He has what is presently the most common Greek man's name, Konstantinos, or as the old men in the *kafeneion* at Vourvoura still call him, Kostas. Since it was the name of the first great emperor of Byzantium, this is, indeed, a pretentious Byzantine name. His surname, Romaios, is even more interesting. In medieval and early modern Greece the Greeks, a Latin denomination that Greeks are still not very fond of, were always called *Romaioi*, that is Romans, or Byzantines as we Westerners, who tend to believe that the Roman Empire disappeared from the historical scene in late antiquity, would say. Since his forefathers at some stage, perhaps his father, took this name, it signals a strong inclination towards a Byzantine cultural ethnicity.

<sup>276</sup> Still in the 19th century 'Franks' was a general signifier for Westerners in Greece. See Clogg, 2002, 43.

## 2. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ROAD BUILDING IN THE PELOPONNESE

The most common remains of historical roads in the present Peloponnesian landscape are the characteristic early modern caravan roads, or *kalderimia* (καλδερίμια) as they are called in Greek. Until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when railroads and modern carriage roads were being constructed the *kalderimi* network set the standard for the tropology of moving in the district of ancient Tegea. Now, a *kalderimi* is built to facilitate beasts of burden (equines and camels), and it is, as a rule, unsuited for wheeled carriages (**Fig. 3.1**). This rule applies to highland routes, and to mountain passes especially, but there is no reason to exclude the possibility of wheeled traffic in the medieval and early modern periods in our area altogether. The building technique of caravan roads has not changed much during the long interval from the medieval period to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For this reason it is very difficult to date a *kalderimi*. The building technique consists of paving with small stones mixed with earth. The roads are usually narrow, but in the lowlands the width can vary up to as much as four meters. In the lowlands a *kalderimi* is usually fenced on both sides with a curtain wall. In steep places the roadbed often rests on retaining walls of stone masonry, and zigzags as well as steps (*skales*) are common (**Fig. 3.2**). The Peloponnesian countryside is covered by a dense network of *kalderimia*, typically radiating in all directions from the local hubs of major villages.<sup>277</sup> How this network of medieval to early modern *kalderimia* relates to the ancient road-network, which did facilitate wheeled carriages also for inter-regional communication, is a complex issue. From the technological viewpoint *kalderimia* and ancient wheel-roads are distinctly different.<sup>278</sup>

The study of the ancient Peloponnesian road-network started with the first western travellers to Greece. The assumptions that they made *en route* about ancient roads were

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<sup>277</sup> The word *kalderimi* is a Modern Greek appropriation of the Turkish word *kalderim*, which again is probably a derivation from the Greek καλός δρόμος ('good road'). I am grateful to Serdar Semen for making me attentive to this linguistic interchange. For a description of the *kalderimi* system see Forsén, 2002, 93ff. See also Pikoulas, 1995, 25-26; and Pikoulas, 1999, 254-255. For an example outside the Peloponnese, on Crete, see Rachham & Moody, 1996, 156-157.

<sup>278</sup> For the Classical discussion of the Greek system see Pritchett, 1980, 143-196. For a more technical discussion see also the section on roads in Forbes, 1963.

often based on the idea that pre-modern routes (*kalderimia*) adopted the courses identical to those of ancient roads.



*Figure 3.1 Skala tou Bey kalderimi in the Parthenion Pass between the Plain of Hysiai and the Partheni Basin. As featured in Map 3 this medieval to early modern road partly takes the same course through the pass as the ancient road.*



*Figure 3.2 Stepped kalderimi (Skales) near Palea Mouchli. This road is one of the best candidates for a medieval road in the district of ancient Tegea.*



*Figure 3.3 Eroded wheel-ruts from ancient road in the Parthenion Pass. The inner edge of the ruts measure approximately 1.40 meters.*

This view is expressed by many travellers who visited the Peloponnesian country-side during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when carriage-roads and railways were rapidly improving inter-regional transportation, but when the old *kalderimia* were still used for local communication on foot or with beasts of burden. J. G. Frazer's comment on Pausanias' description of the ancient road between Tegea and Sparta from 1895 is typical:

... our author [Pausanias] is here describing the route from Tegea to Laconia; and until the carriage-road was constructed a few years ago the path from Tegea to Sparta still followed the channel of the *Saranda Potamos*, crossing and recrossing again and again the shallow stream, which sprawls along its broad gravelly bed between immensely high stony banks that effectually shut out all views of the surrounding country. The carriage-road misses the river altogether, being carried along the hills a good deal higher up to the west, but the old route by the bed is still often adopted by travellers on foot.<sup>279</sup>

One of the first modern scholars to fully appreciate the characteristic features of the ancient Greek carriage-roads was William Kendrick Pritchett.<sup>280</sup> As Pritchett and others have described it, the Greek system is based on a standardisation of roads for wheeled communication. Constructive features consist of wheel-ruts carved right into the bedrock of a hill (**Fig. 3.3**) rather than of the built terraces and stone paving that are more common features of Roman roads. Sometimes narrow passages have been cut into the bedrock.<sup>281</sup> The technical distinction between the early modern *kalderimia* and the ancient carriage-roads also leads to very different ways of relating to the landscape. A *kalderimi* typically follows the contour lines of the landscape in an organic manner, twisting and turning its way through the hilly Peloponnesian inlands. An ancient Greek carriage-road will, on the other hand, tend to adopt a rather straight course across undulating features in the landscape.<sup>282</sup> The archaeological remains of ancient Greek roads in the Peloponnese, which had been only sporadically observed when Pritchett undertook his survey, consist mainly of superficial traces of wheel-ruts in rural situations where bedrock is exposed. The remains indicate that there was a standard gauge of approximately 1.40 m.<sup>283</sup> Much of the material that Pritchett had assembled was poorly documented, often out-of-context passages from early travellers. The more

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<sup>279</sup> See Frazer, 1965, Vol. 4, 443. The commentary refers to Pausanias, 8.54.1. William Loring, a contemporary of Frazer, who composed the first systematic account of the ancient road-network in our area, also based his investigation on the combination of early modern routes and ancient topographical literature. Loring's characterisation is almost identical to Frazer's. See Loring, 1895, 53.

<sup>280</sup> See especially Pritchett, 1980; for the general survey see especially 143-196. Pritchett also provided a bibliography of earlier studies. See Pritchett, 1980, 143-145. The lacking corpus of the Peloponnesian network, with precise measurements of the standard gauge, have more recently been supplied by the Greek archaeologist Yannis Pikoulas. For the Peloponnese see especially Pikoulas, 1995.

<sup>281</sup> On constructive features in Roman roads see Heinz, 2003. A good example of an artificial passage is located on the route between Orneai and Mantinea in Arcadia. See Pikoulas, 1995, 105-109.

<sup>282</sup> For a discussion see Pritchett, 1980, 167ff.

<sup>283</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 177. See also Pikoulas, 1995. Similar solutions are sometimes found in Etruscan and Roman roads. In the Roman road across the Brenner Pass the standard gauge was approximately 1.10 m. For Roman examples see Heinz, 2003, 37-40; 48-50; and 100-102.

recent investigations undertaken by the Greek archaeologist Yannis Pikoulas have illustrated a wealth of examples in the Peloponnese.<sup>284</sup>

Because of the deep wheel-ruts with a standard gauge of approximately 1.40 m, where wagons would have been locked in place, the ancient Greek wheel-road system is sometimes referred to as a *negative railway*.<sup>285</sup> Pritchett also took up the question of whether the ruts were intentionally carved or simply originate from a long period of use. He concluded that the ruts must have been carved. His arguments, as well as his conclusion, have been adopted by Pikoulas, whose main aim has been to provide the “corpus of reported wheel-ruts made with careful measurements” which Pritchett asked for in his article, rather than to explore the problem more openly.<sup>286</sup>

Unlike a modern railway or a *kalderimi*, there is relative consistency with ancient Greek roads in the choice of routes that cut through the landscape in relatively straight lines. As Pritchett remarked, an ancient road is for this reason more likely to follow the line of modern telephone poles rather than a modern road or railroad. The gradient of ancient roads can be very steep.<sup>287</sup> There is probably a very simple technical explanation for that. Unlike modern wheeled carriages ancient vehicles had a very simple high-friction axles without any kind of wheel bearing, and oxen rather than equines must have pulled the charts.<sup>288</sup> If the wagons were also locked into intentionally carved wheel-ruts, progress on these negative railways would have been very slow.<sup>289</sup> That the wheel-road network in the Peloponnese seems mostly to have been single lane might also have slowed down the pace of wheeled traffic. Once the wagon was locked into the negative railroad tracks, passage would have been impossible unless one of the wagons were lifted up from the track, or preferably

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<sup>284</sup> See Pikoulas, 1995; and Pikoulas, 1999. There are few remains of Archaic and Classical bridges in the Peloponnese (or in Greece altogether), and it is assumed that most bridges were simple wooden constructions. This, again, distinguishes Greek infrastructure from Roman with its monumental vaulted viaducts in brick and stone. That Greek roads not infrequently use dry riverbeds for passage, also underlines the inferiority of the landed Greek road-network in comparison with the Roman. Such passages would certainly be useless during much of the wet season.

<sup>285</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 168.

<sup>286</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 117.

<sup>287</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 167ff.

<sup>288</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 170.

<sup>289</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 194.

passage were facilitated by an arrangement, which is similar to railway points. Such *ektropes* have, in fact, been documented elsewhere in Arcadia by Pikoulas.<sup>290</sup>

It should be emphasised that the dominant role played here by the ancient wheel-roads, is probably out of proportion to their historical role. Throughout the history of our area – from Prehistory to the introduction of modern infrastructure – travelling usually took place on foot, and transportation of cargo was restricted to the use of beasts of burden. The persistence of long-distance wheeled transportation in antiquity represents somewhat of an anomaly in the long-term history of the region, since carriage-roads were first re-introduced in the 1850's. The long-term history of communication in the Peloponnesian Peninsula also contains many other pit-falls. We actually have few chronological fixed-points before the introduction of modern infrastructure in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The only case, for which there are comprehensive historical parallels, namely Roman roads, is poorly documented in our area.<sup>291</sup> What kind of road engineering persisted in the Peloponnesian Highlands before the rise of the Greek polis culture is a very difficult issue. Although it is presently very difficult to formulate a general hypothesis about these early phases, we will also approach examples of prehistoric communication in the discussion below. From the present documentation it is also most obscure how long the ancient Greek wheel-roads were maintained, or if paved Roman roads were ever introduced in the area.

### 3. AN ANCIENT TROPOLOGY OF TRAVEL: PAUSANIAS 8.34.4-7

To follow the itineraries of Pausanias is difficult, not just because it is difficult to situate them in the present landscape, but also because itineraries play a more prominent role in his geographic information system than in the modern paradigm, where abstract mathematical space provides the spatial reference-system. In a description of the places of the Tegeatike in the vicinity of what Pausanias calls the Manthurian Plain (**Map 3**) he typically situates places and objects either “to the right” or “towards the

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<sup>290</sup> See Pikoulas, 1999, 261-2, no. 7, pl. 2.

<sup>291</sup> On Roman roads in general see Heinz, 2003.

left.”<sup>292</sup> In another example a sanctuary of Pan is said to be located “a little further away”<sup>293</sup> from the route. The famous proverb attributed to the sophist Protagoras that “man is the measure of all things,” which is usually interpreted as emblematic of 5<sup>th</sup> century cultural relativism, could, in this context, rather be taken as an emblem of the ancient Greek tropology of space as *stadion*—that things and places are situated according to the measurements (dactyls, fathoms, feet, and stadia) and orientation (left–right) of the human body.<sup>294</sup> The folds of the world (landscape, topography, geography) are thus regarded as analogous to the folds of the human body (fingers, arms, feet, and walks).<sup>295</sup>

In this tropology of moving a boundary is not perceived as an abstract line in a geometric field of triangulated projections. The geometric model of space is, as we have seen, first introduced to this area by the 1829 Royal French Expedition. In the ‘pre-geometric’ period the horizon of the land (*khôra*) of the Tegeans is not conceptualised as one thing. There is simply no such thing as one boundary of the Tegeatike, but rather a multiplicity of boundaries that unfold in network of major routes.<sup>296</sup> The main routes of the Tegean road-network (**Map 3**) thus represent the multivalent horizon of Tegean boundaries.<sup>297</sup> If we return to that ‘place’ (*topos*) in Pausanias’ text where he relates to certain topographical elements in the vicinity of the Manthurian Plain, we will also see how this tropological approach to the text can solve what appear to be intricate topographical paradoxes.

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<sup>292</sup> “to the right (ἐν δεξιᾷ),” Pausanias, 8.44.7; “towards the left (ἐς ἀριστεράν),” Pausanias, 8.44.5. I owe the observation of Pausanias’ almost consistent use of corporeal tropes to my colleague the Norwegian archaeologist Thomas Risan.

<sup>293</sup> (ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον), Pausanias, 8.54.6.

<sup>294</sup> On this proverb see Guthrie, 1987, 181-188.

<sup>295</sup> It is notable in this context that it appears that there were kept standards of such measurements in the market-places (*agora*) of every city. For a beautifully preserved example from Salamis, now in the Archaeological Museum of Pireus, see Steinhauer, 1998, 31.

<sup>296</sup> The multivalence of this ancient Greek concept of geo-political boundaries could, in fact, be regarded as just another way of viewing the lack of unity between land and people in ancient Greek cultural discourse. Although the Arcadians were habitually referred to as autochthonous (Herodotus, 8.73.1-2), it is also true as has been pointed out by Jim Roy, that “Arcadia was not in the first instance a geographical concept, but a human one.” Roy, 1968, 20, cited from Nielsen, 2002, 89. For a discussion see Nielsen, 2002, 89-92. On the concept of boundaries in ancient Greece see Daverio Rocchi, 1988. On the discourse dimension of ancient Greek ethnic identity in general, and on Arcadian autochthony in particular see Hall, 1997, 34ff.

<sup>297</sup> The ancient route featured in Map 3 only comprises routes especially discussed in this chapter. Main routes, such as the route from Tegea to Mantinea, or the direct route from Tegea to Kynouria, are accordingly not included.

The topographical context of Pausanias' text indicates that the Manthurian Plain is identical with the lowest section of the Tegean Plain to the southwest, where there is presently a seasonal lake called Taka (**Maps 2 & 3**). As we have seen, this area is important in the hydrological balance of the Tegean Plain since it is one of the two locations of *katavothria* where surface waters on the plain have their outlet.<sup>298</sup> There is a ridge, presently called *Mt. Koukoueras*, coming in from the north that divides this low area in two distinctly open spaces. Between the tip of this ridge and the steep mountain side (ancient *Mt. Boreion*) to the south of the low area there is a narrow passage (**Map 3**).<sup>299</sup> On the western side of this ridge there are remains of early sanctuaries that belong to the small polis Pallantion, and the rather open valley on this side of the ridge was the central territory of this polis. The ridge itself could be identical with what Pausanias below refers to as *Mt. Kresion*.<sup>300</sup> Pausanias relates to this area because he was on his way from the Asea Valley to the Tegeatike, and took the route through the Vigla pass where the remains of another ancient sanctuary (**Fig. 3.4**) as well as wheel-ruts from an ancient cart road have been found (**Map 3**).<sup>301</sup> The most interesting feature in the ancient topography of this area is what Pausanias refers to as the *Χῶμα* (*Khôma*). In this context it has been interpreted as some kind of artificial 'mound of earth.' Pausanias' *Χῶμα* has also been identified with a causeway that cuts across the plain between the foot of *Mt. Boreion* and the low ridge of *Koukoueras* in a straight line, connecting exactly to the watershed on both sides.<sup>302</sup> Before it was recently destroyed

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<sup>298</sup> The other area where there are major *katavothria* draining the Tegean section of the Tripolis Plateau is the Korythean Plain. See Chapter one. See also Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 70-72; and Fig. 7.4.

<sup>299</sup> On *Mt. Boreion* see Pausanias, 8.44.4.

<sup>300</sup> What has been found in the territory of Pallantion is mainly the sanctuaries and what is probably a prehistoric cemetery. On the sanctuaries see Østby, 1995. On prehistoric remains at Pallantion see Howell, 1970. Apart from very fragmentary surface finds recorded by Howell, no secure indications of a major settlement have ever been located in the presumed territory of Pallantion. In the late 1990's Theodoros Spyropoulos, who at that time was Ephor of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Arcadia and Laconia, made investigations in this area in connection with the construction of the new highway between Tripolis and Kalamata. He has reported to have found "nothing of interest." Personal communication.

<sup>301</sup> As we shall see in the discussion of the network there are, actually, two alternative routes between the Asea Valley and the Tegeatike that both traverse the territory of Pallantion. On the sanctuary in this pass see Romaios, 1957. Wheel-ruts further down in the pass were also observed by Romaios. See Romaios, 1957, 160. More recently Pikoulas has inspected this pass without being able to relocate the wheel-ruts. See Pikoulas, 1999, 272, kat.no. 22.

<sup>302</sup> Already the surveyors of the French 1829 Expedition made this suggestion. See Boblaye, 1836, 143 and 172-173; also Ross, 1841, 61, and Loring, 1995, 34ff.

by an environmental project that aims to reconstruct a permanent lake in this area, large stone blocks were still clearly visible on the surface during the dry season. Since this ‘causeway’ is situated in such a critical hydrological position, earlier discussions have also indicated that its original function was to serve as a dam. In combination with control of the natural *katavothria* this project was a suitable tool for the irrigation and cultivation of this marshy area. In comparison with similar monuments elsewhere in the Peloponnese it has been suggested that the dam could go back to a reclamation project as early as the Late Bronze Age.<sup>303</sup> Since Pausanias actually refers to it, it is certain that the *Khôma* was an ancient project, although the prehistoric attribution remains inconclusive. The *Khôma* is also a difficult monument to make sense of from Pausanias’ description:

From Asea there is a way up Mount Boreus. *On top* (ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρῳ) of the mountain are *traces* (σημεῖά) of a sanctuary: *it is said* (ἐλέγετο) that Ulysses made the sanctuary in honour of Saviour Athena and Poseidon after his return from Ilium. What is called the *Dyke* (Χῶμα) forms the boundary between the territory of Megalopolis on the one side and the territories of Tegea and Pallantium on the other. The plain of Pallantium is reached by turning off to the left from the Dyke. In Pallantium there is a temple with two images of stone; one represents Pallas, and the other Evander. And there is a sanctuary of the Maid, the daughter of Demeter, and not far off is a statue of Polybius. *The hill above the city* (τῷ λόφῳ δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως) was *formerly* (τὸ ἀρχαῖον) used as an *acropolis* (ἀκροπόλει): on the top of the hill there remains to this day a sanctuary of certain gods. Their surname is Pure, and here it is customary to take the most solemn oaths. The people either do not know or will not divulge the names of these gods. We may conjecture that they were called Pure because Pallas did not sacrifice to them in the same way that his father sacrificed to Lycaean Zeus. On the right of the Dyke is the Manthuric plain. The plain is on the borders of the Tegean territory, and extends for just about fifty furlongs as far as Tegea. There is a small mountain on the right of the road called Mount Cresius: on it stands the sanctuary of Aphneus. According to the Tegeans, Ares loved Aerope, daughter of Cepheus, who was the son of Aleus: she expired in childbed, but the babe clung to his dead mother, and sucked abundance of milk from her breasts. Now this happened by the will of Ares, therefore they name the god Aphneus (‘abundant’); but the name given to the child, *they say* (φασιν), was Aeropus. On the road to Tegea there is a fountain called the Leuconian fountain. *They say* (λέγουσιν) that Leucone was a daughter of Aphidas, and her tomb is not far from the city of Tegea.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>303</sup> See Knauss, 1988. Unfortunately the causeway was recently completely destroyed in connection with an environmental program funded by the European Union, which aims to reconstruct an extensive wetland environment at the seasonal Lake Taka. It is rather ironic that the purpose for which the causeway has been reused in connection with the new environmental program is identical with its prehistoric and ancient functions, namely to function both as a dam and a road. Lake Taka is the southernmost stopover point in Europe for transmigrant wetland birds.

<sup>304</sup> Pausanias, 8.44.4-7.

The topographical background of this passage is relatively easy to relate to the present landscape.<sup>305</sup> The sanctuaries of Pallantion, both below and on top of what Pausanias refers to as the former acropolis are located on the ridge to the north of Lake Taka, and the *signs* (σημεῖά) of the sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon have also been identified (Fig. 3.4). Exactly as Pausanias prescribes the latter is situated *at the highest point* (ἐπὶ τῆ ἄκρῃ) of the Vigla Pass in Mt. Boreion on the southwestern side of Lake Taka.<sup>306</sup> Pikoulas has also suggested that some remains discovered by him on the shore of Lake Taka against Mt. Koukoueras belong to the sanctuary of Aphneus.<sup>307</sup> Because it is difficult to make topographical sense of the causeway as delimiting the territory of Megalopolis (and Asea) on one side and Tegean and Pallantian territories on the other, while at the same time the plain of Pallantion according to Pausanias was on its left side and the Manthurian Plain on its right side, William Loring refused to accept the identification of the causeway as the *Khôma* described by Pausanias.<sup>308</sup> The anomaly pointed out by Loring has left the *Khôma* as an insecure element in the topography of the Tegean Plain. Apparently there is a topographical paradox in Pausanias' text. He says, "What is called the *Khôma* is the boundary of Megalopolis territory [actually 'boundaries' (ὄροι) in plural] against [the territory] of Tegea and Pallantion."<sup>309</sup> My suggestion here is that instead of reading Pausanias' description as though it unfolds in abstract space, which is exactly the anachronistic methodology applied in Loring's reading, we should read it according to the ancient tropology of moving. If we read the boundary here not as a geometric line, an abstract projection of the causeway, delimiting Megalopolis territory on one side and Tegean/Pallantian on the other, but rather read 'the boundaries' according to the periegetic tropology, the *Khôma* rather represents a bridge between two territories.

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<sup>305</sup> It should be pointed out here that the low area (presently called Lake Taka) is one of those areas of the plain where almost 2000 years of sedimentation may have altered the landscape significantly. This is indicated by the state of the *khôma* dyke, which only a few years ago was barely visible on the surface of the dry lake bottom.

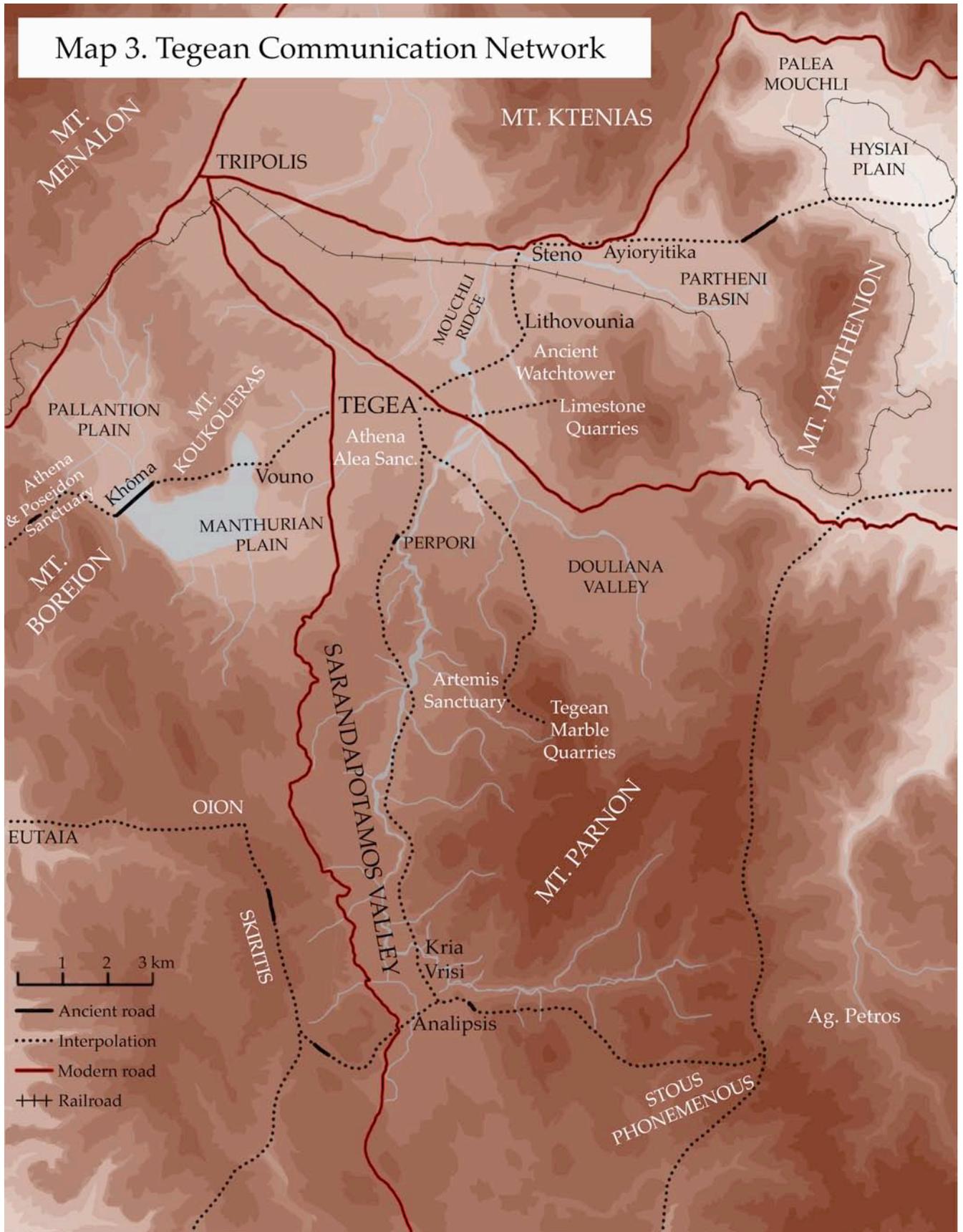
<sup>306</sup> See Romaios, 1957b.

<sup>307</sup> Pikoulas, 1987, 590-2. No qualified suggestion has ever been made about the location of the Leuconian fountain.

<sup>308</sup> For Loring's alternative theory see Loring, 1895, 33-35.

<sup>309</sup> (τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Χῶμα ὄροι Μεγαλοπολίταις τῆς γῆς πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς εἶσι), Pausanias, 8.44.5.

Map 3. Tegean Communication Network



On the one (southwestern) side of this bridge, on the side of Mt. Boreion, are the territories of Megalopolis and Asea (**Map 1**), and on the northeastern side are the territories of Pallantion and Tegea (**Map 3**).



Figure 3.4 Vigla Pass between the Tegean Plain and the Asea Valley. A small rural chapel has been built on top of the ruins of the ancient sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon.

This shift in the direction of reading also resolves the apparent topographical paradox. When Pausanias walks across the *Khôma* from Megalopolis to the Tegean/Pallantian side, he evidently has the plain of Pallantion on his left side and the Manthurian Plain on his right side.<sup>310</sup> In this tropological reading of what Pausanias says about the *Khôma* the topographical paradox dissolves.

We have already established that Pausanias' itinerary from Asea to Tegea cannot be reduced to a geometric trajectory. If we look at the text again, we realise that its linearity is also disturbed by things *heard* (φασιν or λέγουσιν, 'they say;' ἐλέγετο, 'it is said') and things *seen* (σημεῖα, 'traces, signs'), but first and foremost by things *ancient*

<sup>310</sup> ([...] τὸ Παλλαντικὸν πεδίων ἐστὶν [...] ἀριστερὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χώματος); "the plain of Pallantion is ... to the left of the *Khôma*," Pausanias, 8.44.5; and (τοῦ δὲ καλουμένου Χώματος ἐν δεξιᾷ πεδίων ἐστὶ τὸ Μανθουρικόν); "To the right of what is called the *Khôma* is the Manthurian Plain," Pausanias, 8.44.7. This road traversed the plain from the causeway to Tegea, and it cut across Koukouéras, and traversed the flood-zone between Koukouéras and Vouno at a point where there is another causeway. That this route was of importance in later times is indicated by an early modern bridge between Vouno and Tzivas.

(ἀρχαῖον). The deepest fold in Pausanias' itinerary is that which constitutes the relationship between landscape (topography) and local memory. The first station on his itinerary is situated *on top of* (ἐπὶ τῆ ἄκρᾳ) the Vigla Pass, a place which in a topographic sense represents a boundary between the territories of Asea and Tegea. The topographical peak of the pass is also a conceptual bridge between those two territories. In Pausanias' text that same place is also a bridge between the past and the present. The phrase that Pausanias uses to describe what can be seen at that place, 'traces of a sanctuary' (σημεῖά [...] ἱεροῦ), is also a tropological bridge: the σημεῖον, the trace, here stands as the bridge between the signifier in the present (the ruins) and the signified of the past (the sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon that was made by Odysseus in the heroic age). Σημεῖον can also mean 'landmark, boundary, or limit.' In the tropological context of Pausanias' text the ruins of the sanctuary on top of the Vigla Pass is a double boundary—a spatial boundary between the territories of Asea and Tegea, and a temporal boundary between the distant heroic age of its foundation and the ruins of the present as seen by Pausanias.

A similar unfolding of the past in the landscape of the present can also be observed in Pausanias' *ekphrasis* of Pallantion. After situating the plain of Pallantion in relation to the tropology of his walk across the topographic bridge of the *Khôma*, he unfolds the main features of its memorial topography. He situates the main settlement (the *polis*) of Pallantion in relation to the "old polis on the hill."<sup>311</sup> As he approaches Tegea beyond the Pallantian fold, locally specific Tegean narratives also start to unfold from his walk. As he approaches the city past the sanctuary of Aphneus and the Leuconian fountain, both with distinctly Tegean histories, it is almost as though the occurrence of narratives from the local past increases. Note that during the final lines of our citation, where the narrative of the itinerary converges towards its *telos* (Tegea), the frequency of references to local guides (φασιν or λέγουσιν, 'they say') also intensifies. As the perieget approaches the Tegean city the narrative noise of its past becomes ever louder.

Pausanias' itinerary from Asea to Tegea only represents one example of how Tegean landscapes of memory are configured according to the ancient tropology of travelling. I

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<sup>311</sup> (τῷ λόφῳ δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως), Pausanias, 8.44.5.

have refrained from undertaking the similar near-sighted reading of all the main itineraries of the Tegeatike in Pausanias' text, but towards the end of this chapter we shall return to another example. When for the remainder of this chapter we shall focus on a few other routes in the local network, and especially on the most monumental kinds of communication, especially wheel-roads, transportation of heavy cargo, and caravan routes, it is also important that we keep in mind the ever-present silent majority of local communication. In its historical and social multitude the memorial landscapes of the Tegeatike are a lot more complex than we can fathom in this discussion. By knowing a little something about the local topology of moving, and about the more monumental forms of communication in the Tegeatike, we are, hopefully, better equipped to view local memory in more properly geographical contexts. We shall turn now to a more detailed account of the history of monumental communication in the Tegeatike.

#### 4. ANCIENT GREEK ROAD BUILDING IN CONTEXT

The Romans had the best foresight in those matters which the Greeks make but little account of, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts.<sup>312</sup>

Archaeological sources indicate that engineered roads and bridges first appear in the Peloponnese in the Late Bronze Age. One example is the local network of roads in the Argolid, which is centred on Mycenae (**Map 1**).<sup>313</sup> Mycenaean roads are also documented in Messenia and Laconia, but there are few reliable traces of engineered Bronze Age roads in our area, or in Arcadia altogether, apart from isolated examples such as the *Khôma* in the Tegeatike.<sup>314</sup> The Late Bronze Age networks in the Peloponnese were for local communication centred on redistribution centres like

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<sup>312</sup> Strabo, 5.3.8.235.

<sup>313</sup> The most recent survey is Jansen, 2001.

<sup>314</sup> That there was a network of roads for wheeled traffic in Arcadia in the Late Bronze Age, as has actually been suggested by the Greek archaeologist Eleuteriou Krigas, is a rather far fetched idea. See Krigas, 1984 and 1987. The Mycenaean network in the Argolid features examples of well built retaining walls for the support of roads in sloping terrain, and bridges with typically Mycenaean corbelled vaults. See Jansen, 2001.

Mycenae rather than on long-distance communication between such centres, and transportation between agricultural and pastoral production units and redistribution centres was facilitated by beasts of burden rather than by wheeled carriages.<sup>315</sup> If the Tegean *Khôma* (Map 3) actually did function as a road in the Late Bronze Age, it contradicts the established hypothesis, since it served a connection between the Tegean Plain and the Asea Valley.

It has long been assumed that inter-regional landed communication networks never developed in Bronze Age Greece because of the lack of political unification. The same line of argument has also been used to dismiss the existence of inter-regional landed communication networks in Classical Greece.<sup>316</sup> Despite strong linguistic and cultural bonds the Greek city-states failed to develop political unification beyond temporary military alliances. The influential primitivism paradigm viewed the Greek city-states as agricultural societies where trade and other kinds of exchange between regions had little influence on society.<sup>317</sup> In the early Eastern Mediterranean, however, one does not need to look far beyond Greek polis-culture to appreciate the existence of complex landed infrastructure. In Persia inter-regional networks of landed communication did develop at an early stage. Unlike Classical Greek society the Persian Empire had a central government, and regional administrators (satraps) who acted on behalf on the central government.<sup>318</sup> Political unification was surely also the basis for the success of the Roman road-network, to which the poor Greek roads have been compared since the days of Strabo.<sup>319</sup> As another argument against the existence of inter-regional landed communication in ancient Greece it could also be noted that the Greek *poleis* lacked

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<sup>315</sup> This view is also adopted by the most recent review of the subject. See Jansen, 2001. The practical usefulness of wheeled carriages in LBA Greece was minimal. In the Linear B tablets from Pylos (Peloponnese) and Knossos (Crete) there are, however, relatively frequent references to chariots and wheels, and one must accordingly assume that there existed roads for such vehicles. See Chadwick, 1976, 164-171; and Pritchett, 1980, 187. For a discussion on the symbolic rather than practical role of wheeled carriages in warfare see Detienne, 1968, 318.

<sup>316</sup> On Bronze Age Greece see Jansen, 2002. On Classical Greece see Pritchett, 1980, 151.

<sup>317</sup> See Finley, 1985; and Horden & Purcell, 2000.

<sup>318</sup> On the Persian road-system see Graf, 1994. The satrapic system is described by Herodotus and in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomicus*; Herodotus, 5.52-54; 8.98; and [Aristotle], *Oeconomicus* 2. See also Pritchett, 1980, 184.

<sup>319</sup> For a recent, comprehensive discussion of Roman roads see Heinz, 2003.

public bodies to perform such tasks as extensive road building.<sup>320</sup> For this purpose the Roman rulers had an exceptional tool in the army. Unlike the Greek citizen-militia with few public duties outside the battlefields, the Roman army was professional and could be directed to engineering service in peacetime, and building roads was an important secondary task of the Roman army as well as during actual campaigns when bridges and access roads had to be built.<sup>321</sup> The sea always provided the most effective means of transportation in ancient Greece, and it is typical that the only Peloponnesian polis that developed a complex landed infrastructure as a response to trading activity at an early stage, Corinth, did this for the purpose of providing a connection between its two harbours on either side of the Isthmus.<sup>322</sup>

Despite the discouraging image of Greek road-building in comparison with the later Imperial Roman or the earlier 'satrapy' system in Asia, the faint traces documented by archaeology can, to a certain degree, be confirmed by literary testimonies. In the city centre (*astû*) in Athens the *astû-nomoi* had certain responsibilities for cleaning of city streets. Repair of roads (*hodoi*) in the city was taken care of by the *hodopoioi*.<sup>323</sup> Pritchett suggested that a corresponding set of *agronomoi* supervised the road-network in the countryside.<sup>324</sup> The only extensive description of the activity of these *agronomoi* occurs in Plato's *Laws*. For each of the twelve divisions of the ideal city Plato prescribes five *agronomoi* and *phourarchoi* ('guard supervisors') that select sixty young men for

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<sup>320</sup> The hard manual labour connected with road-building was certainly, as in the case of quarrying with which it in the Greek case shares some features, carried out by slaves throughout the Graeco-Roman world. See Heinz, 2003, 27-28.

<sup>321</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 152 for references. An interesting pictorial scene that points to the Roman Army having been used for road-building is a scene from the famous Column of Trajan in Rome's Imperial Forum. See Heinz, 2003, 28.

<sup>322</sup> Corinth had two harbours – Lechaemum on the Corinthian Gulf, and Cenchreae on the Saronic Gulf. Connecting the two harbours was an engineered causeway, the Diolchos, where cargo was pulled on wheeled carriages across the Isthmus. Engineered wheel-ruts in the Diolchos go back to the Archaic period. From the central city wall at the base of Acrocorinth a wide belt was fortified on both sides ('the Long Walls of Corinth'), and connected the civic centre with the Lechaemum harbour. Protected by the long walls the Lechaemum road went from the heart of the civic centre in the Agora to the harbour. See Broneer, 1973, 19.

<sup>323</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 145ff. Aristotle informs us that there were five *hodopoioi* in Athens. Like many other public servicemen in Athens the *hodopoioi* were appointed by lot. Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution*, 54.1.

<sup>324</sup> The word *agronomos* is also mentioned by Aristotle. See Aristotle, *Politics*, 6.1321b.28-30.

public service for two years in the countryside. The duties of each tribe include beautification of the countryside, water management, and road maintenance.<sup>325</sup>

Plato's ideal city was inspired by institutions in Crete and Sparta, about which we know few details, rather than by Athenian institutions, about which we are better informed.<sup>326</sup> One thing we do know for certain about the history of Spartan civic life is that the Lacedaimoneans established a professional army at an early stage. As Herodotus states, it was the privilege and obligation of the Spartan kings always to lead the Spartan army; "on campaign, they must go first on the way out and last on the way back."<sup>327</sup> In times of peace the Spartan kings mainly served ritual functions, but it is interesting to note that Herodotus stresses that it was under the authority of the kings in times of peace "to adjudicate in cases concerning the public highways."<sup>328</sup> Since the Spartan kings were not in control of any other public body than the army, it must have been through the army that the Spartan kings interfered with public road building. It is difficult to imagine Spartiates in the Archaic and Classical period as road-builders in the same manner as the Roman army, but the existence of some kind of military organisation and supervision of road building, which is reminiscent of Plato's prescriptions for the ideal city in the *Laws*, provides us with a plausible hypothesis for Sparta as an important agent in early Greek road-building. Since Tegea was a neighbour of Sparta, it also opens up for a discussion about the communication network in the border district between the two *poleis*.

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<sup>325</sup> Plato, *Laws*, 6.760b-763c.

<sup>326</sup> See Morrow, 1960.

<sup>327</sup> Herodotus, 6.56.

<sup>328</sup> Herodotus, 6.57. See also Cartledge, 1987, 108-109.

## 5. SKIRITIS, A DIGRESSION ON LACEDAIMONEAN INTERFERENCE WITH EARLY TEGEAN TRAFFIC HISTORY

On the left wing were the Sciritae, who, in a Spartan army, always have the privilege of occupying this position as a separate force.

(Thucydides, 8.67)

In discussing the possibility of the Spartan Army being involved in road building it is important to keep in mind that despite the exclusive warrior-code of Spartan society its army actually consisted of a lot more than Spartiates. In this context it will be especially interesting to consider the possible role of *perioikoi* within the organisation of the Lacedaimonean army. It has often been pointed out that the *perioikoi* served important support functions for the Spartan army, such as the production of weapons.<sup>329</sup> Since they were dispersed throughout the Lacedaimonean territories—*perioikoi* literally means ‘those that dwell in the periphery’—there would also have been logistical advantages in delegating responsibility for the local road-networks to these communities. The early history of Tegea was, as we have seen, closely connected with the history of Spartan expansion. The border area between Tegea and Sparta was always a matter of dispute between these two Peloponnesian powers and supplies us with a test case for this hypothesis. This area is usually called the *Skiritis* by ancient authors.

The preferred military route between Sparta and Tegea in antiquity was that which Loring called ‘the indirect route’ via the Asea Valley (**Map 1**).<sup>330</sup> In the Tegean Plain this route was connected with Pausanias’s *Khôma* (**Map 3**). To the northeast of Tegea this route also connected with the Argolid, with Corinth, and across the Isthmus with the mainland (**Map 1**). In the long-term communication history of the Tegeatike, and of the entire peninsula, this route is one of the most important. Further below we shall return to this diagonal axis across the peninsula, which I have called the Peloponnesian Highway. The intersection between the Peloponnesian Highway and most other ancient

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<sup>329</sup> See Cartledge, 1987, 178; Finley, 1990, 167; and Shipley, 1992, 212.

<sup>330</sup> See Loring, 1895, 47ff. As appears from the analysis recently undertaken by Björn Forsén, this was also the preferred military route across the Peninsula in later periods. See Forsén, 2002. See also discussion on the Peloponnesian Highway below.

routes in the Tegeatike is, not surprisingly, located at the urban centre of ancient Tegea. There is, however, an exception to this structural focus in the ancient Tegean traffic network. This exception can be found in the area to the south of the Tegean Plain, where the border disputes between Tegea and Sparta were frequent. From literary sources it appears that there were at least two major, although probably small, settlements in this area, Oion and Karyai. In Pausanias' list of aboriginal Tegean *demoi* these denominations also figure as the Oiatai and the Karyatai.<sup>331</sup> Karyatis also occurs in the sources as the denomination of a district, whereas the district of the Oiatai is usually referred to as the Skiritis. It is uncertain, however, if the denominations of the Oiatai and the Skiritai refer to the same group of people. It has been suggested that the ancient settlement at Analipsis (**Map 3**) far south in the Sarandapotamos Valley is identical with Karyai, and that Oion was in the vicinity of Arvanitokerasea farther north and closer to the Tegean Plain.<sup>332</sup>

What is important in our context is that the Skiritis district, including Oion, was perioikic territory. In fact, the Skiritis was probably one of the first areas where Sparta applied the perioikic model of local dependency rather than simply suppressing the population of a conquered neighbouring district as serfs (*helots*), and this modification of early Spartan expansive strategy could be viewed as a local analogy to the early alliance that Sparta made with Tegea. The Skiritis is a mountain district with little agricultural potential, and with a long tradition of pastoral economy. That the Skiritis area with its semi-nomadic pastoral population represented important military resources is attested in the fact that later the Skiritai made up a unit of special forces in the Spartan army.<sup>333</sup> The location of perioikic Oion in the Tegean communication network and the flexible network of alliances of the Skiritai are most interesting features of this border-landscape. That there existed an interconnecting route to Oion from the direct southern route through the Sarandapotamos Valley to Laconia is accordingly very probable. On the other hand, Oion appears to have belonged to a

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<sup>331</sup> See Pausanias, 8.45.1.

<sup>332</sup> See Pikoulas, 1987. See also Cavanagh et al., 1996, 283, No. DD43.

<sup>333</sup> This special unit is mentioned many times in ancient sources, and it appears that we are talking of semi-professional hoplites that fought side-by-side with the Spartiates. Thucydides mentions no less than 600 at the Battle of Mantinea in 418/17 BC. See Thucydides, 5.68. See also Cartledge, 2002, 218, 220, and 239.

separate road-network, which connected it with Tegea's southern neighbours, Eutaia, Asea, the ancient settlement at Analipsis (in the Karyatis) in the southeast, and, most importantly, with Sparta (**Map 3**). Since the Skiritai were perioikic subjects of the Lacedaimonean polis already before the Peloponnesian road-network was consolidated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, this structural displacement in the local traffic network confirms established structures in the political landscape.

The structural displacement in the ancient traffic-structure which situates Oion on an axis that represents an alternative to the network centred on the Tegean *astû*, can be illustrated with some strategic movements that Xenophon reports as having taken place in 370 BC, when there was *stasis* at Tegea and at a time when the growing power of Thebes came more and more to influence also the Peloponnese. The joint strike on central Spartan territory in the Eurotas Valley undertaken by Arcadian and Boiotian forces in 370 BC was the first military campaign that ever penetrated this deep into Laconia. The main Lacedaimonean army headed by Agesilaos had at this time retreated from Arcadia, but left Ischolaos at Oion with a guard unit to protect the frontier.<sup>334</sup> The Boiotians hesitated to go into Laconia, where they suspected that the feared Lacedaimonean army would be best equipped to defend it. Then some men “from Karyai (ἐκ τε Καρυῶν)”<sup>335</sup> convinced them that there were no Lacedaimonean troops protecting Karyai, and people from the perioikic settlements in the Skiritis also told the Boiotians that the perioikoi would no longer stand by their Spartan overlords in the case of military conflict. At that point, says, Xenophon, “Having heard all this the Thebans were convinced, and they penetrated by way of Karyai, whereas the Arcadians went by Oion in the Skiritis.”<sup>336</sup> With the aid of perioikoi from Oion, who stood by their promise, the Arcadians did defeat Ischolaos there. The original plan thereafter appears to have been for the Arcadians and Boiotians to meet at Karyai and go into Laconia together, but encouraged by the Arcadian victory at Oion the Boiotians continued alone

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<sup>334</sup> “καί γάρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῶ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος (for Ischolaos was at Oion in the Skiritis),” Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 6.5.24.

<sup>335</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 6.5.25.

<sup>336</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 6.5.25.

into Laconia, sacking Sellasia, and moving onwards into the Eurotas Valley, where they set up camp the first night in the Spartan sanctuary of Apollo.<sup>337</sup>

The archaeological remains of the southern section of the Tegean road-network matches well Xenophon's report of troop movements. Wheel-ruts reported by Romaios at Perpori, where the Sarandapotamos Gorge opens up towards the Tegean Plain, belong to the direct route towards Sparta that went via Karyai. If this route did, in fact, go through the Sarandapotamos Valley, which seems the most obvious route, it makes the ancient settlement at Analipsis a very likely candidate for Karyai.<sup>338</sup> The existence of an indirect route from the Asea Valley via Eutaia and Oion has been confirmed by Pikoulas, who found wheel-ruts south of Arvanitokerasea, a probable location of ancient Oion (**Map 3**). Wheel-ruts that were observed by Pikoulas west of Analipsis, when viewed together with wheel-ruts observed farther south at Kharzanikos, confirm the existence of an intersection between these two routes, which is presupposed by Xenophon's narrative.

The existence of this anomaly in the Tegean network, that seems so strongly to lean in the direction of a separate connection between the Eurotas Valley and perioikic Skiritis, strengthens the hypothesis that Sparta may have contributed to the early development of infrastructure in this peripheral region of the Tegeatike.

## 6. BEYOND THE CENTRE VERSUS PERIPHERY MODEL

Already Pritchett was open to the idea that Sparta played an important role in the history of road building in ancient Greece. This idea has been strongly advocated by Pikoulas.<sup>339</sup> The early Skiritis network in the Southern Tegeatike could also be taken in favour of Sparta as the innovative agent. Among the relatively few scholars who have recently worked with this problem there is hardly consensus about how to interpret the role of Sparta in early Greek road building. Pikoulas, for instance, is convinced not

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<sup>337</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 6.5.26-27.

<sup>338</sup> This was originally the position held by Romaios, but he changed his mind and later suggested that the settlement was identical with the Arcadian polis Iasos. See Romaios, 1957a. The Karyai hypothesis has since been taken up again by Pikoulas. See Pikoulas, 1987.

<sup>339</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 145ff; and Pikoulas, 1999, 307.

only that the Spartans did introduce road engineering to the Peloponnesians through their Asian connections, but also that Sparta – as the *hegemon* of the Peloponnesian League – played the same centrally coordinating role in its implementation also outside Laconia as the Persian king did throughout his empire. On the basis of this interpretation Pikoulas dated the earliest sections of the Peloponnesian road-network to the seventh century BC. He further considered the middle of the sixth century, around the time of the consolidation of the Peloponnesian League, as the most likely date for the expansion of the network throughout the peninsula.<sup>340</sup> The purpose of this ‘imperial’ project, according to Pikoulas, was to facilitate the logistic demands of the Lacedaimonian army. He also argues that it was the Spartans and their allies, who actually built roads all over the peninsula. The extensive network of ancient wheel-roads that Pikoulas has documented in the Peloponnesians, as well as in other Greek regions, has remained virtually unknown outside Greece.<sup>341</sup> For this reason few international reviews of Pikoulas’ work have appeared. One of Pikoulas’ few reviewers outside Greece is the Finnish historian Björn Forsén. Forsén has recently taken part in an archaeological survey of the Asea Valley, and in the publication of this project he has also taken up the discussion in a separate article on the road-network of the Asea Valley.<sup>342</sup> On the basis of the Asea case Forsén has argued for local implementation of the Greek system.<sup>343</sup> In relation to his critique of Pikoulas’ imperial model I completely agree with Forsén. I am, however, not completely willing to let go of the suggested prominence of Sparta in the early history of Peloponnesian road building. For one thing it cannot be denied that the remarkable ability of the Lacedaimonian army to cover vast distances with a speed that in the Archaic and Classical periods could not be matched by any other Greek army becomes a lot more credible when viewed against

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<sup>340</sup> See Pikoulas, 1999, 254.

<sup>341</sup> Except for a catalogue of documented remains in the region of Arcadia, which Pikoulas published in English together with a brief presentation of his theory, all publications of his work are in Greek. For the discussion in English see Pikoulas, 1999. The most comprehensive discussion presented by Pikoulas, in Greek, can be found in his work on the road-network of Arcadia, Corinthia, and the Argolid. See Pikoulas, 1995. For bibliographies of Pikoulas’ work that are more extensive than the references in my own bibliography see Pikoulas, 1995, 381; and Pikoulas, 1999, 314-315.

<sup>342</sup> For a preliminary discussion of the Asea Survey see Forsén et al., 1996. The final results of this survey have recently been published as Forsén & Forsén, 2002. On the road-network of the Asea Valley see especially

<sup>343</sup> See Forsén, 2002, 89-92.

the background of a good road-network. Contrary to Pikoulas, who believes that Sparta controlled road building in the Peloponnese through their allies in the Peloponnesian League, I would suggest limiting their direct influence to the perioikic territories as we have seen exemplified in the Skiritis. I also believe that it is relevant that the few literary testimonies—mainly about road-maintenance and management of *usufruct*—do point in the direction of Sparta as the innovative agent of the Greek system. That Sparta should have built roads in the sixth and fifth centuries BC in the Argolid is an absurd notion.

The date of the wheel-road network in the Tegeatike is uncertain. In the light of the prominence of Sparta in early road engineering and the structural inclination of the road-network in the Skiritis towards Sparta it is tempting to suggest the middle of the sixth century BC. This is a solution which allows space both for local implementation, because this is the time when there is hard evidence for synoecism at Tegea, and also for influence from Lacedaimonean road engineering, since it was also around this time, according to Herodotus, that an alliance was being formed between Tegea and her mighty southern neighbour.<sup>344</sup> In this perspective the formation of the ancient Tegean network is a process that is more or less parallel with the cultural consolidation of the Tegean countryside. The main routes of the ancient road-network should accordingly be expected to reflect the geo-political landscape of the Archaic period rather than of the Roman Empire.

## 6. REGIONAL TRADE AND LOCAL HEAVY CARGO LOGISTICS IN ANTIQUITY

Although the discussion of ancient traffic up to this point has been very focused on ancient Greek roads for wheeled carriages, we have said very little about what purposes wheeled transportation may have served in the Peloponnese at this time in history. It has often been implied, as I have also done here, that the ancient Greek road-network is closely connected with military activity.<sup>345</sup> In the light of the revision of the primitivism

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<sup>344</sup> On the date of the synoecism see Ødegård, 2005, 216-217. See also discussion in chapter three.

<sup>345</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 145.

model of ancient Greek economy it has now also become more acceptable to talk about economic interchange as a supplementary motivation for improvement of inter-regional communication networks in the Late Archaic period. Archaeological sources do reveal something about what kind of fine pottery and containers for certain luxury products such as the contents of small oil flasks from Corinth, the Chanel No. 5 of early Greece, did move between poleis. Although pottery may not have been very valuable merchandise in the ancient economy, regional attribution can be of great importance as indications of trade.<sup>346</sup> The historical pattern that has emerged from the best documented site at Tegea, the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, confirms the pattern that is emerging from analysis of the road-network. There is clear evidence of Spartan dominance in imported fine pottery from the Early Iron Age, but it is also evident that Argive and Corinthian ware becomes more and more common in the Archaic period.<sup>347</sup> It is also documented that certain specialised highland products were exported from Arcadia.<sup>348</sup> We know very little about what kind of products were imported to the Tegean Plain. What is certain, however, is that it would have been first of all the two city-states of Tegea and Mantinea which are situated on this mountain plateau that had a concentrated population of such a size that they represented potential markets for products from Corinthia and the Argolid.

Although we are largely ignorant of the nature of interchange on wheeled carriages between Tegea and her neighbours in antiquity, we are quite well informed about the distribution of one local commodity. Unlike many of her Peloponnesian neighbours Tegea did, as we have seen, have access to a local source of marble. Already in the Archaic temple in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea from around 600 BC local marble was extensively used on the Tegean plain. The area must accordingly have developed complex local infrastructure at a relatively early stage. The role of this early feature in the local infrastructure probably also had profound influence on the local development of road building.<sup>349</sup> From the Late Archaic period and onwards the most intensive building activity in the Tegeatike took place in and around the urban centre

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<sup>346</sup> On the problematic idea of pottery as a commodity of art in antiquity, which is very much a Western 18th century construct, see Vickers & Gill, 1994; and Sparkes, 1996.

<sup>347</sup> See Voyatzis, 1990, 62-83; Østby et al., 1994, 126-132; and Voyatzis, 2005, 469-470.

<sup>348</sup> See Roy, 1999, 333ff.

<sup>349</sup> This is also noted by Björn Forsén. See Forsén, 2002, 91.

on the Tegean Fan, but the best building stone is found high up in the Northern Parnon to the south of the plain (**Map 3**). In order to appreciate the requirements of complex infrastructure for providing building material on the plain we need to take the local geological conditions into consideration. The Tegean Plain consists mainly of sediments, but the modest undulations of the plain also provide deposits of rocks that can be used as building material in monumental architecture. In most cases the local deposits are composed of young rocks such as conglomerate, but some limestone deposits can also be found. Tegean conglomerate is building material of a rather poor quality. It breaks easily, and its high calcite content also makes it very sensitive to weathering. When this rock was nonetheless frequently exploited in Tegean architecture, it is probably both because it could be found near the building site and also because it is very easy to work. Limestone and marble are more labour intensive materials. The organisation and consumption of time and labour in limestone - and marble quarries is, no doubt, one of the most expensive and complex industrial activities that was undertaken in antiquity. Transportation of large stone blocks would also have required substantial investments in road building and development in other transportation techniques.<sup>350</sup>

The building history of the sanctuary of Athena Alea can illustrate the situation in the Tegeatike. Due to the art historical focus on aesthetic qualities and precious materials it is usually the wealth of marble that is emphasised in the discussion of this sanctuary. It is also important to note that conglomerate was used in all the major construction phases on this site. The Classical temple (the one referred to by Pausanias as the contemporary temple, which was built by Scopas around the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC)<sup>351</sup> was built of local Douliana marble, but its foundations consist mainly of local conglomerate. The Archaic temple of Athena Alea had Douliana marble in the finer architectural details, but wood was used for columns, and the foundations were surely of conglomerate.<sup>352</sup> The architectural elaboration of the Athena Alea site thus features a wide range of infrastructural requirements. This complex situation must also

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<sup>350</sup> For a description of the different aspects of the infrastructure of a large ancient Greek quarry see Korres, 1994.

<sup>351</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.5.

<sup>352</sup> There are preserved in situ blocks both of marble and conglomerate from the Archaic temple. See Østby, 1986.

have influenced the planning of the project in the Archaic period. Material for the construction of its foundations may even have been quarried on the site. It appears from the preliminary environmental investigations undertaken by NAS that in antiquity the area probably did not appear as levelled as it does to day. One hypothesis that has been put forward by Knut Ødegård is that the sanctuary stood on a low hill of bedrock, as a virtual island in an otherwise marshy environment.<sup>353</sup> In the early phases of the project there would accordingly have been little demand for heavy cargo logistics, and the construction of a quarry road from the Northern Parnon could, in fact, have been going on while the foundation of the temple was under construction. Since there are no testimonies of extensive use of Douliana marble in the plain before the construction of the Archaic temple, we can also assume that the first quarry road from the Northern Parnon to the Tegean Plain was constructed around the same time (ca. 600 BC) as the Archaic temple. Implied in this assumption is also that the erection of the Archaic temple of Athena Alea was the motivation for building the quarry route to the Northern Parnon. If the assumption about the Tegean road-network being initiated around the middle of the sixth century holds true, this also places the infrastructure project connected with the erection of the Archaic temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at a critical stage in the history of early road building in the Tegeatike.

Since conglomerate deposits would often, as in the case of the Athena Alea sanctuary, have been available on site, the demand for this rock would probably have had little influence of the structure of the local traffic network. The situation is slightly more problematic when it comes to limestone quarries. As in so many other early Greek poleis limestone is an important building material in ancient Tegea, but until recently no limestone quarry had been found in the Tegeatike. During the recent survey we observed building blocks of a distinctly pale blue limestone several places in the central Tegeatike. What is probably the same rock was also observed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in an ancient sanctuary in the Partheni Basin.<sup>354</sup> One possible source for this

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<sup>353</sup> See Ødegård, 2005, and Klempe, forthcoming.

<sup>354</sup> One of those sites is that of the recently discovered monumental building at the village of Nea Episkopi on the northwestern edge of the Tegean urban centre, which I surveyed in July, 2000. Another example is the 'Roman Villa' site on the ridge between Akra and Agios Sosis, which I surveyed in July, 1999. The

rock is the western slope of Ag. Paraskevi above Lithovounia (**Map 3**). This site also appears to have been exploited as a quarry in more recent times, but is now abandoned. The area is presently too overgrown to identify traces of an ancient quarry.<sup>355</sup> The proximity to the plain would make this a very convenient location for an ancient quarry. A separate road from the quarry to the Tegean urban centre could have facilitated the hypothetical route to this site (**Map 3**). Although this quarry site did not have profound influence on the design of the Tegean road network, there was another Tegean quarry site that did.

The main Tegean marble quarry was situated near the modern mountain village Douliana in the Northern Parnon (**Map 2**). Its elevation of almost 1200 m. and the difficult terrain, which separates the quarry-site from the Tegean Plain, would have made the transportation of marble down to the plain especially challenging.<sup>356</sup> Because the calcite in Douliana Marble is mixed with other minerals there is also a wide range of colours and qualities in this deposit.<sup>357</sup> This ranges from the grey-white fine marble that is used in ancient Tegean architecture and sculpture to a pale pink colour. This kind of coloured cipollino-marble one would expect to have been most interesting in Roman architecture. The famous Rosso Antico Quarries in the Mani testify that coloured marble from the Peloponnese was exploited in the Roman period.<sup>358</sup> No attempt to identify exploitation of the Douliana deposits in a more widely distributed Roman context has to my knowledge ever been made, and, as far as we can positively say, the quarry at Douliana was only locally utilised for extensive architectural purposes.<sup>359</sup> In

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blue limestone buildings, probably two small temples, in the Korythean Valley were discovered by Victor Berard during his survey of the Tegeatike in 1889. On this site Berard also found an early Archaic statue of a seated woman, on account of which he identified the site with the sanctuary of Demeter in Korythis mentioned by Pausanias. See Pausanias, 8.54.6; Bérard, 1890; and Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>355</sup> After discovering this site by accident in 1999 I have walked back and forth across the area several times, but no systematic survey has been undertaken here.

<sup>356</sup> It should be emphasised here that Douliana Marble has never been object of more recent scientific studies. It is thus with some uncertainty that we speak of Douliana Marble in contexts outside the Tegeatike.

<sup>357</sup> The most detailed account of the composition of Douliana Marble can be found in Lepsius, 1890, 33-34.

<sup>358</sup> The Rosso Antico Quarries in the Mani were utilised in two phases, first in the Late Bronze Age, and again after ca. AD 50. See Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 57.

<sup>359</sup> One interesting local Roman site that might illuminate the potential popularity of the multicoloured deposits at Douliana is the spectacular villa at Lykou (ancient Eua) outside Kato Douliana in the valley from the Tegean Plain towards modern Astros in ancient Kynouria, believed by the excavator, Th. Spyropoulos, to have belonged to none other than Herodes Atticus. Very little of the recent excavations

addition to the Archaic temple in the Athena Alea sanctuary at Tegea, Douliana Marble has been found in two extra-urban sanctuaries in the Tegeatike. One of those sanctuaries is situated high up in the Northern Parnon, at a place called Psili Vrissi (**Map 3**) not far from the marble quarries. The building in question is a miniature Doric temple (**Fig. 3.5**) that was probably constructed a generation or so after the Archaic temple in the Athena Alea sanctuary at Tegea.<sup>360</sup> This date also supports the assumption that the quarries were first exploited in connection with the construction of the Archaic temple in the Athena Alea sanctuary. The second extra-urban Archaic sanctuary in the Tegeatike where Douliana Marble was utilised is the later temple in the Athena and Poseidon sanctuary in the Vigla Pass in Mt. Boreion on the ancient road between Tegea and Asea (**Map 3 and Fig. 3.4**).<sup>361</sup> That this site is situated right next to the ancient road indicates that this road was also the transportation route for Douliana Marble between Tegea and the Asea Valley. The most distant site where we positively know that Douliana marble was imported for extensive use in the Archaic period, perhaps after 500 BC, was the sanctuary of Athena at Mt. Agios Elias above the Asea Valley (**Map 1**).<sup>362</sup> At Pallantion there seems to have been no extensive architectural use of Douliana marble, but Douliana marble is noted there in smaller objects such as herms.<sup>363</sup>

On the gentle slopes of the route as well as on the level plain the transportation of marble from the Douliana Quarries was probably facilitated by wheeled carriages served by that kind of negative railway road that is so characteristic of the ancient Greek road-network.<sup>364</sup> The only physical remains of an ancient road on the mountain slopes between the quarry and the Tegean Plain were reported by G. R. Lepsius at the

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of this villa, which have displayed more than 100 m<sup>2</sup> of the best quality of Roman mosaics and little less than a hundred Greek, or good Roman copies, of almost complete life size statues, have been published. From observing the site outside the fence it is still possible to make out that the villa had an interior collonade of pink marble that may very well have been taken from the marble quarries below Ano Douliana. See Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos, 2001. One pink cipollino column from the interior collonade is depicted on p. 25, Ill. 12.

<sup>360</sup> This is based on the date suggested by Erik Østby. See Østby, 1995, 309 and 320ff. For a difference of opinion see Winter, 1991. On the initial discovery and excavation of this sanctuary see Romaios, 1952. The broader role of this sanctuary in Tegean landscapes of memory will be addressed in chapter five.

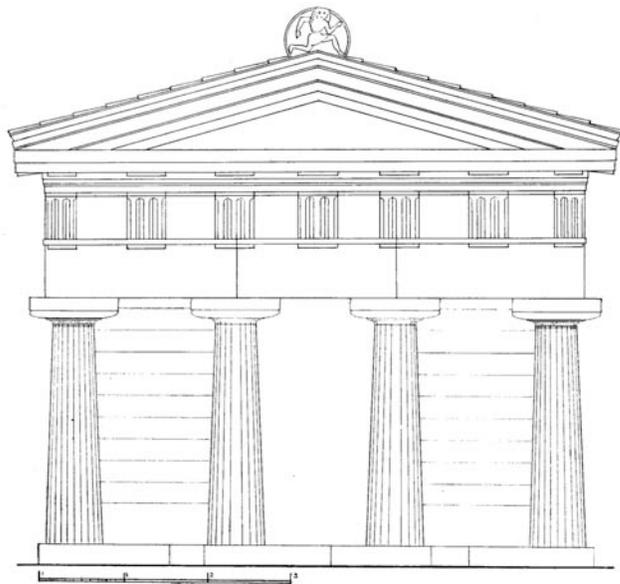
<sup>361</sup> See Romaios, 1957b.

<sup>362</sup> See Forsén, Forsén & Østby, 1999, 169-87; on marble transportation especially 185f.

<sup>363</sup> See Iozzo & Pagano, 1995, 123-128.

<sup>364</sup> This has also been assumed for the transportation of marble from Pendeli to Athens. See Korres, 1994.

end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lepsius did not state any precise location of the remains, but he said that they were of the typically carved wheel-ruts, with grooves 1.38 m. apart and 5-6 cm. deep.<sup>365</sup> For much of the steep descent from the quarry-site to the plain, however, large marble blocks could not possibly have been transported on wheeled carriages, and other kinds of arrangement must have been in place.<sup>366</sup>



*Figure 3.5* Reconstructed elevation of Doric temple at Psili Vrisi in the Northern Parnon.

The ancient Douliana quarries have never been systematically studied, and much damage to the ancient quarry has been inflicted by industrial exploitation of the marble deposits in recent years. Traces of the ancient quarry can still be seen on the Mavriki-side of the Parnon-range, just below a large terrace consisting of disposed marble blocks from the modern quarry.<sup>367</sup>

Taken together with the temple built of Douliana Marble on the road between Tegea and Asea the remains of a quarry road observed by Lepsius between the quarry and the Tegean Plain present us with a possible model for the relationship between marble transportation and development of the Tegean communication network. What is most interesting about this model is that it creates the possibility of tension in the

<sup>365</sup> See Lepsius, 1890, 126; and for further references Pritchett, 1980, 174-5.

<sup>366</sup> Stretches of flagstone roads that facilitated slow transportation on a sledge, of the kind which is documented in connection with the Athenian marble quarries at Pendeli, could for instance have been built in the steep terrain. For an reconstruction of this practice see Korres, 1994, 35; see also 103, Figs. 27-29.

<sup>367</sup> During one visit to the site in July, 1997 I climbed the slope below the terrace of the modern quarry together with Dr. Maria Pretzler. We observed possible traces of the ancient quarry at 2-3 locations.

development of the early Tegean communication network. We have earlier seen that one possible tendency in the southern Tegean network is the orientation towards Sparta. This is illustrated by the existence of what also in later periods appears to have been a separate road-network, or a road-network inside the road-network, centred on the district of the Skiritis. The route that Loring called the direct route between Tegea and Sparta followed the Sarandapotamos Valley from the Tegean Plain all the way to the ancient settlement at Analipsis, which may or may not be identical with ancient Karyai.<sup>368</sup> At some stage of its history this settlement, like Oion in the Skiritis, was dominated by Sparta, and probably had the status of a perioikic settlement. Since this area, made up of the Skiritis and the Karyatis, is situated right next to the Northern Parnon district, it would also have been easy to interconnect this communication network with a quarry road from the Douliana Quarries. A connection between the Sarandapotamos Valley, Oion, and Eutaia would, in fact, have been a less demanding route for marble transportation to Asea than the route via the Tegean Plain, the *Khôma* and the Vigla Pass. As we have seen, however, the documented remains point toward the latter.<sup>369</sup>

There are especially three features in the marble transportation from the Northern Parnon Quarries that are relevant in this context. The first is that it appears that the Tegean 'marble trade' consistently avoided those sections of the southern Tegean traffic network where Spartan dominance had been established at an early stage. The second is that the ancient Tegean 'marble trade' can be said to have been Tegean with some justification because it was the Tegean urban centre on the plain that worked as a distribution centre for Douliana Marble. The Tegean 'marble trade' and the local introduction of wheel-roads for transporting heavy cargo, are closely connected with the construction of the Archaic temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea. The third feature is more complex. The two examples of the Vigla sanctuary and the Agios Elias sanctuary above the Asea Valley connect the Tegean marble trade with another important feature in the Tegean traffic network where the relationship with the world outside Arcadia is of vital importance. If, instead of regarding the Tegean urban centre

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<sup>368</sup> See Loring, 1895; and Pikoulas, 1987.

<sup>369</sup> See Forsén, Forsén & Østby, 1999, 185ff.

as the isolated centre of the ancient Tegean communication network, we view it in the perspective of the regional Peloponnesian communication network, there is one feature that stands out. This is the diagonal connection across the peninsula from the Isthmus and Corinth, via the Argolid, the Tegeatike and to the Megalopolis Plateau (**Map1**). It has been pointed out many times that the Megalopolis Plateau holds a central position in the Peloponnesian communication network.<sup>370</sup> From this Peloponnesian communication hub there are separate routes towards the Lower Alpheios Valley (Elis and Olympia), towards Messenia, and towards the Eurotas Valley (Sparta). What is highly significant in our connection is that the Tegea-Asea route, which was probably also the marble route out of the Tegeatike, was situated on the major diagonal that connected the Megalopolis Hub with the mainland. For this reason I have called this regional feature in the Tegean traffic network the Peloponnesian Highway. This route was an important one in antiquity, but the justification for the term the Peloponnesian Highway, apart from Pausanias calling it a λεωφόρος, lies primarily in the influence that this route has had on the long-term communication history of the region.

#### 8. PAUSANIAS' ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΣ FROM TEGEA TO THE ARGIVE BORDER, AND ITS PLACE IN THE ANCIENT TROPOLOGY OF MOVEMENT

There is plenty of literary and archaeological material that testifies to close contacts between Tegea and Argos from the early phases of ancient Greek polis culture.<sup>371</sup> The main vehicle of interaction between these two polis cultures was represented by the traffic routes across the northeastern Arcadian mountain barrier that separate the coastal plain of the Argolid from the Tegean mountain plateau. This passage also connected with the main traffic axis in the Peloponnese in antiquity from Corinth to Megalopolis. We have already taken up this route in the discussion of the Tegean *Khôma* on the western edge of the Tegean plain. Pausanias also presents a relatively detailed

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<sup>370</sup> See for instance Sanders & Whitbread, 1990.

<sup>371</sup> In addition to the ample historical testimonies there are also archaeological testimonies that confirm this early contact. See for instance Voyatzis, 1990, 83.

account of this route from the civic centre on the Tegean plain to the northeastern border at the territory of Argos in the plain of Hysiai (**Map 3**):

The road from Tegea to Argos is *an excellent carriage-road* (ὀχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη), and quite a *highway* (λεωφόρος). On this road there is *first* (πρῶτα μὲν) a temple of Aesculapius with an image of him; next, turning off to the left for about a furlong, we come to a dilapidated sanctuary of Pythian Apollo, entirely in ruins. *On the straight road* (κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐθειᾶν) the oak-trees are numerous and in the oak grove is a temple of Demeter, called ‘Demeter in Corythenses’: near it is *another* (δὲ ἄλλο) sanctuary, that of Mystic Dionysus. *After this* (τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ) begins Mount Parthenius. *On it* (ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ) is shown a precinct of Telephus, and they say that here in his childhood he was exposed and was nourished by a doe. *A little way off* (ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον) is a sanctuary of Pan, where the Athenians and Tegeans agree that Pan appeared to Philippides and spoke with him. On Mount Parthenius there are tortoises, which are well fitted for making lyres of; but *the men of the mountain* (οἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἄνθρωποι) fear to catch them, and will not allow strangers to do so either, for they think that the tortoises are sacred to Pan. When you have passed over the *top* (τὴν κορυφὴν) of the mountain and reached *the arable land* (ἐν τοῖς ἤδη γεωργουμένοις) you come to the boundary between Tegea and Argos: it is at Hysiae, which belongs to Argolis.<sup>372</sup>

As usual Pausanias’ description of the itinerary stops at the border, and we also recognise the ancient tropology of movement in his inclination to determine the border between the two poleis as a point, “at Hysiai”, on the itinerary. We may also note the method of orientation ‘to the left’ of, ‘on the straight path’ of and ‘a little way off’ as a similar mode of orientation to the case of the Tegean *Khōma*. The following analysis of the relationship between Pausanias’ text and the landscape that his itinerary cuts through will take up the importance of this road as a reference for orientation, and I will also address how this ancient mode of orientation relates to prehistoric and post-ancient communication history in the mountain pass between Argos and Tegea.

After having left the Tegean urban centre Pausanias mentions two sanctuaries—one of Asklepios, the other a ruined sanctuary of Pythian Apollo. Some ancient remains that Konstantinos Romaios found here led him to identify the village Lithovounia (**Maps 3 & 4**) as the site of the sanctuary of Apollo.<sup>373</sup> That Lithovounia is the site of an ancient sanctuary is also indicated by the recent discovery there of a monumental guttae

<sup>372</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.5-7.

<sup>373</sup> See Romaios, 1912, 356-358. *Lithovounia*, which literally translated means ‘the rocky mountain’ is, like most of the other Tegean villages, probably a village that was founded during the Ottoman period. It is, however, not mentioned in Venetian records from 1700.

fragment (Fig. 3.6) inserted as a key-stone in the arched gate of one of its village houses.<sup>374</sup>

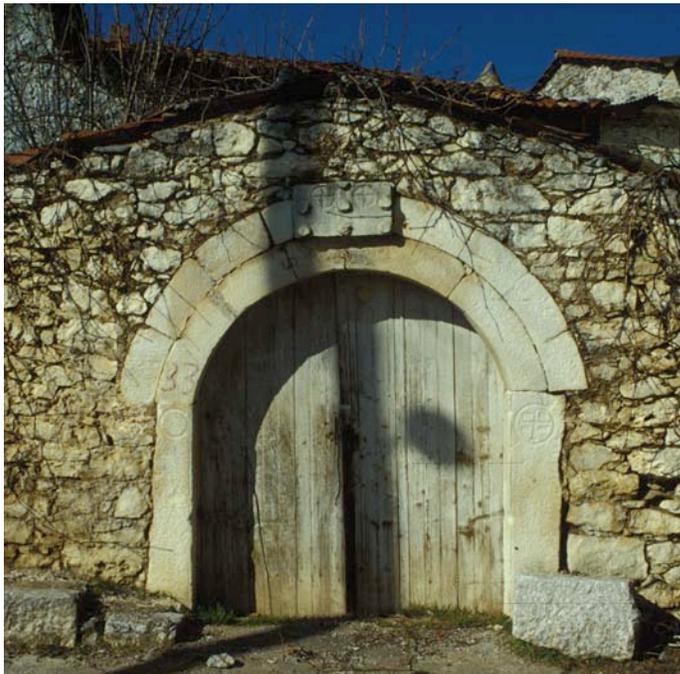


Figure 3.6  
Monumental guttae  
fragment inserted as a  
key-stone in the arched  
gate of one of the village  
houses at Lithovounia.

Figure 3.7  
Detail of *tabula*  
*Peutingeriana* that  
shows the  
Peloponnesian  
peninsula  
and the coast of the  
Southern Greek  
Mainland.



South-east of the village of Ayioryitika, where there is now a rural chapel of Agia Trias, Victor Berard in 1889 found the foundations of two small temples in local blue limestone and an Early Archaic statue of a seated goddess. He identified these remains

<sup>374</sup> I discovered the guttae-fragment, which must belong to a monumental Doric building, during extensive surveying in connection with NAS in July, 1999. That Lithovounia would have been a natural goal for a major road can also be justified in relation to other important sites in its vicinity. On the peak of Agia Paraskevi, rising to the south of the village, there was an ancient watch-tower, and on the western slope of the same mountain there is a source of bluish limestone, which appears to have been exploited for architectural purposes in antiquity. There also appears to be traces of quarrying on the site of the blue limestone, but they are probably of more recent date. I discovered the quarry site by accident on a trekking tour in 1999.

as the sanctuaries of Demeter in Korythenis mentioned by Pausanias (**Map 4**).<sup>375</sup> In addition to those two places Pausanias mentions there is especially one archaeological site in the area that is of interest to connect with a major road through the Partheni basin. This is the Neolithic tell site to the southeast of Ayioryitika.<sup>376</sup> Since no actual remains of a road have been found anywhere on the plain, any reconstruction here will be conjectural. The situation is somewhat different when it comes to the actual mountain pass. It has recently been confirmed by Argyres Petronotis that traces of ancient wheel-ruts can be observed several places in the pass between Mt. Parthenion and Mt. Ktenias. Like other commentators before him Petronotis argues that Pausanias' ὀχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη was to the north of the medieval site of *Palea Mouchli* (the *Gyros* route).<sup>377</sup> The only place in the pass where there is a continuous course of ancient wheel-ruts preserved, however, is farther to the south (the *Skala tou Bey* route). These ruts run from the site of the ruins of an Ottoman *derveni*, a guard-station, called *Daïla Sterna* near the highest point of the pass to a point 150-200 m. on the eastern side of the peak. In my reconstruction I have used this route to suggest a course (**Maps 3 & 4**) for Pausanias' road in the Parthenion Pass rather than the *Gyros* route suggested by Petronotis. Since Pausanias says that the road was an excellent carriage-road (ὀχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη) and quite a highway (λεωφόρος), the ancient road must have been in a good state in the second century AD.<sup>378</sup> That this route was also a major one in the Peloponnesian network is indicated by the fact that it is marked on the so-called *tabula Peutingeriana* (**Fig. 3.7**), a medieval manuscript showing the main routes in the Roman Empire, which is probably based on a Roman map that was made for public display in the imperial capital at the time of Augustus.<sup>379</sup> The Peloponnesian section of the Peutinger Table also illustrates the important communication axis to which the road from Tegea to Argos connects.

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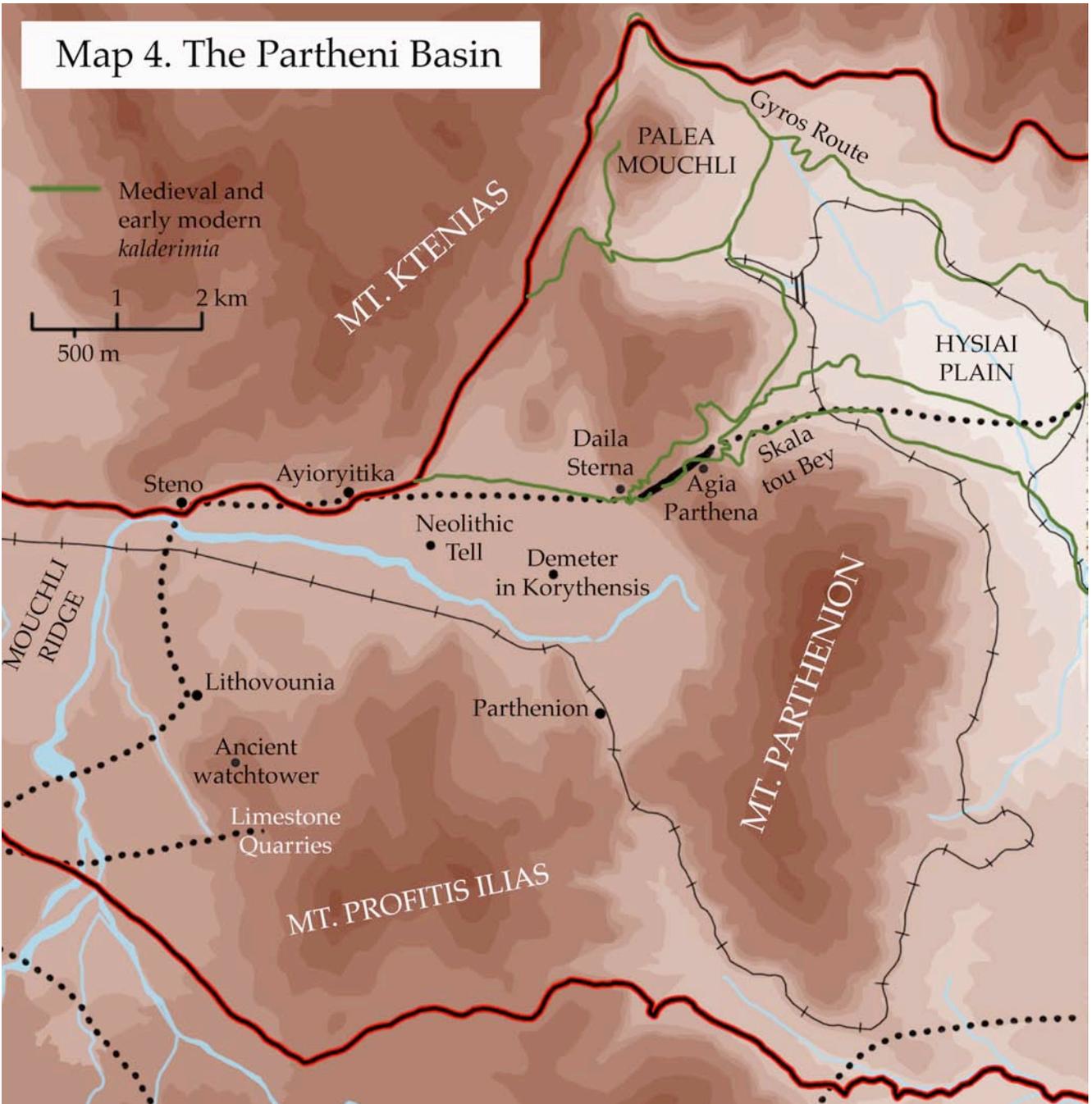
<sup>375</sup> The Archaic statue of a seated woman from Agia Trias is now in the National Museum at Athens. See Bérard, 1890; and Karusu, 1969, 2-3, No. 57.

<sup>376</sup> See Petrakis, 2002. On the Neolithic settlement at Ayioryitika in the Korythean Valley see also my discussion in chapter three.

<sup>377</sup> Petronotis, 2005.

<sup>378</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.5.

<sup>379</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 197ff. On the *tabula Peutingeriana* see also Sanders & Whitbread, 1990, 333-361; and Heinz, 2003, 81-82.



In the Roman period this route clearly represents the main diagonal axis across the Peloponnesian Peninsula with the following itinerary from the Isthmus (Map 1 & Fig. 3.7); Corintho – Cleonas – Micinis – Argos – Tegeas – Megalopili. From Megalopolis (Megalopili), which was the central node in the Peloponnesian network, this Peloponnesian communication axis, which I have called the Peloponnesian Highway, connects with a western route towards Olympia, and a southern route towards Sparta.<sup>380</sup>

The Peloponnesian Highway has played a major role in the contact between the Tegeatike (**Map 3**) and the outside world for a very long time. In antiquity it was a major route from the time when the Peloponnesian *poleis* were consolidated in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. That it was always the preferred military route from Sparta, is also an important factor motivating Spartan interest in Tegea.<sup>381</sup> Its important position in the Peutinger Table, which is confirmed by the discovery of Roman milestones along the route dating as late as from the end of the third century AD, indicates that it was an important route throughout the period of Roman occupation.<sup>382</sup> Although it is unclear when the ancient wheel-road network fell out of use, it appears from the medieval and Early Modern remains of *kalderimia* in the Parthenion Pass (**Map 4**), that the Peloponnesian Highway was important also in these periods. This is confirmed by the existence of important centres along the route from the medieval and early modern periods. Both medieval centres in the Tegeatike (Nikli and Mouchli) are located on this route (**Map 3**). From the time of Ottoman occupation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the emphasis on the plain was moved from the ancient and medieval centre to the southeast on the plain in favour of the location of modern Tripolis to the northwest.

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<sup>380</sup> That Megalopolis, which represents a short intermezzo in the long-term history of the region, takes up such a central position in the Peloponnesian network, illustrates one important point. There was no important settlement at the Megalopolis node before the fourth century BC. Although there was no local tradition to base the colonisation of the Megalopolis Plain on, this hub in the Peloponnesian network was always already there as a potential realisation of an important centre. The central position of Megalopolis is also pointed out in Sanders & Whitbread, 1990. Further below we shall also regard a similar realisation of an important centre (Tripolis) in the early modern period at a location where only marginal local traditions existed but for the central position, which the place occupied in the long-term traffic history of the region.

<sup>381</sup> This was already pointed out by Loring. See Loring, 1895.

<sup>382</sup> See Forsén, 2002, 92.

The approach to the Tegean plain from the Argolid has, until the past decade, always been through the pass in Mt. Parthenion.<sup>383</sup>

The regional impact of the Peloponnesian Highway can also be traced back to the Prehistory of the region. Major prehistoric sites from the Isthmus to the Megalopolis Basin in the Peutinger table are the following: *Mycenae* on the north-eastern and *Lerna* on the south-western edge of the Argive Plain (**Map 1**); the ‘Tegean’ Neolithic tell site near *Ayioryitika* in the Partheni Basin (**Map 4**); and *Asea* in the Asea Valley between Tegea and Megalopolis (**Map 1**).<sup>384</sup> It is especially interesting that this regional axis connects three important Neolithic sites—*Lerna* in the Argolid, *Ayioryitika* in the Tegean Plain, and *Asea* in the Asea Valley. A final case can also be added to our list of probably prehistoric features of the Peloponnesian Highway in the Tegeatike. If the  $\chi\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$  across the Manthurian Plain in the Tegeatike (**Map 3**) originated in a combined dam- and road-building project from the LBA, it should also be connected with the Peloponnesian Highway since it was situated on the local route between the Tegean urban centre and the Asea Valley. That other sections of the Peloponnesian Highway from the LBA were appropriated in the construction of engineered inter-regional roads lines is also indicated in the Peutinger table. One of the stations included in the Roman itinerary of the Peloponnesian Highway, between Kleonai and Argos, is Mycenae (**Map1**). Ancient sources, both literary and archaeological, indicate that Mycenae was an insignificant site in the Roman period.<sup>385</sup> As William Kendrick Pritchett remarked in his survey of the Greek section of the Peutinger table, Mycenae was probably included in the later communication network because of the well-preserved remains there of engineered roads from the Late Bronze Age.<sup>386</sup> Both the Tegean  $\chi\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$  and the presence of Mycenae in the Peutinger table accordingly stand as reminders of the profound influence that the communication of the past has always had on the communication of historical present along the Peloponnesian Highway.

Imported material such as obsidian has been found at Neolithic sites both on the Tegean Plain and in the Asea Valley. This testifies to the exchange of goods, however

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<sup>383</sup> A new highway that adopts a rather different route between Corinth and Tripolis was opened in the early 1990's. For a discussion see further below in this chapter.

<sup>384</sup> See Forsén, 2002, 83.

<sup>385</sup> For a recent study see Penttinen, 2001.

<sup>386</sup> See Pritchett, 1980, 205.

primitive, along the axis of the Peloponnesian Highway, from the earliest times of settled human civilisation in the region.<sup>387</sup> That this route connected Early prehistoric settlements such as Lerna, Ayioryitika, and Asea illustrates the stability of this route as a long-term feature in Tegean landscapes of memory. Whether the existence of this later route can be used to render more probable the hypothesis about regional interaction in these early periods is beyond the scope of this discussion, but it is interesting to note that the French prehistorian Cathrines Perles indicates such a general pattern in her recent book on the Early Greek Neolithic.<sup>388</sup> No doubt, the pass in Mt. Parthenion also served as the local arena of this exchange, and probably from a very early date. A more systematic survey of ancient, medieval and early modern roads and road-side sites in the pass between Mt. Parthenion and Mt. Ktenias is necessary to draw more precise conclusions about the history of this important gateway to the district of ancient Tegea. What is important in our connection is that the density of sites from the Neolithic Ayioryitika tell, ancient sanctuaries, the late medieval Mouchli fortress and the early modern *derveni* at *Daila Sterna* indicate that this has been an important passage for a very long time.

The most easily recognisable feature that emerges from my preliminary model of different stages in the long-term history of traffic in this pass (**Map 4**) is the contrast between the ancient and the medieval to early modern tropologies of moving. Many of the routes through this pass that are still visible may, of course, have been used already in antiquity, and some may, indeed, go back to the Neolithic period. Thus, the *kalderimia* with their paved courses and retaining walls may, in fact, reflect the most ancient tropology of movement through this pass. Although none of these *kalderimia* can presently be dated with any precision, historical sources testify that they were in use in the late 17<sup>th</sup> as well as in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>389</sup> That some of the *kalderimi* routes in the Partheni pass are connected with the Late medieval to Early Modern site of Palea Mouchli also strengthens the hypothesis that they were in use in the medieval period.

What distinguishes the ancient route through this pass from the prehistoric and the post-ancient is that Pausanias' λεωφόρος was also “an excellent carriage-road”

<sup>387</sup> On Asea see Forsén, 1996. On the Tegeatike see Howell, 1970; and Petrakis, 2003.

<sup>388</sup> See Perlès, 2001, 113ff.

<sup>389</sup> For references see Petronotis, 2005, 186, note 2; and 187, note 6.

(ὀχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη). Moving on foot and with beasts of burden on the routes that wind their way organically through the Partheni pass has, however, always been the preferred mode of travelling here, even in antiquity, but the introduction of roads for regular traffic with wheeled carriages was a revolutionary change. If Yannis Pikoulas is correct in his assumption that the Peloponnesian wheel-road network should be dated to the middle of the sixth century BC, the Partheni wheel-road had been in use for almost 900 years when Pausanias visited it.<sup>390</sup> Good carriage routes were so rare in the Peloponnese that Pausanias made a point of mentioning that the Partheni λεωφόρος was “an excellent carriage-road” (ὀχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη), but communication on wheeled carriages would hardly have seemed like a revolutionary transportation technology to Pausanias and his contemporaries.

Pausanias also says that the Partheni λεωφόρος was a “straight (εὐθεῖαν) road.” This could be taken in as an element in the reconstruction of its particular course across the Partheni Basin, or even down the Partheni Pass as I have done in **Map 4**. It is often the case that an ancient wheel-road will adopt a straighter course in steep terrain whereas a *kalderimi* will typically wind its way in sharp twists and turns and often also have stepped courses or *skales* (**Fig. 3.2**). A network of fairly straight roads for wheeled traffic should, of course, first of all be regarded as a technological and practical instrument. It is, on the other hand, also possible to think of this road-network as a reference for orientation. In the case of the Tegean *Khôma* we have already seen how the straight wheel-road across the Manthurian Plain was utilised as a reference for orientation in Pausanias’ text. In a contemporary context we are used to thinking about orientation in terms of geometric space that is projected on a map by means of mathematical triangulation. Practical application of a similar abstract ordering of spatial structure can, however, be found in the ancient world. The earliest examples are city-plans that are laid out according to an orthogonal grid. When you move outside the city, as Pausanias did, the main structure of orientation is the itinerary. A network of more or less straight wheel-roads represented an improvement of transportation technology in antiquity, but it probably also represented a new instrument of orientation in the country-side. This change also had an impact on the tropology of

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<sup>390</sup> See Pikoulas, 1999, 254.

movement. The cross-historical scenario that is featured in my model of different modes of movement in the Partheni pass (**Map 4**) illustrates this impact on the local tropology of movement. The steep, but relatively straight course of the ancient road that follow the general direction of the *Skala tou Bey* route down the Partheni pass represents a much more convenient reference for orientation than the twists and turns represented by the *kalderimi* network. This ‘soft geometry’ of the itineraries of major routes throughout the empire is also the basis for the image of the Roman road-network that was mapped and publicly displayed in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (**Fig. 3.7**). If we compare the shape of the peninsula in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with a modern map (**Map 1**) the image of the peninsula appears stretched along the lines of the main itineraries. This ‘shrinkage’, to use de Certeau’s term, of the mathematical space of the peninsula agrees with Pausanias’ concept of the straight road. The routes featured in the Peutinger table are straight in two meanings of the word. They are straight in a concrete sense because the communication technology that they serve, wheeled carriages, prefers that the roads do not make sharp turns. They are also straight in a more abstract sense, because the network that they make up also provides effective references for orientation. However incorrect the shape of the peninsula in the Peutinger table may be from the perspective of a modern geometrical projection, it works perfectly well as a reference for orientation in a local context, and it also worked just fine as a part of the visual rhetoric in the Imperial capital.

The principle of orientation that the Peutinger table is based on is also the basis for Pausanias’ tendency to situate objects either on the left or on the right side of the major route as we also saw in the case of the Tegean *Khôma*. The hypothesis that I have presented above that a predecessor to the *kalderimi* network of roads existed parallel with the network of main routes illustrated in the Peutinger table also matches this model. These side-tracks from the main network did not play the same role as references for orientation in antiquity, and Pausanias also tends to situate them as side-tracks off the main route. In his description of the Partheni λεωφόρος he situates most of the objects/places that he passes on the main route. After he reaches the pass in Mt. Parthenion, the first place that he mentions is the precinct of the local hero Telephos, the son of Heracles and the local princess Auge, who grew up as an ancient Mowglie

together with the animals on Mt. Parthenion. This precinct was situated ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ (“on it”), a locative dative usually taken to point back to Mt. Parthenion in the previous sentence. In the context of the description it could, however, also be taken to refer to the main road, the Partheni λεωφόρος. The *ekphrasis* of the Partheni route consists of a list of places that is balanced with the Classical μὲν ... δὲ pair of particles: the μὲν particle introduces the series by underlining that the first place on the route is the temple of Aesclepius. All subsequent places on the list are indicated as such with a δὲ particle: the numerous oak trees are κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐθειᾶν, the sanctuary of Dionysus is δὲ ἄλλο, and the precinct of Telephos is ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ. The next place mentioned on the route is a sanctuary of Pan, which is situated, also with the augmentation of a δὲ particle, ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον (“a little way off”). Now the usual interpretation of the situation of these two sacred places is that the precinct of Telephos was up on the top of Mt. Parthenion, and that the sanctuary of Pan was in its vicinity. If we follow Pausanias’ itinerary as the principle reference for orientation here, the use of the μὲν ... δὲ pair of particles rather indicates that the precinct of Telephos was situated on the main road (ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ), and that the sanctuary of Pan was situated on a side-track (ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον) off the main route. As in the case of the Tegean *Khōma* Pausanias’ itineraries must be read not only according to linguistic grammar, but also according to the ancient tropology of movement.

The impression that the Partheni pass is an important gateway to the Tegean plain is also confirmed by the fact that both the modern carriage road that was constructed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and its modern predecessor the Peloponnesian Railway both find their way to the district of ancient Tegea through this pass (**Maps 3 and 4**). The Peloponnesian Railway is also interesting in our context because it represents the first practical application of the geometrisation of space that took place during the formative phase of the modern Greek Nation. The Royal French Expedition to the Morea in 1829 undertook the first modern triangulation of the peninsula.<sup>391</sup> It was the fixed points, maps, and calculations realised during the expedition that made it possible later in the century to plan such a modern infrastructure project as the Peloponnesian Railway. This railway, which also winds its way through the Partheni

<sup>391</sup> See de Saint-Vincent et al., 1835, Plate I.

Pass, thus stands not only as a monument of the political independence and economic growth of the young Greek Nation at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also as monument of the introduction of geometric space on the southeastern European fringe.

Many of the old routes in this pass have, however, never fallen completely out of use. The *Skala tou Bey* route is the traditional transhumance route for seasonal moving of flocks between summer pastures in the surrounding mountains and winter pastures down on the plain at the side of Achladokambos. For this reason the road is also called *Vlachostrata* ('the road of the Vlachs'). In Greece 'Vlach' is the most common ethnic label of transhumant populations.<sup>392</sup> That these routes have been used up until the present day is also the only reason why it is still possible to observe the traces of early modern, medieval and ancient communication in this pass. The combination of ancient wheel-ruts, medieval retaining walls, the ruins of an Early Modern *derveni*, and the tracks of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Peloponnesian Railway also makes this pass an interesting place to observe how, despite major changes such as the ancient wheel-road network and the 19<sup>th</sup> century railway, the local landscape is rich in traces of the most ancient tropologies of movement.

The main purpose of this chapter has been to develop a local model of pre-modern tropologies of movement. In the discussion we have also taken up prehistoric as well as post-ancient examples of how, where, and why people have moved in the district of ancient Tegea. As in many of the other chapters of this dissertation it is, however, the ancient case-study that has taken up most of our attention, and two passages in Pausanias' description of extra-urban routes have been at its centre. We have viewed these passages as a revised interpretation of Protagoras' dictum that man is the measure of all things. Pausanias takes his readers through a multivalent space with many spaces and places. The ancient tropology of movement takes the modern reader through a space that for us appears to be curved, twisted, and deformed. The kind of "swellings, shrinkages, and fragmentations" that according to Michel de Certeau characterises the rhetoric of walking is commonplace in literary travel descriptions. I have tried to demonstrate in this chapter that Pausanias' twisting of geometric space

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<sup>392</sup> See Pikoulas, 1999, 260.

cannot be reduced to literary rhetoric, but that it rather represents a consistent principle of orientation based on distances and directions of major routes. The ancient tropology of movement implies an idea about space as *stadion*, which signifies a network of distances and directions.

The local traffic network provides a gateway to the Tegean landscape of memory. Examples such as the early road-network of the Skiritis, the *Khôma* in the Manthurian Plain, the quarry-route from the Northern Parnon district, and the Peloponnesian Highway are all prominent Tegean landscapes of memory because they visualise the relationship between the past, the present, and the future. The most recent materialisation of the Peloponnesian Highway is the construction of a new highway from Corinth to Tripolis, the Asea Valley and on to Megalopolis and Kalamata.<sup>393</sup> For the first track from Corinth this road only diverges slightly from the old National Road and the Peloponnesian Railway. At the Dervenaki Pass, which has always been the preferred route from Corinthia via the Argolid and on across the peninsula, the new highway diverges from the old route and follows a dramatic climb into the Arcadian Mountains. In a typically brutal modern manner it enters the Arcadian mountain plain through a tunnel at a rather high altitude in a pass between two of the highest Peloponnesian Mountains (**Map 1**), Mt. Lyrkeios (1755 m.) and Mt. Artemision (1771 m.). The tunnel enters near the village Neochori on the Corinthian side, and exits between Alea and Nestani on the Arcadian side. Just as the Peloponnesian Railway brought the modern world to Arcadia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the planners in Brussels too probably hope that the new tunnel-gate that facilitates the modern highway can bring the flexible market economy of 21<sup>st</sup> century Europe into the heart of the peninsula. Since the economy of Tripolis has been growing rapidly during the past ten years this tunnel has already become somewhat of a cultural symbol for the region, as has the new road-side station with a petrol-station and a fast-food restaurant that is situated right on the Arcadian side of the tunnel.

The mountain route adopted by the new highway seems a diversion from the direction of the long-term structure in the Tegean traffic network that I have called the

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<sup>393</sup> The project is one of the great ongoing infrastructure projects in Greece that have been heavily sponsored by the European Union. The Corinth-Tripolis route opened in the early 1990's. Presently the work is proceeding towards the Asea Valley.

Peloponnesian Highway. If we climb fifty meters above the recent tunnel gate near Neochori on the Corinthian side, we realise that this is actually not the case. Although it was never one of the major Peloponnesian routes, there was also a carriage-road at this elevated mountain pass in antiquity (**Map 1**).<sup>394</sup> Also the ancient road engineers realised that this pass was a vital one, and they designed a solution for passage through the inhospitable mountain terrain that is not all that different from the recent solution. A rather impressive 'open' tunnel, a passage that has been cut deep into the bedrock, facilitated the ancient road over the pass.<sup>395</sup> When seen against the background of this ancient route, the inventive diversion from the main route of the Peloponnesian Highway in the recent road looks rather like a re-territorialisation of a potential alternative in the ancient communication structure. The archaeology of the present communication network can hardly be illustrated better than with the parallel ancient and modern mountain gates to Arcadia.

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<sup>394</sup> See Pikoulas, 1995.

<sup>395</sup> For a discussion of this feature see Pikoulas, 1995.

PART TWO

'IN THE OLD DAYS PEOPLE LIVED  
TOGETHER IN VILLAGES':  
TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT PATTERS  
IN THE DISTRICT OF ANCIENT TEGEA

## CHAPTER IV

## THE DANCE-FLOOR OF TEGEA

You ask for Arcadia? You ask a lot; I will not give it to you.  
 There are many men in Arcadia, toughened by a diet of acorns,  
 And they will stop you. But I do not want to be niggardly.  
 I will give you the *dance-floor of Tegea*; you can caper there  
 And measure out her beautiful plain with a rope.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter takes up the relationship between past and historically present settlements on the Tegean Plain. The earliest literary *ekphrasis* of this main element in the geography of the district of ancient Tegea is found in connection with Herodotus' description of Tegean resistance to Sparta in the sixth century BC. This description, as we might recall, also contained the ambiguous prophesy from the oracle at Delphi about the opportunities for Spartan expansion in Arcadia. Pythia's metaphor of the Dance-Floor of Tegea, which I have used as a label for this chapter, is a rhetorical visualisation of the relative flatness of the alluvial plain of Tegea. Down on the plain, as anyone who has visited the area will recognise, this flatness creates a confusing space. There are very few places on the plain where it is possible to orientate oneself. From the bird's-eye view of the surrounding mountains (Fig. 4.1), e.g. from the location of a Classical watchtower (Fig. 4.2) at the Ag. Paraskevi chapel on Mt. Profitis Elias between the Partheni Basin and the Douliana Valley (Maps 2 and 4), the entire central territory can, however, be taken in as a virtual theatre. This flat plain is the *orchestra* (dance-floor) of Tegea described by the oracle. Another aspect of Pythia's architectural analogy also contributes to its cultural symbolism. In its simplest architectural form in the Greek theatre, a flat circular stamped floor with a centre-stone, the *orchestra* also resembles another kind of agricultural structure, the threshing-floor (ἄλωος).<sup>2</sup> By reading this visual association into Pythia's architectural analogy the Dance-Floor of Tegea is also the Threshing-Floor of Tegea. The 'Dance-Floor of Tegea' thus represents a cultural memory label

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, 1.65.

<sup>2</sup> The threshing-floor has preserved its ancient design also in the present Greek landscape. See Isager & Skydsgaard, 1992, 53-54.

for the agricultural potential of the plain. It was the economic resources of the Tegean threshing floor as much as the desire for a place to dance that prompted the Lacedaimonean army to attack Tegea.



*Figure 4.1*  
View of the Tegean  
Plain from the  
ancient watchtower  
at Agia Paraskevi on  
Mt. Profitis Ilias.

*Figure 4.2*  
Remains of the  
ancient watchtower  
at Agia Paraskevi on  
Mt. Profitis Ilias.

As has been demonstrated by recent archaeological investigations, early Spartan aggression and the consolidation of the Tegean polis are closely related processes.<sup>3</sup> One might even argue that pressure from Sparta in the sixth century triggered the political consolidation of the Tegeatike.<sup>4</sup> A likely historical scenario is that in the first stage of this process local military resources in the Tegeatike were joined in a loose alliance. This *ad hoc* Tegean military alliance might then have offered Sparta so much resistance that it altered its foreign policy more in the direction of diplomacy. Since Tegean manpower (including the Skiritai) would later prove to be

<sup>3</sup> See Ødegård, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> See Callmer, 1943, 111 and 116; Andrewes, 1952, 1-5; and Hejnic, 1961, 107-108.

a very important factor in the success of the Spartan army, this was very clever foreign policy on the part of Sparta. If not already before, then certainly after Tegea was beaten by Sparta and forced into an alliance with her, an urban centre developed down on the Tegean orchestra.<sup>5</sup> At least to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, for more than 1800 years, this place continued to serve as the main cultural contraction point in the Tegean landscape.<sup>6</sup> The spatial dialogue between this urban 'historical' centre and its rural 'prehistoric' fringe is the main topic in the following discussion of traditional settlement patterns on the Tegean plain.

The surface rivers on the plain play a crucial role in the dialogue between the local centre and periphery. The ancient urban centre on the plain is situated right on top of the Tegean Fan. This main alluvial feature on the plain is, as we have seen, created by deposition of sediments by the Sarandapotamos River. It has been argued that this river is identical with Pausanias' Upper Alpheios that must also have descended onto the plain from the south. This river represented, as Pausanias says, "the boundaries between the territories of the Lacedaimoneans and Tegeans."<sup>7</sup> Note again that if we read this passage according to the ancient tropology of movement it is not the abstract line of the river or the road, which ran parallel to the river, that constitutes the boundary. It is a place on the itinerary that represents the boundary. It was, accordingly, on the journey parallel with the river that the Spartans crossed the border, and not by crossing the river.<sup>8</sup>

The coming into being of the orchestra of Tegea is also a direct result of the activity of the Tegean surface rivers: geologically, because the Sarandapotamos has transported alluvial sediments from the southern mountains and onto the plain, and thus filled up the basin to an almost perfectly levelled surface; historically, because the activity of this river during the past 3000 years have washed over, uncovered, destroyed, and displaced the cultural strata of the Tegean urban centre. It is in this sense that the Sarandapotamos (the Forty Rivers, the ancient Upper Alpheios) personifies the geographical memory of the place that was the local

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<sup>5</sup> This date, the second half of the 6th century BC, has recently been confirmed both by excavations undertaken in the Tegean Agora area by the Greek archaeological service and by NAS. See Ødegård, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> Although I will habitually refer to this centre as a city, I warn my readers not to put too much into that very problematic word in the discourse of ancient history. For a comprehensive discussion of the concept of city in ancient Mediterranean history see Horden & Purcell, 2000, 89-122.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias, 8.53.11.

<sup>8</sup> Since the origin of the river was at a place called *Phylake*, this place constituted the boundary in antiquity. See Pausanias, 8.54.1.

centre of activity for more than 1800 years. The ancient city of Tegea represents the historical equilibrium for settled human civilisation on the Tegean fan. Estimates indicate that at its peak in antiquity the number of people living in and around the Tegean urban centre was somewhere between 15 and 20.000.<sup>9</sup> Since the city centre was situated right on top of the fan, only careful hydrological management could provide a basis for a large urban population there.

It is evident from the archaeological record that the Tegean plain has a long settlement history before the emergence of the urban centre of ancient Tegea.<sup>10</sup> The only prehistoric settlement on the Tegean lowlands that has been excavated is situated in the Partheni Basin (**Maps 2 and 4**). This side valley to the main Tegean Plain makes up a distinct place of its own, topographically isolated from the ancient urban centre. In the following I will suggest that places of the remote past such as the abandoned Neolithic settlement in the Partheni Basin have contributed significantly to shaping local ideas about how and where people lived in the past. From ancient sources we also know something about the circulation of general theories concerning how the settlements of the present relate to the settlements of the past. We shall therefore start with some of the most common ideas and with how they were applied to the district of ancient Tegea.

## 1. ANCIENT GREEK MODELS OF PREHISTORY, AND THE DISCOURSE OF SYNOECISM

The Tegeans say that in the time of Tegeates, son of Lycaon, the district alone (τῆ χώρᾳ ... μόνῃ) received its name from him, and that the people dwelt in townships (κατὰ δήμους), namely *Gareatae*, *Phylacenses*, *Caryatae*, *Corythenses*, *Potachidae*, *Oeatae*, *Manthyrenses*, and *Echeuethenses*; and in the reign of Aphidas, a ninth township, that of *Aphidantes*, was added. The founder of the present city was Aleus.<sup>11</sup>

One important ancient theory about the local relationship between the dwelling places of the past and historical present is the model of synoecism. As an analytic concept in current studies of early Mediterranean urbanisation synoecism basically means that large and complex urban structures originate from joining (συνοικίζω) smaller and simpler settlement structures. As it was used, for instance, in the

<sup>9</sup> On the size of the ancient population see Forsèn, 2000.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion see Howell, 1970, 88-95.

<sup>11</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.1.

discourse of the Copenhagen Polis Centre initiated by the Danish historian Mogen Herman Hansen, who set out to provide an inventory of all ancient Greek city-states, synoecism is the hallmark of early polis history.<sup>12</sup> My point here is not to try to determine whether or not this model is an appropriate tool for the current analysis of early polis history, but rather to focus on the historical epistemology of the model. The historical dynamics of synoecism was an integrated element in the cultural and political identity of most ancient Greek *poleis*. This does not, of course, necessarily mean that it is correct. It simply means that it is a highly relevant place to start the discussion of the relationship between the dwelling places of the past and historical present in a such a Classical polis landscape as the Tegeatike. Whether it also means that the synoecism model is relevant for the reconstruction of the local settlement history will be a central question in the ongoing analysis of results from NAS.<sup>13</sup> In this context I am more concerned with some of the epistemological building blocks of the ancient model of synoecism and with an attempt to relate them to examples in the Tegeatike.

One such building block is the ancient Greek term *δημος*, the stem of which we have preserved in words like democracy. *Δημος* signifies both the land of a definite district and the people that live on that land. The concept of *δημος* will not figure here in a Herderian sense as the organic unity of *Land und Volk*, but rather as a micro-ecological unit, which visualises the interacting forces of the physical environment and human culture. The concept *δημος* is, in a sense, a manifestation of the ancient Greek landscape of memory. It is precisely its semantic ambivalence, which has been troubling to many commentators, that makes it so interesting here. According to Aristotle a *δημος* is the same thing as what in Doric dialect is called a *κώμη*, a term which is usually translated as “village.”<sup>14</sup> However, “the city (*πόλιν*),” says Isocrates, “is made up of villages (*κώμας*), whereas the territory (*χώραν*) of demes (*δημους*).”<sup>15</sup> The concept *δημος* clearly implies a lot more than a settlement (village) in ancient Greek discourse. It is, on the other hand, difficult to accept the purely political interpretation, and to agree with those commentators that have

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<sup>12</sup> This view can be found throughout Hansen’s contributions to the publications of The Copenhagen Polis Centre. See for instance his and Anthony Snodgrass’ contributions to Hansen, 1993. This also applies to Hansen’s student Thomas Heine Nielsen who has worked mainly on Arcadia. See Nielsen, 2002.

<sup>13</sup> See Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>14</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 1448a37.

<sup>15</sup> Isocrates, 7.47.

claimed that first and foremost it signifies a body of citizens. Rather δῆμος constitutes a contemporary model, on the horizon of the ancient historical present, for the local relationship between landscape and human culture.

In their reference to Tegean cultural geography both Pausanias (citation above) and Strabo use the term δῆμος to relate to a paradigmatic relationship between land and people that was believed to have dominated the Greek landscape before polis synoecism. Use of the term δῆμος accordingly also implies a certain historical development of settlement patterns. It relates to a temporal as well as a spatial dimension in the sense that it explains the settlement pattern of an historical present by the settlement structure of its past. Strabo mentions nine Tegean demes in connection with his discussion of the synoecism of the city of Elis. In Elis this event took place first after the Persian Wars.<sup>16</sup> With a few exceptions, he indicates that this development pattern is valid for the entire Peloponnese. Strabo uses the same terminology as Pausanias, χώρα for the inhabited territory and δῆμος for the local communities that preceded synoecism. In the time of Homer “the territory (χώρα) was settled in villages (κωμηδόν ᾠκεῖτο).”<sup>17</sup> This discursive distinction in Strabo’s record of extra-urban settlements between κώμῃ and δῆμος reflects phases in the cultural development of local settlements, but both terms are used throughout the Classical period, and are accordingly also synchronic distinctions. There remains, however, a tension between the diachronic and synchronic associations of these terms. Strabo further exemplifies this general development pattern with reference to certain Arcadian cities:

[...] the other Peloponnesian places named by the poet [Homer] were also named by him, not as cities, but as countries (χώρας), each country being composed of several communities (δήμων), from which in later times the well-known cities were settled (συνωκίσθησαν). For instance, in Arcadia, Mantinea was settled by Argive colonists from five communities (Μαντίνεια μὲν ἐκ πέντε δήμων ὑπ’ Ἀργείων συνωκίσθη); and Tegea from (Τεγέα δ’ ἐξ) nine; and also (δέ κἀί) Heraea from nine [actually ‘from the same number (ἐκ τοσούτων) as Tegea’], either by Cleombrotus or by Cleonymus.<sup>18</sup>

The tradition recorded in this passage also strengthens what the early French excavators of Mantinea and Tegea, Gustave Fougères and Charles Dugas, meant about synoecism in both cities being processes heavily influenced by Argos.<sup>19</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> Strabo, 8.3.2.

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, 8.3.2, my translation.

<sup>18</sup> Strabo, 8.3.2.

<sup>19</sup> See Fougères, 1898, 216; and Dugas, 1921, 350. See also Voyatzis, 1990, 11; and Jost, 1985, 152-3.

Argive connection also situates the synoecism of Tegea in relation to the important Peloponnesian opposition between Argos and Sparta, since Spartan involvement with Tegean synoecism seems rather to have been against it. A similar bipolarity is also indirectly present in Strabo's text since after mentioning two Arcadian examples (Mantineia and Tegea) he rhetorically balances them with a third Arcadian polis (Heraia), where Spartan kings were responsible for the initiation of synoecism.<sup>20</sup>

Although it is very difficult to determine the location and extent of the nine Tegean demes, a kind of consensus about a division of the Tegeatike into nine districts developed in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship.<sup>21</sup> As I aim to demonstrate in this chapter, it is dubious if any of the present settlements have a continuous history that extends very far beyond the late 16<sup>th</sup> century AD, when Ottoman administration was introduced into area. After the establishment of the modern Greek nation in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the aboriginal Tegean demes were re-territorialised in the landscape of the present. Topographical discussions and archaeological exploration during the 19<sup>th</sup> century provided important contributions to this re-enactment of this ancient landscape of memory. I will not suggest an alternative reconstruction of the location of the nine aboriginal Tegean demes in the landscape of the present, but I will approach this question indirectly. Starting with an analysis of Neolithic Ayioryitika in the Partheni Basin and ending with a discussion of some Early Modern villages on the Tegean Fan the examples from the Tegean orchestra are chronologically organised in this chapter. As will become evident in the course of the discussion, however, the relationship between landscape and settlement history is complex even within the limited arena of the Tegean Plain and the Partheni Basin. When the dimension of landscape is taken into consideration, historical linearity immediately becomes blurred. This blurred historical linearity will also dominate the discussion of the area of the ancient urban centre on the Tegean Fan.

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<sup>20</sup> The accompanying particles in the Greek text (μέν [...] δ' [...] δέ και) makes it rather difficult to justify Strabo's rhetoric in translation.

<sup>21</sup> See Curtius, 1851, vol. 1, 250; Bérard, 1892, 536-540; Moraitis, 1932, 57-66; Callmer, 1943, 128-131; Kokkini-Domazou, 1973, 8-9; Jost, 1985, 157; and Voyatzis, 1990, 10-11. Although there are, as Voyatzis points out, minor disagreements about some of the more obscure demoi, e.g. the Potachidai, the consensus is very general. The geographic extension of the demoi is based on a figure taken from Voyatzis, 1990, Fig. 2.

What I will explore in the discussion of the Neolithic Ayioryitika site in the Partheni Basin is an alternative interpretation of the ancient model of the relationship between the dwelling places of the past and historical present. The Ayioryitika site is situated in an open side valley to the main Tegean Plateau referred to as the Partheni Basin, after the emendation of the name Parthenion to the village on the southeastern edge of the basin (**Map 4**). Prior to the 19th century emendation this village was called Versova.<sup>22</sup>



*Figure 4.3*  
View over  
the Partheni  
Basin from  
the ancient  
watchtower  
at Agia  
Paraskevi on  
Mt. Profitis  
Ilias.

Like the main Tegean orchestra to the southwest (**Fig. 4.2**) the definite territory of the Partheni Basin is also easily visualised by the northeastern view from the Classical watchtower at Ag. Paraskevi (**Fig. 4.3**). This watch-tower was a part of a Tegean network of territorial supervision, a kind of compound, facet vision of the polis that enabled it to survey the spatial complexity of its territory. Within the visual facet of this definite place the prehistoric Ayioryitika site is, in fact, the only central settlement that has been identified before the Early Modern origin of the present villages (Ayioryitika, Parthenion, Steno and Lithovounia). In the example of the prehistoric Ayioryitika site it therefore seems that an alternative interpretation of the relationship between the dwelling places of the past and historical present of the ancient Greek polis culture is ready at hand.

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<sup>22</sup> See Loring, 1995, Plate I.

## 2. AYIORYITIKA–ΚΟΡΥΘΕΑ: MEMORIES OF A NEOLITHIC VILLAGE

The prehistoric Ayioryitika site (**Map 4**) was discovered in 1921 by the American archaeologist Carl Blegen. Prior to his excavations, undertaken seven years after the initial discovery, only fragments of prehistoric material culture were known in the Tegeatike, and, in fact, in the entire region of Arcadia.<sup>23</sup> The study of the Ayioryitika material has more recently been taken up again by Susan Petrakis, who has also published Blegen's material.<sup>24</sup> The Ayioryitika site is a typical Neolithic tell. The artificial mound (**Fig. 4.4**) that identifies the site in the landscape is largely composed of collapsed building material of sun-dried clay and waste from the prehistoric settlement. The mound is located a few hundred meters to the southeast of the Ayioryitika village (**Map 4**) not far from where the Partheni Basin opens up towards the main Tegean Plain. The location provides an optimal combination of proximity to the Sarandapotamos River and protection from the seasonal floods of the Partheni Marshes in the lower parts of the valley-floor. The micro-ecology of the Partheni Basin would have provided ideal conditions for the kind of primitive agriculture associated with Neolithic settlements.<sup>25</sup> The lowland would also have provided good pastures for domesticated pigs and cattle, and the immediately surrounding hill-slopes and mountains offer highland pastures for sheep and goats as well as good hunting grounds. Another important factor in the micro-ecology of the Ayioryitika settlement was its strategic location on the important Peloponnesian Highway. As we have seen this was a major route (λεωφόρος) by the standards of Roman Greece in the second century AD, and already for the Neolithic it is possible to establish an archaeology of this route on the itinerary Lerna - Ayioryitika - Asea. The configuration of Ayioryitika in the regional Peloponnesian communication network thus strengthens the thesis put forward by Catherine Perlès, that regional networks of exchange developed already in Early Neolithic

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<sup>23</sup> One important example is the early observations made at Analipsis by Romaios. See Romaios, 1902. For an overview of the history of study see Petrakis, 2002, 6-7. On Tegean, and Arcadian, prehistory see otherwise Howell, 1970.

<sup>24</sup> Due to unfortunate circumstances Blegen never properly published the Ayioryitika site. Much of his documentation as well as some of the collected material were also lost during the Second World War. See Petrakis, 2002. On the Ayioryitika site see otherwise Blegen, 1928, 533-4; and Petrakis, 1992, 341; and Alram-Stern, 1996, 263-4.

<sup>25</sup> The combination of alluvial sediments from the Sarandapotamos and the nitrate algae that form in the standing water of the Partheni Marsh during the warm spring and summer would have provided ideal conditions for primitive Neolithic farming in the lowland. On early Greek agriculture see Halstead, 1996a.

Greece. The existence of imported materials such as obsidian in early contexts at Ayioryitika confirms this hypothesis.<sup>26</sup>



*Figure 4.4*  
The slope of the Neolithic tell near Ayioryitika in the Partheni Basin.

The general impression of the site is of an architecturally elaborated Neolithic village settlement.<sup>27</sup> The excavated houses (Fig. 4.5) were built with stone foundations, but with more perishable material (probably wattle and daub technique) in the superstructure. Inside the houses were “fixed hearths, either circular or rectangular,” and the excavator also distinguished floors of packed clay.<sup>28</sup> Blegen also revealed one small grave with an adult skeleton. Its bones were typically closely packed in a small space. Since Blegen does not assign a separate stratigraphic context to the burial, it was also situated among the houses, a burial practice that is also attested elsewhere in Neolithic Greece.<sup>29</sup> Blegen’s brief review of the pottery from Ayioryitika, by and large confirmed by Petrakis’ re-investigation, distinguished initial settlement of the site in the Early Neolithic. Petrakis adds that the settlement seems to have continued through the Middle Neolithic, and into the earlier part of the Late Neolithic.

<sup>26</sup> See Pausanias, 8.54.5. That the Ayioryitika site is anything but isolated in the Neolithic period is confirmed by the presence of imported material such as obsidian. See Petrakis, 2002, 77. On regional networks of exchange in Early Neolithic Greece see Perlès, 2001. On the regional context of interchange in the Neolithic see also Petrakis, 2002, 79

<sup>27</sup> For a model description see Perlès, 2001, 173-199.

<sup>28</sup> Blegen, 1928, 534. For a more elaborate discussion of the architecture at Ayioryitika see Petrakis, 2002, 25-27.

<sup>29</sup> See Perlès, 2001, 277.

The pottery reinvestigated by Petrakis indicates that there was sporadic activity on the site in the Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (EH I), and in the later phase of the Early Bronze Age (EH II) as was also noted by Blegen.<sup>30</sup> Many implements of stone (celts, pounders, slingshots) and bone (pins, needles, chisels) were found in the Neolithic layers, as were also several fragments of terracotta figurines. In the figurine assemblage are quite a few anthropomorphic figurines with female characteristics (**Fig. 4.6**) of a type that is common in other Neolithic Greek sites.<sup>31</sup> More uncommon are the many fragments of animal figurines (**Fig. 4.7**) that look like dogs or goats. Blegen also noted an “astonishing quantity of animal bones.” The species represented in the animal remains noted by Blegen range from domesticated cattle to wild animals such as deer (antlers) and boar (tusks).<sup>32</sup>

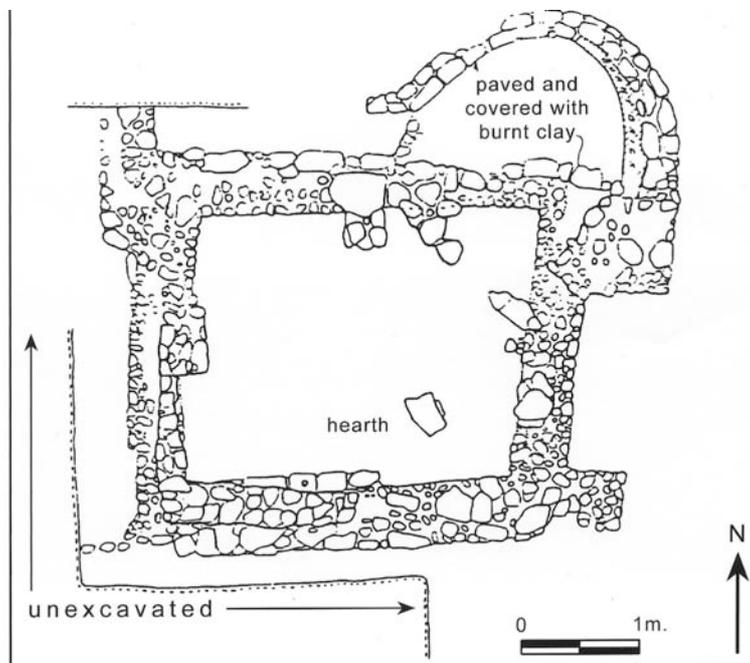


Figure 4.5  
State plan of  
excavated  
Neolithic  
house at tell  
site near  
Ayioryitika in  
Partheni  
Basin.

Within the cultural framework of the Neolithic village society at Ayioryitika the one documented burial testifies to the existence of some kind of ancestral memory.<sup>33</sup> The recovered iconic figurine assemblage also provides us with artistic

<sup>30</sup> Blegen, 1928, 534; Petrakis, 1992, 341; and Petrakis, 2002, 75ff.

<sup>31</sup> See Petrakis, 2002, 77-78. On female figurines from the Greek Neolithic see Khourmouziades, 1994, 97-155. On Neolithic figurines in general see also Orphanidi, 1998.

<sup>32</sup> See Petrakis, 2002, 77-78.

<sup>33</sup> The character of ancestral memory in Early Neolithic Greece has recently been the subject of revision. See Perlès, 2001, 273-282. Catherine Perlès has argued that intramural burials should be regarded as the exception rather than the rule since very few such cases have been documented. Perlès, 2001, 274. Her theory supposes that corpses were either incidentally disposed of outside the settlements or that regular extra-mural cemeteries did exist, but have seldom been found. Perlès' hypothesis appears to be confirmed by the Ayioryitika record since there was only one skeleton there. Another feature, which the Ayioryitika burial shares with other EN intramural pit-burials from

documentation of a kind of cultural consciousness that has now come to be regarded as the hallmark of the Neolithic revolution:<sup>34</sup> The cultural symbolism of the type of female figurine (**Fig. 4.6**) found at Ayioryitika has often been connected with fertility. Somewhat diverging from interpretations that have constructed female fertility deities out of these figurines, the current debate has focused much on how in the Neolithic the symbolism of female fertility is closely connected with the cultural identity of Neolithic society. In this perspective the Neolithic revolution is not so much a question of innovations in agricultural techniques or advances in pottery production. The Neolithic emphasis on the visual features of femininity does not necessarily focus solely on the symbol of fertility, but also on the new gender identities that evolved in the Neolithic period. If the female anthropomorphic figurines from Neolithic Ayioryitika can be regarded as paradigmatic examples of the visual culture of sedentary agriculture, the animal figurines feature the earliest example of pastoral iconography from the Tegeatike. The bone assemblage from Ayioryitika also indicates that pastoralism was another important aspect of the early economy of this site.<sup>35</sup> Seen together the two figurine groups at Ayioryitika present a tableau of Neolithic visual culture. This tableau emphasises the cultural values of a small-scale mixed economy. It also reflects the micro-ecology of the Partheni Basin, its lowland with good conditions for early agriculture and pasture for pigs and cattle and its mountain slopes with good pastures for sheep and goats. Apart from the Neolithic village at Ayioryitika no significant settlement sites, either prehistoric or ancient, have been located in the Partheni Basin. The recorded post-Neolithic activity on the Ayioryitika tell is of an undetermined nature. In his list of prehistoric sites in the Tegeatike Roger Howell reported as many as ten Early Helladic sites.<sup>36</sup> There is, however, no evidence of sedentary population at Ayioryitika in the Early Bronze Age. Blegen reported no signs of actual re-occupation in any periods after the Neolithic. That some pits had nonetheless been dug into "the earlier deposits and filled with fragments of Early

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Greece is that the body was squeezed into a hole in the ground. From the perspective of later inhumation-practice this does not appear as a particularly dignified practice of commemoration. That there are seldom grave-goods in these contexts – sometimes the bodies appear to have been disposed in waste-pits since the human bones are mixed with animal bones – and the fact that the majority of EN intramural pit-burials in Greece are of children, adolescents, and women are also pointed at by Perlès as arguments for the reversed theory.

<sup>34</sup> See Perlès, 2001, 255-272.

<sup>35</sup> See Petrakis, 2002, 78. On Neolithic agro-pastoralism in Greece see also Halstead, 1996a.

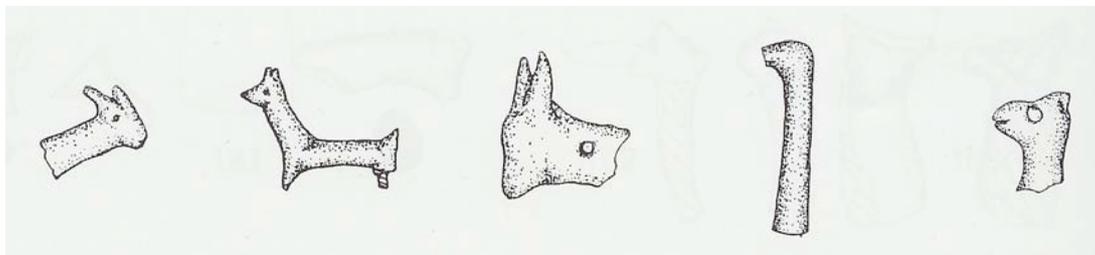
<sup>36</sup> See Howell, 1970. For a discussion of the list see also Petrakis, 2002, 6-7.

Helladic pottery,” indicates that the site maintained a place in the local landscape of memory in the Early Bronze Age. These sporadic traces of material culture from the Early Bronze Age indicate that already at this stage the Ayioryitika mound held a position in the memorial topography of the region, though not in the capacity of its presence as a thriving Bronze Age community but rather as a topographical sign (a peculiar and un-natural mound) and perhaps also architectural ruin of the past of the place.



*Figure 4.6*  
Watercolor by Piet de Jong of female figurine from Neolithic tell site near Ayioryitika in Partheni Basin.

*Figure 4.7*  
Animal figurines from Neolithic tell site near Ayioryitika in Partheni Basin.



Because of its proximity to the important prehistoric communication route across the Peloponnese, the Ayioryitika tell could have been recognised as a topographical sign of an ancient dwelling place by locals as well as by visitors from the Argolid, from Asea, and perhaps even from more remote places already in the Early Bronze Age. In the light of this faint trace of local historical consciousness in the Tegeatike in the Early Bronze Age it is important to take the contemporary reception context of the abandoned Ayioryitika tell into consideration. Because of intensive erosion of the surrounding mountain slopes in later periods, and the continuous silting of river sediments in the Partheni Basin, the abandoned Ayioryitika tell was much more conspicuous in the Bronze Age landscape than it is in the landscape of contemporary present. Ruins of buildings like those unearthed by Blegen may also

still have been visible on the surface. In the Early Bronze Age there is increased activity both at Lerna in the Argolid and at the prehistoric site in the Asea Valley (**Map 1**).<sup>37</sup> Since Ayioryitika was situated on the main route between these two sites, the Ayioryitika tell and its hypothetical architectural ruins would have been the most conspicuous landmark of the past of human civilisation in the Tegean Plain in the Early Bronze Age. The picture is a lot more complex in later periods.



*Figure 4.8*  
Roger Howell and  
a local farmer  
beside an ancient  
warrior  
monument  
discovered not far  
from the village  
Parthenion.

If we were finally to re-address how the ancient model compares with the archaeological record of the relationship between the past and historical present of the Partheni Basin, the absence of a main settlement from the era of the Tegean polis immediately presents itself as a problem. When Pausanias travelled through the Partheni Basin in the second century AD, he observed quite a few cultural memorials there. In addition to a sanctuary of “Demeter in Korythenis,” a term that probably denotes the area that I have referred to as the Partheni basin, he mentions one Asklepios sanctuary and one Apollo Sanctuary, which was “entirely in ruins.” Next to the Demeter sanctuary there was also one of Mystic Dionysus. As Pausanias starts the ascent into the Parthenion Pass, he also passes one precinct of the Tegean Hero Telephos as well as a sanctuary dedicated to Pan.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to the sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias the archaeological record in and around the Partheni Basin has also added a few elements to its ancient landscape of memory. ancient architectural fragments (**Fig. 3.6**) in village houses at Lithovounia, which belong to one of the sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias, are

<sup>37</sup> On Asea see Forsén, 1996. For general reference on Early Bronze Age in Greece see Dickinson, 1994, 50ff.

<sup>38</sup> See Pausanias, 8.54.5-7. For a discussion of this area see also chapter two.

one example. Remains of a sanctuary of Artemis have also been found at the foot of Mt. Partehenion.<sup>39</sup> In the village of Steno, which is situated on the western side of the Partheni Basin where it opens up towards the main Tegean Plain, several funerary inscriptions have been found, indicating that there was an ancient cemetery here.<sup>40</sup> On the other side of the valley, near the Parthenion village, Roger Howell also found the remains of a Classical warrior monument (**Fig. 4.8**).<sup>41</sup> The inventory of ancient memorials in the Partheni Basin is impressive. There are, in fact, few other potential demos territories in the Tegeatike that have yielded such a memorial spectacle. This again makes the absence of a major settlement all the more conspicuous.

Archaeological surveys of other polis territories than Tegea have documented a decline in rural settlements in the Roman period.<sup>42</sup> It actually confirms this pattern that Pausanias makes no note of any settlements in the Partheni Basin. If there were abandoned settlements of the recent past in the Partheni Basin, there is very little reason why Pausanias would have bothered to mention them when there were obviously so many other ancient memorials there. His Partheni Basin is a landscape of memory, and as elsewhere it is evident that Pausanias based his reconstruction on observations of archaeological ruins of abandoned sanctuaries. In the case of the Apollo Sanctuary in the Partheni Basin he explicitly says that it was “entirely in ruins.” Other less conspicuous ruins, such as the ruins of the Neolithic tell, were obviously not regarded as worth mentioning by the ancient perieget.

In order to confirm the historical correctness of the ancient model there have been made several attempts to locate the main ancient settlement of the Tegean δῆμος of the Korytheans in the Partheni Basin. Neither Bérard, Romaios, Pritchett, Howell, or Petrakis who all conducted systematic inspections of the Partheni Basin found anything but limited scatters of Classical pottery here and there in the valley. Just to the north of the location where Bérard found architectural remains which he identified as the sanctuaries of Demeter and Mystic Dionysus, near a rural chapel of Agia Triada, Howell found a concentration of Classical and Hellenistic sherds. In the interior of the chapel he also found a Hellenistic Doric capital.<sup>43</sup> This could stem

<sup>39</sup> See Fougères, 1898, 149; Pritchett, 1982; and Petrakis, 2002, 14.

<sup>40</sup> See Pritchett, 1982; Petrakis, 2002, 14; and *IG* 5.2, 255-259.

<sup>41</sup> See Howell, 1970, 90, No. 20. The relief is now in the Tegea museum.

<sup>42</sup> For a general discussion see Alcock, 1993. On another Arcadian polis see Roy et al, 1989.

<sup>43</sup> See Howell, 1970, 90.

from one of the nearby sanctuaries discovered by Bérard. Howell's suggestion that this place was the location of the central settlement of the demos of the Korytheans cannot be corroborated. Blegen did not find ancient building remains in the upper layers of the Ayioryitika tell. Petrakis, who has also inspected the Ayioryitika site, reported scatters of 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC pottery on the surface. From her study of the Ayioryitika material at the Tegea Museum Petrakis also reported a "handful of black glazed sherds of Classical and Early Hellenistic date."<sup>44</sup>

In her commentaries on the Classical and Hellenistic material from the Ayioryitika tell Petrakis concluded, "Ayioryitika would be an obvious candidate for the main settlement site of the Tegean Deme of Korytheis."<sup>45</sup> Her insistence on the quest for the one central settlement in the district (δῆμος) of the Korythensis illustrates how this interpretation of the ancient model has acquired paradigmatic status in the current discussion. If, on the other hand, we refrain from reading too much into the scatters of Classical and Hellenistic material on and in the vicinity of the Ayioryitika tell, a broad field of alternative interpretations of the relationship between the past of the Neolithic village and the historical present of the Tegean polis opens up. For the sake of visualising this field I have made an imaginary interpolation in the ancient Korythean landscape of memory. I have given the name Κορυθία (Korythea) to this interpolation. I underline that this place is not a real place. Rather it represents an experimental reconstruction of the memory of a place of the past in the Partheni Basin as this imaginary place was projected on the horizon of ancient Tegean historical present. This place, Korythea, is as imaginary a place for the Tegeans in the Classical period as Arcadia was in the pastoral poetry of Theocritus. The archaeological basis for this imaginary place can be found in the scatters of Classical and Hellenistic pottery at the Ayioryitika tell. This assemblage of material culture constitutes the trace of some kind of active appropriation of this imaginary place of the past.

The historical-philological basis for this imaginary place is, on the one hand, the name of the demos of the Korytheis and the epithet of Demeter in Korythensis. On the other, there is also a local tradition, a local toponymics, that justifies the interpolation of the suffix -ea for dwelling places with pronounced prominence in the local landscape of memory. Examples of this linguistic practice can be found in,

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<sup>44</sup> Petrakis, 2002, 78.

<sup>45</sup> Petrakis, 2002, 78.

for instance, Τεγ-έα, Ασ-έα, Αλ-έα, and in the Doric and Arcadian form Μαντιν-έα. I must admit that I have adopted this contrafactual philological measure in the application of the local -ea suffix from the Greek archaeologist Konstantinos Romaios, who interpolated the place-name Knak-*ea* on the basis of the epithet of Artemis, Knakeatis.<sup>46</sup>

The place that I have called Korythea is the central place of cultural contraction in the ancient Korythean landscape of memory. I do not imply that at some point in the history of the definite place of the Partheni Basin there ever was a place that was actually called Korythea. Korythea only exists on the anachronistic horizon of my discussion of ancient Tegean landscapes of memory. It is a place that throughout its contrafactual reception history was always already situated in the past. What makes this such an important paradigm in our reconsideration of the ancient model is that it is actually possible to establish a connection, on the horizon of the ancient Tegean historical present, between this imaginary place of the past and the Neolithic Ayioryitika tell. Korythea exists as a possible linguistic interpretation of local tradition, the demos of the Korytheis, Demeter in Korythisis, and in the interpolation of the suffix -*ea* that signifies dwelling places with an important place in local Eastern Arcadian history. The memory of the place Korythea is, more importantly, also inscribed on the local landscape, in the shape of the Ayioryitika tell. There is no documentation that indicates that this feature had any actual influence on the ancient Tegean settlement structure. Since no building remains from the Classical and Hellenistic periods have been located either on or in the vicinity of the Ayioryitika tell, there is no reason to believe that this was the case. The surface scatters documented there from this period do, however, indicate that the place continued to influence the collective memory of ancient Tegea in these periods. The fragmented sherds provide a scenario for the historical epistemology of its periegetic appropriation. Someone who has passed by this imaginary place, a place which was not really there, has left a trace in its memorial archive by the accidental discarding of ceramic waste.

From the whisper of local tradition documented in the artifact assemblage at the prehistoric Ayioryitika tell on the rural fringe of the Tegean Plain, we shall move towards the noise of the Tegean urban centre. Judging from military and political

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<sup>46</sup> See Romaios, 1952.

efforts of the Tegean polis as portrayed by ancient historians from Herodotus to Pausanias this must have been, at least by Arcadian standards, a large urban centre. The preliminary results from NAS have so far confirmed this general impression.<sup>47</sup> The ancient urban centre of Tegea is located right on the ridge of the Tegean Fan (**Map 2**). Because of the many monuments in stone that were built here, from the Archaic period through to the time of the Roman Empire, the past of this place has always been immediately available to its inhabitants, both as visual markers and as recycled building material. In the landscape of the present there is, however, very little to remind us of the ancient city buried below the sediments of the Forty Rivers. The two most conspicuous ancient monuments in this area today, the sanctuary of Athena Alea just outside the urban centre and the Hellenistic theatre in the agora were first unearthed by archaeologists at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The recent investigation undertaken by the NAS research group will make it possible to draw a more correct picture of the extent of the ancient urban site of Tegea. Although I will from time to time refer to some of the finds from NAS I am, in this context more concerned with how and why this location has been used as a canvas for the projection of shifting ideas about the dwelling places of the past.

### 3. URBAN ORIGINS: THE APHEIDANTES AND THE CITY OF ALEOS

After mentioning the eight demes that the Tegeatike was composed of at the time of its eponymous king Tegeates, Pausanias states that in the reign of Apheidas a ninth demos called the Apheidantes was added. He continues, “the founder of the present city, on the other hand, was Aleos.”<sup>48</sup> Most commentators have seen a close connection between the demos of the Apheidantes and the city of Aleos. Following this line of interpretation the construction of the demos of the Apheidantes represents consensus among the Tegeans as to a specific locality on the plain as the arena of common identity (synoecism), and the city of Aleos represents the later consolidation of an urban centre in this area.<sup>49</sup> The Korytheis example illustrates

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<sup>47</sup> See Ødegård, 2005. The actual extent of the urban centre of ancient Tegea has been documented by NAS both by the analysis of surface scatters, by reading georadar profiles, and by magnetometer survey. These results are addressed in several contributions to the forthcoming publication of the survey. See Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>48</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.1. My translation.

<sup>49</sup> See for instance Bérard, 1893; Callmer, 1943; Hejnic, 1961; and Voyatzis, 1991.

that one should be cautious in using the ancient model as a paradigm of local settlement history and should rather regard it as a source for the role of monuments, ruins and places of the past in the construction of cultural identity. It is, on the other hand, obvious that the situation in the district of the Apheidantes was very different from the situation in the district of the Korytheis. In the cultural perception of the different histories of these two Tegean demes we have an opportunity to observe the formation of the opposition between *astû* and *khôra*, city and country if we like, in ancient Greek culture.

In recent research on the formative phases of the Greek polis culture the country-side has come to play a much more prominent role than it did some 25 years ago, when the primary focus was always on the political institutions of the centre.<sup>50</sup> The recent focus has shifted slightly towards how early rural sanctuaries also contributed to the formation of polis identity. My interpolation of the place Korythea into the ancient memorial landscape of the Partheni Basin is also an example of how the country-side, its ruins, deserted settlements, or man-made landscape features such as the Ayioryitika tell contributed to models of the past in ancient Greek culture, and ultimately furnished identity markers for the construction of a common Tegean past. It is, on the other hand, important in this discussion of the cultural historical identity of city and country also to take the rural past of urban communities into consideration.

In local Tegean tradition the early development of the city was connected with the sanctuary of Athena Alea. It is evident that this was an especially close relationship. According to Pausanias Aleos, the founder of the Tegean city was also responsible for *making* (ἐποίησεν) the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea.<sup>51</sup> Although in the past there have been diverging views on the matter, the scholarly consensus about these processes in recent years has been to regard the development of the sanctuary in organic unity with the development of the city.<sup>52</sup> One of the reasons for

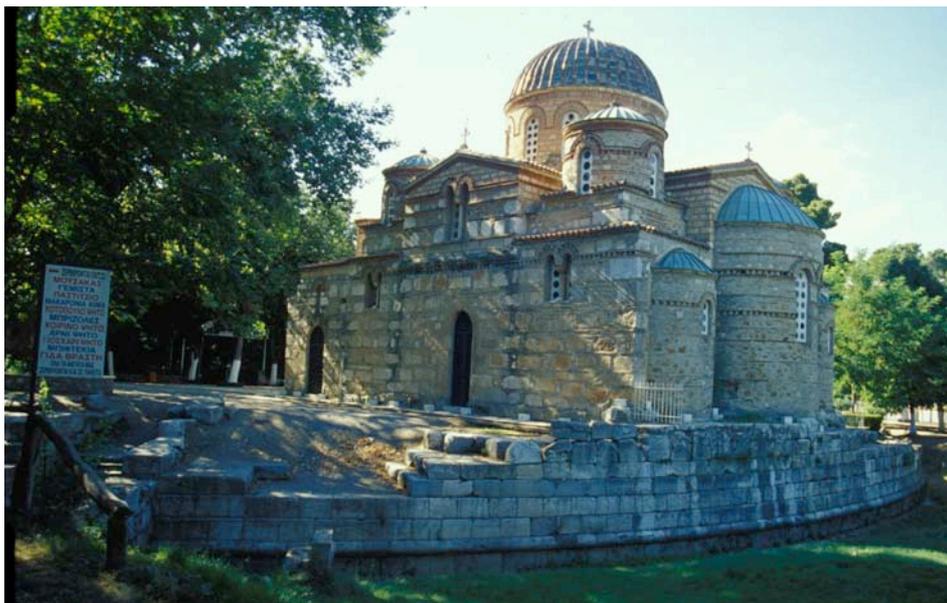
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<sup>50</sup> I refer here especially to the focus on rural sanctuaries in the early history of the Greek polis that was first taken up by such researchers as François de Polignac with his 1984 publication of *La Naissance de la cité grecque*. See de Polignac, 1984; 1995; and 1996. For an influential selection of discussions that take de Polignac's thesis as their starting point see Alcock & Osborne, 1996.

<sup>51</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.4. The verb ποιεῖν is difficult to translate. Since Pausanias here lists a sequential development of the elaboration of the sanctuary and starts with Aleos, he probably refers to Aleos as the founder of the sanctuary in the same way as he was the founder of the city. This reading is strengthened by the sanctuary that Aleos *made* being the the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea.

<sup>52</sup> See, for instance, Voyatzis, 1990, 13. This was also the opinion of Victor Bérard, who did extensive investigations in the area at the end of the 19th century. See Bérard, 1893, 1.

the persistence of this paradigm is that it has been the sanctuary of Athena Alea rather than the city of Aleos that has been the focus of archaeological attention in the Tegeatike. Recent exploration of the older phases of the sanctuary and of the extent of the urban centre on the Tegean Fan indicate the importance of regarding these two processes more independently. The establishment of the sanctuary of Athena Alea predates the earliest phase of marked activity in the urban centre by several centuries, and the sanctuary and the urban centre are clearly geographically distinct units, or – to put it more bluntly – it now appears that the sanctuary was never inside the city.<sup>53</sup> That the sanctuary was outside the city was, in fact, already suggested by Callmer. He argued this on the basis of an inscription from the sanctuary that indicated that it was surrounded by pastures.<sup>54</sup> Since the results of the NAS are neither completely processed nor properly published yet, I have not taken this recent result into consideration in my map of the ancient urban centre of Tegea and its immediate surroundings (**Map 5**).<sup>55</sup>



*Figure 4.9*  
The Panagia church at Palea Episkopi. The medieval building rests on the foundations of the theatre of ancient Tegea.

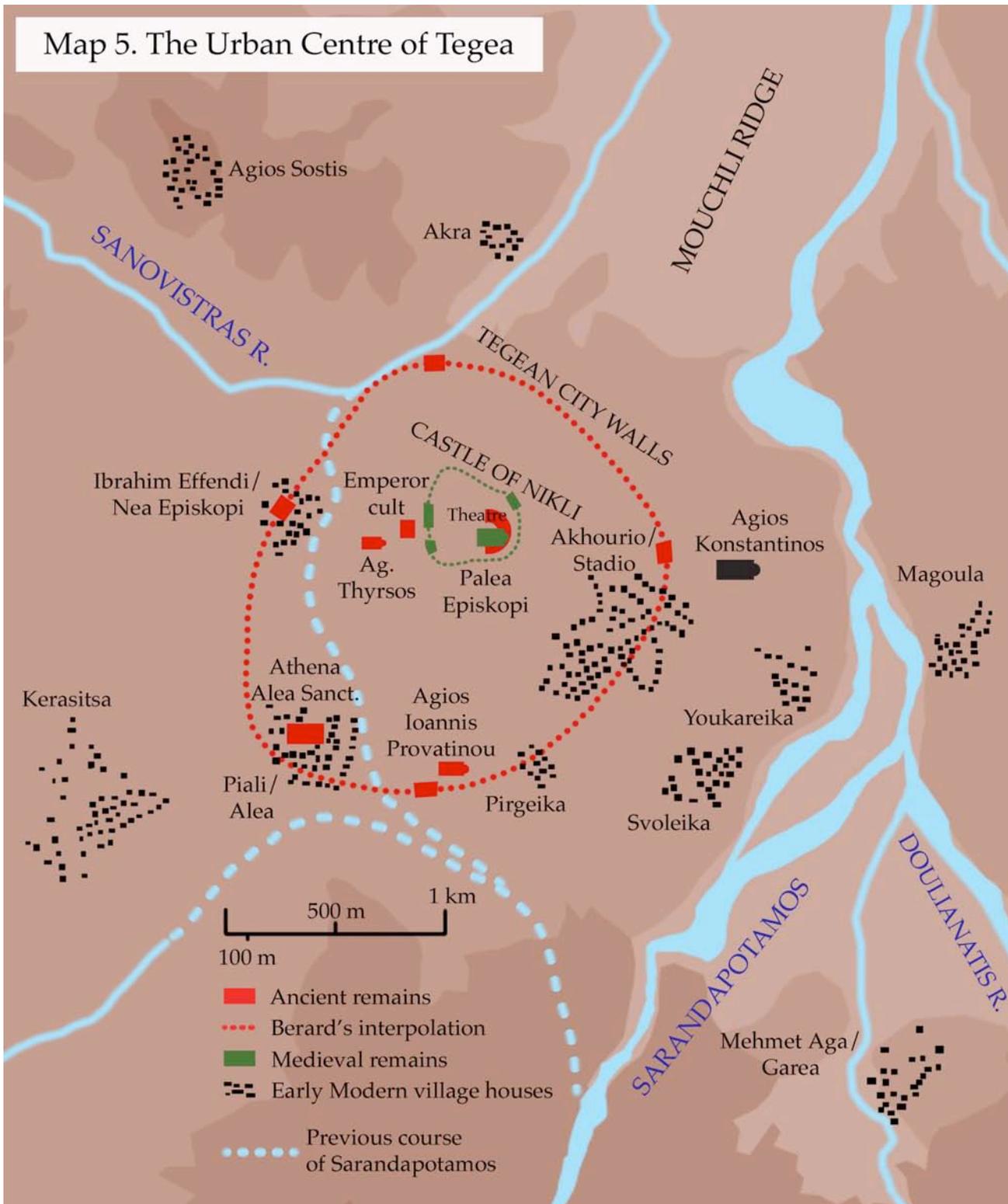
Another monument that has played an important role in previous reconstructions of the ancient urban centre is the ancient Tegean theatre (**Fig. 4.9 and Map 5**), which serves as the foundation for the church at Palea Episkopi.

<sup>53</sup> See Ødegård, 2005.

<sup>54</sup> See Callmer, 1943, 115.

<sup>55</sup> An updated model of the relationship between the urban centre and its immediate surrounding will be published in Bakke and Ødegård, forthcoming.

Map 5. The Urban Centre of Tegea



As in many other cases it was through the text of Pausanias that it became possible to situate this monument in a comprehensible topography of the ancient urban centre, for the *perieget* says that the theatre was “not far from the agora.”<sup>56</sup> Pausanias’ discussion of sanctuaries and memorials to mythical and historical heroes in the *astû* typically overshadows his account of contemporary urban space. He does, however, make a somewhat peculiar comment about the agora being “in shape exactly like a brick.”<sup>57</sup> Apart from the theatre the only other pagan buildings that have been discovered in the agora area are a Hellenistic stoa and an altar for the cult of the Roman Emperor.<sup>58</sup> Pausanias’ description of the topography of the urban centre is otherwise limited to mentioning certain hills that it has been difficult to locate. One such hill was the so-called Phylaktris, where Tegean women, including the renowned Marpessa, had once ambushed and driven away the Lacedaimonian army.<sup>59</sup> Another *high place* (χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν), where most of the altars of the Tegeans were located, was named after Clarian Zeus.<sup>60</sup> These hills have been connected with a ridge to the north of the urban centre between the modern villages of Agios Sostis and Akra. During the dispute in the 1990’s between FYROM and Greece over the historical ownership to the name Macedonia, a monument in commemoration of Marpessa and her sisters, who fought the Spartans, was set up at Agios Sostis. The monument (Fig. 4.10) consists of simple stele of local Douliana marble with a copper shield with the Macedonian star attached. Below the shield there is an inscription, which reads as follows: “Ancient Liberty: Marpessa, the Tegean, and the women, allies in struggle.”<sup>61</sup>

Both Agios Sostis and Akra have also been suggested as possible locations of the Tegean Acropolis mentioned by Polybius.<sup>62</sup> At two different places on the slopes of Agios Sostis votive deposits of figurines have been located.<sup>63</sup> Romaios also found

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<sup>56</sup> Pausanias, 8.49.1.

<sup>57</sup> Pausanias, 8.48.1.

<sup>58</sup> Material contextually related to the Hellenistic stoa includes standard weights, a stone table with liquid measures, and inscriptions concerning public management of the agora. See Bérard, 1892; and Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos, 2000, 23-24. During the recent survey we also found architectural fragments of monumental buildings from the second half of the sixth century BC.

<sup>59</sup> Pausanias, 8.48.4-5.

<sup>60</sup> Pausanias, 8.53.9.

<sup>61</sup> ΓΕΡΑΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ \*\*\* ΜΑΡΠΗΣΣΑ ΤΕΓΕΑΤΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ ΑΡΕΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΙ.

<sup>62</sup> Polybius, 5.17.1-2.

<sup>63</sup> In addition to the deposits mentioned earlier, which have yielded only female figurines from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods and thus been identified with a Demeter sanctuary mentioned by Pausanias (8.53.7.), a new deposit of horse- and rider-figurines was discovered during the recent survey on the western side of the Agios Sostis hill. On the earlier deposits see Lenormant, 1878;

ancient building remains at Agios Sostis.<sup>64</sup> Although not incompatible with Pausanias' description, none of the central elements from Pausanias' *ekphrasis* of the Tegean urban centre can be surely ascribed to the documented remains. Since other small hills also exist, even within the presumed urban centre, Pausanias' high places do not really aid the reconstruction of the topography of the urban centre.

In the light of the important role of the Ayioryitika tell in the formation of the ancient Tegean model of the relationship between the dwelling places of past and historical present it is interesting that Pausanias' *ekphrasis* is so focused on the high places in the Tegean city. One topographical analogy from the Tegean Fan, the site Howell called Stadio-Agios Konstantinos, should be mentioned in this connection. On a small hill to the north of the village Stadio (**Map 5**) stands the rural chapel of Agios Konstantinos. Behind the chapel there is an agricultural field transecting the mound, and it was here that Howell found large scatters of Early Helladic pottery, obsidian, and stray finds of Middle Helladic material.<sup>65</sup> No later material was noted by Howell on this site, but its proximity to the urban site makes up a very likely geographical scenario for a position in the ancient Tegean landscape of memory. The Agios Konstantinos mound is the only one of the prehistoric sites recorded by Howell that is situated either just outside the Classical Tegean peribolos, or even possibly inside it.<sup>66</sup> As with every other feature on the flat Tegean Fan it is invisible from down on the plain. It is, on the other hand, clearly visible from other elevated features in the urban area, such as from Akra. Since no ancient material has been uncovered from the site, it is unlikely that there were any buildings standing here in the era of the Tegean polis. The urban centre of Tegea covered, as we shall see below, a relatively large area. In antiquity, however, a feature such as the Agios Konstantinos mound would have been most conspicuous. Places such as Agios Konstantinos and other prehistoric features in the urban centre presently make up the best model of the demos of Apheidas. As with the position of the Ayioryitika tell

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Bérard, 1892, 542ff; and Voyatzis, 1990, 16-17. On the Agios Sostis figurine deposit discovered during NAS see Ødegård, 2005, 215, note 12.

<sup>64</sup> See Romaios, 1909a; and Romaios, 1910.

<sup>65</sup> See Howell, 1970, 91, No. 21. A trial trench was recently dug on the mound in connection with a rescue excavation conducted by the local archaeological authorities. No publication has yet appeared from this work.

<sup>66</sup> The Agios Konstantinos site is outside the target area of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey. Since it is situated in the eastern sector of the urban Tegean site, where no systematic survey has as yet been undertaken, it is presently difficult to decide if it is inside or outside the ancient peribolos. Preliminary inspections of the site after ploughing in 1999 confirmed that it is a large prehistoric site.

in the memorial landscape of the Partheni Basin we are not, of course, talking about any kind of real historical continuity, which ‘confirms’ the local stories about the founding fathers of the Tegean polis, Aleos and Apheidas. What we are talking about is the appropriation of the dwelling places of the past on the horizon of the cultural landscape of the ancient historical present. These examples cannot confirm the local stories repeated by the ancient perieget, but they can tell us that by looking at the present landscape of the Tegean urban centre we can realise that there may be more to these stories than mere tales. They reflect collective memories about the past of the ancient Tegean city. This traditional commemoration of the origin of the urban site also had distinct topographical references, landscapes of memory, as is reflected in Pausanias’ high places, and in the topographical paradigm of the Agios Konstantinos mound.



*Figure 4.10*  
Modern Marpessa monument at the Tegean village of Agios Sostis.



*Figure 4.11*  
Remains of the Mantinean city wall from the early 4th century BC.

The following examples from the Tegean orchestra are focused on the afterlife of the urban centre of ancient Tegea. In a few isolated cases we shall move beyond the area on the Tegean Fan that is defined by the shadow of the ancient urban centre. Also in those cases, e.g. late medieval Mouchli in the Parthenion Pass (**Map 2**), the main point will always be to relate these examples to the big urban site of the past. I will be drawing a portrait of the ancient city that most ancient historians would find very unsatisfactory. I pay little, if any, attention to political and cultural institutions. The main point here will be, in a very concrete sense, to draw the contours of its geographical extent, or, that is, of the contours of previous attempts to reconstruct its geographic extent. In this context I will approach some problems

that relate to the ancient urban fortifications of Tegea. Thanks to the generosity of a few Classical authors we know that such fortifications did exist at Tegea. The most important point here, however, will be to characterise the micro-ecology of the big site of the Tegean urban centre.<sup>67</sup> How the big urban structure represented by the fragmented remains of the ancient urban fortifications at Tegea relates to the natural environment of the Tegean Fan will illustrate some important features in the micro-ecology of this site.

#### 4. ANCIENT URBAN FORTIFICATIONS, AND THE CULTIVATION OF THE TEGEAN FAN

Xenophon provides the earliest reference to urban fortifications at Tegea, and this places the Tegean city-wall in the 370's BC.<sup>68</sup> Encompassing both a break with old alliances (Sparta) and the formation of new ones (Thebes and the Arcadian League) the early fourth century was a turbulent period in Tegean history and provides a comprehensible historical context for the construction of urban fortifications. That there was some kind of engineered consolidation of the urban centre before the fourth century, though a very probable suggestion, can not presently be corroborated. The only systematic attempt to investigate the urban fortifications of ancient Tegea has until recently been a limited project that was undertaken by the two French archaeologists Victor Bérard and Gustave Fougères at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>69</sup> It is significant for their interpretation of the results of these limited investigations in the Tegeatike that they represented a sideshow to the French exploration of the neighbour city of Mantinea, where Fougères had also mapped the well-preserved urban fortifications (**Figs. 4.11-12**).<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> The results from the surface survey and magnetometer investigations of the urban site undertaken by NAS will, in the near future, also make it possible to discuss the extent of the urban site, its fortifications, and to a certain extent also its city plan in more detail. Although I will from time to time refer to the general tendency of these results, I have in this context focused the discussion to the sources that were available before NAS. For the results of NAS I otherwise refer to Ødegård, 2005; and Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>68</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 6.5.8, and 7.4.36-37. The existence of a city wall in this period is confirmed by inscriptions uncovered in the villages Nea Episkopi (Ibrahim Effendi) and Alea (Piali). See Bérard, 1992, 543-545.

<sup>69</sup> For Bérard's very limited discussion of inscriptions relating to, and of the actual remains of, the Tegean city-walls see Bérard, 1892, 543-549.

<sup>70</sup> See Fougères, 1898, 130-161.

The literary testimonies about the Mantinea fortifications are also much more extensive than for Tegea. According to the sources Mantinea had urban fortifications already in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Thucydides reported that these early fortifications were destroyed by a clever Spartan stratagem during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>71</sup> At the time of a siege of the city in 418 BC the Spartan king Agis came up with the idea of diverting surface water in the Mantinean Plain toward the Mantinean mud-brick walls. That this stratagem was effective also illustrates how essential water management was for a large urban settlement in the Arcadian mountain plain.<sup>72</sup> The Mantinea walls were quickly rebuilt, and in the year 386 BC the Spartans demanded that the Mantineans tear the wall down and abandon the urban site. The Mantineans refused, and during the Spartan siege the same year Agesipolis applied a similar stratagem to Agis' and attacked the city walls with water.<sup>73</sup> After the defeat the Mantineans were forced to dismantle the city and the urban population "was dissolved (διωκίσθη) into four parts (τετραχῆ), dwelling in the ancient fashion (καθάπερ το ἀρχαῖον ὄκουv)." <sup>74</sup> In 370 BC the Mantineans "were again so thoroughly independent that they voted (ἐψηφίσαντο) to make a polis out of Mantinea, and to fortify the polis."<sup>75</sup> The preserved remains of urban fortifications at Mantinea (**Figs. 4.11-12**) mainly stem from the 370 BC reconstruction.

These rapid fluctuations in the emphasis on the urban site of Mantinea have been regarded by modern historians as an example of the volatile nature of early urban settlements.<sup>76</sup> That the 370 BC layout of the Mantinea peribolos is so regular, almost like a circle, should be attributed to its being the result of a political decision

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<sup>71</sup> See Thucydides, 5.71. It has been suggested that some sections of the Mantinean city walls go back to the fifth century BC. See Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 1981, 247 and 257.

<sup>72</sup> For a discussion of the hydraulic aspects of the 418 BC Battle at Mantinea see Knauss, 1989a. On Mantinea see also Fougères, 1898; and Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 1981.

<sup>73</sup> Xenophon gives a vivid description of the stratagem. See Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 5.2.6-7.

<sup>74</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 5.2.7. My translation. In translations of this passage "in villages" is often emended to the expression *καθάπερ το ἀρχαῖον ὄκουv*. The reason for this conventional interpretation must probably also be sought in the traditional interpretation of the ancient model. As appears from investigations of settlement structures in the Mantinike there is also very little to indicate that the area was ever settled in four villages. See Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 1981, 263.

<sup>75</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 6.5.4. My translation.

<sup>76</sup> See Horden & Purcell, 2000, 94. The Classical, «primitivist», account of the important paradigm of Mantinea as well as a review of its place in the modern reception of the ancient Greek city can be found in Finley, 1977a, 325.

(ἐψηφίσαντο) at a time in Greek history when regular Hippodameic city planning was becoming more common.<sup>77</sup>

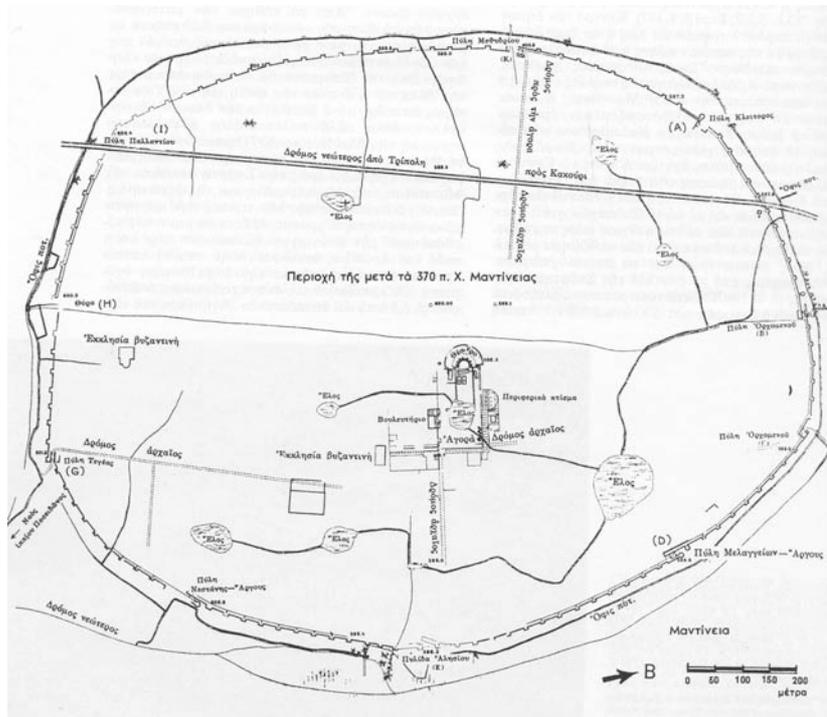


Figure 4.12  
Plan of early 4th  
century city  
walls at  
Mantinea.

Most Greek cities on the mainland are not, in fact, typically planned cities, but have rather grown organically from an older core. In this respect, the conscious city planning that precedes the 370 BC re-settling of Mantinea has some features reminiscent of the Greek overseas colonies, or with the establishment of the new Athenian harbour settlement at Piraeus. It should, however, be underlined that very little of the ancient urban centre at Mantinea has yet been investigated. We know the extent of its peribolos, but we know very little about the regularity, and settlement density, inside the peribolos. The few ancient roads inside the urban centre that were documented by the French Mantinea expedition do, however, indicate that there is a certain quadratic regularity inside the circular peribolos. It is impossible to say, however, if we are actually dealing with a regular Hippodameic city-plan at Mantinea.<sup>78</sup>

There can be no doubt that Bérard and Fougères were inspired by the parallel of Mantinea when they reconstructed the Tegean city walls. The highly conjectural reconstruction was based on four targeted excavation sites in the Tegean Plain

<sup>77</sup> See Fougères, 1898, 162-165, and 376-378. For a more recent discussion see Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 1981, 258ff. See also Martin, 1974, 120-122.

<sup>78</sup> See Fougères, 1898, 130-161 (fortifications) and 162-195 (remains inside the fortifications); and Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 1981, 256-261.

(Map 5).<sup>79</sup> For one thing the four points are conveniently situated with relatively equal distance between each other, so that it becomes possible to make a neat geometric interpolation.<sup>80</sup> The strikingly regular shape of the reconstruction is, by itself, very problematic. The circular plan certainly responds well to the, almost Pythagorean, abstract ideas about the ideal city in the Classical period. In practice, however, very few old Greek poleis such as Tegea have a regular city plan. This is most commonly found in overseas colonies, and in the special case of Mantinea, which is a kind of re-colonisation of the old abandoned urban site. At Tegea there is nothing to indicate that anything similar was the case.

It is now evident from the preliminary topographical and environmental investigations undertaken in the city area during NAS that the relationship between natural river courses and sedimentation has been influenced by local water management for a very long time.<sup>81</sup> If there is one thing that the parallel example from Mantinea illustrates, it is that continuous occupation on the Tegean Fan necessitated rigorous hydraulic management. As at Mantinea the task of the builders of city-walls at Tegea would also have been to provide defence against the hydrological forces of the Tegean Fan, to fight a continuously Herculean struggle against the many-headed monster (Fig. 1.3) of the Forty Rivers.

The ongoing analysis of surface scatters in the western section of the urban site of ancient Tegea has already provided an important corrective to Bérard's model of the perimeter of the urban centre. It now seems that the sanctuary of Athena Alea was situated just outside the urban centre, as Callmer already suggested in 1943.<sup>82</sup> For the main scheme of things the recent investigations have confirmed Bérard's model, but with some very important reservations. Surface scatters have so far only been documented in the western section of Bérard's suggested perimeter. The eastern half of Bérard's perimeter remains un-investigated. Even though Bérard's model is clearly erroneous at some points (such as at the 'point' of the Sanctuary of Athena Alea) it still provides an acceptable starting point for the discussion here.

In this context I am mainly concerned with the afterlife of the urban site of ancient Tegea. In the present landscape it would appear that the focal point of the

<sup>79</sup> See Bérard, 1892, 547-549.

<sup>80</sup> The Tegean interpolation is perhaps somewhat more elliptical.

<sup>81</sup> See Ødegård, 2005, 210ff; and Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>82</sup> Callmer, 1943, 115. See also Jost, 1985, 151; and Voyatzis, 1990, 13. On the new model of the ancient urban centre and the situation of the Athena Alea sanctuary see Ødegård, 2005, 214, and 217.

urban centre was somewhere in the vicinity of the place which is presently called Palea Episkopi (**Map 5**). Either inside, or just outside, the ancient city there are presently a handful of villages, Nea Episkopi (Ibrahim Effendi), Stadio (Achurio), Pirgeïka, Svoleïka, and Alea (Piali) where there are also the ruins of the peri-urban sanctuary of Athena Alea. How the histories of these villages are related to the ruins of the ancient city is the central issue in the following discussion.

## 5. URBAN HERITAGE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

Because the Tegeans, like most other Arcadians, supported Marc Anthony at Actium in 31 BC, Augustus punished them after the battle by transferring territories to Tegea's enemies, and by looting important sanctuaries of precious art works and historical curiosities. Two of the best known cases are the tusks of the Calydonean boar and the old cult statue of Athena by the famous Archaic artist Endoios. According to Pausanias they were both taken to Rome, and he also says he saw the tusks of the Calydonean boar in the imperial collections.<sup>83</sup> Despite obvious signs of decline in Tegea's position in Roman Arcadia, the current discussion of Roman Tegea has laid much emphasis on authors such as Strabo and Pausanias, who indicate that Tegea continued to flourish also after Roman occupation.<sup>84</sup> There are, however, some problems with this interpretation. It is evident, for instance, that Pausanias, who is our only extensive historical source from the Empire, is never very concerned with contemporary life. Pausanias' Tegean topography is, as we have already seen, a landscape of ghosts, where discursive memories of a glorious past and ruined ancient monuments completely overshadow contemporary urban space. Still there can be no doubt that a mixture of local tradition and Roman cultural influence must have been a marked feature of the city centre when Pausanias visited it in the second century AD. One of the few documented monuments from the Roman period that reflects this is an altar for imperial cult (**Map 5**) in the agora, which typically is not mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>85</sup> As elsewhere in the Greek world newly introduced institutions, such as the obligatory worship of

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<sup>83</sup> See Pausanias, 8.46.1.

<sup>84</sup> Interestingly, Strabo makes this point explicitly. See Strabo, 8.3.2.

<sup>85</sup> This building was excavated by the Greek archaeological service in the 1990's. See Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos, 2000, 23-24.

the emperor, existed side by side with traditional institutions.<sup>86</sup> The only monument in the Tegean Agora from the Roman period that the perieget mentions is a relief honouring Polybius, an Arcadian by birth from Megalopolis, who became a distinguished historian at Rome.<sup>87</sup> That Pausanias would mention a peripheral monument dedicated to an historian, an Arcadian colleague in the art of representing the glories of the past, rather than, for instance, the many monuments to Roman Emperors that we must assume were scattered throughout the Tegean Agora, is no mere coincidence. It is also significant that the most recent political monument in the Tegean Agora mentioned by Pausanias was dedicated to Philopoimen, the Arcadian general.<sup>88</sup> Like some of the sanctuaries from the *khôra* the Philopoimen memorial in the agora was also a ruin of a monument. Pausanias only mentions a pedestal with an inscription that refers to Philopoimen's deeds in conflicts with Sparta. Thereafter he goes on with a long excursion about Philopoimen. Because he is really one of the last of the great Greek war heroes before Rome completely came to dominate the Greek city-states, Philopoimen is important in this connection. As has been pointed out by Maria Pretzler, however, the excursus about Philopoimen is clearly not based on local tradition, but rather on the literary tradition.<sup>89</sup> This fragmentary memorial in the Tegean Agora works on Pausanias' text almost like the Madeleine cake in Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*.<sup>90</sup> Instead of recalling the memories of childhood as in Proust, however, Pausanias uses the fragmented monument to unfold the scholarly memory about this last of the Arcadian war heroes. Both the Polybius monument and the Philopoimen monument are thus used by Pausanias as a kind of commentary on his own literary recollection of the past glory of the Tegean polis.

Despite the punishment inflicted on Tegea by Augustus there is nothing to indicate that the city of Tegea was ever destroyed completely and thereafter rebuilt in the Roman period in the way Corinth was. The restructuring of the cultural landscape of Tegea may not have been very dramatic in the Roman period. Pausanias' description of the sanctuary of Athena Alea as an active cultural

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<sup>86</sup> For a general discussion of the mixed culture of Roman Greece see Alcock, 1993.

<sup>87</sup> Pausanias, 8.48.8. See also Pretzler, 1999, 98.

<sup>88</sup> Pausanias, 8.49.1-8.52.6.

<sup>89</sup> See Pretzler, 1999, 98.

<sup>90</sup> For the full 'Madelaine' story see Proust, 1987, 142. On the influence of Marcel Proust's novel on recent cultural memory studies see Bradley, 2003.

institution is, however, not comprehensible given the virtual absence of Roman material from this site.<sup>91</sup> That the sanctuary may have been in decline, and even abandoned already in Imperial times is indicated in a reference in Suetonius about a small excavation in this sanctuary in the era of Vespasian.<sup>92</sup> If this sanctuary was no longer functioning as an important civic institution in Imperial times, this means that Pausanias' description of it is more of a historicist re-animation of the past glory of this institution than a contemporary description. This would, in fact, also be more in tune with the *ekphrastic* mode of Pausanias' text: when Pausanias mentions details from ritual practices in the Athena Alea cult, e. g. the young boys who served as priests in the sanctuary, they are rhetorical devices in his animation of the great past of this institution.<sup>93</sup> This may also be the case with what Pausanias says about the replacement of the removed Athena Alea statue with a statue from the Tegean sanctuary of Athena Hippiia.<sup>94</sup> Unlike the excursus on Philopoimen which is probably based on contemporary literary accounts the *ekphrasis* of the sanctuary has a very different, more descriptive, literary mode. It is probably also significant that in the description of the sanctuary Pausanias uses the expression ἐπυνθανόμεν, which probably should rather be translated as 'I heard ...' or 'it was related to me ...' than as 'I discovered' as one translator suggests.<sup>95</sup> This interpretation would point in the direction of something that was told to Pausanias by the local guides at Tegea, and which (unlike the Philopoimen excursus) reveals the local tradition. This is, as we have seen, certainly the case as regards what Pausanias says about the Archaic temple, which had in fact not been seen by anyone for many centuries but is still characterised as 'worth seeing.'<sup>96</sup>

## 6. LOCAL TRADITION AT TEGEA IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

If we know few historical details about how Imperial Roman tradition influenced Tegea's memorial landscape, we know even less about its Early Christian culture.

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<sup>91</sup> See Østby, 1994, 47.

<sup>92</sup> Suetonius, *Div. Vesp.*, 7.3.

<sup>93</sup> See Pausanias, 8.47.3.

<sup>94</sup> Pausanias, 8.47.1. For another opinion see Jost, 1985, 380; and Pretzler, 1999, 109.

<sup>95</sup> See Pausanias, 8.45.5. The translation as 'I discovered' is found in W. H. S. Jones 1935 translation for Loeb Classical Library. Frazer uses 'I learned.' See Frazer, 1965, I, 433.

<sup>96</sup> Pausanias, 8.45.4. On the issue of local tradition and of the literary indications thereof in Pausanias' *ekphrasis* of the Tegeatike see Pretzler, 1999, 89-90.

One of the few sources that place Tegea in a greater landscape of Early Christianity is that a certain Ophelimos of Tegea appears in the list of Bishops from the 4<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. The name Ophelimos is also documented in one contemporary inscription from Tegea.<sup>97</sup> In comparison with the relative scarcity of documented pagan Roman monuments as many as four Early Christian sanctuaries have been identified in urban or sub-urban contexts.<sup>98</sup> One Early Christian basilica with a mosaic floor (**Fig. 4.13**) with anthropomorphic representations of the months and with a dedicatory inscription that identified the church as Ag. Thyrsos, was excavated by A. K. Orlandos in the 1930s. The building is situated to the west of the ancient theatre (**Map 5**) and was clearly in or very close to the agora.<sup>99</sup> Another Early Christian basilica (**Fig. 4.14**) has more recently been excavated in the agora area. The eastern apse of the building is built right against the northern tip of the foundations for the Hellenistic theatre and with the same alignment as a Hellenistic stoa.<sup>100</sup> The remaining walls of the basilica are a conglomeration of spolia from earlier buildings in the agora area. The fragmentary wall of this building is a veritable testimony to the violent cultural transformation which followed the crisis, and schism, of the Roman Empire.

As with many other remote areas of the Peloponnese our knowledge about the effect of the third century raids of the Herulians and the fourth century raids of the Visigoths on Tegea is minimal. It is, however, tempting to imagine that the period of Ophelimos (early 5<sup>th</sup> century AD) represented a restitution of the urban centre after the raids of the Visigoths. As this period also coincides with the reign of Theodosius II—when all pagan sanctuaries were either closed or converted to churches—the Ophelimonean renaissance of Tegea represents a cultural restructuring of an ancient city under the aegis of a new religion, and a new civic order under the aegis of the Roman Empire of Byzantium. An urban institution such

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<sup>97</sup> The Council of Chalcedon gathered between 500 and 600 bishops from all Christianity. See Alexandros, 2000, 29 & 32. A photograph of the stele with the inscription can be found in Alexandros, 2000, 32.

<sup>98</sup> The most comprehensive review is Orlandos, 1973. See also Alexandros, 2000.

<sup>99</sup> The mosaics are classicising works of high quality, and accordingly testify to a culturally sophisticated Early Christian community in Tegea. The sanctuary, which according to a graphic mosaic was dedicated to Agios Thyrsos, was dated by Orlandos to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, and might, indeed, belong to the period of Ophelimos. See Orlandos, 1973; and Alexandros, 2000.

<sup>100</sup> The Hellenistic stoa in the agora area was already discovered by French archaeologists at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The early Christian church, which was built on the ruins of the Hellenistic stoa has also been excavated in the 1990's by the Greek archaeological service. See Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos, 2000, 23-24.

as the pagan theatre was surely closed, if not before, then certainly by the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. Built right on top of the foundations of the Hellenistic theatre of Tegea, which according to Pausanias was “not far from the agora,” there is actually a Christian sanctuary (Fig. 4.9).

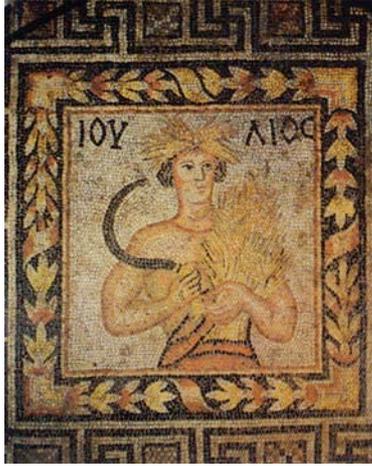


Figure 4.13 From a mosaic floor in the early Christian basilica of Agios Thyrsos in the Tegean agora.



Figure 4.14 Ruins of an early Christian basilica in Tegean agora.

This church, however, belongs to a later period in the history of the area (see below), when the original function of the pagan theatre had long since passed into oblivion. It is not without historical irony that the west entrance of this Byzantine sanctuary of the Mother of God (*Theotoko*) should have been directly oriented towards the orchestra of the pagan theatre. It is, however, very unlikely that Ophelimos and his contemporaries would have built a Christian sanctuary here, and they would certainly not have placed the seat of the bishop here. The toponym *Palea Episkopi* ('the old Seat of the Bishop'), which is now the more common designation of the place, reflects a much later migration of the Seat, probably in the final years of Byzantine rule.<sup>101</sup>

The example of the theatre points to a very interesting question in the discussion about the transition from paganism to Christianity at Tegea, namely to what extent the old pagan sacred architecture and sacred places were appropriated into the Christian sacred topography. So far there have not been documented any examples

<sup>101</sup> The Christian restructuring of the civic centre of Tegea surely included new names, and cultural roles, assigned to the many gods and heroes that Pausanias mentions in his description of the memorials of the agora. One such case has been made for the basilica that is built along the Hellenistic stoa in the agora. According to a recent publication on the history of the Seat of Mantinea and Kynouria, this church was built on the remains of the sanctuary of Apollo in the agora, which is mentioned by Pausanias. No secure remains of the sanctuary of Apollo have, however, been identified in the agora area. See Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos, 2000, 23-24.

either from urban or rural contexts, where pagan sacred architecture has been directly converted into early churches. Examples of this kind, like the conversion of the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora to a church of St. George, are not as common as one sometimes gets the impression of from literature on the change from paganism to Christianity in the Mediterranean area.<sup>102</sup> We have already seen that it is far from clear how late into the Roman Empire the sanctuary of Athena Alea maintained its position as the most important local cultural institution. Dugas firmly believed that some remains inside the cella of the Classical temple belonged to an Early Christian or Byzantine sanctuary.<sup>103</sup> This hypothesis is less likely to be correct since recent investigations have confirmed Erik Østby's hypothesis that the remains belong rather to an earlier, Archaic building. From the Athena Alea site, on the other hand, there have been recovered remains such as an iron door now in the Byzantine Museum at Athens that indicate that there was an Early Christian sanctuary on this site.<sup>104</sup>

There are a few other documented examples from the rural Tegeatike of reuse of the site of a pagan sanctuary for the erection of a church. One such example is the site of the ancient sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon in the Vigla Pass (**Fig. 3.4**).<sup>105</sup> As this monument now appears after the foundations of the ancient building were unearthed at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Christian sanctuary is built right across the ancient foundations. There are, however, no early Christian or Byzantine remains on this site. If this sanctuary was built sometime during the Early Modern period, it would have been built at a time when the pagan past of this place had long since passed into oblivion, and any remains of ancient buildings would have been perceived as having originated in what was already a well established Christian cultural landscape. As I will return to in the discussion below about the cultural appropriation of ancient and medieval ruins in the Ottoman period, this example should be placed in a completely different landscape of memory.

The fourth Tegean location where remains of an early Christian sanctuary have been found is the site of the small rural chapel of Agios Ioannis Provatinou (**Map 5**). It is located on a low ridge not far to the south of the ancient urban centre, and just

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<sup>102</sup> The conversion of the ancient temple of Hephaistos in the Athenian agora into a Christian church dedicated to St. George probably took place in the seventh century AD. See Camp, 1992, 213-214.

<sup>103</sup> See Dugas, 1924, 11-13; and Østby, 1986, 76ff.

<sup>104</sup> See Orlandos, 1935.

<sup>105</sup> See Romaïos, 1957b.

next to the modern road between Alea and Pirgeïka. It is also significant that it is situated in close proximity to the ruins of the Sanctuary of Athena Alea. The present church (**Fig. 4.15**) was erected after the excavations of the site undertaken by Athanasios Orlandos in the 1920's.<sup>106</sup> The building consists mainly of spolia from the excavation. Some of the material from the excavation such as the inscription with the name of Ophelimos, the Bishop of Tegea, who participated in the 4<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD, was taken to the local archaeological museum at Tegea. During the 2001 field season of NAS we undertook a preliminary documentation of the assemblage of architectural fragments. The site is still littered with fragments of the Early Christian basilica (**Figs. 4.16-17**). There are also quite a few spolia (**Fig. 4.18**) of one, or perhaps several buildings that are much older than the Early Christian basilica. Quite a few of those spolia, e.g. a Classical Doric capital in the foreground of **Fig. 4.15** that has been converted into a large mortar, can be identified as remains of the Classical temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea.<sup>107</sup> The dimensions of another fragment of an Early Archaic Doric capital probably came from the Archaic temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea.<sup>108</sup> Another ancient architectural fragment from this site (**Fig. 4.18**), probably a part of a door arrangement, could also stem from the sanctuary of Athena Alea.

From later periods it is well known that the ruins of the sanctuary of Athena Alea were frequently utilised as a quarry for all kinds of building projects in the surrounding villages. Spolia from this site have been observed as far away as in Late Ottoman Tripolis.<sup>109</sup> As has been the fate of many other ancient monuments, we must also assume that during the past 2000 years a substantial quantity of marble from the sanctuary has also found its way to local limekilns. To the best of my knowledge there are, however, no sites outside the Alea village, where there can be found such an abundance of spolia from the pagan sanctuary of Athena Alea as at the site of the chapel of Agios Ioannis Provatinou. If Orlandos is correct in his assumption that the first church on this site was built in the fifth century AD, it is also the earliest building where we know that building material from the sanctuary

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<sup>106</sup> For reference to the excavation see Orlandos, 1973.

<sup>107</sup> This was first noted by Dr. Jari Pakkanen at the University of London, who has been working for some time on a revised catalogue of preserved blocks from the Classical temple. Personal communication.

<sup>108</sup> See Ødegård, 2005, 216, and note 16.

<sup>109</sup> See Randolph, 1689, 12; and Leake, 1830, I, 85-86.

of Athena Alea was reused. The second half of the fifth century AD is accordingly also a possible *terminus post quem* for the exploitation of the sanctuary of Athena Alea.

Popular opinion has it that the site of the present church of Agios Ioannis Provatinou was, in fact, also the first Seat of the Bishop of Tegea.<sup>110</sup> No testimonies apart from the inscription that mentions Ophelimos found on the site by Orlandos corroborate this thesis. The large amount of spolia from the sanctuary of Athena Alea does, however, confirm that it must have been the site of a rather early establishment of a Christian sanctuary in the Tegeatike. If, for the sake of argument, we assume that the Agios Ioannis Provatinou site did have a prominent position in the early Christian topography of Tegea, this opens up for some interesting prospects. If it was here rather than on the Athena Alea site that the main Christian sanctuary was established, this could, on one hand, reflect reluctance in the early Christian community at Tegea to be too closely associated with the place that had been the centre of Tegean identity building for probably more than a thousand years. Such an interpretation as this is very much in line with the classic argument put forward by Cyril Mango and other Byzantinists that Early Christian and Byzantine writers were sceptical about the alleged appropriation of pagan statues and monuments.<sup>111</sup> Recent research on conscious strategies of appropriating ancient spolia in ecclesiastical Byzantine architecture, on the other hand, paints a picture of Christian appropriation of the pagan cultural heritage that is more favourable. Recent work by Amy Papalexandrou has focused on the middle Byzantine period.<sup>112</sup>

Even though the Athena Alea site may have been virtually abandoned already in the second century AD when it was visited by Pausanias, the place was firmly cemented in the local landscape of memory as the primary focus of pre-Christian Tegean culture. There are certainly a number of prosaic reasons why building material from the pagan sanctuary of Athena Alea was reused in the early Christian sanctuary at the site of Agios Ioannis Provatinou.

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<sup>110</sup> This tradition is probably based on the inscription with the name Ophelimos that was uncovered from this site. See Orlandos, 1973. That the early Christian basilica at the Agios Ioannis Provatinou site was also where the first Seat of Tegea was situated has been taken up into the ecclesiastical history of the region. See Alexandros, 2000, 32 & 35.

<sup>111</sup> The classic text on this subject is Mango, 1963.

<sup>112</sup> See Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990; and Papalexandrou, 2003.



*Figure 4.15*  
The chapel of Agios Ioannis Provatinou. Note the pile of remains from an early Christian sanctuary right in front of the chapel. A mutilated Doric capital from the Classical temple in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea is also visible in the foreground.



*Figure 4.17* A fragment of interior architectural decoration from the Early Christian sanctuary at the site of Agios Ioannis Provatinou.



*Figure 4.16* Early Christian capital from the site of Agios Ioannis Provatinou.



*Figure 4.18*  
An ancient architectural fragment (from a door arrangement) on the site of Agios Ioannis Provatinou.

For one thing it would have been the most immediately available 'quarry' in this part of the plain.<sup>113</sup> There may, however, also have been more symbolic reasons why the early church builders at Tegea found it a proper measure in the same operation

<sup>113</sup> There are, as we have seen, several examples of typically 'medieval quarrying' of ancient monuments in the central Tegeatike already in the Early Christian period.

to dismantle the ruins of the pagan institution and also to move the main sanctuary to another place. This combined architectural and topographical dislocation would have underlined the establishment of a new cultural order, while still preserving a sense of continuity in the local landscape, and architecture, of memory. One thing is the spolia of the ancient building that have usually been assumed to have been virtually invisible, because the building would have been covered with plaster. Recent research on Byzantine architecture has, however, revealed that parts of the walls of ecclesiastical architecture with ancient spolia were sometimes left exposed. As I will return to below, there are both aesthetic and traditional motivations for this building practice.<sup>114</sup> Another thing is the topographical dislocation. The sanctuary was demonstratively moved to another location, but this was a location that shared some features with the location of the sanctuary of Athena Alea. The topography of this place, a low mound on the edge of the Tegean Fan, was reminiscent of the topography of the sanctuary of Athena Alea, and it is also probably significant that, like the pagan Athena Alea sanctuary, the basilica was situated in a peri-urban location.

#### *7. NIKLI, AMYKLION, AND PALEA EPISKOPI:*

#### REORGANISING THE ANCIENT PAST OF MIDDLE BYZANTINE HELLENISM

The meagre examples of pagan Roman and Early Christian institutions that have been reviewed here represent a marked 'international' cultural influence in Tegean landscapes of memory. Like late antiquity the medieval period at Tegea was also predominantly 'international.' The internationalism of medieval Peloponnese, or Morea as the peninsula was called, is somewhat different from pagan Roman or Early Christian internationalism. For one thing there was in this period a marked discontinuity with indigenous tradition at Tegea. In fact, after the time of Ophelimos (5<sup>th</sup> century AD) the name Tegea disappears altogether from the historical record. Starting with the Slavic invasions in the 7<sup>th</sup> century disintegration of imperial control in the peninsula was a constant menace for the Byzantine Emperor. There are mainly two aspects of the medieval period that will be taken up here. Since there is such a marked discontinuity with the local pagan past in this

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<sup>114</sup> See Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990; and Papalexandrou, 2003, 61 and 65ff.

period, it is a major concern to address the medieval cultural appropriation of the places and monuments of ancient Tegea. Because modern historical consciousness has for some time been regarded as an invention of the Renaissance, we have come to see medieval culture as reactionary in its relationship with the past. To a certain extent this is true. There is not the same sense of discontinuity in the medieval period as in the modern reception of the medieval period: there was, to express it in the form of an anachronistic paradox, no medieval period in the medieval period. We shall see, however, that there are examples of appropriation of ancient monuments and places from our area where a conscious Renaissance of the ancient past is a justified description. The second aspect of local medievalism that is interesting here is to what extent the heterogeneous culture of medieval Tegea has been resistant to cultural erosion in later periods.

Because of constant pressure on the eastern frontier from Arabs and Persians the Byzantine Emperor eventually had to cede Balkan and Greek provinces to the Slavic tribes, and a crisis occurred in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>115</sup> This period represents the most marked phase of discontinuity with the ancient past, the fragments of which can also be observed at Tegea. The disappearance of the name of Tegea is the most conspicuous indication of cultural and linguistic discontinuity. Since the Early Iron Age the name Tegea had represented a unifying cultural-political label in the region. Sometime during the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD Tegea disappears from the stage of history. The earliest non-Greek toponyms in the area probably also stem from this period. *Arachova* in the Northern Parnon presents a puzzling case. We have seen that according to the modern reconstruction of the location and extent of the rural Tegean demes the mountain village Arachova should have been situated in ancient Karyatis. Romaios' suggestion that the main settlement of the Karyatis (Karyai) was at Arachova (**Map 2**) should, as I have pointed out, be regarded primarily as a conscious re-territorialisation project in the cultural context of the consolidated modern Greek Nation. There is, however, a peculiar connection between Arachova and Karyai. Καρύαι is probably a derivation of Καρύα, which in ancient Greek is a signifier for *nut-bearing tree*. The ancient denomination Καρύαι

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<sup>115</sup> Whether the Greek population of the peninsula was actually replaced by Slavs in this period has been a matter of debate ever since systematic documentation of Slavic place-names in the Peloponnese was undertaken in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The debate was initiated by Jacob Fallmerayer in 1830. The linguistic argument was followed up by Max Vasmar. See Fallmerayer, 1830; and Vasmar, 1941. For a comprehensive discussion of the present state of research see Barford, 2001, 61ff.

can accordingly be reconstructed as ‘the place of nut-bearing trees.’ That the meaning of Arachova in Slavic languages (*Orechova*) is more or less the same can hardly be a coincidence.<sup>116</sup> Also the Slavic origin of the denomination of Tripolis, which sounds remarkably Greek (τρεις πόλεις; ‘three cities’), has been demonstrated. In Venetian sources Tripolis is referred to as *Tripolizza*, and it was called *Tarabolúsa* in the Ottoman period. The toponym can, however, also be related to the Castle of *Dربولiza*, which is mentioned in a list of abandoned Byzantine fortresses from 1467.<sup>117</sup> Now, the denomination *Dربولiza* is clearly of Slavic origin, and means *small forest*.<sup>118</sup> More substantial historical documentation of Slavic settlements is known both from the Mantinea Plain, and from the district of ancient Pallantion, which immediately borders on ancient Tegeatike in the west (**Maps 1 and 2**).<sup>119</sup> At Pallantion there appears to have been a rather large Slavic settlement. An Italian expedition at Pallantion has also identified a group of artefacts (so-called Avaro-Slavic pottery) that is distinctive of early Slavic expansion.<sup>120</sup> From the 6<sup>th</sup> through to the 9<sup>th</sup> century we know less about the site of the ancient urban centre of Tegea than about Mantinea and Pallantion, where significant Slavic settlements are known. Stray finds of Avaro-Slavic pottery (**Fig. 4.19**) collected during NAS indicate that there was a Slavic settlement at Tegea as well. When the urban centre re-appears in historical sources in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, there is some confusion about its name. Most sources know the medieval town in the Tegean Plain as Nikli. In 1082 a new Seat, one of three new episcopates under the Mitropolitism of Lacedaimon, was established at Nikli by the Emperor Alexios Komnenos. The official name of the Seat was Ἐπισκοπή Ἀμυκλῶν (the Bishopric of Amyklon).<sup>121</sup> Frequent references to Nikli are also found in *The Chronicle of Morea*, an epic poem about the arrival of Frankish nobility in the peninsula in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>122</sup> In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the fall of Constantinople in 1204 the territories of the Byzantine Empire were partitioned into feudal crusader

<sup>116</sup> This has been pointed out both by Romaios and Wolfart. See Romaios, 1957c; and Wolfart, 1970, 183.

<sup>117</sup> See Venetian Archives from the Morea from the year 1700, published in Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 243.

<sup>118</sup> See Gritsopoulos, 1972, 127ff; and Alexandros, 2000, 89.

<sup>119</sup> See Gritsopoulos, 1972, 77ff; and Alexandros, 2000, 26-27.

<sup>120</sup> See Iozzo & Pagano, 1995, 197-199.

<sup>121</sup> See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 50, Note 2; and 53-54; and Alexandros, 2000, 45ff.

<sup>122</sup> See *The Chronicle of Morea* [Schmitt, ed., 1967], 1715, 1752, 1934, 2903, 3210, 3316, 3332, 4391, 4603, 4878, 5096, 5147, 5919, 6602, 6696, 6711, and 6717.

states. Nikli was taken by Frankish forces a few years later (1209), and thus appropriated into the Frankish Principality of Achaia.<sup>123</sup> According to *The Chronicle*, Nikli was “situated on the plain,” and was “among the most notable cities of the entire Peloponnese.”<sup>124</sup>

Figure 4.20  
A fragment of the  
medieval fortifications  
at Palea Episkopi.



Figure 4.19 Sherd of an Avaro-Slavic ceramic vessel from Tegea. Found on the surface near the ancient Agora during the recent Norwegian Arcadia Survey.



Figure 4.22  
Ancient spoliolum inserted into a  
gate in the Castle of Nikli.



Figure 4.21  
Drawing of the ruins of the medieval church at Palea  
Episkopi before restoration work started in the 1880's.

There is an interesting inconsistency in the way that medieval Tegea is referred to in one of the two best manuscripts to *The Chronicle*: at one point of the *Codex Havniensis* the city on the Tegean Plain is called Νίκλι as is the common denomination in this period.<sup>125</sup> A few lines further down the fortifications of the city

<sup>123</sup> See Chatzidakis, 1992, 13ff.

<sup>124</sup> (εἰς Κάμπον ἔκειτο ... χώρες προεστειὺς εἰς ὄλον τὸν Μορέαν), *The Chronicle of Morea* [Schmitt, ed., 1967], 1753. My translation.

<sup>125</sup> *The Chronicle of Morea* [Schmitt, ed., 1967], H 2027.

are described with 'towers' and 'high walls.'<sup>126</sup> The name used in the description of the military architecture is 'Amykli(ov),<sup>127</sup> probably a diminutive of 'Amykli, an ancient Laconian town and site of an important Apollo sanctuary. This denomination would also seem to be in agreement with the official name of the Seat established in 1082. The anomalous denomination found in the Codex Havniensis also appears in one of the most important hagiographic sources for the medieval Peloponnese, the Life of Nikon Metanoite. Before he settled in Lacedaimonia in the 970's Nikon travelled throughout the Peloponnese in the service of the Christianisation of the Slavic population. At least on one of his journeys Nikon visited a place called Amyklion, which has been identified with Nikli.<sup>128</sup>

Remains of both military (Fig. 4.20) and ecclesiastical (Fig. 4.9) architecture from the medieval town of Nikli/Amyklion can still be seen in the ancient agora area (Map 5). Until archaeological exploration of this area started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there does not appear to have been much activity there since the Late medieval period. The collapsed roof and upper elevation of the medieval church (Fig. 4.21) there was reconstructed in the 1880's. Unlike the sites of most of the other urban and peri-urban historical ruins on the Tegean Fan, there was no Early Modern village here. In addition to the reconstructed medieval church and a modern school building there are presently only a few isolated houses and two restaurants on the site. That the site was called *Palea Episkopi* (the old Bishopric) already before the Greek War of Independence indicates that the site of the medieval town always occupied a prominent position in local memory.<sup>129</sup> The focal point for this most recent landscape of memory is the medieval church. How the medieval monuments in the ancient agora area relate to the ancient urban space, and how they have incorporated spolia of ancient statuary, building remains and

<sup>126</sup> (τοὺς πύργους ... τοῖχοι ... ὑψηλοί), *The Chronicle of Morea* [Schmitt, ed., 1967], H 2030-2033. My translation.

<sup>127</sup> There is little doubt that the text refers to the one and the same place. See commentary in Schmitt, 1967, 633. This place Amykli(on) is also referred to elsewhere in *The Chronicle of Morea* [Schmitt, ed., 1967], 1960, 2067, 3330, 4401, and 6722. None of these cases is consistent with the identification of Amykli(on) with Nikli.

<sup>128</sup> Before he came to the Peloponnese, Nikon had been on missions in Asia Minor and Crete where he participated in the re-Christianising of the island after the Byzantines re-claimed it from the Arabs in 961 AD. See Sullivan, 1987, 1. For mention of the visit to Amyklion and on its identity with Nikli see *Vita Niconis* [Sullivan, ed., 1987], 33.4-6; and 42.6.

<sup>129</sup> Already Leake made this assumption based on the toponym *Palea Episkopi*. See Leake, 1830, I, 99.

inscriptions offer an interesting opportunity to explore the local medieval landscape of memory.<sup>130</sup>

Recent investigations, like the one undertaken by Amy Papalexandrou, of middle Byzantine spolium monuments such as the so called 'Little Metropolis' at Athens and the Church of the Virgin of Skripou on the site of ancient Orchomenos in Boiotia have demonstrated a very active, and positive, relationship with ancient visual culture in this period.<sup>131</sup> This medieval visual culture of the past also included the visual character of ancient inscriptions. Papalexandrou's interpretation diverges somewhat from the traditional account of the Byzantine appropriation of ancient imagery and building forms. In the tradition from Cyril Mango and others this has been regarded as a negative form of appropriation, where the use of pagan imagery has always been considered to be preceded by a marked cultural discontinuity, and often, explicit denial of cultural continuity between pagan and Christian culture.<sup>132</sup> As in the Early Christian examples from Tegea the line between conscious forgetting and active recollection in medieval appropriation of ancient visual culture in a Byzantine province like Nikli is very thin.

The cultural focus of the town of Nikli was its Episcopal church, the very same monument, in fact, that has been preserved in local memory as the place of the Old Bishopric. The modern bricks (**Fig. 4.9**) from its reconstruction in the 1880's are easily visible in the upper walls of the building. The extensive medieval remains were dated to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century by Athanasios Orlandos.<sup>133</sup> When the area around the church (**Fig. 4.9**) was excavated in 1912, it became evident that the medieval church is built right on top of the foundation walls for the *theatron* of the Hellenistic theatre.<sup>134</sup> That the medieval church is located right on top of what must have been one of the most conspicuous ruins of the pagan past of this place certainly has a practical side. Here the medieval church builders would have a solid foundation for the erection of the new ecclesiastical monument, and ancient building material could be 'quarried' and recycled into the new building right on the

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<sup>130</sup> Since excavations in the agora have hitherto been very rudimentary, archaeological sources can presently be of little help in understanding the relationship between the ancient and the medieval urban centres on the Tegean Plain.

<sup>131</sup> See Papalexandrou, 2003.

<sup>132</sup> For this view see Mango, 1963

<sup>133</sup> On the 19th century reconstruction see Alexandros, 2000, 52. On the date of the medieval remains see Orlandos, 1973, 149-152.

<sup>134</sup> See Vallois, 1926, 136-137.

building site. The visible ancient remains in the medieval walls of the building make up a conglomerate of the building history of the agora area. Simple, unadorned building blocks in marble, fragments of architectural decoration, statuary and inscriptions are all elements in its archaeological collage. As has been pointed out by Saradi-Mendelovici this kind of conglomerate of ancient spolia can also be regarded as a part of the adornment of the Byzantine ecclesiastical building with variety (*poikilia*). Contrary to the modern aesthetic appreciation of a fragmented surface, the Byzantine reception of this kind of architectural *poikilie* was an integral part of the sacred iconicity of the sanctuary, as a visualisation of the splendour of divinity.<sup>135</sup> In this medieval wall the fragments of the past of the place become integrated tessera in the sacred mosaic of Middle Byzantine present.

Just to the east of the church are the remains of a wall (**Fig. 4.20**) that has been connected with the medieval military architecture mentioned in *The Chronicle*.<sup>136</sup> Farther to the west, and inside the archaeological park of the *Tegeatikos Syndesmos*, are two lesser fragments of a similar type. On the basis of the position of these fragments I have made a tentative reconstruction (**Map 5**) of the perimeter of the fortifications of medieval Nikli.<sup>137</sup> The reconstruction situates the medieval Episcopal Church well inside the medieval fortifications, and it also gives an impression of how the medieval town can be regarded as a contraction of the urban space of the ancient city. Like the walls of the medieval church the medieval fortifications are also littered with spolia from monuments in the ancient urban centre. In the preserved section of the wall on the eastern side of the medieval peribolos there is also preserved an architectural context for one spolium. In this part of the wall (**Fig. 4.20**) there was a narrow gate. Its arch has collapsed, but a low section of the wall is preserved on both sides of the gate. At knee height there is a small marble spolium (**Fig. 4.22**) inserted on one side of the entrance. The fragmentary small tympanum on the slab indicates that it was once part of a small ancient stele. In other examples from middle Byzantine Greece it has also been

<sup>135</sup> See Saradi-Mendelovici, 1990, 52-53.

<sup>136</sup> *The Chronicle of Morea* [Schmitt, ed., 1967], H 2030-2033. For a discussion of the medieval military architecture here see Vasilikopoulou, 1980.

<sup>137</sup> The technical surveying of the medieval remains in the Tegean Agora was undertaken by Thomas Risan during a work-shop at Tegea in april, 2002.

noted that decorative ancient spolia, and even inscriptions, are often placed in doorways, so as to be visible to as many people as possible.<sup>138</sup>

The topographical location and use of ancient spolia at Nikli presents a somewhat ambiguous picture of the relationship between the ancient past and medieval historical present. On the one hand, the discontinuation of the denomination of the main urban site on the Tegean Plain also provides a clearcut case of cultural discontinuity. The situation of the main ecclesiastic monument of the medieval town right on top of one of the most conspicuous ruins of the pagan past in Tegean urban space, the aesthetic-theological arrangement of ancient spolia in the main ecclesiastical monument, and the careful accommodation of spolia at viewer-strategic spots in the medieval fortifications seem rather to point toward active and positive appropriation of the local pagan past. The traditional confusion about the medieval name of this place also provides a comprehensive discursive context for this ambiguity. Previous discussions of this problem have tried to resolve the confusion between Nikli on the one hand and Amyklai/Amyklion on the other either by suggesting that the one is a linguistic derivation of the other or that the two designate different institutions.<sup>139</sup> The problem with the first suggestion is that it cannot be supported by linguistic evidence. The latter suggestion is also problematic because there is no kind of semantic consistency in how the medieval sources use the two. When the first example of 'confusion' with the ancient Laconian town of Amyklai occurs in connection with the establishment of the new seat, the pagan past of the place had long since passed into oblivion. There was no longer any conscious geographical dialogue between local pagan and Christian places of the past and the cultural topography of historical present.

On the more abstract cultural level of the Byzantine Empire there was, on the other hand, a conscious dialogue with the ancient past of the Greek lands. Byzantine humanists continuously maintained the Classical literary heritage. It is also known from other provincial sites such as Orchomenos in Boiotia that Byzantine men of letters, who often knew the literary topography of ancient Greece well, alluded to the ancient past of their provincial outposts, thus resituating themselves in a cultured urban context far away from Constantinople. Making the urban past of a

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<sup>138</sup> See Papalexandrou, 2003.

<sup>139</sup> In the recent ecclesiastic history of the Bishopric of Mantinea and Kynouria both suggestions are made. See Alexandros, 2000.

provincial town like Nikli would, in a sense, make the ancient urbanity of the capital more immediately present. This is, in a sense, an *ekphrastic* operation. Even as by analogy the church building can be regarded as an *ekphrasis* of the eternal city of Jerusalem, so too elements in the decoration of the church building that emphasise the ancient tradition of the place where the building is situated can also be regarded as an *ekphrasis* of the imperial and Christian capital of Constantinople. The use of ancient *spolia* in the ecclesiastical buildings at the provincial outpost at Nikli does, in a sense, draw the ancient urban and Christian civilisation of Constantinople a little closer. It is also in this context of Classical Byzantine Humanism that the appropriation of the name Amyklion should be regarded. Both the 11<sup>th</sup> century name of the Seat, Amyklai, and the 12<sup>th</sup> century hagiographic neologism, Amykli(on), are cultural measures taken by Byzantine humanists to relocate the new seat in an imaginary ancient landscape. That a town situated in the ancient district of Arcadia should be assigned the name of a Laconian town can be explained in administrative terms: in the Middle Byzantine period parts of the ancient district of Arcadia were under the Mitropolitism of Lacedaimon. It is important to keep in mind that the ancient name Arcadia had become so arbitrary by the medieval period that it was applied to a settlement on the Western coast of the peninsula. This name is always used after the Latin occupation of Morea in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, but it can already be found in the 12<sup>th</sup> century *Life of Nikon*.<sup>140</sup> To reuse the name of an ancient Lacedaimonian town for one of the three new Seats under the Mitropolitism of Lacedaimon seems a natural thing to do in the context of the traditional culture of Middle Byzantine Greece.

In the light of the spectacle of the past displayed in the topography, design and use of *spolia* in the preserved monuments of medieval Nikli, there are also strong indications that this active appropriation of the ancient past was also integrated into the local landscape of memory. In this connection there are especially two contemporary receptive contexts which should be mentioned. One analogy for the topographical and visual examples from Middle Byzantine Nikli that should be emphasised here is medieval devotion for saintly relics.<sup>141</sup> As has been pointed out

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<sup>140</sup> The hagiographer at one point uses the term Ἀρκάδας (Arcadians); and, given the circumstances of the text, it is the inhabitants of the town of Arcadia (ancient Kyparissa) who are referred to, not the inhabitants of the ancient district of Arcadia. See *Vita Nikonis* [Sullivan, ed., 1987], 31.9.

<sup>141</sup> A very good survey of this phenomenon in the medieval West is Brown, 1981.

by Papalexandrou the architectural accommodation of spolia has certain affinities with this practice.<sup>142</sup> Another receptive context for these monuments can be illustrated with the example of ancient inscriptions.



*Figure 4.23*  
Late Ottoman (early 18th century) roadside fountain with a dedicatory inscription in Arabic script. The inscription is on the semi-circular slab just above the fountain head.

In my discussion of the use of ancient spolia at Nikli I have only mentioned the example of inscriptions in passing. The common adduced reason for why it is presently difficult to go into detail on this subject is that ancient inscriptions have generally been removed from their secondary architectural contexts. Considering the large number of inscriptions uncovered from Tegea there is good reason to believe that ancient inscriptions were an integral element in the local medieval visual culture. Now, to judge from parallel cases elsewhere in Middle Byzantine Greece, it is not all that uncommon for spolia with ancient inscriptions to be mounted so that it is possible to recognise the text.<sup>143</sup> It is well known among medievalists that men of letters sometimes read ancient inscriptions and that this kind of medieval reading sometimes generated stories that were incorporated into the local landscape of memory.<sup>144</sup> Even though the kind of literacy necessary even for making misguided readings of ancient inscriptions was limited in the Middle Byzantine period, there is every reason to believe that the functional literacy of common people was more than sufficient to recognise the letters of the Greek alphabet and the distinctive styles of ancient inscriptions.<sup>145</sup> This would have made

<sup>142</sup> See Papalexandrou, 2003, 75.

<sup>143</sup> See Papalexandrou, 2003, 68ff.

<sup>144</sup> This kind of reading is, for instance, known to have taken place at medieval churches in Rome. See Kinney, 1996.

<sup>145</sup> On functional literacy in Byzantine provinces see Papalexandrou, 2003, 71.

ancient Greek inscriptions an important part of the appropriation of the local past in the visual culture of Nikli, and especially so in times of foreign domination.

Both in the Frankish period at Nikli (most of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) as well as during the later Ottoman periods, when official inscriptions used Arabic writing, e.g. in an 18<sup>th</sup> century roadside fountain in the Douliana Valley (**Fig. 4.23**), the visual presence of ancient Greek inscriptions would have represented a continuous reminder of the indigenous Greek past. The site of medieval Nikli was probably abandoned sometime in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. Well into the modern era, however, the place, which is still called *Palea Episkopi* (the old Bishopric) and which is the place of the medieval as well as the ancient urban centre, preserved its prominent position the local landscape of memory. Throughout the Frankish intermezzo and the somewhat longer Ottoman periods when also Islamic monuments and Arabic inscriptions were introduced into the area, the places and monuments of a medieval conglomerate of the past continued to dominate this landscape.

#### 8. FROM NIKLI TO MOUCHLI: CULTURAL MIGRATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPES OF MEMORY

For most of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Nikli was one of twelve Baronies under the Frankish Principality of Morea. Generally the Frankish elite did not mix much with the Greek population, but the Franks introduced Latin Christianity to the Greek landscape. Byzantine churches were sometimes also converted into Latin sanctuaries. There is ample reason to believe that the medieval fortifications at Nikli, the Castle of Nikli, may, in fact, belong entirely to the period of Frankish occupation.<sup>146</sup> Apart from the fortifications, however, there are few, if any, remains of one century of Frankish occupation at Nikli.<sup>147</sup> If the Episcopal Church at Nikli was ever converted, we have preserved no visible trace thereof. Frankish Morea was a short-lived adventure, but the long-term effect of the changes in the Greek cultural landscape that took place during the 13<sup>th</sup> Century would be profound. In the early 1260s Mistras in Laconia, where a virtually uninhabited Acropolis on the edge of the Eurotas valley was settled and fortified by William II of Villehardouin, was reclaimed by Michael III

<sup>146</sup> Panagiotopoulos, 1987. See also Vasilikopoulou, 1980.

<sup>147</sup> Thus Bon, 1969, 181-182 and 523.

Paleologos.<sup>148</sup> Michael became the first Byzantine despot of the Despotate of Morea, a virtually independent Byzantine state in the southern Peloponnese. At a time when the Frankish knighthood experienced severe decline, the Franks at Nikli found themselves in an unpleasant frontier-situation, and Nikli eventually fell to the Byzantines in 1296. After the Byzantines reclaimed Nikli in 1296, the urban centre fell into rapid decline in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. From this time on, the place where the intensive foci of shifting regimes had been located since the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC was a closed book.

Sometime in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century the Seat of the Bishopric was moved to Palea Mouchli (**Maps 2 & 4**), another fortified Byzantine settlement (**Fig. 4.24**) on the NE outskirts of the Tegean plain.<sup>149</sup> It appears, however, that the name of the Bishopric retains its Middle Byzantine form.<sup>150</sup> This transfer of the seat from Nikli to Mouchli is also the historical context for the origin of the toponym *Palea Episkopi*, by which the abandoned urban centre on the Tegean Fan is still called.<sup>151</sup> Palea Mouchli is located in a commanding position on the western slope of the lowest peak of ancient Mt. Parthenion. The peak is strategically situated beside the pass that connects the plain of Hysiai and the Partheni Basin (**Map 4**). Mouchli, like Mistras in Laconia, eventually fell to the Sultan in the 1460's, after which the site is of marginal importance.<sup>152</sup> When a regional Ottoman centre developed at Tripolis, it appears that the Seat was also restored there, and the Mouchli settlement eroded to the barren mountain slope of pastoral oblivion. Since Mouchli is on the main pastoral route between the Argive Plain and the Arcadian Mountains, a seasonal pastoral settlement is still located among the ruins of the medieval town. When the English traveller William Martin Leake visited the area two decades before the Greek War of Independence, the Seat of the Bishop of *Moukhla* was still at *Tripolitzá*, as he preferred to call it.<sup>153</sup> Much thanks to the fact that the Bishopric was renamed

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<sup>148</sup> See Chatzidakis, 1992, 13ff.

<sup>149</sup> On the history and monuments of Mouchli see Darko, 1931. On ecclesiastical architecture see especially Moutzopoulou, 1960.

<sup>150</sup> See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 57. On this move see also Gritsopoulos, 1972, 123-126.

<sup>151</sup> Nea Episkopi, which was called Ibrahim Effendi until the early 20th century, is a modern Greek neologism that probably stems from the simple fact that at this time there was no settlement at Palea Episkopi and it must have been felt to be a more appropriate Greek name than the obviously Turkish one.

<sup>152</sup> On the Ottoman conquest of Morea in the 1460's see Panagiotopoulos, 1987. Panagiotopoulos suggested that there had been an Albanian settlement at Mouchli in later periods. See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 58, Note 1.

<sup>153</sup> Leake, 1830, I, 114.

Moukhla, in connection with the move to Tripolis, traditional accounts have always recognised the abandoned fortified settlement at Mt. Parthenion as Mouchli. At the time Leake visited the area, the existence the town of Nikli and the name of the Middle Byzantine Seat of Amyklai was forgotten. Without recognising its important position in the local Christian landscape of memory Leake frequently uses the name Palea Episkopi when referring to the site of the ancient urban centre.<sup>154</sup>

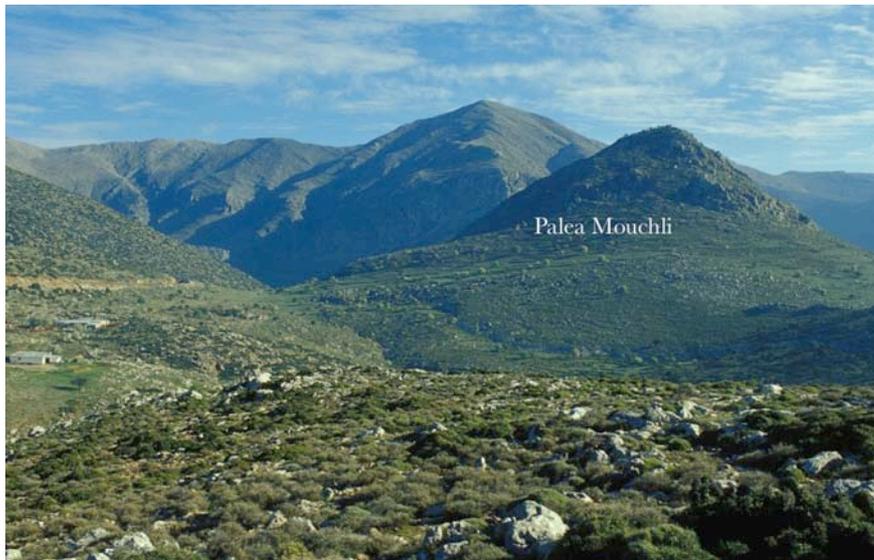


Figure 4.24  
The landscape setting of the medieval site of Palea Mouchli.

In Leake's interpretation there also appears for the first time the misunderstanding about the appearance of a local place-name in the Tegeatike related to Laconian Amyklai as originating in a settlement of refugees from Laconia. Local popular opinion at the end of the Second Ottoman period appears to have considered this refuge settlement as one of three poleis that synoecised into *treis poleis* in antiquity. This local etymology acquired the status as an official aetiology when Tripolis was restored as a proper Greek name after the Greek War of Independence:

It is supposed by the Greeks that Mouchla was a settlement from *Amyclæ* of *Laconia*, and that it was one of the three places which were united to form Tripolizá, the other two being Tegea and Mantinea; an hypothesis preferable perhaps to that which supposes Pallantium, Tegea, and Mantinea to have been the three places; since, besides the authority of tradition in its favour, there is the consideration that even in the time of Pausanias Pallantium was supported by ancient recollections, and had probably ceased to exist long before the foundation of Tripolizá.<sup>155</sup>

The confused Greek traditionalism, which is exemplified in this quotation from Leake's topographical discussion of the Tegeatike, illustrates how the two compelling modern paradigms of the Greek past – the ancient and the Byzantine –

<sup>154</sup> Leake, 1830, I, 99.

<sup>155</sup> Leake, 1830, I, 115.

now became confounded in the collective memory of the local Greek population, especially the clergy, of the final years of Ottoman rule. In an ideological form this multi-layered past would later become the basis for the appropriation of the twofold past—the ancient and the Byzantine—of the modern Greek nation. Rather ostracized from this modern image of the past is that phase of occupation on the Tegean Fan, which we shall now address. In the early modern period, especially during two phases of Ottoman occupation, the Tegean Fan appears to have been reclaimed; but in these periods the places and monuments of the past, many of which would have been clearly visible throughout these periods, became situated in altogether different landscapes of memory.

#### 9. THE HEART AND VEINS OF MOREA: TRADITION AND DISCONTINUITY IN THE EARLY MODERN LANDSCAPE

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the subsequent Ottoman conquest of Byzantine Mistras and Mouchli in the 1460s, the district of Tegea again became subject to foreign domination. As a result of the tumultuous decades after the Ottoman conquest of Morea the cultural and administrative centre of the Tegeatike was moved from one fortified site on the edge of the plain (*Mouchli*) to another (*Droboliza*). The early phase of this process is rather obscure as far as historical sources are concerned. According to a Venetian report from 1467, at which time the Venetians still held Nauplion (since 1388) and had recently (1464) also obtained Monemvasia (**Map 1**), the medieval fortress of Droboliza was abandoned after the initial Ottoman conquest.<sup>156</sup> According to local tradition at Tripolitsa in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Christians reclaimed the fortress.<sup>157</sup> After almost the entire Morea was reclaimed by Qâsim Pasha in 1540, it appears that focus shifted from the fortress to the settlement below the fortress. Below the ruins of the old fortress the Ottoman Town of *Tarabluca*, or *Tarabolúsa*, also called *Mora Orta* (the heart of Morea) would develop as the new centre of the Tegean Plain. When the French surveyors entered the ruins of Ottoman *Tarabluca* in 1829, the old ruins of Droboliza (**Fig. 2.1**) were still visible on the slopes to the west of the town. From the silence of the sources we can only assume that the site of the ancient and earlier medieval centre and the

<sup>156</sup> The Venetian traveller was Stefano Magno. See Wolfart, 1970, 173, Note 343.

<sup>157</sup> This is related by the 17th century Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi. See Wolfart, 1970, 90.

adjacent agricultural district on the Tegean Fan remained of little importance in the 15<sup>th</sup> and the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is nothing to indicate that the site of medieval Nikli ever recovered during this period.<sup>158</sup> The place of the old seat inside the ruined fortress of Nikli, the memory of which was still present in its ecclesiastical ruins and in the toponym *Palea Episkopi*, remained an important reference point in the local Christian landscape of memory also in this period.<sup>159</sup> The ruins of the old Episcopal Church (**Fig. 4.9**) were the monumental focus in this landscape.

The more lasting Ottoman presence in the area from the 1540's is the period when the foundations are laid for the present villages on the Tegean Fan. Many of those villages (**Map 5**) are built on, and to a great extent made from, ancient and medieval ruins in this area.<sup>160</sup> Among the new elements that were introduced into the cultural geography of the district of ancient Tegea in this period, and that are easy to forget in the focus on Classical and Byzantine traditions that has been so paradigmatic for the cultural heritage maintenance of the Modern Greek Nation, are the Islamic and Ottoman. Ottoman rule implied a visual presence of Islamic traditions, modest in the smaller settlements, but not without monumental expression in the main town.<sup>161</sup> At a certain level the introduction of Islamic tradition implied the presence of two competing paradigms of the past. For the Christian Greeks, and other ethnic communities of Christian confession, the Tegeatike would have been a virtual cornucopia of ancient sacred places, with traditions going back to the earliest phases of Christian culture in the Greek world. In the examples of Middle Byzantine monuments at Nikli we have also seen how the ancient past of the area was an integral part of the local Christian landscape of memory. Although Ottoman Muslims could not have avoided recognising the visual presence in the Tegeatike of monuments of great antiquity, their cultural appropriation of these monuments was somewhat different from that of their Christian neighbours. The 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, author of

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<sup>158</sup> Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 56-57.

<sup>159</sup> This place was called *Palea Episkopi* when Leake visited it. See Leake, 1830, 99.

<sup>160</sup> The most comprehensive local history of the Tegean villages can be found in Moraïtis, 1932. During the field-work of the recent survey the Norwegian archaeologist Hege Bakke-Alisøy interviewed local people about their perceptions of the local ancient past. The information that she has obtained has been most helpful for my own work with the early modern village settlements on the Tegean Plain. See Bakke-Alisøy, forthcoming.

<sup>161</sup> For Evliya's description of Tripolis, which he visited in both 1667 and 1670, see Wolfart, 1970, 89-92 (1667), and 109 (1670). For Randolph's description see Randolph, 1686, 12.

the *Seyahatname*, an extensive travel description of the Ottoman Empire, and who also visited *Tripolitsa*, can provide insight into this local Islamic view of the past. The learned Islamic traveller Evliya was almost completely disinterested in pagan and Christian traditions and regarded the ancient remains of Greece as the monuments of Early Judaic civilisation, which represented the historical origin of his own Islamic culture. In this tradition the foundation of important cities that he visited in Greece, e.g. Athens, Thessaloniki, and Kavala, was assigned to Solomon himself.<sup>162</sup> There are no explicit references to traces of early Judaic civilisation in Evliya's *ekphrasis* of the Tegeatike, but it is nonetheless important to keep this potential Islamic landscape of memory in mind in the reconstruction of late medieval and early modern local tradition.

The most profound long-term effect on the cultural landscape from the late medieval and early modern periods was caused by the introduction of civil Ottoman law and land management. The introduction of civil Ottoman legislation had an especially profound influence on the appropriation of land in the conquered territories, where private property according to Islamic Law was not established. The agricultural landscape of the district of ancient Tegea was influenced by Ottoman land management from the 1540's. Although its primary goal was to consolidate tax revenue for the Sultan, it is also significant here that there is a certain sensitivity for local tradition in civil Ottoman Law. This sensitivity has played an important role in structuring of the cultural landscape, and it is still very much the traditional basis of rural villages in the Peloponnese.<sup>163</sup>

The cornerstone of the rural agricultural landscape in the conquered territories of the Ottoman Empire was the family farm, a production unit that has represented one of the most stable long-term features of this landscape since late antiquity. What distinguished the Ottoman from previous regimes of land management was that all occupied lands of non-Muslim territories were in principle state-owned

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<sup>162</sup> See MacKay, 1968, 387 & 396. Pierre MacKay is presently working on a translation of the *Seyahatname*. The most detailed account of Evliya's description of the Tegeatike that has been available to me is Ulrich Wolfart's dissertation from 1970, which is basically a line-by-line commentary. See Wolfart, 1970. On the actual presence of Judaic culture in the area in late antiquity see Bees, 1914, 239.

<sup>163</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of Ottoman land management see Inalcik, 1994, 103-178. The following discussion of Ottoman land management is based on his. When the new Greek state established national land management after the War of Independence, the basic administrative structure from Ottoman land management was preserved. See MacGrew, 1985, 40ff.

lands (*miri*).<sup>164</sup> Dependent peasants (*reaya*) were either made responsible for cultivating the land under the regular *çift-hane* system (so called *tapalu çiftliks*) or leased the land (so-called *mukataalu çiftliks*) independently under a simple rental contract. *Tapalu çiftliks* were inherited by the oldest son of the *rayyet*. Tax-collection and protection of *çiftliks* were organised through *Timars* ('care'), granted through sultanic diplomas to members of the provincial cavalry (*sipahis*), who received taxes in return for military services. Although the *timar*-holder was sometimes referred to as the 'owner' (*sahib*) of the land, he had no legal property rights. The *timar*-holders were, in fact, prohibited from exploiting the land of the *reaya çiftliks*, and *timars* were not transferable by inheritance. Ottoman legislation was conventionally in favour of the dependant farmers. Every village—usually a cluster of the households of several *çiftliks*, and throughout the Ottoman period the most common settlement type in rural areas—was assigned one *siphai*, who together with the village's own representative, the *kethüda* or imam, made up the leadership of the village. In order to avoid feudalisation, *timar*-holders were usually responsible for *çiftliks* in different villages, but as in western feudal systems the *siphai* lived in the village "as a visual instrument of imperial protection."<sup>165</sup>

The land which came under the Ottoman *çift-hane* system was first and foremost areas for grain cultivation. This would make the Tegean Plain, which is most suited for grain cultivation, the obvious target for appropriation in the Ottoman period.<sup>166</sup> Once again it was the threshing-floor of Tegea that made it interesting to outsiders. Although private possession of land was, in principle, illegal in the occupied territories, the reclamation of wasteland (*mevat*) was frequently used to establish estates for the elite through a sultanic grant (*temlik*). In the Ottoman survey registers, *mevat* land was classified as *mezraa* (deserted) or *hali* (uninhabited).<sup>167</sup> *Mezraa* can signify both an abandoned settlement (for instance a village), or a periodic settlement of nomadic or transhumant population groups, both of which

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<sup>164</sup> Inalcik, 1994, 143.

<sup>165</sup> Inalcik, 1994, 171.

<sup>166</sup> In the 17th century the main indigenous export article from the Peloponnese was wheat. See Faroqhi et al, 1994, 475, fig. 15.

<sup>167</sup> Generally on land possession outside the *miri* system see Inalcik, 1994, 120-130. *Mevat* included uncultivated areas such as forests, swamps, marshes, and deserts, and corresponded more or less with what in Roman law was termed *res nullius*. On official land surveying in the Ottoman system see Inalcik, 1994, 131-142.

could become subject to appropriation.<sup>168</sup> The appropriation of *mevat* land would, as a rule, start with a petition to the sultan, and such petitions would usually state some charitable work, building of a mosque, or a fountain, e.g. the roadside fountain in the Douliana Valley (Fig. 4.23), that revenue from the appropriated land would be used for. In addition to such charitable obligations the applicant would also have to document, through the official surveys, that he did, in fact, undertake improvements to the land in question. Enclosing the land with hedges, or other ways of visualising new boundaries, was never considered to be sufficient for such reclamation. Re-introduction of hydraulic management is a very likely scenario for land reclamation in the Tegean Fan in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Appropriation of *mevat* land in this period was instrumental in the reclamation of the agricultural potential of the Tegean Fan. The process of reclamation in this period has influenced the current structure of farming villages more than in any other period in history. The field pattern surrounding the villages on the Tegean Fan, e. g. the village of Stadio (Fig. 4.25 & Map 5), are typical examples of agricultural villages that developed from small family-farm structures.<sup>169</sup> For appropriated *mezraas* to be entered into the regular *çift-hane* system, the main advantage of which was imperial protection, the new settlers were formally requested to present evidence of an indigenous local tradition at the place, and ruins of an abandoned settlement or of an ancient sanctuary would be sufficient evidence to allow entry into the *çift-hane* system. Most of the villages on the Tegean Fan e. g. Stadio (previously Achurio), Alea (previously Piali) and Nea Episkopi (previously Ibrahim Effendi), are, like the medieval monuments of Nikli, built on the architectural ruins of ancient urban or peri-urban institutions. That this is indeed the case in villages such as Stadio, where no large ancient monuments have been discovered is testified by the high frequency of ancient spolia (Fig. 4.26) in old village houses. Although the cultural appropriation of these ruins may have been more arbitrary than in the Middle Byzantine period, the traditional requirements for the appropriation of *mezraas* (deserted settlements) in Ottoman land management do provide a cultural context for this phenomenon in the early modern period.

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<sup>168</sup> See Inalcik, 1994, 159.

<sup>169</sup> For comparison see Inalcik, 1994, 155-158.



*Figure 4.25*  
Satellite image of Stadio and neighbouring *ikismi* showing the traditional field pattern around the village.



*Figure 4.26*  
Gate of an old village house in Stadio. An ancient spolium is built into one of the pillars in the gate as a decorative element. Detail of an ancient stele on the right.

As at Stadio where an ancient stele has been inserted into the gate of one village house, the appropriation of local tradition is given a clear visual expression (**Fig. 4.26**). This practice is also found in other villages on the Tegean Plain, e.g. the

guttae fragment that was inserted as a key-stone in the arched gate of one of the village houses at Lithovounia (Fig. 3.6).

The *çift-hane* system started to disintegrate rapidly in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>170</sup> In the second period of Ottoman rule in the Tegeatike (1715-1821) Muslim landowners controlled most of the land as though it was their private property. The purpose of the *çift-hane* system had been to encourage continued appropriation of land, and thus secure the growth of tax revenues in the Empire. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the motivation for Ottoman land management in conquered territories changed from controlling land to controlling people, since it was labour and not land which was a scarce resource.<sup>171</sup> A typical cause of this problem in mountainous regions such as the Tegeatike was that the dependant *reaya* on the plain moved to the unregulated and independent mountain regions to escape taxation. The remains of densely cultivated mountain slopes in the Tegeatike, terraces and mountain pastures, stem mainly from this period.

The only detailed survey registers for the area that have been available are from the latest period of Venetian rule in the Peloponnese. Although the basic agricultural production units of the rural Peloponnese remained more or less unaltered during the Venetian intermezzo (1685-1715), this obviously poses some problems in the context of a discussion of local Ottoman land management. The attempt to introduce Western land management by the Venetians does, however, provide an interesting source for the meeting between the modern Venetian and the traditional Ottoman conception of agricultural space. The Venetian surveyor Francesco Grimani, who served in the Morea from 1698-1701, compiled a complete register of our area (*Territorio di Tripolizza*).<sup>172</sup> In principle the Venetian cadastre is based on a modern survey technique with standardised measures. The traditional Ottoman land division in the Peloponnese created great problems for Grimani. The standard unit of Ottoman land management was, as we have seen, the *çiftlik*. Now, the size and shape of a *çiftlik* is not based on an abstract standard, but rather on traditional land appropriation. As we have seen in the example of Stadio it is the organic *çiftlik* system that still dominates the rural landscape of the Tegean Fan.

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<sup>170</sup> See Faroqhi et al, 1994, 680ff.

<sup>171</sup> See Faroqhi et al, 1994, 688ff.

<sup>172</sup> The survey register of Grimani is published by Vasilis Panagiotopoulos. See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 243-4, 246, 292-3, and 294. For a discussion see Topping, 1976.

Grimani expressed great confusion about the *çiftlik*, which he characterised as “an obscure term ... subject to infinite diversity.”<sup>173</sup> This instance, the methodical frustration of Grimani, is the first in the history of our area in which the traditional concept of agricultural space as consisting not of one mathematical and measurable space but of a patchwork (Fig. 4.25) of places (*çiftliks*) that had been created by local agricultural genealogies confronted a modern surveying standard.

The only substantial records of the area from before the Venetian period are the few incidental entries made by Evliya, and a very brief description by the Englishman Bernard Randolph. Evliya’s description is focused mainly on Tripolitsa, but a few comments about places in the countryside are also made. Evliya made two visits to Tripolitsa, one in 1667, and one in 1670. From Argos to Tripolitsa he adopted the old route of the Peloponnesian Highway, probably traversing the Parthenion Pass on the Skala tou Bey (Map 4). From Tripolitsa to Mistras, however, he appears to have taken the Early Modern equivalent of the ancient direct route from Tegea to Sparta through the Sarandapotamos Valley. Tripolitsa, which at this time was the seat of the Pasha of Morea, is described as a large city with 1000 spacious, tile-covered houses. It had two beautiful mosques, two religious schools, three schools for children, two Dervish monasteries, a healing bath, one inn for merchants, a guesthouse for travellers, and 14 water-fountains. Evliya also noted that there was a bazaar at Tripolitsa, and in connection with the Bazaar there were as many as 160 workshops. Especially to the liking of Evliya were the two coffeehouses situated in a broad street in the bazaar. Her one could sit under the cool shade of plane trees and engage in lively conversation with educated travellers and the local population.<sup>174</sup> Evliya calls Tripolis *the old city*. The only monument of the past, which he refers to was a ruined fortress, which was situated “the length of a canon-shoot to the west of the city.”<sup>175</sup> The range of 17<sup>th</sup> century cannon shots taken into consideration this distance would correspond well with the ruins of the medieval Fortress of Droboliza. In a story about this fortress that Evliya related its key was handed over to Mehmet the Conqueror at the time of initial conquest from the Byzantines (1460’s). We can imagine Evliya lying in one of the coffeehouses of the Tripolitsa Bazaar and, like Pausanias 1500 years before him, listening to stories

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<sup>173</sup> Translation cited from Topping, 1976, 94.

<sup>174</sup> Wolfart, 1970, 90-92.

<sup>175</sup> Wolfart, 1970, 90.

from the local population. According to Evliya's informants the fortress was taken back by the infidels (in this context, by the Christians), but re-appropriated at the time of Qâsim Pasha (1540). Judging from its situation and description the fortress in question is identical with *Palea Tripolitsa*, which is mentioned by 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers, and which can be seen in the prospect of Tripolitsa (Fig. 2.1) from 1829.<sup>176</sup> Evliya's ruined fortress is most likely identical with the medieval Castle of Droboliza.<sup>177</sup>

A few years after Evliya visited Tripolitsa the Englishman Bernard Randolph made a report about the state of the Morea in which he also makes brief reference to a city, which he calls *Trapolizza*.<sup>178</sup> Being less enthusiastic about the splendour of the city than Evliya, he made one interesting remark about a monument of the past right in the centre of urban space. "The Great *Moske* [of *Trapolizza*]," Randolph exclaims; "was formerly a Heathen Temple."<sup>179</sup> The explanation of how Randolph could have seen ancient remains in the city, which does not appear to have been occupied before in medieval times can be found in William Martin Leake's description of Tripolis a few decades before the Greek War of Independence:

In the principal Mosque, among the barbarous columns of the portico, there is a fine Doric fluted shaft of white marble brought from the ruins of *Tegea*. There is another of the same material and dimensions in a smaller mosque near the Palace. The latter building surrounds a large square court not far from the great mosque, and is a good specimen of the miserable magnificence of Turkey.<sup>180</sup>

Leake also relates a story he heard at the village Piali, where the remains of the sanctuary of Athena Alea are situated, viz. that the ancient columns had been moved from Tegea to Tripolis first at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since Randolph observed ancient remains in one of the Tripolis mosques already in the 1680's, obtaining building material from the ancient urban centre of Tegea for the magnification of Ottoman monuments at Tripolis is probably an old tradition. Similar stories about plundering going on among the ruins of the urban centre of Tegea to obtain building material at Tripolis are also reported by other 19<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>176</sup> See Alderhoven & Neigebaur, 1842, 519. See also Wolfart, 1970, 173, note 343.

<sup>177</sup> Thus reported by the Venetian Stefano Magno in 1467. See Wolfart, 1970, 173, note 343.

<sup>178</sup> Randolph, incorrectly, believed that *Trapolizza* was situated at ancient Megalopolis. See Randolph, 1689, 11.

<sup>179</sup> Randolph, 1689, 12.

<sup>180</sup> Leake, 1830, I, 85-6.

travellers.<sup>181</sup> We also note here the paradoxical aesthetic expression used by Leake in the characterisation of one of the Tripolis Mosques with ancient spolia, “the miserable magnificence of Turkey,” so typical of Leake’s allegorical interest in multi-layered ruins of the past. If these remains were also seen by Evliya, which, although he does not explicitly distinguish the spolia in the Great Mosque at Tripolis, is very likely, he would, as in other urban sites with monumental remains of antiquity, certainly have considered them to belong to his own remote cultural ancestors of an ancient Judaic civilisation.

On approaching Tripolitsa from Mistras in the south on his first Peloponnesian journey in 1667 Evliya also passed by another, but lesser city called Thana, which like Tripolitsa itself is also located on the elevated edge of the Tegean Plain. This is still the name of a village, situated more or less where Evliya says (**Map 2**). More interesting in our context are some of the places on the plain that Evliya mentioned on his second Peloponnesian journey in 1670. This time he came the opposite way from Argos, across the Tegean Plain and towards Mistras. His itinerary across the Tegeatike includes the following places: *Partheni – Moukhli – Tripolitsa – Ahurlar – Souq cesme – Arachova – Vurlia*. We immediately recognise his itinerary through the Partheni Pass (**Maps 3 and 4**), where he stopped at the site of the once fortified Byzantine town of Mouchli. Ahurlar was only one of the villages on the Tegean Fan that were founded in connection with the appropriation of the plain after the conquest of Mehmet. Before it received its present name, *Stadio*, from the modern archaeological theory that it is situated on top of the stadium of ancient Tegea, it was known as Αχούρια.<sup>182</sup> This village is also identical with *Acuria* in the Venetian cadastre.<sup>183</sup> Evliya reported that there were 100 tile-covered houses and one mosque at Ahurlar. Thirty-three years later Grimani reported there were 36 families, 188 souls altogether, at Acuria.<sup>184</sup> Evliya refers to Ahurlar as a *tîmâr köye*. Whatever this may have signified in the context of late 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Peloponnese, the village Ahurlar would at one stage of its Ottoman history (sometime after 1540) have been organised as *çiftliks* run by local *reaya*, and under the protection of a

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<sup>181</sup> See Ross, 1841, 69-71.

<sup>182</sup> Probably connected with Acouvri, which means *stables*.

<sup>183</sup> Thus also Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 293.

<sup>184</sup> See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 243.

*sipahis* according to the regular *çift-hane* system. As we have seen this is compatible with the *çiftlik* structure of the agricultural fields surrounding Stadio (Fig. 4.25).

Ahurlar (or Stadio) is situated on the edge of the urban centre of ancient Tegea (Map 5). It is also situated in the central flood zone of the Sarandapotamos. Because the hydrological environment of this area was probably mismanaged after the abandonment of Nikli in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, it is unlikely that there was a permanent settlement here before 1540 when this area was reclaimed by the Ottomans. There would, however, have been abundant remains of the ancient city in this place. This is also indicated by the fact that the present village houses are rich in ancient spolia (Fig. 4.26). There was ample opportunity for the early modern community at Ahurlar to point out to the Ottoman surveyors the visual reminders of an indigenous local tradition so that the site could be classified as a *mezraa*, an abandoned settlement, and be granted entry into the *çift-hane* system. Since Ahurlar is situated in a critical hydrological situation, flood-protective measures, combined with agricultural irrigation of the Tegean Fan, would have been included in the appropriation contract as the obligations of the entrepreneurs. Similar conditions were probably also responsible for the construction of the mosque at Ahurlar, which Evliya also mentions. The sources indicate that this was the only village on the Tegean Fan with a mosque.<sup>185</sup> An archaeological rescue excavation undertaken in 1834 by Ludwig Ross, who had been called to Tegea because some farmers had come across a large number of ancient blocks between the two villages Piali and Achuria which seemed to form some kind of hydraulic installation.<sup>186</sup> There are also other traditional accounts of problems with flooding in other central Tegean villages. In one of these stories from Alea (previously Piali) the deluge is followed by the intrusion of an Ottoman landlord who is said to have “diverted the river,” and thus secured his property.<sup>187</sup> These stories also confirm the general pattern of land reclamation under Ottoman legislation for occupied territories.

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<sup>185</sup> Apart from this one mosque in the early modern rural Tegeatike there was another mosque at the village Manesi, on the hills above Gareia (formerly Mehmet Aga) near the present village Psili Vrisi in the Douliana Valley. See Howell, 1970, 93, No. 30. This was a relatively large settlement, with 31 *famiglie* in the Venetian period. See Morosini’s archives in Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 244.

<sup>186</sup> See Ross, 1841, 69-71.

<sup>187</sup> See Ross, 1841, 71. A similar story is still related by the senior population at Alea. See Bakke-Alisøy, forthcoming.

At the time of Evliya the *çift-hane* system in the Tegeatike had already severely disintegrated as it was throughout the occupied territories.<sup>188</sup> Randolph reported the following about the settlement structure outside the city of Tripolitsa: “The Turks live most in their Farms, which they call Cheftlicks, not being in danger of Pyrats.”<sup>189</sup> The statement is slightly ambiguous. That the *çiftliks* were safe from ‘Pyrats’ could mean that they were protected by the local cavalry (*sipahis*) as was customary from the time when the *çift-hane* system was still effective. When Randolph says that the Turks lived in *their çiftliks* he could, on the other hand, be referring to the kind of land-ownership, and control of the peasant population, which is characteristic of the disintegrating period of the *çift-hane* system. Such circumstances probably represent the origin of such village-names as *Ibraim Effendi* (presently Nea Episkopi) inside the ancient urban centre, and *Mehmet Aga* (presently Garea) outside the ancient urban centre. These village names typically consist of a name and a titular formula, *Aga* and *Effendi*, which signify the “patriarch and leader in the community.”<sup>190</sup> Both Ibraim Effendi and Mehmet Aga also figure in Grimani’s cadastre from 1700, respectively as *Braim Affendi* and *Memet Agà*, and are accordingly also foundations either from the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>191</sup>

Randolph also makes a reference to one feature of the local cultural landscape in the Ottoman period that has left few traces in the present landscape:

The province of Arcadia is all surrounded by Mountains, most of which are covered with Woods. Yearly they burn the Grass and Bryers to clear the ground against the Spring, then very good Pasture grows up in its stead. There hath been many Villages, some have been Cities, but now the *Albaneses*, (who are the Shepherds, and three times the Number, as the *Turks*, and *Greeks* which are in these parts) live most in tents, removing their Tents and Herds according to the season of the Year. In the Summer time they are up in the Mountains, and in the Winter they are by the Sea side, being more or less Tents together. There are a fort of these *Albaneses* which have a great Village called *Syleman*, as the Mountains have the same name. These *Albaneses* have often Rebelled and kept themselves up in the Mountains, doing much mischief by Robbery. They were so strong in the Year 1679, as the *Basha* went with 500 Men to reduce them by granting a General pardon.<sup>192</sup>

Although Randolph may have exaggerated the overwhelming majority of Albanians in the ethnic composition of the local population, extensive exploitation of pastures

<sup>188</sup> For a discussion see Faroqhi et al, 1994, 688-689.

<sup>189</sup> Randolph, 1689, 12.

<sup>190</sup> See Inalcik, 1994, 161.

<sup>191</sup> See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 244.

<sup>192</sup> Randolph, 1689, 12.

in the mountains around the Tegean plain is a typical pattern for this period when potential relief from tax burdens on the plain had driven much of the traditional *reaya* population to pastoral nomadism between the plain and the surrounding mountains. That there were Albanian settlements in the mountains of the Tegeatike is indicated by village-names such as Αρβανιτοκερασεά, which is situated in ancient Skiritis (**Map 2**).<sup>193</sup> That the settlements in this area were mainly populated by pastoralists is also indicated by the name of the ethnic antecedent of Αρβανιτοκερασεά, Βλαχο-κερασεά.

That the ethnic horizon of the early modern Peloponnese is somewhat more complex than modern nation building has acknowledged is also indicated in Randolph's text since he uses the term 'Albanians' as a general signifier for shepherds ('the *Albaneses*, who are the Shepherds').<sup>194</sup> These early modern ethnic labels Arvanites (Albanians) and Vlachs rather signify a certain relationship with the landscape, a pastoral semi-nomadic life-style with seasonal travelling between mountain pastures and lowlands.<sup>195</sup> It is exactly this relationship between people and landscape rather than any specific ethnic character that Randolph describes. It is also known that these groups were often used as mercenaries by Byzantines as well as by Ottomans. Albanian rebellions had been a constantly recurring event since medieval times.<sup>196</sup> That 'Albanian' shepherds in the Tegean mountains also share their military capabilities with their geographical ancestors of the Skiritis, who served as a kind of foreign legion in the Lacedaimonean army, is hardly a coincidence—although there is, of course, no real ancestry in place. It was common knowledge, already in antiquity, that shepherds make good soldiers, but marginal societies of shepherd-mercenaries often become dangerously unstable whenever they are not paid.

Seasonal transhumance, which is described by Randolph, can also be attested on the Tegean Plain. This is indicated by the -eïka suffix in village names like Pirgeïka, Svoleïka, and Youkareïka (**Map 5**), all located in the vicinity of Akhourio/Stadio.

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<sup>193</sup> Panagiotopoulos also suggested that the post-Byzantine population at Mochli was Albanian. See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 58, Note 1.

<sup>194</sup> Randolph, 1689, 12.

<sup>195</sup> This does, of course, not mean that all shepherds could be arbitrarily referred to as either Vlachs or Arvanites in the early modern period. It simply means that before modern nation building in the 19th century ethnic labels can express a lot more than national ethnicity. It can, for instance, express a certain relationship with the landscape.

<sup>196</sup> See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 68-99.

The *youkari* prefix in Youkareïka also reflects a process of development between the lower and upper settlement of seasonal transhumance at a point when the satellite *mezraa* on the plain has become fully settled again.<sup>197</sup>



Figure 4.27  
Ruins of the  
'old tower'  
at Pirgeïka.



Figure 4.31  
Early modern  
masonry  
technique in  
the 'old tower'  
at Pirgeïka.

In contemporary discourse these settlements are referred to as *ikismi* (οικισμοί), marginal settlements that cannot be called a village (χωριό), which would correspond with the English hamlet. It is interesting that the *ikismi* seldom have village churches; and if they do, they probably do not pre-date the Greek War of Independence.<sup>198</sup> One of the few present settlements on the plain where local tradition connects existing structures with the Ottoman period is one of those *ikismi* called Pirgeïka. The remains in question typically belong to the latest stage of the Ottoman period, when the *çift-hane* system had long since ceased to function, and

<sup>197</sup> See Inalcik, 1994, 164.

<sup>198</sup> The only one of the three Tegean -eïka villages with a village church is Svoleïka.

the Muslim proprietors, in effect, had absolute property rights over land, livestock, and manpower in what was left of the eroded *reaya* population in the lowlands. According to local tradition the toponym Pirgeïka originates from the 'tower from the Turkish period',<sup>199</sup> the ruins of which are still preserved on the site. The 'tower' is, in fact, not a tower in the proper sense, but a rather large mud-brick building, encircled by a simple defensive wall (Fig. 4.27). The masonry (Fig. 4.28) of this wall, which consists of small stone blocks and tiles regularly set with plaster cement, is certainly compatible with an 18<sup>th</sup> century date. The remains indicate that what we are dealing with at Pirgeïka is the remains of a small, fortified farmhouse.

It is typical that it is an *ikismos* that would be preserved in modern cultural memory as the arena of Ottoman land management, or rather lack thereof. This is a precise reflection of the stage of decay that the plain went through in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the Ottoman-Russian War (1768-74). The outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, with its competing bands of *klefts* and Ottoman mercenaries can be regarded as the culmination of the disintegration of imperial structure. When Kolokotronis was looming in the Arcadian mountains his main stronghold in the Tegeatike was at Vervena in the independent district of Agios Petros (Map 2). At this time, according to local tradition, a man called Mitsios Svolos, a *raiyyet* of neighbouring Svoleïka saw his opportunity to appropriate Pirgeïka from a certain Captain Kotsios (ὁ καπετάν Κώτσιος), the *sahib* and *siphai* of Pirgeïka.<sup>200</sup> The memory of this local feud between two families during the chaotic conditions in the Peloponnesian country-side at the time of the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence represents an important local element in the cultural memory of recent events. On the abstract level of modern Greek nation building the War of Independence is a polarised battle between the repressing Ottoman rulers and the repressed ethnic Greek population. In the local feud between Captain Kotsios and Mitsios Svolos the recent local landscape of memory intersects with the recent landscape of oblivion. In retrospect, from the viewpoint of the cultural heritage of the modern Greek nation (not to speak of the western European cultural appropriation), Kolokotronis and his bands of *klefts* and repressed Greek farmers like Mitsios Svolos represent a reclamation of

<sup>199</sup> (ἔκ τοῦ Τουρκοκρατίας Πύργου), Moraïtis, 1932, 503.

<sup>200</sup> Moraïtis, 1932, 503. Indeed, the descendants of Mitsios Svolos, who now live in Athens, still take great pride in their summer residence at Pirgeïka.

the double Greek cultural heritage, the ancient and the Byzantine. In the local context the polarised identities – whether they are ethnic, religious or political – tend to dissolve, and local memories connected with places like Pirgeïka tend to reflect this.

## 10. THE RETURN OF THE ANCIENT MODEL

The purpose of the discussion in this chapter about the intersection between the dwelling places of the past and historical present in the Tegean Plain has partly been to demonstrate the complexity in the historical appropriation of the ancient and Byzantine landscape of memory. In this context it is interesting that a mixed heritage similar to what Patrick Leigh Fermor has called the Helleno-Romaic dilemma in the cultural identity of modern Greece, can be found already at Middle Byzantine Nikli. Due to the medieval sense of temporal continuum there was, however, no paradox implicit in the multi-layered past of the pagan and Early Christian cultural landscape. From the viewpoint of the local historical present the feud between Captain Kotsios and Mitsios Svolos also reveals repressed features in the Tegean landscape of memory. Practically all of the villages in the central Tegeatike are built on and of ancient and medieval urban and peri-urban recycled building material. These material remains of the past have always played an important part in the local historical consciousness of historical present at Tegea. There can be no doubt, however, that the settlement pattern which still dominates the Tegean Fan (**Fig. 4.25 & Map 5**) first and foremost must be attributed to the structural layout of Ottoman land management. In that respect the ruins of the fortified farmstead at Pirgeïka is a monument to the local Ottoman heritage, and the story about the feud between Captain Kotsios and Mitsios Svolos is an *ekphrasis* of the final stage of declining Ottoman land management in the area.

In addition to the Ottoman we have also observed other repressed features in the local landscape of memory; the background noise of Slavic origins in the rural Peloponnese, Western elements such as the Frankish feudalisation of the landscape and a rather unsuccessful attempt at establishing Venetian spatial order in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is, however, the silence surrounding the local Ottoman cultural landscape that is most conspicuous. In the relatively recent 'ethnic cleansing' of

Slavic, Turkish, and Albanian elements from the local landscape we have but one example of this conscious project of cultural eradication. It is the construction of this landscape of oblivion that is responsible for the modern conception of the ancient model of the relationship between the dwelling places of the past and historical present. At the beginning of this chapter we saw that the division of the Tegeatike into nine districts, each of which has one major settlement, cannot be supported by archaeology. As we have seen with the case of my contrafactual construction Korythea, the Tegean example illustrates that the ancient model should be taken primarily to represent a way of thinking about that past that was popular in antiquity. The review of the settlement history of the district of ancient Tegea indicates rather that the only period when the cultural landscape was structured by local centres was in post-Byzantine times. It is somewhat paradoxical that the only empirical basis for the modern conception of the ancient model is a settlement structure that originated in the Ottoman period. This peculiar coincidence has, however, prompted a sense of continuity in the most recent local landscape of memory in the district of ancient Tegea.

Strong political motivation in recent history in favour of re-appropriating the ancient heritage in the Greek countryside inspired the Greek authorities to establish official connections between the ancient rural Tegean demes and modern settlements. This is reflected in present official denominations in the district of ancient Tegea. In the 1920's a classicising movement swept through the Greek country-side; and Slavic, Turkish, and Byzantine place-names were systematically erased in favour of ancient names, including three of the Tegean demes mentioned by Pausanias. Mehmet Aga in the Douliana Valley was re-named Gareia after the ancient demos of the Gareatai, Kapareli on the mountain slope to the southeast of Lake Taka has taken the name Manthyrea, and Arachova on the southern frontier against Laconia is renamed Karyai (**Map 2**).<sup>201</sup> Archaeological discoveries and historical discussions have certainly contributed to this topographical emendation. Konstantinos Romaios for instance re-addressed the issue of the location of Karyai

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<sup>201</sup> The procedure for the name-reforms in the 1920's was that a local committee made proposals for a central committee appointed by the National Greek Government. It is interesting that at Tegea the local committee was less radical in their preference for ancient names than the national committee. The local committee wanted to eradicate the Slavic and Turkish names, of course, but were less radical in changing 'Byzantine' place-names into ancient ones. The national committee as a rule championed ancient names also in preference to Byzantine. See Moraïtis, 1932, 493ff; and Bakke-Alisøy, forthcoming.

several times. At first he believed that Karyai must have been at Analipsis in the Sarandapotamos Valley, where there are the ruins of an ancient settlement, to which we shall turn in the next chapter.<sup>202</sup> Because of some finds that he made later not far from Arachova further southeast, which he connected with the sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis, he changed his mind.<sup>203</sup>



Figure 4.32 Road-sign with a Pausanias-citation situated outside Arachova in the Northern Parnon, where Romaios believed that the site of ancient Karyai was.

Although the senior population still refers to the village by its traditional Slavic name, the official name of this village is presently Karyai. A few years ago the local county posted a road-sign (Fig. 4.29) with a Pausanias quotation (in ancient Greek) that refers to the district of Karyai. Romaios' topographical emendation of Arachova in the ancient Tegean landscape certainly represents "a deliberate effort to find one's way among the contents of memory" as was Frances Yates' explanation of Aristotele's concept of *reminiscentia*.<sup>204</sup> As a heuristic device in the understanding of how models of the past are moulded into the geographic structure of the present Romaios' topographical emendation also serves as an illuminating paradigm.

Arbitrary though they may be, the suggested locations and extent of the nine Tegean demes indicate that at its most extensive the Tegean *khôra* extended far beyond the Tegean Plain, especially in the south.<sup>205</sup> In the discussion of the road-network of the Skiritis we have already come across the two southernmost Tegean demes, the Oiatai and the Karyatai. It is significant in the present context that the

<sup>202</sup> The settlement will be taken up in chapter four.

<sup>203</sup> See Romaios, 1961b.

<sup>204</sup>

<sup>205</sup> The extension of the demoi is based on a figure taken from Voyatzis, 1990, Fig. 2.

established paradigm has emphasised that the focus of cultural identity was on one special place in each respective district. In the case of Oiatai, Oion (**Map 3**) has been singled out as this special place; and in the case of the Karyatai, Karyai has been assigned a similar position. Contrary to scholarly consensus on this matter there is, however, nothing to indicate that Oion or Karyai, or any of the other places with eponymous denominations of the Tegean demes, were major settlements in their respective districts in the Classical period.<sup>206</sup> The discussion about where on the map to situate the ancient names of the Tegean demes is one which is inseparably linked to such re-territorialisations of the legacy of Classical Greece in the local landscapes of the modern Greek nation as Romaios' topographical emendation of Karyai at Arachova. This, however, does not mean that this is of no interest in our discussion of ancient models of the past. It just means that the path to ancient models of the past is just as blurred by the roads of the present as we have seen to be the case with ancient communication routes. In the perspective of the topographical history of reception the only access to the landscapes of the past goes via the landscape of the present.

In the light of this topographical history of reception it is rather amusing that the dwelling structure believed by Strabo to have been the aboriginal (Homeric) one when "the territory (χώρα) was settled in villages (κωμηδόν ᾠκεῖτο)"<sup>207</sup> could just as easily be said to apply to the present settlement pattern on the Tegean Fan. Within the perimeter of the ancient urban centre and its peri-urban institutions such as the sanctuary of Athena Alea there is presently a cluster of small villages (**Map 5**). The distance between these villages is usually no more, and sometimes less, than one km. Until a recent reform in the Greek public administration, all these villages were separate administrative units (counties). A few years ago, however, they were all 'synoecised' into one large—large only in relative local terms—county. Because the ancient past of this provincial district is still very prominent in the collective memory of its communities, it comes as no surprise that the name of this 'new' political construction from the 1990's is Tegea. The administrative centre of this

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<sup>206</sup> See Voyatzis, 1990, 11. In connection with the discussion of the ancient Asea-Tegea road we have also been in contact with the Manthyrean Plain, which 19th century tradition was connected with the demos of the Manthyreans. The demos of the Apehidantes, usually connected with the urban centre, the demos of the Korytheans, usually connected with what I have earlier referred to as the Partheni Basin, and the demos of the Gareatai will all be taken up in this chapter. The Potachidai and the Echeuthensai will concern us little.

<sup>207</sup> Strabo, 8.3.2, my translation.

'new' Tegea is situated at the village of Stadio (Ottoman Achurio), less than one km. from the ancient Tegean Agora (**Map 5**). To say that history repeats itself, although tempting, would be too imprecise in this connection. What repeats itself is the cultural appropriation of the relationship between the past and the present at a local level. We have seen that already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the local tradition of this very same place, at a time when the ruins of ancient buildings would have been visible everywhere, was appropriated into the memorial structure of Ottoman land management. The mechanics of meaning in the more recent cultural re-territorialisation of the central position of this village in the local memorial topography is also easy to appreciate: The modern Greek nation to a large degree bases its cultural identity on the ancient Greek polis culture. The opportunity to connect with such a great ancient polis as Tegea at a local level is just too good an opportunity to miss.

## CHAPTER V

## VERTICAL PREHISTORY

So the Mediterranean means more than landscapes of vines and olive trees and urbanised villages; these are merely the fringe. Close by, looming above them, are the dense highlands, the mountain world with its fastness, its isolated houses and hamlets, its 'vertical norths'. Here we are far from the Mediterranean where orange trees blossom.

(From Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*)<sup>208</sup>

The mountain is a marginal place in the Mediterranean cultural landscape. Its marginality is for instance expressed in that typically Greek axis between civilisation and barbarism. The plain with its urban settlements and agricultural economy represents traditional polis civilisation, whereas the mountains with their scattered and volatile settlements and multivalent economy represent a kind of semi-barbaric otherness. In traditional Mediterranean culture vertical places have been regarded as having little to offer civilised men, but should be left to marginal groups such as pastoralists, charcoal-burners, and hunters. The mountain is regarded as a kind of 'vertical north,' as Fernand Braudel expresses it, and mountain dwellers as primitive as northerners. As I will return to in the final part of this study, mountains are also the traditional habitat of the gods. The gods of the Classical Greek pantheon have their dwelling place on the highest mountain, Mt. Olympus. Vertical features in the landscape can visualise the presence of another world, another space and another time, the time of the gods. Such vertical anomalies can also interfere with terrestrial linearity. The volatile lifestyle of the mountains is sometimes also regarded as a re-territorialisation of the past in the landscape of the present. This ancient Greek historical dialectics of primitivism found its most eloquent expression in the so-called archaeology of Thucydides, where he expressed the famous historical axiom,

[...] that the country now called Hellas had no settled population in ancient times; instead there was a series of migrations, as the various tribes, being

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<sup>208</sup> Braudel, 1992, 4.

under the constant pressure of invaders who were stronger than they were, were always prepared to abandon their own territory. [...] the use they made of their land was limited to the production of necessities; they had no surplus left over for capital, and no regular system of agriculture, since they lacked the protection of fortifications and at any moment an invader might appear and take their land away from them. Thus, in the belief that the day-to-day necessities of life could be secured just as well in one place as in another, they showed no reluctance in moving from their homes, and therefore built no cities of any size or strength.<sup>209</sup>

The volatile lifestyle that Thucydides situates in the past can at the same time be applied as a description of life in the mountains of the ancient historical present. Life in the mountains is primitive and under-developed, and thus reproduces the typically Greek opposition between civilisation and barbarism.<sup>210</sup> It is, on the other hand, in the mountains that the present is provided with the most immediate paradigm of life in the past. The topographical folds of the landscape (plains, valleys, and mountains) thus provide a mnemotechnique of the historical dialectics between the settlement patterns of the past and historical present. The past is, in a sense, never further away than the nearest mountain which is never far away in mountainous Greece, and always looming in the background of the mountain district of Arcadia.<sup>211</sup> The *vertical prehistory* of Arcadia is a current topos of ancient geographical literature. It was commonly acknowledged that Arcadia was especially old-fashioned because the aboriginal population of Greece, the Pelasgians, had, in a sense, never really left Arcadia.<sup>212</sup> This is an idea that is closely linked with the Arcadian landscape. According to Pausanias a simple Pelasgian life still persisted in remote corners of Arcadia.<sup>213</sup> Vertical prehistory is a persistently Arcadian landscape of memory. It is almost as though time is standing still in the Arcadian mountains. Our itinerary into the Tegean Mountains aims towards one place where this frozen time unfolds.

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<sup>209</sup> Thucydides, 1.2.

<sup>210</sup> For discussions about the opposition between Greeks and barbarians see Harrison, 2002.

<sup>211</sup> In the final part of this thesis (Part Four: 'From the Mountains': the Journeys of the Gods) I will return to the topic of vertical prehistory in an analysis of the sacred topography of the Tegeatike. As has been pointed out by Buxton and others the Greek mountains are rather good to think with in relation to the Greek pantheon. See Buxton, 1992. In mountainous Arcadia there is especially good reason to pay attention to how the mountains are integrated into the self-imaging of the relationship between land and people. At this point, however, I will focus on the terrestrial landscape of the Tegean mountains.

<sup>212</sup> On the stability of the Arcadian population see Thucydides, 1.2.

<sup>213</sup> See Pausanias, 8.1.5

A closer inspection of the Tegean mountains makes it evident that the Mediterranean mountains (**Map 2**) are never one thing. The Northern Parnon on the eastern side of the Sarandapotamos Valley is a semi-alpine zone (1000-1400 m.) with present mountain communities at Koutroufa, Vervena (**Fig. 5.1**), Vourvoura, Mavriki, Karyai (Arachova) and Douliana to mention the most prominent villages. In the early modern period there was a virtually independent Christian community in this area. On his way between Mistras and Tripolitsa in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi refers to three different villages – *Arachova*, *Vourlia* (probably identical with present Vourvoura), and one anonymous village – that were all independent Christian settlements.<sup>214</sup> Because some of these villages provided refuge for Kolokotronis' army of Peloponnesian irregulars during the uprising before the Greek War of Independence, this area also has a certain position in the memorial topography of the modern Greek nation.



*Figure 5.1*  
Village  
church and  
old fountain  
at Vervena.

The early history of these vertical places is interesting beyond the fact that they are situated at the centre of the inception of the modern Greek nation. Ecclesiastical remains in the village church at Vervena and in the fountain next to the church (**Fig. 5.1**) indicate that some of the mountain villages in this district have a medieval origin. Among the ruins of an ancient settlement at a place called Analipsis and at a few other locations in the vicinity Konstantinos Romaios identified some tower-like structures which he dated to the Frankish period. He

<sup>214</sup> See Wolfart, 1970, 89-90, and 109-110. This was the district of Agios Petros. The administrative centre of this mountain community was at times the mountain village of Agios Petros, which was also a separate administrative unit (*Territorio di S. Pietro di Zacugna*) in Grimani's cadastre from 1700. See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 246. Note that the village Mavriki, which is on the western side of the Parnon range, is under the administration of the *Territorio di Tripolizza*. See Panagiotopoulos, 1987, 244.

proposed that these towers belonged to a network of border fortifications between medieval Nikli in the Tegeatike and Mistras in Laconia. The basis for the 13<sup>th</sup> century date was that Romaios connected this defensive network with a place called *Megali Arachova* in the *Chronicle of Morea*.<sup>215</sup>

The place of the northern Parnon mountain villages in early modern history is otherwise closely connected with the eastern Peloponnesian transhumance network that connect the northern Parnon district with the coastal districts of Kynouria and the Argolid. Both Upper (*Ano*) Ververna and Mavriki have their Lower (*Kato*) antecedents on the eastern Peloponnesian coast (**Map 1**). The old Peloponnesian Highway was one important channel for the communication between the coastal lowlands and the Tegean highlands. In the landscape of the present these vertical places play marginal roles. There are still some families that move between their olive groves and citrus gardens in the plain of Astros (ancient Hysiai plain in **Map 1**) and summer pastures in the northern Parnon. As is also indicated by the overgrown pastoral landscape of the Tegean highlands, this activity is a mere fossil of its early modern heyday. We have earlier discussed ancient examples from the Tegean mountains that have had structural impact on the plain; the marble quarries in the northern Parnon, the military mobility of the Skiritis district, and regional interconnectivity provided by the mountain passes in Mt. Parthenion (towards Argos), between Mt. Parnon and the Skiritis Plateau (towards Sparta) and in the Boreion or Vigla Pass (towards Asea and Megalopolis). The character and volume of exploitation of mountain pastures in ancient Arcadia is very uncertain, but it is evident that the Arcadian highlands were intimately associated with a pastoral economy also in antiquity. The Tegean mountains certainly also provided other resources in antiquity, from charcoal and timber to game, medicinal mountain herbs and bee pastures.<sup>216</sup> Since I will not focus much on economy in the following discussion, it is important to keep this local interaction of opportunities in the Tegean Mountains in mind.

Between the definite place of the Tegean Plain and the definite place of the northern Parnon villages there is a third landscape, which could perhaps best be characterised as sloping. The many slopes and side-valleys of the Tegeatike appear to have been densely populated and cultivated up until the recent ‘modernisation’

<sup>215</sup> See Romaios, 1957c. See also *Chronicle of Morea* [Schmitt, 1967, ed.], 7200, 7207, and 8335.

<sup>216</sup> For a discussion of Arcadian mountain economy see otherwise Roy, 1999.

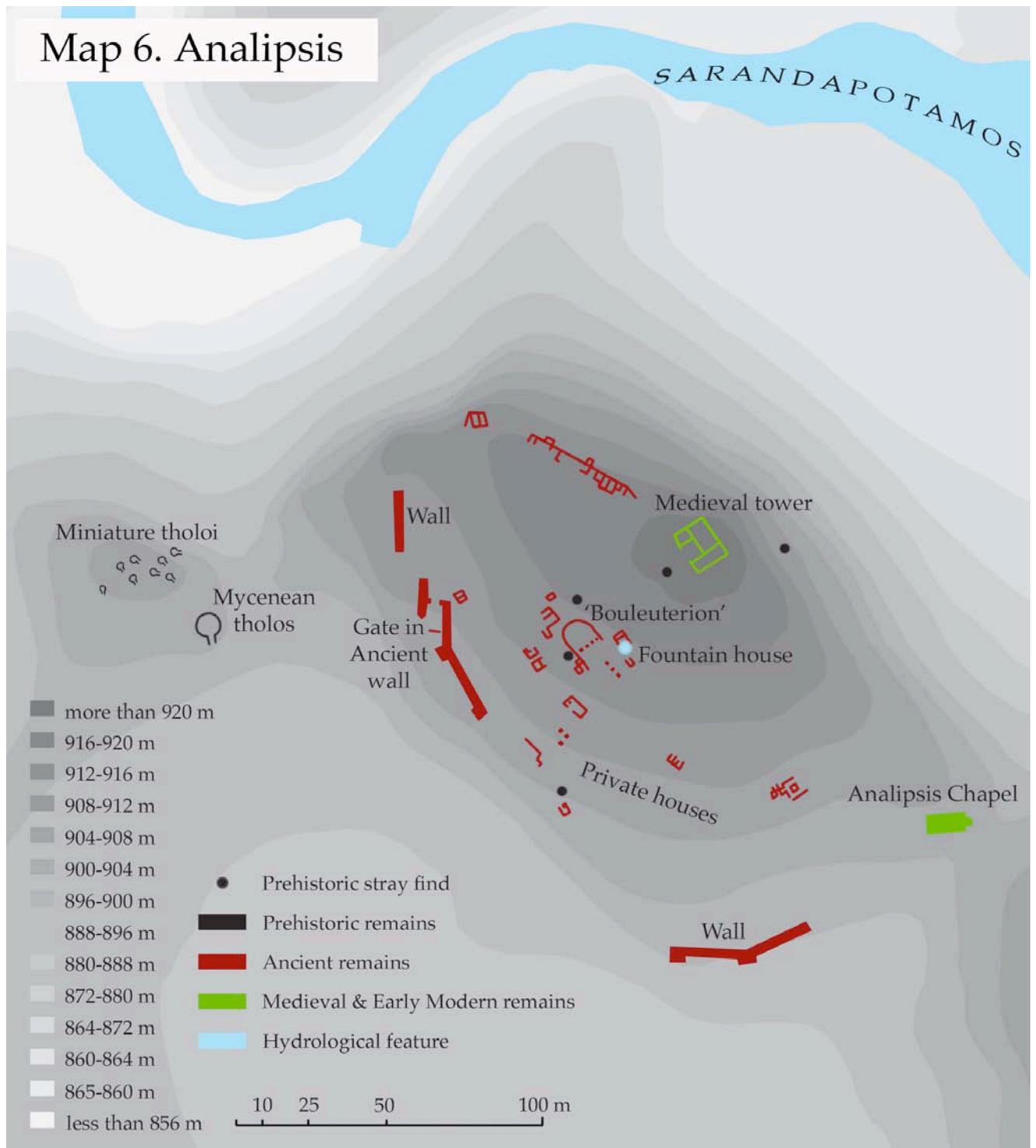
(desertion) of the landscape. This middle zone represents a complex historical landscape that has only to a very limited degree been subject to archaeological and historical exploration.<sup>217</sup> In this discussion of the vertical prehistory of the Tegeatike I will focus on one settlement in this landscape. This settlement is situated high up in the Sarandapotamos Valley at a place which is presently called *Analipsis* (Maps 2 & 6). The modern place-name refers to a small hill, which is situated right next to the river gorge and on the edge of a small mountain plain (Fig. 5.2). To the east of this place the dominating northern Parnon blocks the horizon. To the west are the more modest peaks of the Skiritis Plateau. Towards the south is the open terrain of the plain.



Figure 5.2 The Hill of Analipsis. The Analipsis Chapel to the right.

Through the pass in the south the snow covered peaks of the Taygetos range on the western side of the Eurotas Valley are clearly visible on a clear spring day. This view was always a familiar topographical reminder of the mighty neighbour in the south. In antiquity this place was situated right on the frontier between the territories of Tegea and Sparta, and, if not identical with, it cannot have been far away from Pausanias' *Phylake*, which was the conceptual station of the boundary between these two poleis. Romaios' band of medieval border fortifications between Mistras in the Eurotas Valley and Nikli/Mouchli in the Tegean Plain also constitutes this area as an important transitional zone in post-ancient history. The importance of this vertical place must be attributed to its central situation in the local communication network.

<sup>217</sup> As a continuation of the the work of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey a field project aimed at investigating this area is planned to start in October, 2008. For more on this project see the Epilogue.



In antiquity the Analipsis settlement was situated at a very critical point on the direct route between the Tegean Plain and the Eurotas Valley (Maps 1 & 3). Until the carriage road between Tripolis and Sparta was built at the end of the 19th century, the place was still passed by travellers on an old caravan route between those districts. Today this place is reduced to an overgrown excavation area (Fig. 5.2) in an isolated region of the highlands between Arcadia and Laconia. In the present communication landscape the site of the Analipsis settlement is right next to an insignificant dirt road which connects the mountain village Vourvoura with the National Road between Tripolis and Sparta (Map 1). The only two features that presently make this place anything more than an archaeological site are a small chapel and a farmstead. It is presently difficult to imagine how this remote place had any historical significance whatsoever. The archaeological remains that have been uncovered from this site do, however, feature some of the most interesting sources for the long-term relationship between the past and the present in this border region.

## 1. ANALIPSIS, THE HORIZON OF VERTICAL DWELLING

[...] The parts adjacent to the present ruins on the banks of the river of Vourvoura [...] present one of the most charming landscapes of that part of the Peloponnesus – so much so, indeed, that this place, by its fertility, beauty, and freshness in summer, considering the elevation of its plateau, deserved to be chosen for the festive assemblies mentioned by the Greek traveller.<sup>218</sup>

The place name Analipsis refers to the small chapel of the Ascension (Ανάληψις) built on the ruins of an ancient settlement on the hill (**Map 6**). This practice of erecting a Christian sanctuary on the ruins of an old settlement should be connected with some kind of cultural appropriation of the past of the place. Whether this measure was initially undertaken under the aegis of Byzantine appropriation of the complex ancient past of the place or was first encouraged by the requirements for local tradition under Ottoman land management, both of which we have seen examples of in the Tegean plain, is presently difficult to say.

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<sup>218</sup> Jochmus, 1857, 34.

The ancient settlement is situated on a modest hill that rises above the small mountain plain (Fig. 5.2), which neatly defines the immediate territory to the SE. The peak of the hill is at 922 m., and the plain below it lies at approximately 900 m. On the northern side of the hill the terrain falls steeply into the Sarandapotamos gorge (Maps 2 & 6). The surrounding mountain-slopes make up a relatively homogeneous plateau of Cretaceous deep-water limestone of the Pindos zone.

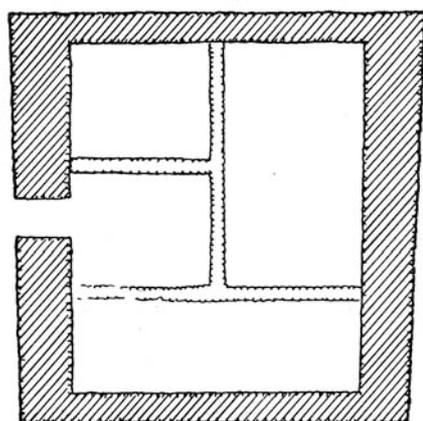


Figure 5.4  
Plan of a  
medieval  
tower on the  
peak of the  
Analipsis Hill.

Figure 5.3  
Remains of a medieval  
tower on the peak of  
the Analipsis Hill.



The fault system of the northern Parnon has, however, left the Analipsis hill as a small geological peninsula inside this limestone basin. Its mixture of metamorphic rocks such as phyllite, quartzite and schist are related to the Gavrovo zone geology of the Skiritis plateau to the west.<sup>219</sup> The soil of the Analipsis plain consists mainly of Neogene sediments.<sup>220</sup> The somewhat poor soil in combination with the rough

<sup>219</sup> See Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 66, Fig. 7.1, and 70.

<sup>220</sup> On Mediterranean soil-types see Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 9-10.

winter climate places the Analipsis Plain on the extreme vertical margin of Mediterranean agriculture. Even though the plain was cultivated in antiquity, there can be no doubt that the economy of this place must always have been dependent on what the mountains could offer. The main reason why Analipsis has become a favourite example here is the appealing proportions by which the relationship between landscape and tradition is visualised here. There is a paradigmatic relationship between the fortified historical settlement, its immediate agricultural territory, and an adjacent Bronze Age cemetery (**Map 6**). This must also have been the reason why its excavator Konstantinos Romaios felt so strongly that, despite its minuscule size, it looked so much like a polis that it had to be one. The position between the Tegean Plain and the Eurotas Valley, places Analipsis in a landscape with a broad range of opportunities for cultural and political alliances. One possibility would have been to participate in the process of synoecism at Tegea, another would have been to come down on the side of Sparta, in that case most probably as a perioikic settlement, and a third is cultural and political independence.<sup>221</sup> My strategy here has rather been to regard these interpretations as not being mutually exclusive. In a long-term perspective the flexibility that is illustrated by this range of different political and cultural strategies with regard to its neighbours is one of the most characteristic features of the micro-ecology of Analipsis. In antiquity Analipsis was always a small island in the turbulent waters of three mighty Peloponnesian poleis, Tegea, Lacedaimon, and Argos. Like a real Aegean island, however, the Analipsis settlement was never as isolated as its remote location might indicate to us moderns.

The British General Jochmus (citation above) was the first to report ancient remains at Analipsis in modern times. Jochmus visited the site around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>222</sup> When Loring came here closer to the turn of the century the Analipsis chapel was still in ruins. Among some blocks in the ruins Loring observed “one with the mark of a I-clamp, obviously ancient.” He also claimed to have seen “distinct ruins of Hellenic walls.” Loring was told by local inhabitants that the walls on the hill above the chapel had been more abundant, but that the stones had been

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<sup>221</sup> After first having suggested that it was identical with either Karyai or Phylake Romaios settled for the small Arcadian frontier polis of Iasos. On Romaios’ arguments for Karyai see Romaios, 1902, 17ff; on Phylake see Romaios, 1902, 29ff. On his later arguments in support of Iasos see Romaios, 1957a. Yiannis Pikoulas has more recently argued for Karyai. See Pikoulas, 1988, 39, Note 116.

<sup>222</sup> Jochmus, 1857, 34.

largely used for “building wine-presses etc. in the surrounding fields.” Abundant architectural fragments can be observed in agricultural terraces near the Analipsis site. On top of the hill Loring distinguished a large enclosure “—built of stones, mortar and a little tile—to which it is impossible to assign even an approximate date, but some fragments of the pottery which covers both top and sides of the hill have the black glaze which is characteristic of Greek ware.”<sup>223</sup> This building (Figs. 5.3-4) is one examples of what Konstantinos Romaios believed to be part of a network of Frankish border forts in the northern Parnon region.<sup>224</sup>

Romaios was the first archaeologist to explore the site more systematically. Born and raised in the village Vourvoura (Map 2), four km east of Analipsis, Romaios had intimate knowledge of this place from his childhood. From 1899 to 1900 he made his first systematic investigations in the area.<sup>225</sup> The results of these early investigations were promising, for he found traces of activity ranging from the Neolithic through to the medieval periods. Despite these promising early finds it would take half a century before Romaios returned to this site. A few years after the Second World War a farmer discovered what would turn out to be an early Mycenaean cemetery on a mound just next to the Analipsis hill. This new discovery would bring Romaios back to the site, where he excavated for almost ten years.<sup>226</sup>

The following discussion about Analipsis is based mainly on going through the publications of the site. The reports presented by Romaios in Greek archaeological journals make up the most important bulk of this material. Brief comments on the historical site were also made in the recent re-publication of prehistoric material from the site by Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos.<sup>227</sup> Much of the information about the

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<sup>223</sup> All citations from Loring, 1895, 56. The history of the study of Analipsis is discussed in Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 2-7. I have basically followed his discussion.

<sup>224</sup> See Romaios, 1957c.

<sup>225</sup> The results of these investigations as far as the ancient topography is concerned were published as Romaios 1902. Romaios’ ideas about the medieval topography, especially during the Frankish period, were not published until more than fifty years later as Romaios, 1957, 1-26.

<sup>226</sup> Seven excavation campaigns (1950, 1954-58, and 1961) uncovered an area with small houses and civic architecture on the SSW slope of Analipsis, as well as a Mycenaean cemetery on the neighbouring hill to the west of the settlement. Unfortunately Romaios only published his work in brief summaries. The site was also included in the survey of prehistoric Lakonia by Hope Simpson, Howell visited it on his survey of prehistoric eastern Arcadia, and some registration was also done during the recent Lakonia Survey of the British School at Athens. See Waterhouse & Hope Simpson, 1961, 130; Howell, 1970, 95-96; and Cavanagh et al, 1996, 284.

<sup>227</sup> Since few details about this site have been published in other languages than Greek, I have translated central passages from Romaios’ reports. Excavation notes made by Romaios’ assistant are still in the possession of the Greek Archaeological Society. Since these notes have recently been

Analipsis site is ambiguous. Romaios' reports are invaluable, but sometimes unreliable. The site is also in a very poor state of preservation, and the remaining monuments are very difficult to read. To aid in the deciphering of the complex relationship between pasts and historical present at Analipsis I have produced a tentative map of the site (**Map 6**).<sup>228</sup>

## 2. FRAGMENTS OF THE REMOTE PAST OF THE PLACE

The earliest finds at Analipsis go back to the Neolithic period. Already during his first investigations around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Romaios picked up two stone axes from the surface of the hill.<sup>229</sup> Hope Simpson also found some obsidian chips on the surface here, which indicate that the Analipsis site, at least indirectly, was connected with early exchange networks in the Peloponnese.<sup>230</sup> Several stone implements (**Fig. 5.5**), mostly ground stone tools of Neolithic to Early Bronze Age date, were also found in the early Mycenaean tholos tomb to the west of the settlement (**Map 6**). Surface scatters of Neolithic to Early Bronze Age material have also been found at a few other sites in the relative vicinity of Analipsis. A few samples of the Neolithic culture of the Analipsis region are still kept in an archaeological *vitrine* on the premises of the Athletic Association of Vourvoura, where they were initially deposited by Romaios.<sup>231</sup>

There are no substantial structural remains of prehistory on the Analipsis hill. Some very nice examples of funerary architecture from the early Mycenaean period were uncovered on the mound immediately adjacent to the Analipsis hill. The existence of this elaborate cemetery certainly indicates some kind of community organisation in the late Bronze Age. Romaios also documented Mycenaean contexts that are spatially related to the later settlement on the Analipsis hill. These contexts

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analysed by Kalogeropoulos, I have based my own account on his. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998. A thesis about the Analipsis site have also been written by Eleutherias Krigas. See Krigas, 1984.

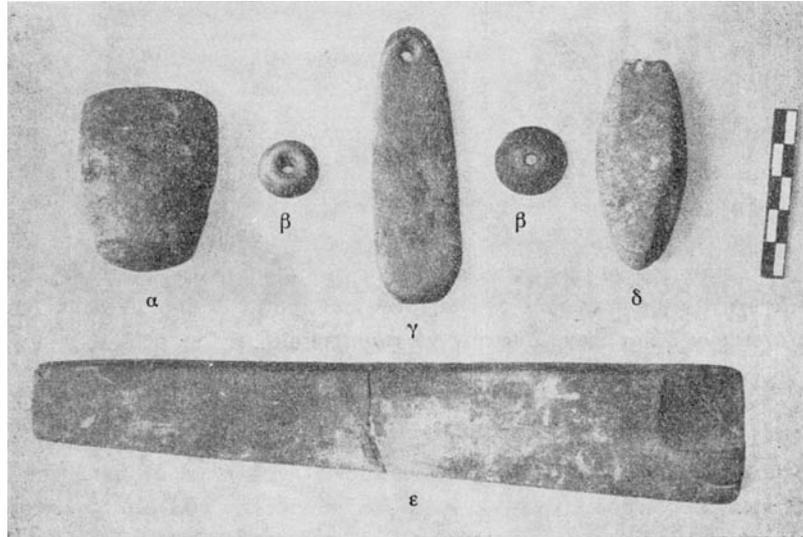
<sup>228</sup> This map is based on the only available plan of the remains at Analipsis, initially compiled by Romaios' assistant, but first published by Kalogeropoulos, and digitised topographical information from the Greek Army's 1:5000 maps.

<sup>229</sup> Christos Tsundas published one of them in 1901. Both Romaios and Tsundas dated these axes to the Neolithic period. See Tsundas, 1901, 90; and Romaios 1902, 9.

<sup>230</sup> Waterhouse & Hope Simpson, 1961, 130. On early exchange networks in Greece see Perlès, 2001.

<sup>231</sup> There are still two stone axes in the Vourvoura collection. These were kindly shown to me by the keeper of the collection during one of my visits to that village. The Vourvoura collection was severely reduced, probably during the Second World War. An updated inventory was published by Romaios after the war. See Romaios, 1950.

are marked as black dots on **Map 6**.<sup>232</sup> Underneath one of the later buildings (the apsidal structure at the centre of the ancient settlement) Romaios found a Mycenaean cist grave, as well as a pit with fired waist mixed with the fragments of two stemmed drinking cups, and one decorated amphora.



*Figure 5.5*  
An assemblage of Neolithic ground stone tools discovered in the monumental tholos tomb at Analipsis.

These vessels were all broken into several fragments, and had marks of secondary fire. Kalogeropoulos dated them to LH II B/LH III A1.<sup>233</sup> There is no sub-Mycenaean or proto-Geometric material documented at Analipsis. The Early Iron Age is represented by some fragments of a late geometric pictorial vase from a mixed layer connected with the collapse of the large tholos in the Mycenaean cemetery to the west of the settlement. Geometric and archaic material is also mentioned as having been uncovered to such an extent on the Analipsis hill that Romaios concluded that it must have been permanently re-settled sometime during this period.<sup>234</sup> No building remains at Analipsis are securely dated to the Archaic period, but Romaios reported the discovery of some fragmentary inscriptions with elements of the Laconian alphabet of the Archaic period, archaic terracotta figurines, and some

<sup>232</sup> Four additional contexts with Mycenaean material on the Analipsis hill are mentioned in the notebooks of Romaios' assistant: 1) pottery sherds, ashes, and animal bones in front of an architectural structure; 2) numerous Mycenaean sherds 8 meters in front of the 'Bouleuterion'; 3) Mycenaean sherds and a bone object associated with a 2 x 0,7 m stretch of wall, on the same level of the hill as the 'Bouleuterion', but west of the 'Frankish tower'; and 4) Mycenaean sherds and small bone fragments in the vicinity of the 'Throne-room'. These four contexts are marked as black dots on the map. For references to Kontogiorgis' field notes see Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 26.

<sup>233</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 25-26, Kat.Nos. 71-73 (National Archaeological Museum in Athens, Inv.nos. NM 11294, 11290, and 11291). Originally published in Schachermeyer, 1962, 258, Fig. 49, 262. The building in question is the so-called 'bouleuterion or prythaneion', thus termed by Romaios. See below.

<sup>234</sup> See Romaios, 1954, 273.

small lead wreaths “similar to those that have been found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta.”<sup>235</sup>

Despite the fact that no structural remains have been securely dated before the Classical period, the material assemblage at Analipsis indicates that the hill, if not before, was settled in the late Bronze Age. Whether we are dealing with a permanent prehistoric settlement at Analipsis is a difficult question. The strongest indication thereof is not, in fact, to be found on the Analipsis hill itself, but on the hill immediately opposite to it where there is an early Mycenaean cemetery. What is most significant for the reconstruction of long-term tradition at this place is that already in the late Bronze Age there is an intimate spatial relationship between the Analipsis hill and the cemetery. It is also very promising that the one place where early communal activity (eating, drinking, offering) can be testified by archaeology on the Analipsis hill is the same place as where the community centre would have been located in later periods. This spatial dialogue in the prehistoric past of this place between the Analipsis hill and the burial ground on the adjacent mound is also re-sounded in the architectural structure of the ancient historical settlement.

### 3. THE FORTIFIED VILLAGE, CLASSICAL PARADIGMS AND BRONZE AGE TRADITIONS

The Analipsis hill is an ideal setting for a small, fortified settlement. On its NE side the steep ridge falls dramatically into the Sarandapotamos gorge, and forms a naturally fortified feature. As such it represents a miniature realisation of the Classical acropolis, a town on a hill. As a fortified acropolis the hill is also strengthened by the fact that fresh water has always been readily available from a natural spring just below the peak.<sup>236</sup> In its present state this spring is protected by a circular rubble walled mouth (**Map 6**), and it is still used in the dry season to water the agricultural fields below the hill. The existence of this spring must also have been an important motivation for the initial settlement at this place.<sup>237</sup> Some 6-8 m<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Romaios, 1956, 82. My translation. See also Romaios, 1902, 10ff; Jost, 1985, 161; and Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 3.

<sup>236</sup> Neither Romaios nor Kalogeropoulos refer to this installation.

<sup>237</sup> Similar, although more elaborate, Bronze Age arrangements for the exploitation of karst springs can be found, for instance, at the Athenian Acropolis, and at the Citadel of Mycenae. That the systematic exploitation of the karst springs appears to have taken place at a late stage at important

of the bedrock around the well is levelled to create a floor surface. There are also remains of walls forming a regular square around the well. On the eastern side, which appears to be the entrance to this building, there are the remains of a single column base. It is also interesting to observe the position of the well in close proximity to what is probably a public building, the so-called bouleuterion (**Fig. 5.6**). It was in a context underneath this building that Romaios discovered traces of communal activity from the Bronze Age (**Map 6**).



*Figure 5.6*  
Remains of the so-called 'Bouleuterion' inside the ancient fortifications at Analipsis. Excavation photo from Romaios' excavation in the 1950's.

The communal spring and the 'Bouleuterion' delimit an open space at the centre of the settlement. Most of the excavated building remains at Analipsis are concentrated within a radius of less than 150 meters from this centre. A tempting interpretation of this space is that it represents the civic centre of the ancient historical settlement. The traces of communal activity that have been observed in this area from the Bronze Age indicate that it was already long established as the civic focus of the settlement (**Map 6**).

During the last excavation campaign at Analipsis in 1961 Romaios uncovered some walls which he interpreted as remains of fortifications rather than house-remains.<sup>238</sup> As indicated on **Map 6** the peribolos was traced in three different locations; one south of the peak and to the west of the later Analipsis chapel, a second to the SW and relatively close to the 'Bouleuterion', and a third farther to the west. Only the context just below the 'Bouleuterion' that Romaios documented with a photograph (**Fig. 5.7**) is still visible (**Fig. 5.8**). Romaios considered the

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Mycenean sites have usually been taken to indicate increased pressure on the palatial fortifications close to the collapse of Mycenaean civilisation. See Dickinson, 1994, 81 & 162ff.

<sup>238</sup> The same summary text, which is the only available documentation of this wall, was published in Romaios, 1961a and Romaios, 1961b.

construction of the wall to be preceded by the destruction of some houses inside the peribolos. Fourth century pottery was mixed with the collapsed building material. Based on an analysis of its masonry style Romaios concluded that the peribolos could not be from the fourth or the third centuries BC.<sup>239</sup>



*Figure 5.7*  
Excavation photo from the 1950's of remains of ancient fortifications at Analipsis.

*Figure 5.8*  
The present state of remains of ancient fortifications at Analipsis uncovered during Romaios' excavation in the 1950's. See **Fig. 5.7**.



Instead, in accordance with his identification of the Analipsis settlement as the Arcadian frontier community Iasos, he dated the peribolos to 148 BC, when the Achaeans were establishing frontier stations against the fading power of the Lacedaimonean polis.<sup>240</sup> An exception to this late date is, however, made for “the carefully crafted and emerging, tower-like structure” (**Figs. 5.7-8**) closest to the so-called bouleuterion, which he believed to be “older.”<sup>241</sup> Romaios also interpreted

<sup>239</sup> Romaios, 1961a, 167; and Romaios, 1961b, 162. The poor state of preservation and the inadequate documentation taken into consideration it is difficult to contest this date.

<sup>240</sup> See Romaios, 1961a, 167; and Romaios, 1957.

<sup>241</sup> See Romaios, 1961a, 167.

this structure as the remains of a tower and a gate.<sup>242</sup> The structural connection between these elements is still evident. The tower represents the termination of a bastion, which is built so as to provide maximum defence of the lateral opening between the two overlapping stretches of the wall.



Figure 5.9 Excavation photo from 1950's of monumental tholos at Analipsis excavated by Romaios.

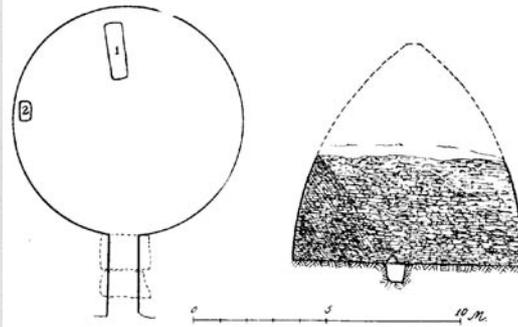


Figure 5.10 Plan and profile of monumental tholos at Analipsis excavated by Romaios.

Lateral gates in Greek fortifications are a solution which is derived from Mycenaean predecessors such as the secondary gate at Mycenae, and are generally considered to be an early phenomenon. The latest documented cases are from the early third century BC.<sup>243</sup> What is most interesting about this entrance in our context is not whether it should be dated to the fourth, the third, or the second century BC, but rather how its location consolidates the spatial relationship between the local past and historical present. Just opposite this gate is the Mycenaean cemetery, with the only monumental tholos (Figs. 5.9-10) in the cemetery just opposite the Analipsis hill (Map 6). The entrance to the historical settlement is situated so that there is as short a distance as possible to the tholos. At the same time the gate is placed so as to preserve inter-visibility between these two focal points in the spatial dialogue between the past and historical present. The ancient architectural dramaturgy of vision thus ties the ancient settlement closely together with the local topography of the past.

<sup>242</sup> "The western section [...] cuts across towards the northern rocky ridge of the place. From this grows a more narrowly shaped wall along with the third wall at a distance of two meters, thus creating a narrow passage towards the outside. Farther between this third and second wall, which stops in front of the ridge, the main gate opens, closing it seems with a double door. Opposite to this we have a similar double gate where the doors or gates are placed against an upright corner, and not the one against the other." Romaios, 1961a, 167.

<sup>243</sup> Lawrence, 1979, 332 and 334.

The spatial relationship between the past of the Bronze Age monuments and the ancient historical present which we can observe in the archaeology of the Analipsis settlement (**Map 6**) makes this site a very special place in the local settlement history. For one thing it is the only example in the district of ancient Tegea where regular occupation can be observed both in the prehistoric past and the ancient historical present. The minuscule fortified ancient settlement also responds to the ancient model in a manner which is very different from what we have seen in the plain. In the lowland we have seen how the abandoned prehistoric settlement at Ayioryitika was regarded as a paradigm of the settlement pattern of the past in the ancient historical present. In the case of the Analipsis settlement the past of the place is not visualised as an abandoned village or a landform that serves as a marker of the rural settlement pattern of the past, rather the past of the place is sedimented in the spatial structure of the historical present, in the preserved communal centre of the settlement, and in the architectural elaboration and orientation of the village fortifications.

#### 4. MATERIAL PRACTICES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LOCAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

On the assumption that Romaios was correct that no building remains at the Analipsis settlement are older than the Classical period, there are certain architectural features there that cannot be explained as merely provincial divergences from current stylistic fashion.<sup>244</sup> As a starting point for this discussion I will take a closer look at the description of the ancient remains inside the peribolos that were presented by Romaios. The first topos in his description that I wish to draw attention to is from a report presented after the 1955 campaign. In the very compact style that is typical of the public archaeological reports from this period it provides a general impression of building types on the site. It also establishes a more or less comprehensible chronological sequence of the ancient settlement:

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<sup>244</sup> The earliest stage of the historical settlement has, as we have seen, been somewhat difficult to determine. Traces of the abandonment of the place in antiquity are less ambiguous. The finds from 1899 and 1900, among which were column drums, pottery sherds, loom weights, and a terracotta figurine, Romaios mainly dated to the Roman period. Since these finds belong to the upper sequence of remains on the site, they represent the final stage of occupation in antiquity. Romaios, 1902, 7ff. See also Kalogeropoulos, 1998, Note 22.

Several buildings, presumably living quarters, were found. All were made in the following simple manner, below small stones at a low height, and above wattle-and-daub construction. This construction technique is evident everywhere, because below the plough-soil layer (20-30 cm) one runs into a layer with the well-known Laconian tiles, and below this undisturbed soil with frequent traces of fire. In four places there are also traces of columns close to the façade, but it is uncertain if these buildings were public sanctuaries, or luxurious houses. In one context it was indicated among the remains four *in situ* column bases of local green schist, reminiscent of the famous Mycenaean column bases. It is peculiar that these bases rise on the rocky terrain, as the lowest is located 40 cm higher in the terrain. Concerning the entire building (13,5 X 13,5 m), the back side being apsidal in shape, it is likely that it should be some public building, such as a prytaneion or bouleuterion of the community. What is most significant is that in all six of the investigated houses had small quadrangular, semicircular, or triangular constructions at the corner of the building, subsequently to be used for house worship. Around these many votive vessels were gathered, but also a lot of fragments of large red-figure vases were found nearby.<sup>245</sup>

Information about another monumental structure and related material is provided in a report after the campaign in 1958:

A marble capital of good workmanship from the fourth century BC, a *perirrhantherion*, a sizeable marble vase and tiles, of which one was inscribed IEP [should be read as ἱερός, “sacred”] with large letters, a spacious building with a square altar below the peak—all this, taken into consideration with the large amount of decorated sherds in the vicinity, from which pieces were joined with those from another location to make up a large red-figure vase with a Dionysian representation, comprises evidence that we are indeed dealing with a building concerned with cult-activity.<sup>246</sup>

According to Romaios the first context, with a destruction layer related to the settlement directly under the plough-soil layer, was recognisable over a large area inside the peribolos.<sup>247</sup> In another context (“inside the undisturbed layer”) related to the same destruction layer Romaios recognised an actual collapse of a roof, “The tiles are cross-beams of Laconian type. One of those measured 95 cm in length, the upper width 44,2 cm, and the lower 39 cm.”<sup>248</sup> The size and proportions of the Bouleuterion and the Laconian roof-tiles are consistent with their coming from small contemporary civic buildings.<sup>249</sup> The proportions of monumental Laconian tiles are standardised throughout antiquity, but measurements vary among buildings of different size. The tile measurements reported by Romaios have slightly

<sup>245</sup> Romaios, 1955a, 83-84. My translation.

<sup>246</sup> Romaios, 1958, 166. My translation.

<sup>247</sup> Romaios attempted to connect this destruction layer with the sack of Iasos by Menalcidas in 147/8 BC. See Pausanias, 7.13.7; and Romaios, 1957a.

<sup>248</sup> Romaios, 1957, 110. My translation.

<sup>249</sup> See Miller, 1994, 88f, fig. 2. No measurements are provided for the ‘spacious building with a square altar.’

different proportions in comparison with the Lakonian pan tiles from the small so-called *apodyterion* in the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea from the late fourth century BC. The foundations of the building measure 13 x 15,75 m, and the pan tiles 0,96 x 0,49 x 0,425 m. As Romaios also points out, the nature of the finds associated with the spacious building with a square altar, fine pottery, liturgical accessories, and one fragmentary *ἱερός* ('sacred') inscription, indicate that at least one of the monumental buildings inside the peribolos should be associated with civic cult. As indicated above it is also significant for the reconstruction of ancient public space at Analipsis that the more monumental buildings appear to be situated in close proximity to the small open space delimited by the spring-house and the bouleterion.

The material recovered from the settlement at Analipsis comprises artefacts in stone, metal, and pottery, but all the specimens illustrated in Romaios' publications are pottery.<sup>250</sup> Romaios connected no less than 10 well preserved vessels in the ceramic assemblage at Analipsis with a 'local' workshop:

From 450 BC until the middle of the second century BC the existence and activity of a local ceramic workshop is certain. This is attested in a distinctive group of red-figure vases from the fifth and fourth centuries BC, a selection of different Hellenistic material until the so-called 'palace-style' – and tiles of the kind that abruptly disappears before the late Hellenistic or Roman periods.<sup>251</sup>

It is interesting that the Classical pottery at Analipsis was associated not only with the civic buildings around the public square, but with contexts inside some of the small buildings that Romaios refers to as living quarters (**Map 6**). In six of the excavated houses he found small niches in the corners of these buildings. These niches were littered with fine pottery, presumably dedications. Romaios interpreted

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<sup>250</sup> I refer here to material from the early Iron Age to the Roman period. The Bronze Age assemblage includes other categories. See the discussion in chapter seven.

<sup>251</sup> Romaios, 1956, 82. My translation. Some of the Classical ceramic vessels from Analipsis (including the prochoos with the 'Birth of Helen') were republished by Semni Karouzou in 1985. See Karouzou, 1985. A drawing of a previously unpublished fragmentary vase was also illustrated in Romaios, 1955, Plate 19. Most of the finds from the excavation of the historical settlement at Analipsis were brought, together with finds from a large tholos on the neighbouring hill (also excavated in the 1950s), to the National Museum in Athens. Some material from Analipsis also found its way to the Archaeological Museum in Tegea, but previous attempts to find it in the store-rooms of the Tegea Museum have failed. Romaios' documentation (including the field-notes of his two assistants), which may contain more detailed information on archaeological contexts, are kept in the archives of the Greek Archaeological Society in Athens. Kalogeropoulos' impression of the documentation is that it would be of very little help in understanding the history of the settlement. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 4, Note 32.

these interior arrangements as house altars. This evidence for private cult at Analipsis is exceptional for Arcadia.<sup>252</sup>

The archaeological contexts associated with the Classical ceramic assemblage at Analipsis provide us with a glimpse into the material and visual culture of both civic and domestic space.<sup>253</sup> This certainly adds some colour to the otherwise rather black and white sketch of local identity that the remains of this ancient settlement can reveal. Most pots in the Analipsis assemblage are not decorated with figural scenes and are probably of Laconian provenience.<sup>254</sup> The most notable vessel in a group of red-figure vases is a fifth century *prochoos* decorated with a scene representing the birth of Helen (Figs. 5.11-12).<sup>255</sup>

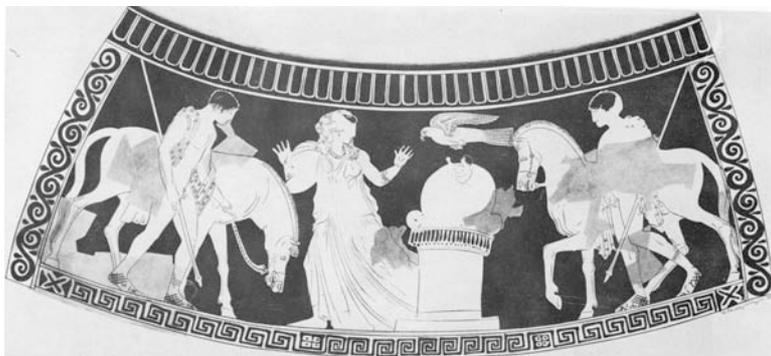


Figure 5.11  
Drawing of a scene with the birth of Helen. From a red-figure vase found at the ancient settlement at Analipsis.



Figure 5.12 Red-figure vase found at the ancient settlement at Analipsis. Same as Fig. 5.11.

One should, of course, be cautious about reading too much into the fragmentary iconography of popular visual culture at Analipsis, but the unusual depiction of the birth of Helen cannot go unnoticed. A little off centre in the figural scene stands an altar, and on top of it lies the egg, from which the small figure of Helen is bursting. To the left of the altar Leda, Helen's mother, is raising her arms in surprise at the event of birth, or perhaps in fear of the eagle above her. This eagle must be the eagle of Zeus, the father of Helen, who appeared before Leda in the shape of another bird, a swan, when Helen was conceived. The egg is another allusion to the 'ornithic'

<sup>252</sup> See Romaios, 1955, 83-84; and Jost, 1985, 161.

<sup>253</sup> I must emphasise, though, that I find it doubtful that this material culture is genuinely local in the sense suggested by Romaios and Karousou. That the 'local' red-figure pottery from Analipsis was actually produced on the site and represents an indigenous tradition of producing high-quality imitations of Attic red-figure is an unlikely notion. See, however, Karousou, 1985.

<sup>254</sup> See Stibbe, 1989, 59ff.

<sup>255</sup> The vessel has semi-globular body, thick flat base, wide-open mouth, and one broad handle, sharply bent in the corner. The handle is typical of some Laconian shapes and indicates influence from metal ware. See Stibbe, 1989, 59ff.

character of Helen's ancestry, which was especially emphasised at Sparta where Helen was considered a local divinity. According to Pausanias this egg was still preserved in the Laconian sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoebe.<sup>256</sup> Flanking the scene on both sides are the Dioscouri, the sons of Zeus and brothers of Helen. According to a Laconian tradition only one of the Dioscouri was the offspring of Zeus. The other was a legitimate son of Tyndarus, the earthly husband of Leda and king of Sparta. The two brothers, however, divide the immortality of Polydeukes equally, and alternate every second day between a subterranean life at Therapne in Sparta and an 'ornithic' life on Olympus.<sup>257</sup> Perhaps it is the true son of Zeus, who moves from the right in the same direction as his father, and with the head of his horse more aggressively lifted towards the altar where his sister is about to be born. His half-brother is more modestly standing behind Leda, as though she constitutes a barrier between his terrestrial world, and the 'ornithic' world in motion as represented by the scene to the right of her.

It is tempting to regard this unusual iconography that emphasises the divinity of Helen, and the ambivalent status of the Dioscouri, as an expression of Laconian visual culture. Although this assumption is highly speculative, the American ethnologist Adrienne Mayor has suggested that Leda's egg, which is depicted on the Analipsis vase, could, in fact, be a fossil relic that was preserved at a sanctuary in Laconia, since both fossil Dinosaur eggs, and ostrich eggs, have been reported as relics from elsewhere in the ancient world. That the egg relic at Sparta was connected with Helen is interesting, because the most likely route of fossile remains of Dinosaur eggs would have been through the Asia Minor connection of the Spartans.<sup>258</sup> It is easy to imagine that this appropriation of a Laconian tradition in the civic and domestic visual culture at Analipsis is typical of the mixed cultural identity of this place in antiquity. In this connection it is also notable that distinctly 'Laconian' cultural markers (Laconian letters in inscriptions, and miniature lead objects

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<sup>256</sup> Pausanias 3.16.1.

<sup>257</sup> Different versions of the result of this encounter exist. In the Classical version Helen and one of the Dioscouri (Polydeukes) are the offspring of this union. Their brother Castor was the offspring of Leda's union with her terrestrial husband, Tyndarus, on the same night that Zeus visited her in the guise of a swan. See Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3.126. The double nature of the Dioscouri is seemingly referred to by conflicting traditions, but all reflect the feature of their ambiguous nature. See Homer, *Iliad*, 3.237-244; *Odyssey*, 11.300-4, where they are both alive, but live 'beneath the earth'. For the tradition of the sharing of Polydeukes' immortality between the two brothers see Pindar, *Nemean* 10.80-2.

<sup>258</sup> See Mayor, 2000, 42-43, 45, 50, 95, 140, 165, and 181.

associated with the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta) were also noted by Romaios in the archaic artifacts at Analipsis. The maintenance of cultural heritage at Analipsis has a very persistent local character connected with both civic and domestic identity. On the other hand, it easily incorporated cultural elements from its powerful neighbour to the south. The Laconian birth of Helen that was used in some kind of civic or domestic veneration of local tradition is a paradigmatic example of the diplomatic purpose of cultural heritage maintenance at Analipsis in the Classical period. If the Analipsis settlement at some time during its ancient history was a Lacedaimonian perioikic settlement, this flexible cultural heritage maintenance would have been most appropriate.

It is acknowledged that some perioikic settlements did have a certain cultural breathing space, and the civic and domestic material-visual practices that we have so far observed at Analipsis fit well into this frame. Local political institutions within the perioikic fringe of the Lacedaimonian polis would, on the other hand, be a completely different matter.<sup>259</sup> There is one example in the architectural culture of the ancient Analipsis settlement that is difficult to regard as anything but a very sharp demarcation of local cultural heritage. The example is the apsidal building that Romaios refers to as a bouleuterion or prytaneion. In interpreting it as such Romaios was influenced by his desire to identify the Analipsis settlement with the Arcadian frontier community Iasos.<sup>260</sup> The position of this building in the public space of the small ancient settlement is so central, and its design so peculiar, that it nonetheless deserves special attention here. My point here is rather to focus on how the particular design of the building can be connected with the place of the central square in the memorial topography of the ancient settlement.

The layout of the structure is clearly apsidal, and the building technique is a combination of mud-brick walls on a stone socle, tiled roof most certainly on a wooden frame, wooden crossbeams, and with four columns in front. The columns themselves were probably made of wood rather than of stone. On the basis of related material (mainly pottery) Romaios dated the building to the Classical period.<sup>261</sup> If this date is correct the apsidal form of the building is very conservative. An attractive hypothesis in this context is that the form the building had in the

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<sup>259</sup> For a discussion see Shipley, 1992.

<sup>260</sup> See Romaios, 1957a.

<sup>261</sup> Romaios, 1955a. See also Romaios, 1957a.

Classical period goes back to a much earlier building on the site, of which Romaios did not identify any archaeological traces.

The most peculiar feature of the building would have been its façade. All that is preserved of this facade are the “four *in situ* column bases” described in Romaios’ report. These column bases are so situated on the slope that the height of the wooden columns would have varied as much as 40 cm between the upper and lower column. In the other buildings around the communal centre of the settlement at Analipsis bedrock is levelled to create even floor surfaces inside the buildings. In the accommodation of the bouleterion rather the opposite is the case (**Fig. 5.6**): Not only are the four column bases placed so that the four wooden columns in the façade of the building emphasised the natural slope, but the inner floor of the building also appears to have preserved the same natural rise in bedrock. It is almost as though the building organically embraces the natural form of the landscape of the Analipsis hill rather than just simply inscribing it in the current architectural order. The visual impression of this building would have been that its architectural form was modified by the organic slope of the hill.

The column bases are presently so eroded and overgrown with *lichens* that it is difficult to recognise the surface of the material that they are made of. That they appear to be breaking apart into layers is compatible with Romaios’ statement that they are made of green schist.<sup>262</sup> The peculiar geology of the Analipsis hill, which distinguishes it from the surrounding homogeneous limestone bedrock, would in this case make it very likely that this rock was quarried on or close to the construction site. That this local rock was used in its architectural details would also have emphasised the local character of the building. Although their present state makes it difficult to decide how reminiscent of Mycenaean column bases they are, as Romaios also noted, they are certainly rather peculiar in the context of Classical architecture.

The architectural exploitation of the peculiar geological resources of the Analipsis hill could be taken as a sign of a pronounced local building tradition. If Romaios is correct in associating the green schist bases with Mycenaean architecture, we could even be dealing with recycled building material from an earlier Mycenaean building. The exclusive use of local stone in the architecture at

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<sup>262</sup> Schist is rich in *micas* and accordingly splits easily into layers. See Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 221.

Analipsis can also be taken to indicate limited resources for the import of more popular fine building material such as marble. Despite the fact that the Analipsis site is not far from the Tegean marble quarries in the Northern Parnon that were in use already in the early Archaic period, Romaios found no marble in the architecture at Analipsis. If the marble quarries in the Northern Parnon were indeed controlled by Tegea from the early Archaic through to the Hellenistic periods, as we have seen is indicated by the structure of the road-network in the Skiritis, the absence of marble in monumental buildings at Analipsis could also strengthen the hypothesis that the settlement was a Lacedaimonean perioikic community. In the Classical period a Lacedaimonean perioikic community would probably not have been granted access to a marble quarry controlled by Tegea. That the Analipsis settlement may have been a Lacedaimonean perioikic community is, as we have seen, also indicated in the few examples of local visual culture that are preserved there.

The place where the Analipsis bouleuterion is located had been the focus of communal activity at Analipsis since the late Bronze Age. Because of the discontinuity between the local Bronze Age and the early historical phases of the site, the location of the later communal building should be connected with some kind of re-discovery of the place, but one in which its visual past played a role in its later appropriation and architectural elaboration. This visual appropriation of place can be considered as analogous to other examples of stylistic anomalies in Arcadian architecture.<sup>263</sup> Like the old-fashioned proportions of the fourth century temple in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and its conscious appropriation of spolia and structural remains from earlier buildings on the site, the peculiar Analipsis Bouleuterion is deeply imbued with local tradition. In the Classical period, when we know that this building was still standing, and even into the Hellenistic period, the peculiar visual culture of the Analipsis Bouleuterion will have appeared as a most powerful monument of the past of this place, which could only have been surpassed by the monumental early Mycenaean tholos on the hill just opposite the main entrance to the ancient historical settlement. Unlike the re-territorialisation of the architectural space of the past that we observed in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea

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<sup>263</sup> For discussions of these kinds of anomalies in early Arcadian temple architecture see Winter, 1991; and Østby, 1995.

(Figs. 2.2-9), it is the topography and geology of site of the Analipsis Bouleuterion that constitutes its place as one imbrued in tradition. This is indicated both by the peculiar arrangement of the facade of the building, and in the fact that the peculiar facade is resting on bases of local stone.

That the natural slope of the hill also appears to be preserved inside the Analipsis bouleuterion is a practice for the maintenance of place that is reminiscent of the accommodation of the famous Rock of the Sibyl in the architectural layout of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>264</sup> When natural features like a piece of rock, or, more commonly, a natural spring, are incorporated into the architectural elaboration of a place like this, the practice is very often connected with worship of a local chthonic divinity.<sup>265</sup> This is exactly the case in the later appropriation of the karstic springs on the northwestern slope of the Athenian Acropolis, which had served as water supply for the Bronze Age fort there.<sup>266</sup> The proximity to the karstic spring at Analipsis, already in the Bronze Age an important motivation for settling this place, makes such an interpretation highly probable. The care with which this piece of the Analipsis hill is accommodated by the Analipsis bouleuterion displays an architectural practice that is rather uncommon in the ancient Greek world. This feature, more than anything else, made and still makes the ancient Analipsis settlement a very special place in the local landscape of memory.

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<sup>264</sup> See Bommelaer, 1991, 144, No. 326.

<sup>265</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 174-176.

<sup>266</sup> See Dickinson, 1994, 81 & 162ff.

PART THREE

IN THE VALLEY OF SHADOWS

Midway along the journey of our life  
I woke to find myself in a dark wood,  
for I had wandered off from the straight path [...]  
How I entered there I cannot truly say,  
I had become so sleepy at the moment  
when I first strayed, leaving the path of truth;  
but when I found myself at the foot of a hill,  
at the edge of the wood's beginning, down in the valley,  
where I first felt my heart plunged deep in fear,  
I raised my head and saw the hilltop shawled  
in morning rays of light sent from the planet  
that leads men straight ahead on every road [...]  
Just as a swimmer, still with panting breath,  
now safe upon the shore, out of the deep,  
might turn for one last look at the dangerous waters,  
so I, although my mind was turned to flee,  
turned round to gaze once more upon the pass  
that never let a living soul escape.

(Dante, *The Divine Comedy*)

## CHAPTER VI

FROM THE TOPOGRAPHY OF  
THE UNDERWORLD

Bottomless vales and boundless floods,  
 And chasms, and caves and Titan woods ...  
 By the mountain—near the river  
 Murmuring lowly, murmuring ever,—  
 By the gray woods,—by the swamp  
 Where the toad and the newt encamp,—  
 By the dismal tarns and pools  
     Where dwell the Ghouls,—  
 By each spot the most unholy—  
 In each nook most melancholy,—  
 There the traveller meets aghast  
 Sheeted Memories of the Past—

(From *Dream-land* by Edgar Allan Poe)

As we lower our gaze from the terrestrial horizon of the preceding chapters, with their geometric and tactile objects, towards the subterranean world, we will, like Odysseus and Dante on their journeys into the Underworld, find ourselves in a misty valley occupied by shadows, ghosts, and images. The characters that occupy this chthonic landscape represent a broad spectrum of personae: terrestrial ancestors buried in communal burial ground just outside the city-walls, semi-divine ancestors of heroic past, river-gods, nymphs, primeval monsters such as the Lernean Hydra, and the place-specific, but anonymous, *divinities of the place*.<sup>1</sup> That these characters are ‘of the earth’ (χθόνιοι) distinguishes them both from the finite horizon of life on the earth, and from the infinite horizon of Olympic divinity. In the vertical hierarchy of things the subterraneans have a place below living men. In a mytho-historical sense they belong in our past. Their era ended when gods and heroic ancestors had finally defeated them. By means of divine and heroic struggle their entities have thus been built into the spaces and places of historical present. Because of this very local character they represent a sort of spiritual creatures that are closer to man than the gods. In that respect their places are in a kind of middle

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<sup>1</sup> See Thucydides, 4.97.

world between men and living gods, and it is to some Tegean places in this middle world that we shall make an excursion in this chapter.

With a few exceptions such as the apotheosis of Heracles all chthonian divinities are mortal. Even the Lernean Hydra (**Fig. 1.3**) is, in a sense, mortal. It is just damned difficult to kill! It is also because of their mortality that that the chthonians have a place in terrestrial life.<sup>2</sup> The subterranean world of these creatures can be regarded as a cultural analogy to Greek burial practice. Despite the overwhelming persistence of cremation in the early Iron Age, Greek burial practice has always been leaning in the direction of inhumation, and with a most ancient tradition of secondary burial. Although not completely without exceptions inhumation was also the rule in the Greek Bronze Age. In the later phases of the early Iron Age inhumation reappears again, and become increasingly common in the Classical period.<sup>3</sup> The tradition of secondary burial is also the reason why the bones of the dead come to play an important role in the Greek visualisation of local tradition. Digging up and re-distributing bones is a cultural practice for the appropriation of the past that has a very long history in the Eastern Mediterranean area. It is interesting in this connection that in the ancient heroic paradigm par excellence, the Homeric epics, cremation is the only recognised burial form. There are many different pasts preserved in the Homeric paradigm. Whether this means that the Homeric epics can be used as a source to early Iron Age burial practice, I leave to other to argue.<sup>4</sup> My point here is rather that within the reception context of the post- early Iron Age historical present, when inhumation was the rule, Homeric cremation represents a cultural estrangement of the past. The Homeric past is a composite landscape of different times and places, and it is a very common device in the ekphrastic rhetoric of this composite past to emphasise the otherness of past practices in relation to the practice of historical present.

It has become common in the literature to distinguish between hero-worship and grave-cult. Hero-worship in this context meaning the type of veneration of mythological/historical heroes that comes to play an important role especially in

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<sup>2</sup> For a brief, but comprehensive discussion of the relationship between mortal chthonians and immortal Olympians see Burkert, 1985, 199-203.

<sup>3</sup> For a survey of Bronze Age practice see Dickinson, 1994, 209ff. See also Burkert, 1985, 191. Generalisations about Greek burial practice are mainly based on the well documented cemetery in the Athenian Kerameikos. For brief reviews of the different stages see Knigge, 1988, 14-48. For more recent discussions of burial practice see Morris, 1992.

<sup>4</sup> See Finley, 1977.

the consolidation of the Greek city-states in the Archaic period.<sup>5</sup> Grave-cult, on the other hand, is a critical modern paradigm of ritual activity at Bronze Age cemeteries as documented by archaeology. This phenomenon starts already in the early Iron Age and continues well into the Roman period.<sup>6</sup> There are certainly good methodological reasons to maintain this distinction. As Carla Antonaccio has pointed out, not a single one of the many documented cases of hero-worship in ancient Greece can, despite the strong traditional testimonies, be connected by archaeology with an actual prehistoric tomb.<sup>7</sup> To the extent that this chapter situates hero-cult in the context of local subterranean topography while the following addresses the phenomenon of tomb-cult in a rather different setting I have also maintained this distinction here. I believe, however, that there is good reason to revise the current attitude to these phenomena. Hero-cult and tomb-cult should not be considered as two distinct phenomena, but rather as two groups of phenomena, as much inter-related and overlapping as distinct and separate. There is little distance between the reception context of heroic memory, represented by the oral tradition of the Homeric epics, and ancestral veneration in the form of tomb-cult. Rather, as cultural statements in the service of maintaining local chthonic tradition they are expressed in dialects of the same language.

The most important motivation for including the places and faces of the subterraneans in a discussion of local landscapes of memory is that the relationship between place and persona is particularly close in their case.<sup>8</sup> An Olympic god, such as Athena, can be here and there and everywhere, but a hero is a place-bound entity. It is true that there are great heroic travellers, men like Odysseus, who travel beyond the horizon of the terrestrial world. As much as the *Odyssey* is a tale of a journey, however, it is also a tale about being away from home. When Odysseus comes to the end of this world, and is standing, sword in hand, at the gate of the underworld in conversation with the spirit of Elpenor, his dead friend reminds him

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<sup>5</sup> For a recent debate see contributions to Hägg, 1999.

<sup>6</sup> See Antonaccio, 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Archaeological research on the topic of tomb-cult, which in recent years has experienced somewhat of a renaissance, has been an important inspiration for my own work. Thanks to Antonaccio and others, who have started systematically to review overlooked anomalies in excavation reports from BA funerary contexts throughout the Greek world, a new line of research in Greek archaeology has, to my mind, been opened. The great achievement of this research is that it has uncovered a virtually unknown religious practice in ancient Greece by means of archaeological sources. As a heuristic device in historical discourse it thus bears striking similarities to the role, which has been played in recent years by systematic archaeological surveys in the Mediterranean region.

<sup>8</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 174.

of the critical issue for the dead of being inserted into the memorial landscape at home.<sup>9</sup> That heroes are always place-bound is, on the other hand, a more doubtful thesis than one might at first assume. One important point that I wish to make in this brief review of some faces and places in the subterranean Tegean landscape is that the most place-bound are really quite unclear about their places; they can sometimes be almost *schizo-topic* as I have been tempted to call it. As is also the case with a similar cultural schizo-topics that can be observed in the medieval veneration of saintly relics, the schizo-topics of ancient heroes are also exposed to certain material practices for the veneration of mythical ancestors.<sup>10</sup>

Having endured for so many pages already my preoccupation with local hydrology, it should be no surprise to the reader that the subject of water will also be taken up in this chapter. Although some of the Ionian natural philosophers in particular took up the study of hydrogeology in a manner that almost completely abandoned the traditional mythological mode of explanation, the ancient Greek archaeology of water remained a subject of mythological discourse.<sup>11</sup> Hydrological imagery also plays an important role in cultural appropriation of natural phenomena in the Christian era. In early Christian pictorial imagery the four World Rivers emerge from the ground below the feet of Christ.<sup>12</sup> To a greater extent in the Christian era, however, these images figure as theological allegories, rather than as mythological interpretations of water as a natural phenomenon. The symbolic quality of water has, of course, also a central place in Christian baptism, and sacred springs with miraculously healing water can still be found throughout the Orthodox Greek landscape. Very often these sacred springs are connected with the Virgin, thus preserving the female engendering of fresh-water springs from the pagan tradition, where surface rivers are always personified as male and springs as female.<sup>13</sup> Although I briefly touch upon the cosmological implications of hydrological imagery, I am at the outset not primarily interested in the general

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<sup>9</sup> *Odyssey*, 11.62-78.

<sup>10</sup> On the medieval veneration of saintly relics see Brown, 1981.

<sup>11</sup> The ancient Greeks were not ignorant of the role of water as a geological agent in the natural historical processes that shape the landscape. A good introduction to the topic is still provided in Forbes, 1963, 1-103.

<sup>12</sup> An early paradigm (probably a 7th century restoration of a 5th century mosaic) of world-rivers in Christian iconography can be found in the Mausoleum of Constantina in Rome. See Beckwith, 1979, 27ff; fig. 13.

<sup>13</sup> See Brewster, 1997.

symbolic qualities of water, but rather in particular historical animations of hydrological features in local contexts.

The first water-point in the Tegean landscape that we shall turn to is a very special place in its memorial topography, the sanctuary of Athena Alea. On our return to this place we shall not stop at its most monumental architectural feature, its temple. We shall rather turn towards the micro-ecological *exergue* of this architecturally elaborated sacred place. The water-point in the sanctuary of Athena Alea was one of many elements in the ensemble of Olympic divinities and chthonian characters that made up its entire memorial spectacle. In our context this place inside another place will serve as a demonstration of how one and the same place has attracted the attention of local memory in the Pagan, Christian and Ottoman periods. What makes this such a special place in our context is, first, that it appears to be the specific micro-ecology of this place which has been the focus of cultural attention, and, second, that this attention is formulated in a language of memorial personae (pagan heroes and Christian saints) who feature as an exemplary long-term cultural genealogy of place.<sup>14</sup> In the long-term history of this place, perhaps more than any other in my long list of memorable places in the district of ancient Tegea, the water-place in the sanctuary of Athena Alea is a virtual fountain of local memory.

### 1. THREE MEN AT THE FOUNTAIN OF AUGE: HERACLES, NIKON AND NIKOLAOS

In connection with his description of the sanctuary of Athena Alea Pausanias mentioned a fountain that was dedicated to the local princess Auge, daughter of Aleos: “To the north of the temple is a fountain, and at this fountain they say that Auge was violated by Hercules, but in this they differ from Hecataeus.”<sup>15</sup> A fountain basin from the fifth century BC situated less than ten meters to the north of the temple of Athena Alea (**Figs. 6.1-3**) has been suggested to be identical with Pausanias’ fountain of Auge.<sup>16</sup> This small monument predates the construction of the 4<sup>th</sup> century temple of Athena Alea, and it is more than a century later than the

<sup>14</sup> On the micro-ecology of the site of the Athena Alea Sanctuary see otherwise Ødegård, 2005; and Klempe, forthcoming.

<sup>15</sup> Pausanias, 8.47.4.

<sup>16</sup> The fountain is probably an architectural elaboration of an artesian spring. Dugas, 1924, 69ff.

earlier temple from ca. 600 BC. If this water basin is, indeed, identical with the fountain of Auge, it could, as we shall see, represent a most ancient feature of the sanctuary.<sup>17</sup>

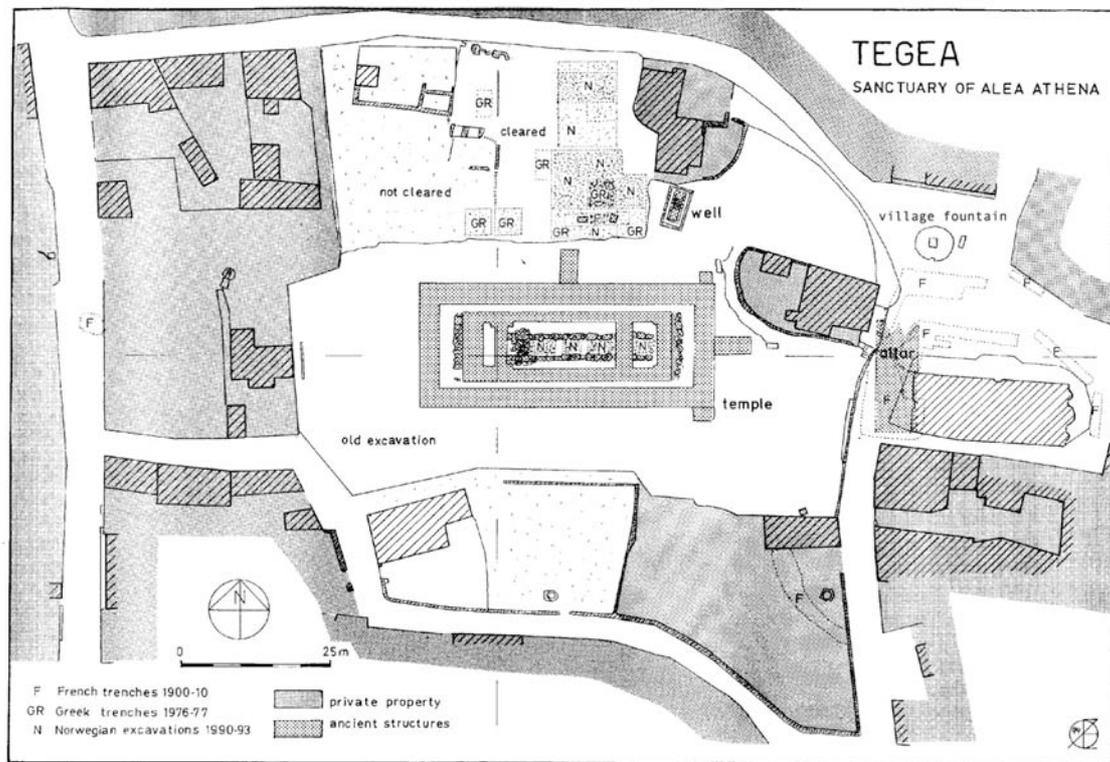


Figure 6.1 Plan of the site of the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.

Pausanias relates to two different versions of the story of Auge. In the version proposed by Hekataios, which Pausanias mentions in connection with the list of the Tegean royal family, Auge was sent to the sea together with her son Telephos. This Telephos was the offspring of Auge's encounter with Heracles at Tegea.<sup>18</sup> The

<sup>17</sup> See Glaser, 1983, 14, no. 7. Milchhöfer, who disagreed with the identification, which at that time had already been suggested by some of the early travellers, suggested an area farther to the north, where he found a row of ashlar blocks connected with a subterranean built water channel, as a more likely candidate for the monument mentioned by Pausanias. Milchhöfer, 1880, 65. A deep ditch is still visible here under thick blackberry bushes, the occurrence of which is sometimes indicative of submerged stone structures. Villagers at Alea still talk of the 'river' (*potamo*) that was running here in the past. As we have already seen in connection with the discussion of the initial appropriation of the Tegean Fan the arrangement described by Milchhöfer belongs rather to the remains of ancient hydraulic engineering. Thus I see no reason to doubt the identification of the built fountain basin inside the sanctuary with the fountain of Auge, as was first suggested by Ludwig Ross. Ross, 1841, 67f.

<sup>18</sup> See Pausanias, 8.4.9 for Hekataios' version. The local myth about Telephos also alludes to his role in the Trojan cycle, where he fought the Achaeans at the plain of Caicus, where he and his mother had landed after an arduous journey across the Aegean. On the other side of the Aegean Telephos and his mother were also appropriated in the memorial landscape of Pergamon. That this shared ancestry between Tegea and Pergamon was recognised by both cities is testified in a Pergamenian inscription that mentions mutual exchange of privileges with Tegea (*I.Perg* I.156). In the Telephos-frieze on the great Pergamon altar, this shared ancestry was also given monumental expression. For a recent discussion of the Telephos frieze at Pergamon see Dreyfus & Schraudolph, 1996-7. In the local Tegean

parental origin of Telephos is usually formulated in terms of Heracles' rape of the local princess Auge (thus Pausanias).

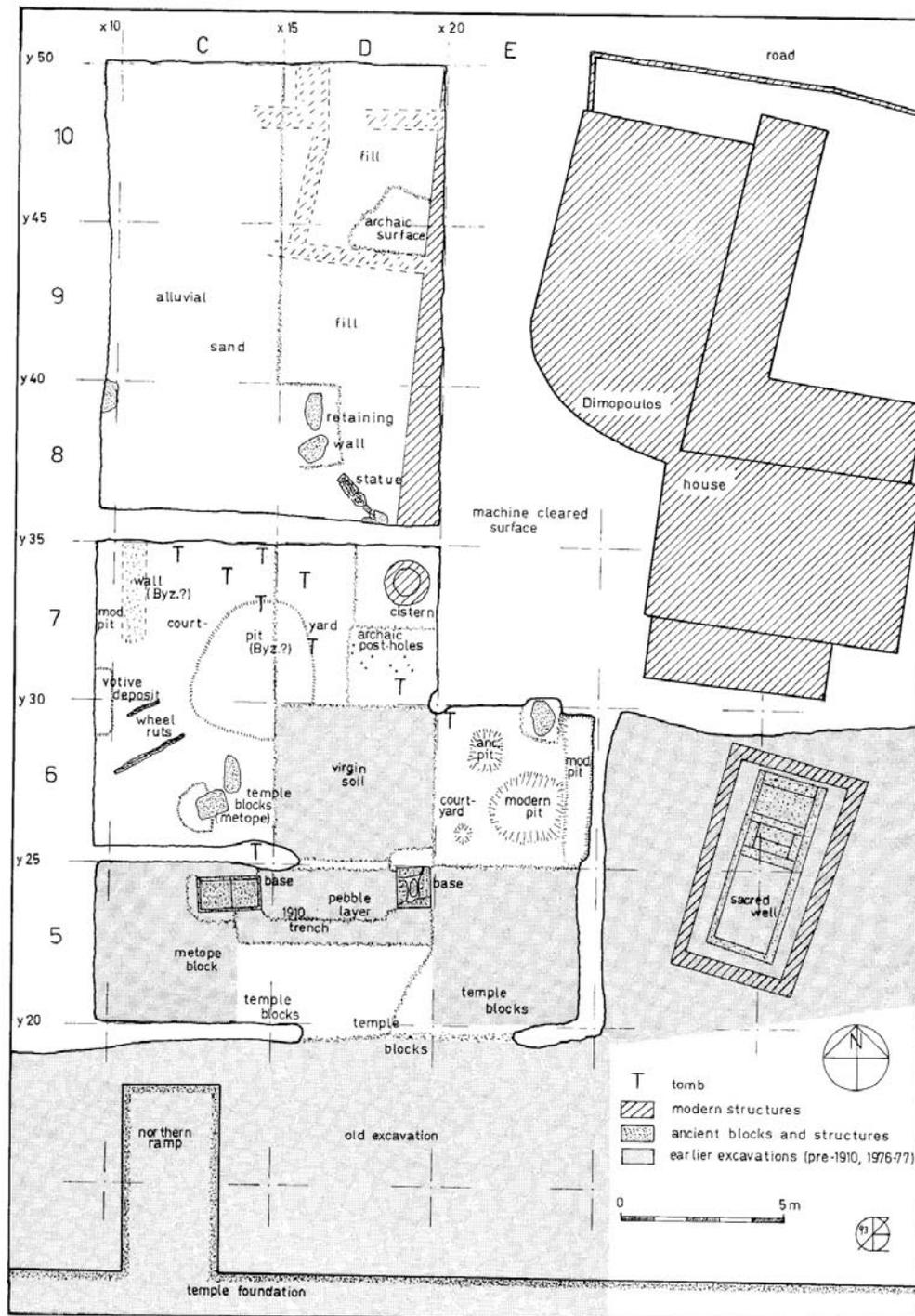


Figure 6.2 Plan of the northern excavation area on the site of the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea where Erik Østby conducted excavations from 1990-1994.

version Telephos is exposed on Mt. Parthenion, where he was suckled by a doe, and where the Tegeans also had a shrine dedicated to him. See Pausanias, 8.54.6. The motive of Telephos suckling the doe on Mt. Parthenion was one of several local Arcadian motives that became popular in Roman art, where it soon took the form of an accompanying genre scene to the representation of his parents' encounter.

Auge is certainly not unique amongst local Peloponnesian princesses who have erotic encounters with Heracles. Nor is the environmental setting of their encounter unique. In later literary sources there are quite a few cases where Heracles' encounter with local noble women takes place near a fountain, and since collecting water was always a female task in ancient Greece, the public fountain was a pronounced 'hot spot' in the erotic topography of the Greek polis. It is certainly much because of their erotic qualities, that scenes of young women collecting water at the fountain-house were so popular in late Archaic Attic vase painting.<sup>19</sup>

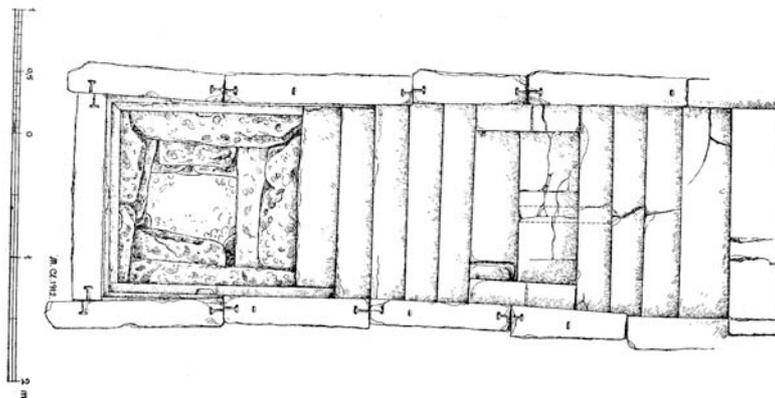


Figure 6.3  
State plan  
of the  
Fountain  
of Auge.

In later art, e. g. a second century AD marble relief from the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Lykou in Kynouria (**Fig. 6.4**) not far from Tegea Heracles and Auge are featured as an idealised naked couple.<sup>20</sup> As in contemporary mythological literature (Pausanias) Auge is represented as an attractive young woman. This is a rather typical example of later rhetorical imagery, where chthonic divinities are conventionally rendered as anthropomorphic personifications. Note, however, the grotto scenery which signals that we are, as in the Athenian grotto-scenes with Pan and the nymphs (**Fig. 6.5**), dealing with a chthonic pair. In the case of the Lykou relief the circular frame also animates the image as the entrance to a subterranean grotto.

The gendering in Greek hydro-mythology of rivers as male river-gods and springs as female water nymphs certainly goes back to the Archaic period.<sup>21</sup> In Archaic pictorial imagery there is a high frequency of male river-gods, often conceived of as composite animations of the 'half man, half beast'-type, and often as men with snake-bodies.<sup>22</sup> In Archaic art these kinds of river-god representations

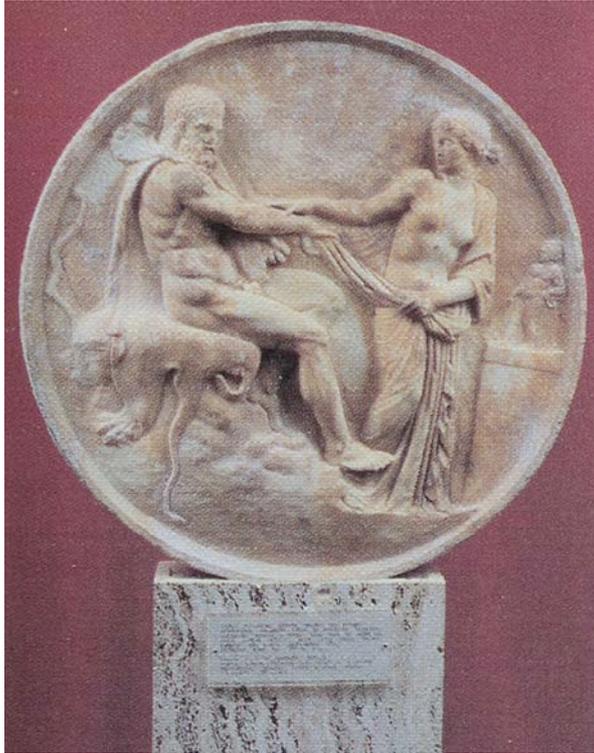
<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of these scenes see Tölle-Kastenbein, 1994, 88-100.

<sup>20</sup> See Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos, 2000, 53; and Spyropoulos & Spyropoulos, 2001.

<sup>21</sup> It is also very much present in Hesiod's hydro-theogony. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, 337-403.

<sup>22</sup> On river gods see Isler, 1970 (Acheloos especially); Gais, 1978; and Brewster, 1997.

often appear in visualisations of the primordial battle between the hydrological forces of nature and the cultivating genius of heroic ancestors (Fig. 1.3).



*Figure 6.4*  
Second century AD marble relief from the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Lykou in Kynouria featuring the encounter between Heracles and Auge.

*Figure 6.5*  
Grotto relief from Attica with Pan, Hermes, nymphs and two priests.



As the civilising hero *par excellence* Heracles is a very popular character in this kind of combat. Archaic river-god iconography is also related to representations of hydrological monsters like the Lernean Hydra, another opponent of Heracles, as well as to the general chthonic formula of snake-bodies. With the final formula,

however, the clear gender-distinction dissolves, and water nymphs, which in later rhetorical mythology are personified as young girls, in Archaic art frequently, take on the general chthonic iconography of the snake. That snakes are commonly associated with springs is also more than mere iconographic convention, since water snakes are markedly territorial about their individual water-spots in the arid Greek landscape. These snakes are very place-bound creatures by nature.<sup>23</sup> When the conventional iconography of anonymous place-bound divinities ('the divinities of the place') is the meandering body of the water snake, this iconography also unfolds certain micro-ecological preferences in these place-specific entities. Archaeological finds which indicate that there was, indeed, such a place-bound chthonic cult in the sanctuary of Athena Alea before the architectural elaboration of the fountain are the fragments of Geometric ceramic dedications ornamented with snake-reliefs (Fig. 6.6).<sup>24</sup> This is, of course, no evidence of an ancient chthonic cult at this place, but it does provide an iconographic rendering of the anonymous place-bound chthonian that may have resided here. It augments the place with a face, although this face may be the anonymous mask of 'the divinities of the place'.

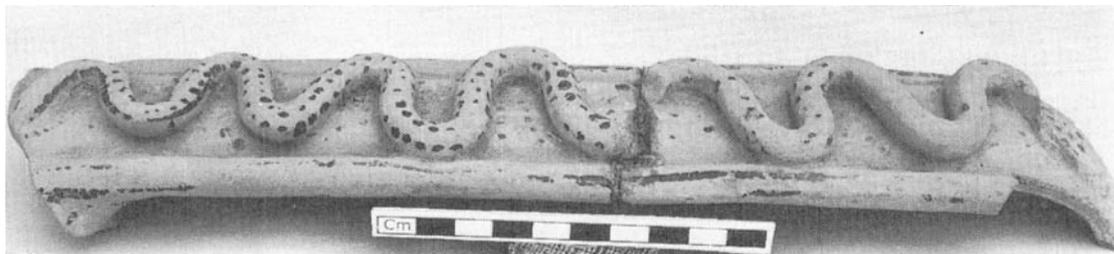


Figure 6.6 Late Geometric handle with a plastic water snake ornament from the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.

The battle between Heracles and the Lernean Hydra can, as indicated in chapter one, be regarded as a memory image of the kind of micro-ecological drama that transformed the hydrological diversity of the Tegean Fan (the Forty Rivers) into a stable cultural landscape. As we have also seen in chapter one, the sanctuary of Athena Alea was situated at a critical point in the cultivation system that kept the

<sup>23</sup> Adaptation to wet environments by water-snakes is partly motivated by required humidity to compensate for excessive rise in body-temperature in summer, but is also motivated by hunting for other reptile species like frogs. When in 1992 I worked as a student assistant in section E6 of NTEX, which is located just next to the sacred fountain, I daily observed a water-snake either taking a refreshing bath in the water basin or submerged and waiting for its next 'French' supper.

<sup>24</sup> Voyatzis, 1991, 77f, kat.nos. P60 and 61, 293-4, plate 29.

Forty Rivers in check.<sup>25</sup> That Heracles would turn up at this place in the Tegean landscape of memory is, I believe, no coincidence.

Local legends often connect Heracles with hydraulic works. In the ancient Greek memory of technical achievements Heracles is, as one commentator has put it, the *Ur*-hydraulic engineer.<sup>26</sup> He is connected with the mythological diversion of the river Alpheios at Olympia, where he used the river to clean the stables of Augias. He is also connected with Bronze Age regulation projects at lake Copaïs in Boeotia, at Tyrins in the Argolid, and at Arcadian Orchomenos.<sup>27</sup> This pan-Greek tradition also augments a micro-ecological dimension to the mythological encounter between Auge and Heracles at the Tegean sanctuary of Athena Alea. Auge is here clearly associated with the spring. Because the sanctuary and the spring are located at such a critical point in the hydraulic regulation system of the Tegean Fan, the encounter between Auge and Heracles, between the local hydrological environment and the *Ur*-hydraulic engineer, should also be seen in a greater micro-ecological context. By situating the mythological love story between Heracles and Auge in this micro-ecological field I do not mean to reduce its cultural symbolism to a mere mechanistic interpretation. It does, on the other hand, open up for a very place-specific visualisation of an important chapter in the history of the modification of the local physical environment. Some time before the middle of the sixth century BC, when we know that the urban centre of ancient Tegea was established, this area was the arena of a great hydraulic regulation project (**Map 5**). The place of Heracles in the local biography of Auge makes him the executive agent of this project.

The abandonment and reuse of the sanctuary site in the later phases of antiquity and in post-ancient periods is a rather complex process. As my contribution to the ongoing debate about the interpretation of the late- and post-ancient phases of the sanctuary I will make some comments here about how the archaeological documentation can be connected with the long-term cultural attention towards the micro-ecology of this place. Remains of an early Christian basilica such as the iron gate now in the Byzantine Museum at Athens have been found at the sanctuary site. Fragments such as this indicate that the sanctuary was converted into a Christian shrine already in late antiquity. In the area between the Classical temple

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<sup>25</sup> See also Ødegård, 2005. The subject is also addressed in Klempe, forthcoming.

<sup>26</sup> See Salowey, 1994, 77.

<sup>27</sup> See Knauss, 1989b; Knauss, 1990; Knauss, 1998; and Knauss et al, 1986.

foundations and the sacred fountain one previous excavator also identified a large 'Byzantine' building complex which was demolished without documentation as well as a cemetery.<sup>28</sup> Apart from sporadic comments in a recent ecclesiastical history of the region, few attempts have been made to provide a cultural context for these fragmentary remains.<sup>29</sup>

One post-ancient cultural context for the afterlife of the sanctuary of Athena Alea is provided in the Christian re-appropriation of the Peloponnese in the 10<sup>th</sup> century: we have already seen that during his Peloponnesian expedition Nikon, the missionary of the Slavs, visited a place called Amyklion that has been identified with the medieval town of Nikli. As we have seen in chapter four this Nikli is identical with the medieval town that was built on the ruins of the urban centre of ancient Tegea.<sup>30</sup> Nikon visited Amyklion in the summer, in "the season of the high noon and violent heath and unbearable warmth."<sup>31</sup> Upon his visit to Amyklion people were on the brink of dying of thirst, and Nikon performed a miracle that is reminiscent of one of Moses' miracles in the desert.<sup>32</sup> He struck the ground with his cross-bearing staff, and:

Water immediately was given from the hollows of the earth – the sweetest and the most radiant and the most fit to drink. Those who were overcome by thirst and almost dead, having taken their fill of this, were revived and regained their strength. [...] the water so miraculously sprung became a water-bearing spring and is to day a common consolation and defence against thirst for all wayfarers. There a house of prayer was raised up from the very foundations to the name of the thrice-blessed one of the local inhabitants. He was a member of the order of monks, one whose name was Zosimas, and whose character was indeed praiseworthy and dear to God.<sup>33</sup>

Although the most obvious topos that is evoked here is the miracle of the Old Testament hero Moses, the hydraulic miracle of Nikon at Amyklion is also reminiscent of the kind of pagan water-labours that are so often connected with Heracles.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Mendel 1921, 244f; and Romaios 1909, 307. A fragment of a Byzantine wall was also uncovered during the recent Norwegian excavations in this area. See Østby et al, 1994, 108.

<sup>29</sup> See Alexandros, 2000. On the Tegea door see Orlandos, 1935.

<sup>30</sup> See chapter three on Nikli. See *Vita Nikonis* [Sullivan, ed., 1987], 33.4; and 42.6.

<sup>31</sup> *Vita Nikonis* [Sullivan, ed., 1987], 42.9-10. Having endured quite a few summer seasons of field walking in the Tegean Plain I can, without reservation, testify to the truth of Nikon's characterisation.

<sup>32</sup> *Vita Nikonis* [Sullivan, ed., 1987], 42.16-17; and *Numbers*, 20.8-11.

<sup>33</sup> *Vita Nikonis* [Sullivan, ed., 1987], 19-36.

<sup>34</sup> There is, however, no need to imply that there is any kind of continuity in the cultural translation of the pagan encounter between Heracles and Auge and Nikon's Mosaic miracle. The only

Traditional accounts from the area connect Nikon's miracle with a well, situated some 10-15 meters to the east of the fountain of Auge (**Fig. 6.1**). This fountain is just opposite the church of Ag. Nikolaos (**Fig. 6.7**) that was built in 1810, shortly before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence.<sup>35</sup> This church was built by a few local landowners in cooperation with Veli Pasha of Tripolitsa, and the building material was taken from the ruins on the site.



*Figure 6.7* The village church of Agios Nikolaos at Alea (Piali) from 1810 facing the ruins of the temple in the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.

*Figure 6.8* Apse of the village church of Agios Nikolaos at Alea (Piali) from 1810. Note spolia from ancient buildings in the wall of the church.

At this stage the ruins here were already a composite of different pasts, of the ancient pagan sanctuary, the early Christian church, and a medieval ecclesiastic complex of some sort, perhaps a monastery.<sup>36</sup> Like other later churches within the area of the ancient urban centre Ag. Nikolaos at Piali (Alea) has still preserved this composite past in its exterior (**Fig. 6.8**), where architectural elements and inscriptions from pagan and Christian periods are still visible. What is also interesting in our context of the continuity in the chthonic topography of the place where the new church was built is the impression that local tradition also creates a historical linguistic palimpsest from the homonymic confusion between medieval

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'continuity' that I am interested in here is the micro-ecological conditions of the place that may have created culturally similar responses in the pagan and Christian eras.

<sup>35</sup> The well at Ag. Ioannis Provatinou, where another early Christian sanctuary have been excavated, has also been suggested. See Alexandros, 2000, 15.

<sup>36</sup> See Moraitis, 1932, 566.

Nikon and local early modern Nikolaos. This homonymic palimpsest can, I believe, also cast some light on some stratigraphic anomalies that were documented during the recent excavations in the sanctuary area. According to local legend there is an intimate relationship between Nikon and Nikolaos. It is believed that the old Christian sanctuary that preceded the sanctuary of Nikolaos was dedicated to Nikon, and that the two are, in a sense, identical. Now as we have seen in chapter four Nikon is an important Middle Byzantine saint associated with the Christian re-territorialisation of the Peloponnesus in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Nikolaos, on the other hand, is a local saint who is probably first connected with this place in the early modern period when the area was under Ottoman rule.

A local saint was an important argument that a community would present to the Ottoman surveyors in order to obtain village status, and thus official entry in the *çift-hane* system. Among other things this would entitle the community to some sort of protection. This event in the re-appropriation of local tradition at Piali could be connected with initial Ottoman appropriation of this place, already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. What exactly was the relationship between Niko-n and Niko-laos, apart from the obvious homonymy, is difficult to say. It is possible that the connection between the two is first established under the influence of 19<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine revivalism in Greece. As far as Nikon's relationship with this place is concerned only future exploration of the middle Byzantine archaeology of this site can provide a more comprehensive understanding. Concerning the early modern, or even early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, foundation of the sanctuary dedicated to the local saint Nikolaos the recent excavation in the sanctuary has provided new elements to this discussion.

The relevant stratigraphic elements were documented in an area to the north of the Classical temple. The area is delimited by the squares C6-7, D6-7, and E6 (Fig. 6.2), where, as the excavator puts it, he “had to deal with some remains of modern occupation.”<sup>37</sup> In the level immediately preceding these remains which previous excavators termed ‘modern’ there were traces of several inhumations. Some of these burials appeared to have been disturbed by ‘modern activity’, whereas others contained practically intact skeletons.<sup>38</sup> Iron nails in a context related to a burial in D7 probably indicate a wooden coffin. Traces of secondary burials were documented in C6 and C7. There were metal objects, probably dedications, in several graves, and

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<sup>37</sup> Østby et al, 1994, 107.

<sup>38</sup> Østby et al, 1994, 108.

one grave contained a Byzantine gold coin. The most obscure kind of secondary intrusion in this area, which the excavator again ascribes to ‘modern activity’, is represented by a number of pits, which contained a mixture of ancient, medieval, as well as probably also early modern artefacts. A narrow rectangular pit in C6 is suspiciously similar to other trial trenches elsewhere in the sanctuary area either dug by Dugas or other early archaeologists, but one circular pit in E6 and another large circular pit, partly overlapping C6-7 and D7, appear to predate modern archaeological activity on the site. The circular pit in E6 did, in fact, contain some of the finest ancient bronze objects from this area (probably stemming from a disturbed votive deposit). The fact that they had been shoved back into the hole after it was excavated indicates that whoever dug it was looking for something other than ancient artefacts.

A very attractive interpretation of these pits in our context is that they represent intentional ‘archaeological’ activity in connection with the local quest for bones of a potential village saint in the early modern period. The ‘discovery’ of a Byzantine inhumation could thereafter have been presented to the Ottoman surveyor as *in situ* evidence of an indigenous tradition.<sup>39</sup> At the time of this ‘discovery’ the palimpsest of ancient and medieval, Pagan and Christian, ruins would have featured as the most evident testimonies of the antiquity of the place. As it appears this palimpsest was also, much later, built into the walls of the Church of Ag. Nikolaos. A complementary interpretation is that the skeleton of the local saint was discovered by chance, sometime between the initial reclamation of the area in the early Ottoman period (16<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest) and the establishment of the new sanctuary of Ag. Nikolaos in 1810. One scenario for such a chance discovery is that the pits represent unsuccessful attempts to dig a well in this area. Unsuccessful, because unlike the fountain of Auge and the later fountain in the small square opposite the church of Ag. Nikolaos (**Fig. 6.1**), these pits (**Fig. 6.2**) did not access the artesian spring, which supplies the two fountains. Again it would have been the same micro-ecological conditions that opened up for the appropriation of local tradition in the early modern period that also contributed to the re-territorialisation of this place in both the medieval and ancient chthonic

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<sup>39</sup> The size, and apparently random location, of these holes makes it very unlikely that they stem from exhumations in connection with secondary burials, as would otherwise have been a plausible interpretation. As a rule secondary burial would have taken place 12 months after the initial burial.

topography. The new element in this early modern appropriation of local tradition was, on the one hand, the architectural-linguistic palimpsest of this place. On the other hand, there was also the incidental discovery of bone relics of a local saint. By this time, however, the Byzantine cemetery, from which the saintly remains originate, had sunk into the chthonic regions of this place. It was as 'natural' a part of the micro-ecology of this place as the Fountain of Auge itself.

## 2. THE BONES OF ORESTES:

### ANCIENT RELIC HUNTING AND NOMADIC IDENTITY IN ARCADIA

In addition to consolidating the long-term importance of water-points in the chthonic topography, the early modern re-territorialisation of the Fountain of Auge has also brought another vehicle of chthonic recollection to our attention. It might seem peculiar to the reader that I have chosen to take up the veneration of skeletal remains in this chapter about chthonic topography rather than in the next, which deals with tomb-cult and with the visual display of ancestral relics in the exhibition space of funeral architecture. The fact of the matter, however, is that in ancient ancestral tomb-cult it does not appear that skeletal remains play a very important role. In a book about *Paleontology in Greek and Roman Times* Adrienne Mayor takes up a very special kind of skeletal remains in Greek sanctuary contexts, namely the fossil remains of megafauna. Stories like the famous bones of Orestes, which is one of the myths that have been connected with this practice, indicate that bones may, on the other hand, have played a rather important role in chthonic topography.

A similar displacement of interest in bones as vehicles of cultural memory can also be found in medieval Christian culture: It is true that secondary burial has persisted in Orthodox Christianity, but everything indicates that in earlier periods this was first of all a practical measure. Medieval towns had no regular churchyards, and human bones were in no way as excluded from everyday visual culture as they have become in the modern world. The practical reuse of human skeletal remains for decorative purposes was not uncommon, especially in the Western Church.<sup>40</sup> The veneration of saintly bone relics, on the other hand, is an important vehicle of

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<sup>40</sup> See Ariès, 1983, 54ff.

cultural memory in medieval culture.<sup>41</sup> In Greece during the Ottoman period skeletal remains of local village saints were invested with a special political value. If a community could document its religious ancestry through the presence of the skeletal remains of a local saint, it was much easier for it to gain official status in the Ottoman land management system. Within the cultural-political framework of Christianity this system of legitimacy worked both in a local and an imperial context. This system of legitimacy would also trigger a kind of bone diplomacy, where saintly remains became subject to division, dissemination, re-territorialisation, and eventually trade and theft. One of the most famous medieval examples is the re-appropriation of the relics of St. Mark. When his relics, which were kept by a Coptic congregation in Alexandria were threatened by the Arabs, who allegedly wanted to steal them in order to reduce the symbolic power of Christianity, the Venetians sent a secret embassy of merchants to Alexandria. By dressing the remains with pork meat the Venetian merchants smuggled the relics past the Arabs. Once in Venice the remains of Mark were placed in the main cathedral of the Republic, and the following success of the Venetian Empire was ever after attributed to this important relic.<sup>42</sup>

Bone relics also played a role in the geographic configuration of local memory in antiquity, but the ancient bone rush was turned towards bones of different size and shape than the bones of medieval saints. Although Christ as well as other holy men and women of the Christian era are often represented in the visual arts as larger than ordinary men and women, they always materialise in exactly the same kind, and size, of flesh and bones as ordinary men and women. Their greatness is, explicitly, in artistic representations as well as in theology, not of this world. In ancient Greece, on the other hand, the race of heroes were perceived, in a more worldly manner, as both better and bigger than ordinary men. Although the repertoire of relics was much broader in antiquity than in the Christian era (including monstrous remains as well as giant bones), the techniques and strategies that were adopted in relic hunting in antiquity, were not all that different from those of the Christian era.

There is, as I have discussed in chapter one, reason to believe that the Tegean Plain, like the Megalopolis Plain, holds deposits of fossil remains of megafauna and

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<sup>41</sup> See Brown, 1981; and Carruthers, 1990.

<sup>42</sup> See Fortini Brown, 1997, 21.

that some of these deposits were known in antiquity. As far as the Tegean repertoire goes, I have already discussed, in chapter two, one of the possible candidates, the tusks of the Calydonian Boar. The story, or stories, about the tusks of the Calydonian Boar also provides us with a certain insight into the nature of the ancient bone diplomacy. They came, allegedly, from Kalydon on the Greek Mainland (**Map 1**) and were brought to Tegea because the Tegean huntress Atalanta had been the first among the collective Greek hunting party to strike the beast. This is not the last time that the tusks were moved. After the defeat of Marc Anthony and his Greek allies at Actium, one of which was Tegea, Augustus punished Tegea by removing important treasures from the Sanctuary of Athena Alea to Rome. Among Augustus' spoils from Tegea were the tusks of the Calydonian Boar, which Pausanias later reported that he had seen in the Imperial cabinet of curiosities.

Another interesting paleontological case from Tegea is the story about the bones of Orestes. The name Orestes is usually connected with Mycenae and the Argive cycle. Because Orestes had killed his mother he was, like his patricidal 'cousin' Oedipus, condemned to a kind of endless travelling. The shame of Agamemnon's son was of such a grave nature that he couldn't find peace anywhere. For a hero, who by definition is a place-bound character, this creates a very peculiar identity problem. Now, unfortunate Orestes did finally find a resting place, a place to die, and a place to be buried, to be received by the earth ( $\chi\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ ), which his chthonic nature so desperately was longing for. This place, the place of Orestes, was at Tegea, and thus it was at Tegea, rather than at Mycenae or Argos, that Orestes came to serve his purpose as a place-bound, chthonic divinity, but even though Orestes did find a place at Tegea, it was not a place where his remains were allowed to rest for a very long time, because a Spartan stole them.

The story about the theft of the bones of Orestes was immortalised by Herodotus in an excursus on early Spartan-Tegean conflicts, which occurs in his review of an intelligence report that the Lydian king Croesus received about potential Greek allies in his planned campaign against the king of Persia.<sup>43</sup> In Herodotus' narrative the incident is preceded by a story, which involves another important Tegean

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<sup>43</sup> Herodotus, 1.69.1. The story is usually considered by historians to be a mere propaganda effort on the part of Sparta, and is also seen as to exemplify the shift in Lacedaimonean foreign policy towards alliance rather than conquest. This approach is taken by virtually any introduction to early Greek history. See for instance Buckley, 1996, 81f. For a more comprehensive presentation of the recognised view-point see Boedeker, 1993, 164-177. See also MacCanley, 1999.

curiosity, the so-called Spartan fetters, also among the curiosities displayed in the sanctuary of Athena Alea. Where we enter the story, Herodotus has just summed up early Spartan history and the reforms of Lykourgos, which in the Greek view was the cause of Spartan growth and prosperity, and initially also the cause of Sparta's aggressive foreign policy:

Because their land was good and the population quite large, they [the Lacedaimoneans] soon grew and flourished—and then they stopped being content with peace. Convinced that they were stronger than the Arcadians, they put a question to the Delphic oracle, which referred to the whole of Arcadia. The Pythia's response was as follows:

You ask for Arcadia? You ask a lot; I will not give it to you.  
There are many men in Arcadia, toughened by a diet of acorns,  
And they will stop you. But I do not want to be niggardly.  
I will give you the dance-floor of Tegea; you can caper there  
And measure out her beautiful plain with a rope.

Faced with this response, the Lacedaimoneans left the rest of Arcadia alone and attacked Tegea. They took chains with them, because they expected to reduce the people of Tegea to slavery, as the Pythia's ambiguous response had led them to believe they would. In fact, however, they came off worst in the engagement and those of them who were taken prisoners wore the chains which they themselves had brought, and measured out the Tegean Plain with a rope as labourers on the land. The actual chains with which they were tied up were still preserved in Tegea in my time, hanging in the temple of Athena Alea.

Anyway, although this earlier war of theirs against the Tegeans never went well for them, in Croesus' time, during the reign of Anaxandridas and Ariston in Lacedaimon, the Spartiates gained the upper hand in the war, and this is how they did so. Since they were constantly being beaten by the Tegeans, they sent emissaries to Delphi to ask which god they should propitiate in order to start winning the Tegean War, and the Pythia replied that they had to bring the bones of Orestes the son of Agamemnon back home. They could not discover Orestes' grave, however, so they sent emissaries again, this time to ask the god to tell them where Orestes was buried. The Pythia's response to this question of theirs was as follows:

On the Arcadian plain there is a place called Tegea  
Where strong necessity drives the blast of two winds,  
Where there is blow and counter-blow, grief piled on grief.  
There the life-giving earth holds the son of Agamemnon,  
Whom you must bring home if you would be overlord of Tegea.

Despite a thorough search, however, even this response brought the Lacedaimonians no closer to discovering Orestes' burial-place, until it was found by Lichas, who was one of those Spartan officials they call 'Benefactors'. The Benefactors are the citizens—five every year—who are passing out of the ranks of the Knights because they are the oldest; they have to spend the year of their withdrawal from the Knights in constant travel here and there on mission for the Spartan authorities.

It was one of these Benefactors, Lichas, who made the discovery, and he did so through a combination of luck and intelligence. It was possible at that time

for Lacedaimoneans to have dealings with Tegea, and Lichas arrived at a forge there. He watched the smith beating iron and was impressed by his work. The smith saw that he was impressed, stopped what he was doing and said, 'So you think I do amazing work with iron, do you, my Laconian friend? I tell you, if you'd seen what I'd seen, you'd really be amazed. You see, I decided to make a well here in this yard. As I was digging, I came upon a coffin which was seven cubits long! Since I didn't believe that people were really taller in the past than they are nowadays, I opened it up—and the corpse I saw inside was exactly the same size as the coffin! I measured it before putting it back in the ground.'

Lichas thought about the smith's description of what he had seen and came to the conclusion that the description matched what the oracle had said about Orestes. He reached this conclusion by realizing that the 'winds' referred to the two bellows he could see the smith had, that 'blow and counter-blow' referred to the hammer and the anvil, and that 'grief piled on grief' referred to the iron the smith was beating, since (on his interpretation of the metaphor) the discovery of iron brought grief to men.

Once he had reached this conclusion, he returned to Sparta. He explained the whole thing to the Lacedaimonians, and they faked a charge against him which led to his banishment. He went to Tegea, told the smith of his misfortunes, and tried to rent the yard from him. At first, the smith would not let him have it, but eventually Lichas won him over and moved in. Then he dug up the grave, collected the bones, and took them with him to Sparta. And ever since then, whenever there was a military trial of strength between the two sides, the Lacedaimonians easily won. In fact, by the time in question most of the Peloponnesus was under their control.<sup>44</sup>

There are two local references in the story of the capture of the bones of Orestes from Tegea that are especially interesting here. One, to which I will return further below, is the paleontological side of the story, the size, character and micro-ecological conditions for the discovery of the remains. The other is the more symbolic side of the story. What does Orestes signify in the chthonic topography of Tegea? Evidently, there was no dressing of the bones with pork as when the Venetians took the relics of St. Mark from Alexandria, but otherwise the structure of the Tegean story is very similar to the Venetian story of the recapture of St. Mark. The symbolism of the Bones of Orestes story is that the Spartans robbed Tegea of a powerful element in her chthonic topography. This would be a Venetian, so to speak, interpretation of the story. In order to reconstruct a Tegean, and Arcadian, interpretation we must ask what on earth Orestes of Mycenae is doing at Tegea in the first place. What is the cultural motivation at Tegea for preserving the memory of a foreign matricide?

After he had killed Klytaimnestra and Aegistus Orestes had to flee from Mycenae and the Argolid. Like so many other refugees he takes to the Arcadian mountains. For

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<sup>44</sup> Herodotus, 1.66-67.

many years Orestes travels in Arcadia, and thus reproduces a distinctly Arcadian way of life, nomadic pastoralism. Orestes travels from Mycenae to Arcadia as an outcast, a man with no identity and no place he can call home. Once he is in Arcadia it is possible for him to obtain a new identity there by adopting a nomadic life-style.<sup>45</sup> That there is not just one, but a number of places in Arcadia called Orestasion, illustrates in what manner Orestes the refugee-pastoralist becomes built into Arcadian landscapes of memory. It would be a mistake to consider him as the founding hero of one community in Arcadia.<sup>46</sup> It would simply be impossible for Orestes the matricide to serve as a 'founding father' of a community, even if that community belonged to another *ethnos* than the one Orestes had violated. He can only obtain a new identity, in Arcadia, by adopting a schizo-topic identity, an identity that is not connected with a specific place or a specific genealogy.<sup>47</sup> This schizo-topic identity is the only way that Orestes can obtain another identity than the place- and family-bound identity of the house of Atreus. Arcadia, in a manner of speaking, becomes the logical solution to Orestes' problem. From the Arcadian perspective, since Orestes evidently found his place several places in Arcadia, Orestes provided the Arcadians, and the Tegeans in particular, but other Arcadians as well, with a specific mythological persona that embodied the cultural multivalence of Arcadian identity. The non-identical identity of Arcadia, the itinerant life-style of nomadic pastoralism where home is not configured as a sense of belonging to one place in particular but to a series of places constituted by traditional transhumance routes, thus found an allegorical expression in the mythological fate of an Argive outcast. The itinerant fate of Orestes forces him to seek a resting place not only at Tegea, but also at a number of different places.

In the context of this schizo-topic character of Orestes it is interesting to observe that Arcadian tradition also associated his relics with a very 'medieval' mode of dispersion: Pausanias provides an example of this in his description of a sanctuary on the road between Megalopolis and Messene. This sanctuary was dedicated to a group of goddesses (Μαυρία) that Pausanias associated with the Eumenides, because

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<sup>45</sup> A similar interpretation of nomadism as distinct feature of ancient Arcadian identity has also been suggested by Jean-Pierre Vernant. See Vernant, 1991.

<sup>46</sup> This argument has most recently been pursued by Yannis Pikoulas. See Pikoulas, 1988.

<sup>47</sup> Jonathan Hall calls it multilocality. See Hall, 1999.

according to Arcadian tradition this was the actual place where Orestes was struck by madness:

Not far from the sanctuary is a small mound of earth surmounted by a finger made of stone. Indeed, the mound is named Finger's Tomb. They say that here Orestes, when he went out of his mind, bit off a finger on one of his hands. Now, adjoining this place is another called Acé ('remedies'), because in it Orestes was healed by his infirmity. [...] Near Acé is another place ... called sacred, because here Orestes cut off his hair when he came to his senses. Peloponnesian antiquaries say that Orestes' adventure with the Furies of Clythaimnestra in Arcadia happened before the trial at Areopagus.<sup>48</sup>

Taken together these two relics of Orestes, his finger and his hair, provide a paradigm for the dissemination of his remains throughout Arcadia. In the dramatic narrative of Herodotus the Tegean grave of Orestes is treated as *the* place of Orestes. In the context of Arcadian tradition, however, this place was always already just one among many schizo-topic Arcadian reliquaries.

I have now outlined a reconstruction of *what* the place of Orestes in the Tegean landscape of memory may have been prior to his seizure by the Spartan called Lichas. Although it might seem somewhat paradoxical to ask this question, since I have just confirmed that there never was one place of Orestes, the question still remains as to *where* in the chthonic landscape of the Tegeatike to situate the itinerant hero. Despite the fact that the Tegean tomb of Orestes, in accordance with the tradition recorded by Herodotus, must have been empty for more than 600 years when he visited the area Pausanias insisted on connecting the hero with a monument that he observed on the road between Tegea and Thyrea. According to Tegean tradition this monument was the original burial place of Orestes:

On the straight road that leads from Tegea to Thyrea and the villages of that district, we may note the tomb of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon; it was from here, say the Tegeans, that a Spartan stole his bones. In our time the grave is no longer within the gates. The river Gareates flows beside the road.<sup>49</sup>

Pausanias' brief reference to the empty tomb of Orestes only presents us with an approximate location of this memorial, but it clarifies some conditions connected with the discovery reported by Herodotus. As Adrienne Mayor has pointed out the size of the Bones of Orestes, as given by Pausanias, indicates that they were, indeed,

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<sup>48</sup> Pausanias, 8.34.2-4.

<sup>49</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.4. Pausanias' version of the Bones of Orestes incident, which is shorter but certainly based on Herodotus' account, is reported in his book on Lakonia. See Pausanias, 3.3.5-7.

fossil remains of megafauna.<sup>50</sup> I may add here that it is not only the size of the bones that point in that direction, but also the micro-ecological context of their discovery. From Herodotus we learn that the Spartans made several searches to find the bones of Orestes. This was undertaken by means of a kind of secret archaeological survey of the Tegeatike. All systematic attempts to find the bones were futile. The discovery was made somewhat later by chance when an official Spartan ambassador visited a Tegean blacksmith. Now, the cause of this visit is a classic topos of early metallurgy reception. Even in the Archaic period people were still amazed at the magic that a black-smith could perform with iron, but the black-smith convinced Lichas that he could show him a much more interesting sight than his metallurgical skills, a wonderful ancient paradigm of the ‘if you think this is big, I’ll show you something really big’ topos. The description that the Tegean blacksmith provides of the conditions of discovery of the ‘even bigger’ object are most helpful here.

Because fossil remains of megafauna will be located in Pleistocene sediments, which in the Tegean plain are mostly covered by more recent sediments, the probability of discovering such remains by systematic surface investigation is very small. This is also the reason why fossil remains of megafauna are still mainly discovered by chance rather than by intention. Before the invention of the mechanical digger, which is often the agent in modern discoveries of fossil remains of megafauna, there is one main possibility for the discovery of such remains, and that is where a surface river cuts through Pleistocene sediments. Since Pausanias does, indeed, locate the tomb of Orestes by the Gareates River, such conditions may have obtained at the time of discovery. The Douliana Valley is actually the lowest landscape in the district of ancient Tegea where Pleistocene sediments are also visible on the surface of the slopes. The river bed in the Douliana valley would accordingly be the ideal location for a chance discovery of fossil megafauna. It is also significant that the blacksmith, who discovered the remains, did so when he was excavating a well. Most wells in the Tegean plain were probably, then as now, dug into the ground water table in Pleistocene gravel deposits beneath the compact surface layer of Holocene sediments. If, indeed, the Doulianatis River (**Map 2**) is

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<sup>50</sup> See Mayor, 2000, 111. Although she is the first to have made a systematic study of this subject in ancient Greek culture, she was certainly not the first to point to the possibility that the bones of Orestes could, in fact, be fossil remains of megafauna. See Huxley, 1979, 147f.

more or less identical with the ancient Garatis, we also have a fair idea of where in the Tegean topography the empty tomb of Orestes may have been situated.

Something, which Pausanias says explicitly about the location of the monument, has aroused confusion among the commentators: “*In our time* (καθ’ ἡμᾶς),” says the perieget; “the grave is *no longer within the gates* (οὐκέτι πυλῶν ἐντὸς).” As earlier commentators have argued, this statement about the prior location of the tomb can mean two things: either that the Tegean gates on the Tegea-Thyrea road had been moved, which, although not unthinkable, seems a bit peculiar, or that the grave had been moved. If indeed this relocation of the monument took place after the Tegeans had a city wall to move it outside of, this would indicate that the Tegeans re-located an empty grave. This too seems like a rather strange thing to do. After all, it was the paleontological relics of Orestes to which Pythia ascribed magical powers and not the monument, and it was these relics that the Lacedaimoneans stole. Without attempting to suggest yet another stage of moving, we can, however, add that there seems to be an inclination in the local Tegean tradition to regard also the relics of Orestes the ‘Arcadian’ as something that was always already on the move.

However confusing the question of where in the Tegean landscape the empty tomb of Orestes was situated, there remains one significant micro-ecological feature of his Tegean place. This is the *locus communis* of this dissertation, namely the affinity between local memory and rivers. Towards the end of this chapter about chthonic topography in the district of ancient Tegea we shall return to the banks of the Tegean River of memory, the so-called Upper Alpheios. So far I have limited myself to using Pausanias’ *ekphrasis* of the Upper Alpheios in discussions about general principles in Tegean landscapes of memory. We have seen how the Upper Alpheios is configured as an itinerary along the cultural-political frontier between Sparta and Tegea, and we have also seen how the cultivation of the hydrological multitude of the Forty Rivers in antiquity is sedimented in the unity of Pausanias’ Alpheios. The aim of the following re-tour to the banks of the Upper Alpheios will be to say something more specific about the place of this river in the local chthonic topography. As will quite soon become evident, however, the local place of the river is also a general place of cosmological meaning.

### 3. RIVERS OF MEMORY: THE UPPER ALPHEIOS AND THE GREAT HYDROLOGICAL CYCLE

Heraclitus somewhere says that all things are in process and nothing stays still, and likening existing things to the stream of a river he says that you would not step twice into the same river.

(From Plato's *Cratylus*)<sup>51</sup>

Springs and rivers occupied, as we have seen, a privileged position the ancient Greek chthonic topography. The description of the underworld from the *Odyssey* as a subterranean network of lakes and rivers was the literary prototype of this subterranean ecology.<sup>52</sup> On the local topographical level the *topoi* of subterranean ecology are manifested in the kind of karst features that can be observed in the Sarandapotamos Valley (**Fig. 1.1**). These features visualise the connection between the rivers of the terrestrial and subterranean worlds. The cultural metaphor for this hydrological inter-connectivity between the terrestrial and subterranean worlds in ancient Greece was the all-encircling world-stream Okeanos, which Hesiod called τελήεντος ποταμοῖο ('the river into which all other rivers must end').<sup>53</sup> In post-sophistic rationalism this cosmological image is interpreted as a description of the hydrological cycle. A rationalistic version of this ancient Greek concept of the all-encircling river is offered by Aristotle:

This cycle of changes reflects the sun's annual movement: for the moisture rises and falls as the sun moves in the ecliptic. One should think of it as *a river with a circular course* (ποταμόν ῥέοντα κύκλω), which rises and falls and is composed of a mixture of water and air. For when the sun is near the stream of vapour rises, when it recedes it falls again. And in this order the cycle continues indefinitely. And if there is any hidden meaning in 'the river of Ocean' of the ancients, they may have meant this river which flows in a circle around the earth.<sup>54</sup>

Although this kind of thinking was not alien to the Ionians, it is evident that the hydrological metaphors of Heraclitus have also retained their traditional connotation. The all-encircling river is also a metaphor for the inevitable stream

<sup>51</sup> Plato, *Cratylus*, 402a. See Kirk & Raven, 1977, 197, fragment no. 218.

<sup>52</sup> The famous ekphrasis of the journey of the soul through the underworld in Plato's *Phaedo*, as well as other subterranean topographies in ancient Greek literature, are all derived from the Homeric prototype. See Plato, *Phaedo*, 111b-113c.

<sup>53</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 242 & 959.

<sup>54</sup> Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 346b36-347a8.

between life and death. One possible traditional interpretation of Heraclitus' mystical dogma is, in other words, that it is a kind of *memento mori*.

There are other streams that are mentioned in Pausanias' *ekphrasis* of the Tegeatike, but to no other stream is there devoted so much attention as the Tegean Alpheios. There are few other literary descriptions of Pausanias' Upper Alpheios in the border district between Tegea and Sparta. Both Aristotle and Plutarch do, however, refer to a certain stele inscribed with a pledge by the Tegeans to Sparta not to take refuges from Messenia. This stele was set up 'on the bank of Alpheios,' and it seems logical that this stele would be situated on the border between the two. Since the itinerary of the Alpheios through the Sarandapotamos Valley (**Map 3**) constituted the frontier between Tegea and Sparta, this is probably also why the location of the stele is referred to as 'on the bank of Alpheios.'<sup>55</sup>

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Romaios made a chance discovery on the bank of the Sarandapotamos near the mountain village Vourvoura (**Map 2**). This discovery confirmed that the Upper Alpheios on the border between Sparta and Tegea was no 'blunder on the part of Pausanias' as William Loring had put it a few years earlier. The object in question was a miniature bronze bucket with the letters ΑΛΦΙΟΣ in Archaic script incised on one side of its belly (**Fig. 1.2**).<sup>56</sup> The find spot, on a platform right on the bank of the river, further indicates that there was a precinct of Alpheios there, where he received worship. Sacred precincts for the worship of river-gods were usually set up like the altar of Alpheios at Olympia, where Heracles sacrificed to him in connection with instituting the Olympic games, right on the bank of the river. This practice supports the assumption that the terrace on the bank of the Sarandapotamos where the miniature bronze bucket was found was a sacred precinct for the river god.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Aristotle, *Fragment 592* (Rose); and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 292B. For further discussions and references see Cartledge, 2002, 119-120.

<sup>56</sup> The object was published by Romaios in 1904. See Romaios, 1904.

<sup>57</sup> Ritual veneration of river-gods seems generally to have taken place anywhere along the course of the river. Hesiod prescribes prayer and washing of hands when crossing a river on foot, and one should be cautious, he reminds, not to pollute the river with any kind of miasma. This kind of intrusion could cause the anger of the gods. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 737-741. Hesiod also explicitly prohibits the use of rivers as toilets, especially where springs contributing to the rivers are located, and also where they have their outlet into the sea. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 757-759. It was common to consecrate one's hair to the local river at puberty (For instance at Phigaleia; Pausanias, 8.24.12.), and the special significance of river-gods for adolescents is attested in the epithet *kourotropoi* ('youth-nourishers') already in Homer. *Iliad*, 23, 46.

In Hesiod's Greek hydro-theogony, which is presented as a list of the sons of Okeanos and Thetys, Alpheios is regarded as second only to the great Nile of Egypt.<sup>58</sup> According to Pausanias the river Alpheios was also a very special river since it was "thought to be of all rivers the dearest to Zeus."<sup>59</sup> The local animation of this close relative of the world-stream thus represents a most prominent feature in the Tegean landscape of memory. In the regional political context the connection that is established between the Upper Alpheios and the Alpheios proper also visualises a cultural bond between the Tegeatike and those areas. This would have included the Asea Valley, the Megalopolis Basin, and the Alpheios Valley with important places such as Heraia, Pisa and Olympia. The pan-Arcadian sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea is situated on the bank of the Upper Alpheios while the pan-Greek sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia is situated on the bank of the Alpheios proper. Pausanias also indicates this 'political' connection when he emphasises the close relationship between Alpheios and Zeus, who was also a major divinity in Arcadia.

Pausanias description of the Upper Alpheios is, on the other hand, also of a very local, place-specific, chthonic character. According to the periegete the Alpheios was "distinguished from all other rivers by the following natural peculiarity: it often vanishes underground (κατά γῆς) and reappears again."<sup>60</sup> This particular quality is, of course, a convenient device with which to establish a connection between the Upper (Tegean) Alpheios and Alpheios proper. In the language of chthonic topography local tradition is thus able to establish intimate connections between places wide apart. The same chthonic inter-connectivity was also established by the Alpheios between the western coast of the Peloponnesus and Sicilian Syracuse.<sup>61</sup> Indirectly it also indicates that there is something especially chthonian about the Alpheios. It is a surface stream, but by pointing to it disappearing and reappearing Pausanias also singles out a particular connection between this river and the streams of the underworld. This inter-connection of individual streams in the great hydro-theological network is elsewhere also emphasised by the terrestrial territorialisation of the rivers of the underworld. Styx and Acheron, for instance, are visualised in the terrestrial world by the application of their names to local

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<sup>58</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 338.

<sup>59</sup> Pausanias, 5.13.11.

<sup>60</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.2.

<sup>61</sup> See Pausanias, 8.54.3.

streams. The location of Archeron was believed to be in Thesprotia on the Western mainland from an early date. Here was also the Nekyomanteion, the Oracle of the Dead, which is where there was a ritual enactment in historical present of the oracles Odysseus received from the dead on the bank of Homer's Acheron. Styx was believed to be located in Northern Arcadia. Pausanias describes the Styx as a waterfall not far from the ruins of the abandoned Arcadian city Nonacris. In Pausanias description the water of the Styx has some very special qualities:

Not far from the ruins [of Nonacris] is a high cliff: I know no other cliff that rises to such a height. Water trickles down it, and the Greeks call it the water of Styx. [...] The water that drips down from the cliff by Nonacris falls first upon a high rock, and passing through the rock it descends into the river Crathis. This water is deadly to man and every living creature. It is said that it once proved the bane of some goats which were the first to drink of it. Afterwards in the course of time the other marvellous properties of the water became known. Glass, crystal, *morrhia*, and everything else made of stone, and earthen pots, are all broken by the water of the Styx; and things made of horn and of bone, together with iron, bronze, lead, tin, silver, and electrum, are corroded by it. Even gold is affected by it in the same way as the other metals. Yet we have the word of the Lesbian poetess, as well as the evidence of the metal itself, that gold does not rust.<sup>62</sup>

When the waters of the Styx intersect with present time and place, the laws of nature are inverted; stone breaks from the mere trickling of water, and gold rusts. The waters of the Styx are 'terrible,' and its intersection with *oikoumene* is a topographical reminder of the stream that we must all dive into sooner or later. The Styx is, of course, a very special chthonic river, and it would be a mistake to transfer its terrible and magical qualities to the Alpheios, but by revealing its close relationship with the subterranean rivers the Alpheios is situated in a landscape where we must expect peculiar things to happen. When in the following chapter we shall make a few stops along the course of this river in the Sarandapotamos Valley, we may not expect that gold will rust. I will, on the other hand, try to show how the special chthonic character of this river may also have played a role in the cultural appropriation of chthonic scenery along its banks.

All micro-ecological scenarios from the chthonic topography of the district of ancient Tegea which I have outlined in this chapter illustrate that water-places can be strong points of reference in the local landscape of memory. The central structural element in this Tegean micro-ecology of memory is the Sarandapotamos,

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<sup>62</sup> Pausanias 8. 17.6, and 18.4-5.

the Forty Rivers, or the Alpheios, with which its closely regulated stream was identified in antiquity. In local tradition the origin of this stream in the Northern Parnon district was regarded as the origin, not only of the main surface stream in the Tegean Plain. That place was also regarded as the origin of the main Peloponnesian surface river, and as such as an important place of symbolic cultural interaction between the Northern Parnon district, the Tegean Plain and the Lower Alpheios Valley. On an even broader, international scale, the Alpheios provides an ecological foundation for a cultural connection between the Northern Parnon and Syracuse. This connection is actually emphasised by Pausanias when he describes the itinerary of the river from Phylake in the Tegean mountains all the way to the Spring of Arethusa in Syracusean Ortygia.<sup>63</sup>

The central place in the Tegean ecology of Alpheios was the Fountain of Auge in the sanctuary of Athena Alea. The ability of this place to become inscribed in the chthonic topography of three discontinuous historical epistemologies from the Archaic period through to the early modern period makes it a focal point in the long-term cultural history of the region. It is important here that time and again it was the special position of this place in the micro-ecology of the Tegean Plain that made it the *origo* of human culture in this district. Throughout the settlement history of the Tegean Fan it was from this place in its unstable, monstrous environment that the basis for civilisation was laid through hydraulic management. No wonder, really, that in antiquity this place was also the place of the most important polis divinity of Tegea, Athena Alea. Well into the Roman Imperial period, however, the polis sanctuary of Olympic Athena retained its chthonic, place-specific character in the Alea-epithet, and in the appropriation of the Fountain of Auge.

Although it is something that I have so far avoided doing explicitly, this discussion of places and faces in the local chthonic topography invites a more precise understanding of the conditions for a micro-ecological landscape of memory. A tentative conclusion would be that this kind of place presupposes the fusion of certain micro-ecologies, not uncommonly to be identified with what I have called water-places, and certain cultural animations. I emphasise, again, that there is no sense of ecological determinism implied in this tentative conclusion. The

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<sup>63</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.1-3.

micro-ecological element in a local landscape of memory is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for a place to be appreciated as such. Even though it may appear after my selective survey that all places in the local chthonic landscape are water-points, not all water-points in the Tegeatike qualify as landscapes of memory. What transforms a natural water-point, or some other distinctly micro-ecological feature, into a landscape of memory is a broad spectrum of cultural interferences. In this chapter we have encountered but a few examples of such cultural interferences, some are formulated in discursive narratives, others in visualisations (images and faces), and others again in heuristic cultivation of fossil remains of megafauna.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE MUSEUM OF ANCESTORS

Gone are the living, but the dead remain,  
 And not neglected; for a hand unseen,  
 Scattering its bounty, like a summer rain,  
 Still keeps their graves and their remembrance green.

(From *The Jewish Cemetery at Newport*  
 by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.)

In the previous chapter we have seen how the dialogue between certain physical landscape features (water-places) and a particular group of cultural persona (heroes, monsters, and river-gods) has provided the Tegean landscape with some of its most place-bound notions of local past. We have regarded these examples in the perspective of a kind of community ancestry. This community ancestry is a symbolic kind of ancestry. However place-bound they may be local heroes and village saints represent abstract conceptions of the ancestral past. In the case of Orestes we have seen that the relationship between a place and its chthonic persona can be almost arbitrary. Although to a certain extent this inter-changeability applies to chthonic persona as a general principle, it is especially emphasised in the example of Orestes. Because he has no genealogical legacy – no noble family in their right mind would claim Orestes as their ancestor – his place is wherever his bones are buried. The concept of the itinerant hero worked especially well in Arcadia, in the land of shepherds, but the Spartans had no problem accepting the insertion of the expatriate mother-slayer into their own landscape of memory. I have earlier put forward my belief in the close relationship between local veneration of chthonic persona, heroes and saints especially, and the veneration of genealogical ancestors. The distinction between these two phenomena, hero-cult and tomb-cult if we like, will appear somewhat clearer as we approach the actual insertion of genealogical ancestors into the local landscape of memory in the form of tombs.

I have made no attempt in this chapter to provide a representative selection of burial places in the Tegeatike.<sup>64</sup> Both places that I will take up here are situated in the Sarandapotamos Valley. One of the most important long-term features of the historical micro-ecology of the Sarandapotamos Valley is that it was always an important route of communication. It was one of the main routes between the Tegean Plain and the Eurotas Valley from antiquity until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The only locations in the Tegeatike where extensive archaeological documentation of tomb cult can be found are located in the Sarandapotamos Valley. One of the places that I will take up here is an old acquaintance, the Analipsis site that we discussed in chapter five. We have already seen how the topography and architecture of this small ancient settlement displayed a very particular sensitivity for the past of the place. Always at the centre of attention in the visual culture of the past at Analipsis was the prehistoric cemetery (**Map 6**), situated just opposite the small fortified ancient settlement. In the following discussion we shall make a closer inspection of the virtual museum of ancestors at the prehistoric cemetery there.

The narrative trajectory of this chapter will approach the visual culture of the ancestral past at Analipsis in a periegetic manner: the direction of our route is from the Tegean Plain to the Analipsis settlement (**Map 3**), which is located on the top of the pass that leads from the Sarandapotamos Valley into the Eurotas Valley (**Map 1**). This ascent up the Sarandapotamos Valley will take us past a broad variety of places; water-places, sanctuaries, settlements, and places of the dead. In this chapter we shall walk past many places in search for the places of the dead, but the places of the dead are always situated in proximity of the places of the living. The spatial relationship between the cemetery and the settlement, as we have seen it at Analipsis, is a primary topographical configuration in the local landscape of memory. Cemeteries belong in a category of places where the interaction between the past and the present is of a most genealogical, and personal, nature. The genealogical/personal memory that is evoked by a family grave is of a very different nature than the symbolic community memory that is evoked at the paleontological monument of Orestes. The experience of a cemetery is, on the other hand, also related to the experience of the place of a chthonic persona. At our first stop on the

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<sup>64</sup> For a recent discussion of documented tombs at Tegea in a micro-ecological perspective see Fahlander, 2003, 146-161.

ascent into the Saradampotamos Valley, at a place called Paleokhoro (**Map 2**), we shall view an old cemetery in the context of its local landscape.

## 1. THE GARDEN OF ANCESTORS

The place called Paleokhoro in the literature actually refers to a relatively large area that is composed of two very distinct, but intimately related topographical elements. One of those elements is a narrow section of the Sarandapotamos gorge that appears to the visitor almost as a small isolated valley (**Fig. 7.1**). On entering this particular space (**Fig. 7.2**) from the south the river passes through a narrow gate as it also does on exiting it in the north. The slopes are particularly steep here, and they are also especially rich in chthonic scenery. There are numerous small karst springs relatively high up on the slope on the western side. On both sides of the narrow exit from this secluded valley to the north there are some exposed karst features (**Fig. 1.1**) that give the impression of being the entrance to a large cave (**Fig. 7.3**). Within the enclosed space of the Paleochoro Valley these false cave mouths are visible from a distance (**Fig. 7.4**), and thus contribute to a very special visual impression. The second topographical element that makes up the micro-ecology of Paleokhoro is a plateau above the eastern slope of the small valley (**Fig. 7.5**). The plateau is exposed and open. From the tops of its undulations there is a spectacular view of the Tegean Plain, but the low ridge on the southern side of the plateau creates sufficient shelter from the wind to provide good conditions for a settlement. Drinking water is also provided by a natural spring in a depression in the plateau.

In the early 1920's Konstantinos Romaios excavated a cluster of small Bronze Age tombs on the eastern slope of the river gorge.<sup>65</sup> His short description of the site indicates that we are dealing with no more than three small so-called miniature

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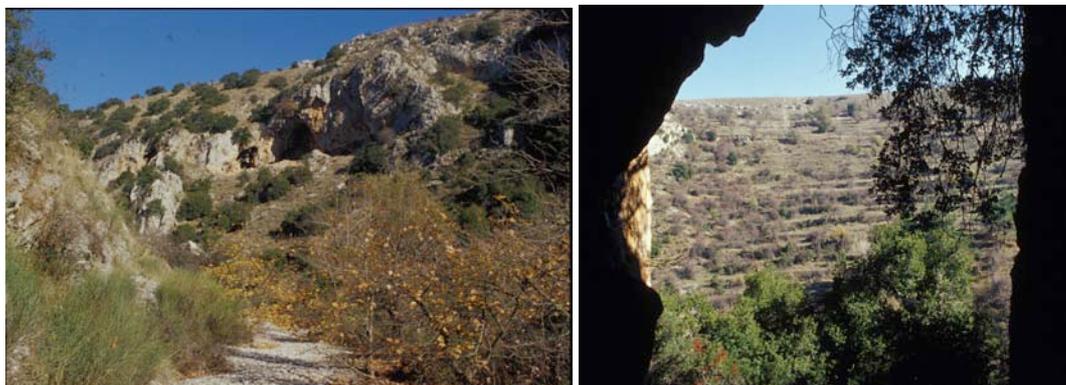
<sup>65</sup> Romaios only refers to this material in connection with his publication of other Arcadian sites. One description reads; "τάφοι μεγάλοι, χτισμένοι σαν άσβεστοκάμινια, με άγγία μέσα." Howell is mistaken in his translation here; "large like lime-kilns." (Howell, 1970, 114) It should read "... large, and built like lime kilns," and the second; "2-3 μικροί θολωτοί μυκηναϊκοί τάφοι ... 2 η 3 μυκηναϊκοί άγγία, συλλεγέντα ύπο του παλαου φύλακας Ν. Γριμάνη." I have only been able to locate these two references to the investigation by Romaios himself. The first is from a popular article originally written in 1925, but reprinted in Romaios, 1955, 168-182. The second citation is from a footnote in Romaios' publication of the sanctuary of Artemis at Mavríki. See Romaios, 1952, 2, note 1.

tholoi. Romaios obviously recognised the type much later because he excavated a similar group of miniature Bronze Age tombs at Analipsis (Fig. 7.6) in the 1950's.<sup>66</sup>



*Figure 7.1*  
View of the  
Paleokhoro  
Valley from  
the south.

*Figure 7.3*  
View from a cave  
mouth on the  
western side of  
the Paleokhoro  
Valley.



*Figure 7.2* Narrow exit from the the Paleokhoro Valley into the Sarandapotamos Gorge between Paleokhoro and the Tegean Plain leading into. The photograph is taken from the dry river bed in the summer.

The site has since been surveyed by H. Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, and again by R. Howell in connection with his survey of Eastern Arcadian prehistory.<sup>67</sup> The material obtained from the initial excavation (four or five ceramic pieces) confirm that they are, in fact, late Bronze Age tombs.<sup>68</sup> A trial survey was also undertaken at the site during the final field season (2001) of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey. The recent survey of Paleokhoro did not aim at rigorous documentation and statistical analysis of surface scatters. Our aim was basically to see if it was possible to confirm

<sup>66</sup> I shall return to a discussion of the type in connection with the analysis of the Analipsis material further below.

<sup>67</sup> See Howell, 1970.

<sup>68</sup> More precisely, in terms of ceramic chronology, LH IIIA. For references see Howell, 1970. 93-94. That one of the pots were protogeometric, as conceived by earlier commentators, have been demonstrated to be based on mistaken identification of a pot in the Tegea Museum. See Voyatzis, 1991, 66.

the results of previous investigations, and to evaluate whether further investigations of this area would be interesting.<sup>69</sup>



*Figure 7.4*  
False cave mouth on the western side of the Paleokhoro Valley seen from the eastern side of the gorge.

*Figure 7.5*  
View of the Paleokhoro Plateau with one of its two rural chapels. The Tegean plain in the background.



Apart from the cluster of Bronze Age tombs on the eastern slope of the steep river bank Paleokhoro has yielded little of antiquity other than surface scatters of pottery and some worked stone objects. Although Romaios' initial excavation site is now overgrown beyond recognition, we were able to recognise a good candidate relatively high up on the eastern slope during the recent investigation. Some 15 meters below the old trench we also observed 4-5 small mounds that could be more

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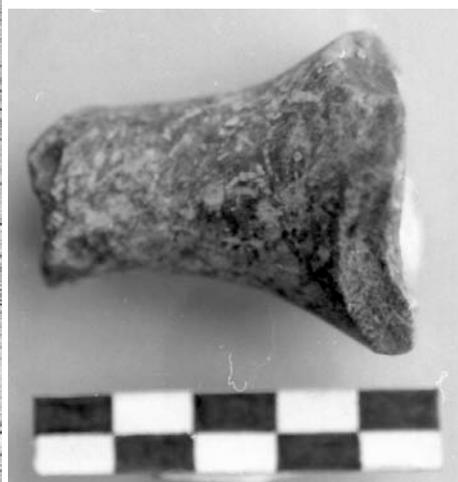
<sup>69</sup> The trial survey of Paleokhoro was undertaken in understanding with the local archaeological authorities in July 2001, at which time we were waiting for the permission to continue our survey of the plain. The area is now included in the application to The Greek Ministry of Culture for the planned continuation of survey activity in the area (*Sites and Marginal Landscapes: The Norwegian Arcadia Survey. Part II. 2008-2011*, which will be conducted by Hege A. Bakke-Alisøy together with the author) under the auspices of The Norwegian Institute at Athens.

graves of the same type excavated by Romaios. Apart from a few scraps of Roman and possibly Classical pottery we found little surface material on the slope. Maquis vegetation and high grasses make the visibility very close to zero here. In the dry river bed, just below the cave that is situated at the southern gate to the valley, I did pick up a worn stem of a Mycenaean kylix (**Fig. 7.7**).<sup>70</sup> This single find certainly does not discourage the possibility of finding more tombs in the valley in the future.



*Figure 7.6*  
Miniature tholos at  
Bronze Age cemetery at  
Analipsis.

*Figure 7.7*  
Stem of a Mycenaean kylix  
picked up on the river bank in  
the Paleokhoro Valley.



Also the plateau just above the Paleokhoro Valley have yielded fragments of prehistory: both Howell and Hope Simpson noted a concentration of prehistoric on the plateau.<sup>71</sup> This concentration was not far from one of the two recently reconstructed chapels (**Fig. 7.5**) that occupy the plateau. It is significant for the interpretation of this material that the concentration was situated in the hollow, where protection from the weather as well as immediate access to drinking-water is provided. A possible reconstruction of the prehistory of Paleokhoro is, accordingly, that there was a small settlement up on the plateau, and that the cemetery on the slope of the river bank belonged to this settlement. Further investigation of Paleokhoro is necessary to present a comprehensive interpretation of the

<sup>70</sup> I am indebted to Vincenzo Cracolici for this identification. On pottery from the Norwegian Arcadia Survey see otherwise Cracolici, 2005.

<sup>71</sup> See Howell, 1970, 94.

prehistory of the place. As far as the presently available material is concerned it seems most likely that we are not dealing with an important prehistoric site here. Both because the soil is very thin and because the winters would have been rather rough here, it seems all the more likely that we are dealing with a seasonal settlement. The site has every mark of seasonal pastoralism, but since we do have a prehistoric cemetery here, it is important to point out that there is nonetheless a persistent sense of a prehistoric genealogical tradition here.

This prehistoric scenario also provides the earliest inter-connection between the two topographical elements in the micro-ecology of Paleokhoro, the plateau and the narrow valley. The location of this place along the local route between the Tegean Plain and the Analipsis settlement (**Maps 2 & 3**) also provides us with a regional context for this prehistoric scenario. The prehistoric site at Paleokhoro draws the attention to a landscape type that has hitherto received little attention. Earlier investigations of the prehistory of the Tegeatike such as Howell's and Hope Simpson's have focused on the main plain rather than on the many side-valleys to the main plain. The Paleokhoro case confirms the suspicion that the Sarandapotamos channel, between the Tegean Plain, Analipsis, and the Eurotas Valley was an important traffic route already in prehistoric times. In this context I am more concerned, however, with how the perigeitic context can illuminate the reception history of the local genealogical topography. In the case of Paleokhoro I am particularly interested in the role of the natural scenery of the place.

The assumption that people have visited this valley in the Classical period, as well as in later periods, is based first of all on its proximity to the important traffic route between Analipsis and the Tegean Plain (**Map 3**). The presence of traffic down in the valley was confirmed by the scraps of Classical and Roman material that we found during the recent survey. Since the valley was obviously used in these periods and the prehistoric tombs will most certainly have been more easily visible in antiquity, we can also assume that the valley was recognised as a place of the dead, although no actual trace of later tomb-cult have been confirmed here. Also in the Classical period there appears to be a close connection between this valley of the dead and the plateau of the living just above it. That the plateau too was visited is confirmed by Hope Simpson, who found scatters of late Classical pottery there.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> See Howell, 1970, 94.

The material that we found on the plateau was dominated by the post-ancient periods.



Figure 7.9 Three complete sets of grindstones from the Paleokhoro Plateau discovered during the Norwegian Arcadia Survey.



Figure 7.8 Assemblage of medieval to early modern roof tiles from the Paleokhoro Plateau discovered during the Norwegian Arcadia Survey.

Figure 7.10  
Facade of one of the  
two chapels in the  
Paleokhoro Plateau.



Figure 7.11 Medieval spolium in  
the facade of one of the  
chapels in the Paleokhoro  
Plateau. Same as Fig. 7.10.



Already Howell noted that up on the plateau, where both prehistoric and Classical surface scatters were found, there were abundant scatters of medieval pottery.<sup>73</sup> Our preliminary investigation confirms this impression for we found plenty of medieval to early modern ceramic material here (Fig. 7.8). In approximately the same area we also found a high number of grind stones of a type

<sup>73</sup> See Howell, 1970, 94.

that in the Neolithic probably served as a multi-purpose tool (Fig. 7.9). In Greece the type has persisted well into the medieval and early modern period, and the pieces from Paleokhoro may just as well belong to the latest stage of occupation.<sup>74</sup> Probably also from the latest stage of occupation are the house remains that can be observed on the edge of the plateau just on the edge of the valley. Up on the plateau we also found a high concentration of coarse roof-tiles with uneven surfaces (Fig. 7.8) that are typical for the Ottoman period. On the eastern side of the road there is also a large well that must have been the main source of drinking water for the medieval to early modern settlement here. The two chapels on either side of the road are recent reconstructions. Extensive use of concrete has made it impossible to recognise any older architectural features, with one exception. Framing the main entrance to the chapel (Fig. 7.10), which Howell refers to as *Ayia Sotira*, is a very nice early Christian spolium (Fig. 7.11). Like more extensive examples that we have observed in the plain this represents an architectural appropriation of the ancient local Christian tradition. Today the spolium in the wall of the small chapel is the visually most persistent presence of local past at Paleokhoro. It is, one might say, the only real monument here. It is, however, not the only memorable feature at Paleokhoro.

The place-name *Paleokhoro*, which means ‘the old village’, is of an early modern type which can also be found on the plain. The formal purpose of this early modern place-name would have been the linguistic expression of the local tradition connected with the ruins of this place. In the Ottoman period Paleokhoro, the old village, the old place, the abandoned place, would have been classified as a *mezraa*, a deserted settlement, open for economic appropriation for local landlords. In relation to the places that we have visited in the discussion of traditional settlement patterns, Paleokhoro can feature as another example of what I have called vertical prehistory: the place is situated in an elevated and secluded position in relation to the main plain. Its potential as a refuge site in periods of instability on the plain appears to have been exploited in the Bronze Age as well as in the medieval to early modern period. The conception of this place as an old place can accordingly be recognised as a long-term designation of its micro-ecology. As a potential retreat to an old-fashioned lifestyle, the lifestyle of Orestes the Arcadian, which is

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<sup>74</sup> As Curtis Runnels notes in the discussion of the same type from the Bronze Age in the Argolid, it can also be found in ‘contemporary sites’ in Greece. See Runnels, 1992, 36.

characterised by the itinerant movement from one place to another, the Paleokhoro site was an ever-present reminder of the past in the landscape of the present.

Already in the Classical period this was an old place, a place of ruins, prehistoric ruins. It is probably also significant that the most conspicuous ruins here in antiquity were found in the valley of dead rather than on the plateau of the living. Even though there are no actual traces of reuse or ritual veneration of the few excavated tombs here, the traces of activity on the plateau do indicate a cultural dialogue between the plateau and the valley. From the edge of the plateau near the southern entrance of the valley there is a point from which all the elements in this dialogue are visible: to the north and east one can view the full extent of the Tegean Plain and the Paleokhoro plateau, by turning towards the west and south one can see the Paleokhoro Valley with its prehistoric cemetery and exposed cave features. The latter is a view into a landscape garden of ancestors. In this outdoor museum of ancestral memory the chthonic scenery is not built into the aesthetic display of a park as in a Western European baroque garden, but the physical qualities of the place (the chthonic scenery) are invited into a visual dialogue with its funerary architecture. In this drama nature and culture play opposite each-other as equal partners. As in a theatrical drama this micro-ecological drama of ancestral recognition is also unfolded before a defined group of spectators. They are, however, not the *theates* of the architectural theatron of an ancient Greek theatre like the one in the Tegean Agora down on the plain. Rather they are the *perigetes* walking between the Tegean Plain and Analipsis through the Sarandapotamos Valley. If we set our historical imagination free for a moment, we might even picture the scatters of Classical pottery on the plateau above the cemetery, from which there is a clear view to the chthonic features on the other side of the river gorge, as the material testimony to the periegetic view into this garden of ancestors.

## 2. THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE DEAD: BRONZE AGE FUNERAL CONTEXTS

The garden of ancestors at Analipsis further up in the Sarandapotamos Valley is composed of the same basic ecological and cultural elements as at Paleokhoro. In both cases the proximity to the river is a decisive feature. The river gorge is both a channel for local traffic and a conceptual boundary. The terrestrial horizon of this conceptual boundary structures the itinerary between Arcadia and Laconia,

between Tegea and Sparta, and between post-ancient Nikli and Mistras. On the chthonic horizon the river also represents a boundary between the plateau of the living and the valley of the dead. This is the place-specific relevance of the Homeric Nekuia which is represented in the 11<sup>th</sup> book of the *Odyssey*. In the topographical configuration of the river, settlements and the cemeteries in the Sarandapotamos Valley Odysseus' journey to the shores of the Okeanos, and into the subterranean landscape of criss-crossing rivers, caves, and karst lakes is re-territorialised to a local, place-specific level. At Analipsis we have already seen how this re-territorialisation is consolidated primarily by the direct visual dialogue between the settlement and the cemetery (**Map 6**). This visual relationship between the plateau of the living and the valley of the dead was preserved across a very long chronological span at Analipsis. The funeral architecture situated just opposite the Classical settlement is dated to the early Mycenaean period. In the discussion in chapter five I focused on the topographical and architectural visualisation of the local prehistoric past in the landscape of Classical historical present. In the following I will focus more closely on the prehistoric cemetery. My motivation for entering this prehistoric household of the dead is not that the Bronze Age funeral architecture and single finds, or groups thereof, are particularly interesting in their own right. Such studies of the Analipsis material have been thoroughly undertaken by other researchers.<sup>75</sup> My interest in the archaeology of the Analipsis cemetery is first and foremost directed towards its potential as a source for the visual and material practice of ancestral veneration.

The prehistoric cemetery at Analipsis consists of one large Mycenaean tholos tomb and a cluster of small tomb structures situated on a plateau next to the large tholos. Like the large tholos these structures were vaulted stone structures (**Fig. 7.6**). Because of this construction technique Romaios called them miniature tholoi, and he also recognised that they were similar to the tombs which he had excavated several decades ago at Paleokhoro. In addition to this cemetery, which is spatially separate from the Classical settlement, Romaios also documented a few other prehistoric funerary contexts either inside or just outside the ancient peribolos on the Analipsis hill. Like the miniature tholoi the large tholos (**Fig. 5.10**) is built

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<sup>75</sup> The most recent study of the Analipsis material by Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos, although providing a comprehensive discussion of many aspects of the place, has focused especially on the assemblage of palatial amphora. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998.

mainly of small slate and limestone slabs, but with more massive foundation blocks.<sup>76</sup> The chamber floor (**Fig. 5.9**) measures 8,65 m across. The tholos mouth (**Fig. 5.9**) is relatively narrow (1,05 m), and there do not appear to have been built walls on either side of the dromos.<sup>77</sup> After the shaft grave period until LH III B a similar construction technique is found especially in the SW Peloponnese (Messenia), but also in the NW Peloponnese, Attica, and Thessaly.<sup>78</sup> That more solid foundation blocks support the walls of the tholos is a distinct local feature.<sup>79</sup> Another unusual feature is the proportional relationship between the large tholos and the narrow width of the stomion.<sup>80</sup> The lack of built dromos walls is a feature shared with Messenian *tholoi*. The early date of the tholos (see below) also confirms that its architecture is influenced by the western Peloponnesian tradition.<sup>81</sup> In the large tholos (**Fig. 5.10**) the excavator distinguished two burial types from the Bronze Age: one (1) was dug into the original floor and placed in alignment with the dromos, and another (2) was placed on top of the floor. Both were looted in antiquity, but precious grave-goods, including prestige objects of gold, silver, bronze, and ivory together with palatial amphorae of high quality were found in the large tholos.<sup>82</sup> The date of the initial burials, and thus also of the construction of the tholos, is placed within the relative ceramic interval of LH II A to B.<sup>83</sup> In the bottom layer of the tholos Romaios also found several ground stone tools (**Fig. 5.5**), which he dated to the Neolithic period.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> For a more detailed discussion of architecture, burials, and finds connected with the tholos see Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 73ff.

<sup>77</sup> After the excavation, the walls of the chamber measured between 4 and 4,80 m in height. Much of the walls in the tholos are still standing, but thick vegetation and exposure to weather and occasional visitors now leave the structure in a very bad state of preservation. Romaios, 1954, 272, 274, and 275. See also Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 10.

<sup>78</sup> The type in question is termed type II of Mycenaean tholoi by O. Pelon. See Pelon, 1976, 338f; and Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 73, notes 407-409. Convenient parallels are offered by the so-called Tomb of Aegistus and the Kato Phournos tomb at Mycenae, and the tholos at Menidhi in Attica. The similarity of the tomb to the so-called Tomb of Aegistus at Mycenae was already pointed out by Romaios, 1954, 274.

<sup>79</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 74.

<sup>80</sup> Similarly unusual features are found in Messenia, the Argolid, and Boeotia. Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 76.

<sup>81</sup> See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 73.

<sup>82</sup> For descriptions and interpretations of initial burial contexts see Romaios, 1954, 274; and Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 12, note 71. For a catalogue of finds see Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 12-16. Fifty-seven pieces of a boar's tusks helmet and some horse teeth were also uncovered from the tholos. On the helmet see Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 66. On the horse teeth see Romaios, 1954, 286, fig. 19. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 77.

<sup>83</sup> See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 77.

<sup>84</sup> See Howell, 1970, 95-6, nos. 35 and 37.

Seven of the altogether eight excavated so-called miniature tholoi at Analipsis were located in a tight cluster on the eastern side of the plateau. They are situated in close proximity of the large tholos, and with an approximate distance of five meters between individual tombs.<sup>85</sup> The entrance to most of the miniature tholoi is oriented towards the large tholos (**Map 6**). The uniformity of their construction technique and keyhole shaped plan is evident in excavation photographs published by Kalogeropoulos (**Fig. 7.6**). Their circumference measures from 2.48 to 3.20 m across and the dromos-like walled entrance from 0.90 to 1.70 m. The walls are between 0.40 and 0.50 m wide. Romaios noted that the circular walls were built so that the upper stone ring is narrower than the lower, which indicates that the tombs were indeed vaulted in a tholos-like manner. Concentrations of the same kind of building material as in the sidewalls were found in the centre of some tombs. This kind of collapse also justifies the conclusion that the vaults were corbelled. In one case a large stone slab was found among the collapsed building material. This could indicate that the entrance to the chamber of the miniature tholoi were constructed with the same corbelling technique that is so characteristic of the monumental Mycenaean tholoi.

The grave goods in the miniature tholoi was clearly of a less prestigious character than in the large tholos.<sup>86</sup> Kalogeropoulos dated the miniature tholoi sometime between the shaft grave period and LH III B1.<sup>87</sup> Parallels for clusters of tholos-like burials in the vicinity of one or several tholos tombs are found especially in SW Peloponnese, and it has also been suggested that the architectural design of the miniature tholoi at Analipsis, like the design of the one monumental tholos there, is influenced by that of Messenia.<sup>88</sup> The local parallels from Paleokhoro further down in the Sarandapotamos Valley were dated to LH IIIA.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> For a discussion of the miniature tholoi see Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 77-83.

<sup>86</sup> These finds were first published by F. Schachermeyer. See Schachermeyer, 1962, 257ff. The published finds include five female terracotta figurines, and several ceramic vessels. See also Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 21-23. One rounded miniature alabastron might almost be taken for a crude imitation of an alabastron from the large tholos. Kalogeropoulos, 1998, kat.nos. 58 (miniature alabastron) and 44 (alabastron).

<sup>87</sup> He emphasised, however, that the insecure correlation between the actual finds, excavation notes, and Schachermeyer's publication, makes it very difficult to determine the history of these tombs with any precision. Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 79.

<sup>88</sup> See Dickinson, 1977, 64; and Pelon, 1976, 412. Pelon even argues that the people buried in the miniature tholoi at Analipsis were from Messenia. A more sensible attitude is expressed by Kalogeropoulos, who thinks that one should be cautious about establishing this kind of regional ethnic connection. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 82.

<sup>89</sup> See Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1961, 130, note 119.

In addition to the spatially delimited cemetery on the low hill just to the west of the ancient Analipsis settlement Romaios also discovered funerary remains both inside and just outside the ancient peribolos (**Map 6**): One tomb referred to in excavation notes as “a cist grave by Alonia” contained the cranium of a small child. Two unspecified items of grave goods were also reported. Three stone slabs covered the tomb. There are no secure indications that the tomb was in fact a Mycenaean tomb, and nothing is known about its location.<sup>90</sup> Better documented is another cist grave located beneath the apsidal ‘Bouleuterion’ (**Fig. 5.6**), which as we have seen in chapter five was the spatial focus of the later settlement (**Map 6**). In addition to some skeletal remains of a child the grave contained three ceramic vessels that have been dated to LH I.<sup>91</sup> In excavation notes studied by Kalogeropoulos an additional tomb was referred to as “the tomb of the fox,” the label originating in the unbearable stench from the corpse of a fox, which prevented the excavators from completing their exploration of the tomb.<sup>92</sup> The tomb was located on the steep bank of Sarandapotamos, just below and to the east of the peak of Analipsis. No skeletal remains were uncovered, and the date of ceramic vessels in the grave ranges from LH I to LH III A2.

The earliest secure funeral contexts (LH I) in the early Mycenaean burial complex at Analipsis are from the small cist grave below the ‘Bouleuterion’ and from the ‘tomb of the fox’ on the bank of Sarandapotamos. Kalogeropoulos notes that since ceramic vessels are seldom in such early funerary contexts, high social status can probably be attributed here.<sup>93</sup> Due to the lack of records for some of the finds from Analipsis presently kept in the store-rooms of the National Museum at Athens, it is very difficult to determine if the miniature tholoi actually go back to LH I, or if they should be dated to LH III A2/B1, where from the majority of finds are dated.<sup>94</sup> Kalogeropoulos suggests that some of the miniature tholoi are earlier, and some later.<sup>95</sup> The chronological relationship between the monumental tholos and the group, or groups, of miniature tholoi is thus rather difficult to decide. Romaios’ suggestion that the miniature tholoi are local imitations of the large tholos remains

<sup>90</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 26, and 83-4. A simple drawing after a sketch in excavation notes was published by Kalogeropoulos. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, plate 4c.

<sup>91</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 23-4, and 84.

<sup>92</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 24-5, and 84.

<sup>93</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 84.

<sup>94</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 21 and 79. See also Schachermeyer, 1962, 258.

<sup>95</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 79ff.

an attractive, but insecure, hypothesis. Romaios' commentaries indicate that the miniature tholoi were clearly visible as grave mounds throughout antiquity, which is confirmed by the fact that some of the miniature tholoi were either looted or reused in antiquity.<sup>96</sup> Neither Romaios nor Kalogeropoulos make much of the stratigraphic anomalies that Romaios did, in fact, document with surprising detail. These 'later intrusions' as they are often referred to in excavation reports are of great relevance here because they represent the most tangible testimonies of interaction between the past and historical present. The evidence at Analipsis is especially rich in these kinds of testimonies, and thus discloses a complex sequence of local genealogical memory.

### 3. GREAT GRANDFATHERS AND DISTANT ANCESTORS

Before I start to talk about tomb-cult in the sense of ritual veneration of Bronze Age tombs from the early Iron Age and onwards, I will focus on how the archaeology of the Analipsis cemetery also holds information on the landscape appropriation and visual culture of local past in the Bronze Age. In the recent decade the prehistoric landscape of memory has been a major topic of interest amongst prehistorians of Central and Northern Europe.<sup>97</sup> In Greece, as in the Mediterranean area in general, this field is still to a great extent unexplored territory. There are certainly many reasons for this. Mediterranean archaeology has, in general, always been very focused on the connoisseur study of artefacts that aim at precise results within attribution, distribution and relative chronology. Because Mediterranean prehistory, like any period of Mediterranean archaeology for that matter, is burdened by an overwhelming quanta of ceramic material, students of prehistoric Greece tend to specialise at a very early stage in their career on some defined group of pottery. The positive effect of this focus is that Greek prehistoric ceramic groups are so thoroughly studied and documented that they can work as powerful tools of dating and to trace cultural interchange between separate geographical areas. Although prehistoric ceramic evidence from Greece and the wider Mediterranean are presently exploited in service of a great number of thematic studies, especially

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<sup>96</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 79ff.

<sup>97</sup> For two recent examples see Tilley, 1994; and Edmonds, 1999.

within the study of prehistoric trade networks, the focus on ceramic material still dominates the scholarly agenda.<sup>98</sup> If a potential research topic cannot be documented with ceramic material, well; it cannot be studied! In the Analipsis material both ceramic, but especially other material groups that can be exploited in the service of reconstructing the prehistoric landscape of memory. In the following we shall see that some of the most interesting prospects can be connected with other material groups than pottery.

The initial construction and use of the monumental Analipsis tholos for funeral purposes is situated within the relative ceramic chronology of LH II A to B. After this period there are no traces of prehistoric burials. 35 cm. above the burial floor Romaios found the foot of a LH III B1 cylix.<sup>99</sup> Although it cannot be excluded altogether that this vessel accompanied the reuse of the tholos as a grave, a more plausible interpretation is to regard the cup as a sign of some kind of veneration of the funeral monument, or, indeed, of the person or persons that were initially buried here. Although there exist some documents of Bronze Age funeral rituals, e. g. the Tanagra larnakes with processions of mourning women, traces of a cult of the dead are poorly documented in Bronze Age Greece.<sup>100</sup> Drinking vessel fragments in association with tombs, found especially in the dromos outside the chamber, are not uncommon. That especially drinking-vessels are found in such contexts is usually interpreted as a trace of some kind of social ritual at the grave.<sup>101</sup> This could certainly also be the case with the LH III B1 cylix in the Analipsis tholos.

The time-span between the initial burial and the construction of the tholos (LH II A-B) and the first post-construction context (LH III B1) is difficult to determine in absolute terms, but a genealogical time-frame of five to ten generations seems reasonable.<sup>102</sup> After this isolated event of LH III B1 there are no traces of intentional

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<sup>98</sup> For a recent study of prehistoric material culture reception that exemplifies this see Gerd Jan van Wijngaarden's study of *Use and Appreciation of the Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy*; van Wijngaarden, 2004. It should be pointed out here that in Greece it is especially Southern Greek prehistory that is still overwhelmingly dominated by ceramic studies. Northern Greek prehistory, for instance, is more influenced by Eastern European prehistory studies. For a comprehensive discussion of theoretical trends in Greek prehistory see Kotsakis, 1991.

<sup>99</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 77.

<sup>100</sup> See Dickinson, 1977, 47; and Dickinson, 1994, 229-230.

<sup>101</sup> Dickinson, 1994, 230.

<sup>102</sup> There are many divergences in how Bronze Age archaeologists regard the relationship between absolute and relative chronology. For the sake of simplicity I have used approximations of the subtle, but rather old-fashioned, chronology applied by William Biers. See Biers, 1994, 60. For a more thorough discussion of Bronze Age chronology see Dickinson, 1994, 12-21.

dedications or communal activity in connection with funerary contexts at Analipsis before the Late Geometric period, which represents a discontinuity of approximately 20 generations. I will return to this and several other examples of post Bronze Age appropriation of the funeral architecture at Analipsis further below. Like the one example of veneration of a great grandfather in the Bronze Age examples of post Bronze Age tomb-cult, which have now become commonplace in the study of the afterlife of the Greek Bronze Age, are also documented primarily by ceramic material. In the material assemblage in the Analipsis tholos there is, however, another group of artifacts that point in the direction of the maintenance of an altogether different kind of prehistoric memory than I have hitherto discussed.

The most surprising chronological anomaly in the artifact assemblage at the large tholos at Analipsis is represented by a group of worn, ground stone tools that were found in a context associated with the initial burial of the ceramic chronology LH II A-B. Romaios dated these objects to the Neolithic period.<sup>103</sup> This would indicate a chronological gap of possibly as much as a two millennia between the initial production of the tools and the stratigraphic context they were found in. Unfortunately the present location of these objects is unknown, but Romaios' old excavation photograph allow us to recognise some features.<sup>104</sup> Among the assemblage (**Fig. 5.5**) are two small axes ( $\alpha$  and  $\delta$ ) that both have clear signs of having been used for a very long time. That they both appear also to be rounded off on the edges indicates that they had not been used for their original function a long time before they were placed in the tholos. The even erosion pattern on their surfaces gives the impression that they were, exposed to wind and weather on the surface of the ground for a long time before they were placed in the tholos. Also interesting is the slightly longer implement classified by Romaios as a whet-stone ( $\gamma$ ), which, in fact, is most certainly also a very worn axe. A secondary application of this artefact is also indicated by a hole pierced in it. This may have been done so that the artefact could serve as a plummet, possibly a loom-weight, or even as an

<sup>103</sup> This date is confirmed by Howell. See Howell, 1970, 95-6, nos. 35 and 37.

<sup>104</sup> I owe the observations of the ground stone assemblage to the Norwegian archaeologist Hege A. Bakke-Alisøy. All artifacts are illustrated in Fig. 18 in Romaios 1954, 285. There is a short description of them on page 286.

amulet.<sup>105</sup> The two small pierced stone pearls ( $\beta$ ) certainly had some kind of decorative purpose. The largest of the stone tools ( $\epsilon$ ) is incorrectly characterised by Romaios as a wet-stone. Like  $\gamma$  this is also a stone axe. As pointed out by Chikako Sugaya in a study of the Neolithic stone axe, the long Analipsis axe is of a type that has been associated with ritual contexts.<sup>106</sup> That the same shape is also found in a group of, often decorated, Neolithic terracotta figurines (Fig. 7.12).

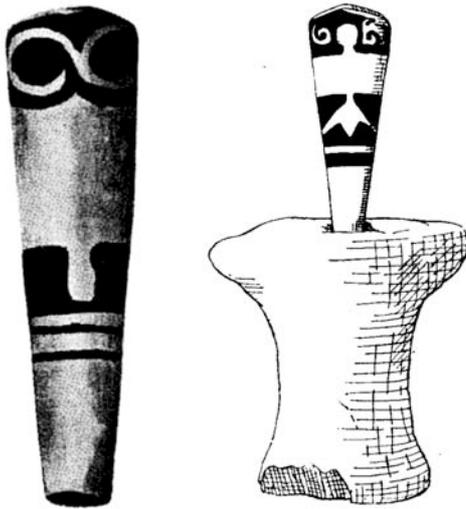


Figure 7.12  
Decorated  
Neolithic  
figurine  
shaped like  
the long axe  
from  
Analipsis.

There are not many documented parallels for simple ground stone tools from the Neolithic period in Mycenaean graves.<sup>107</sup> The few cases that do exist have certainly not been sufficient to modify the dominant theory about the message conveyed by Mycenaean burial practice, namely that status is the sum of material wealth (expressed through expensive materials in grave goods) and the ability to exercise power by force (expressed through the dedication of weapons). I find explanations like the one offered by Giampaolo Graziadio in his analysis of social stratification at Mycenae, that a Neolithic stone axe in a Mycenaean funerary context might have been considered valuable “on account of the time required to produce it” as a rather futile attempt to dismiss an intriguing phenomenon.<sup>108</sup> At Analipsis this phenomenon can also be observed in Bronze Age funeral contexts outside the monumental tholos. Both chipped - and ground stone tools, probably also of Late Neolithic or early Bronze Age date, were found in two of the miniature tholoi on the

<sup>105</sup> There are a few documented parallels for this practice in Greece. One example from a LBA context in Kea, however, is very similar to the worn and pierced axe from Analipsis. See Davis, 1986, 96f.

<sup>106</sup> See Sugaya, 1992.

<sup>107</sup> For a summary of some parallels, and relevant references, see Korres, 1974, 144, and notes 1-5; also Graziadio, 1991, 422.

<sup>108</sup> Graziadio, 1991 422.

plateau above the large tholos.<sup>109</sup> That the phenomenon is so common at Analipsis also makes it puzzling that it has been noted in so few other Bronze Age contexts in Greece. There is, however, one very good reason why excavators would not be very attentive to the cultural value of the chronological anomalies represented by this phenomenon. For stratigraphic dating purposes stray finds of Neolithic material in Bronze Age contexts are of no value whatsoever, and it is accordingly very likely that such objects will go un-noticed. Worn ground stone tools like those from the Analipsis tholos can easily be discarded as plain unworked stones. This is all the more likely to happen if one is excavating a Bronze Age or later site with a lot of ceramic material.

It is impossible to present a comprehensive interpretation of what kind of cultural appropriation of the distant past the Neolithic stone tool assemblage at Analipsis represents. We cannot tell if the objects were considered as magical idols that embody the power of distant ancestors or were simply regarded as old fashioned and discarded tools that despite their technological inferiority represented some kind of cultural value to the local community. If the latter was the case, then the prehistoric reception context of these objects was not all that different from the display of old agricultural tools in local museums throughout the industrialised world. Reconstructive assumptions like these, however interesting, will always remain speculations. A less speculative interpretation would be to provide a reconstruction of the spatial order of events that preceded the insertion of the old artefacts into the ancestral exhibition space of the tholos.

What is most intriguing about the Neolithic stone tools in the Analipsis tholos is that it is possible to provide documentation for their local heuristic context in the Bronze Age. Elsewhere at Analipsis as well as at a few other locations in its vicinity Romaios and others have recorded fragments of Neolithic material culture. It is, accordingly, highly likely that the stone tools in the Analipsis tholos were discovered somewhere in the area, and perhaps even on the Analipsis hill itself. This discovery most certainly took place sometime during the late Bronze Age. With an anachronistic term we could call this event the archaeological discovery of the ancient past of the local late Bronze Age historic present. However anachronistic it

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<sup>109</sup> Thus noted by Kalogeropoulos after he had studied field-diaries from the excavation. The finds were in miniature tholoi nos. 1 and 3, thus numbered by Kalogeropoulos. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 17-19.

may be to call this event in the late Bronze Age an archaeological discovery, it illustrates a very important point here, namely the weight of historical artefacts in the formation of prehistoric historical consciousness. Now, as I have stressed, there is, of course, nothing about the spatial order of events surrounding the late Bronze Age appropriation of a handful of discarded Neolithic stone tools that enables us to say anything specific about this historical consciousness. It does, however, give a very strong indication that some kind of historical consciousness was at work at Analipsis in the late Bronze Age. It also provides a few phrases of the language for the articulation of local tradition at late Bronze Age Analipsis, the architectural and topographical spaces of ancestors in combination with archaeological objects. With these old-fashioned objects on display inside the tholos, the space of the tomb will, already in the early Bronze Age, have appeared as a virtual museum of the local past. The display in this ancestral museum of the local past will, already in the Late Bronze Age, at the time of the dedication of a drinking cup, have displayed the network of a composite past, of, on the one hand, immediate ancestors (great grandfathers) and, on the other hand, of a fuzzy relationship with a discontinuous remote past represented by the assemblage of discarded Neolithic stone tools.

#### 4. VISUALISATION AND REUSE OF PREHISTORIC FUNERAL CONTEXTS

As we have already seen in chapter five, the prehistoric cemetery at Analipsis was also the visual focus of attention after the Bronze Age. From the Classical period, and probably earlier, until the Roman period, the reception context of the prehistoric cemetery was the settlement on the adjacent Analipsis hill. Together with the peculiar and old-fashioned bouleuterion (**Fig. 5.6**) in the centre of the small fortified settlement the prehistoric cemetery was an important element in the visual culture of the past at Analipsis. During the period when the settlement was fortified, this visual interaction between the past and the present, between the plateau of the living and the valley of the dead, was emphasised by means of the orientation of the gate in the settlement fortifications (**Map 6**). The record of Romaios' excavation of the cemetery in the 1950's also contain some information about the material practices of cultural maintenance directed towards the Bronze Age cemetery within the historical lifetime of the Analipsis settlement. The material

practices in question have received renewed interest during the past decade under the label tomb-cult. Especially since Carla Antonaccio published her book on tomb cult and hero cult in early Greece, intentional dedications at, and the reuse of, funeral architecture from the Mycenaean period has become a topic of major interest.<sup>110</sup>

Note-books and museum store-rooms of previous excavations are littered with information about stratigraphic anomalies and 'secondary intrusions' that have become most interesting in the new perspective on tomb cult.<sup>111</sup> As is now evident the phenomenon is not, as some early studies indicated, primarily an early Iron Age (the Homeric Age as it was called) phenomenon, but continues throughout antiquity.<sup>112</sup> This is just one of the reasons why the term Homeric is no longer used in the discussion of tomb-cult. As I intend to demonstrate further below, the reception context of the material practices that are embraced by the concept tomb-cult can still be regarded as culturally related to the language of ancestral veneration in the epic tradition. From a certain view-point, as I will argue, the material practice of ancestral veneration in ancient Greece still offer some of the best candidates as the reception context of epic poetry.

Romaïos dated the earliest example of post Bronze Age material from the cemetery at Analipsis to the Late Geometric period. 3,80 m above the floor level of the large tholos Romaïos found several pieces of a large Late Geometric vase with a pictorial representation of a centaur. This context contained a mix of building material presumably from the collapsed tholos, and "sherds with good to middle glaze as well as unglazed household ware." Romaïos thus excluded the possibility that it could be ascribed to reuse of the tomb for burial purposes in the Geometric period, and argued that instead it had fallen into the tomb when it collapsed "in the fourth century or even later."<sup>113</sup> Because he could find no bone remains in the context of the collapse, which also contained "black-glazed - and coarse ware," Romaïos concluded that a reuse of the tholos for burial was not a probable

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<sup>110</sup> See Antonaccio, 1995.

<sup>111</sup> See Shanks, 1996; and Morris, 1999. A refreshing attempt to provide a broader cultural context for tomb cult can be found in Whitley, 1993.

<sup>112</sup> See Antonaccio, 1995. In some cases from Messenia the practice appears to continue well into the medieval period. See also Alcock, 1991. At Analipsis the testimonies extend from the late Geometric to the early Hellenistic period. See Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 79.

<sup>113</sup> Romaïos, 1954, 273.

interpretation. He thus arrived at the conclusion, which is so often found concerning this kind of material, that it was due to “a secondary intrusion.”

After the Late Geometric no activity is documented at the Analipsis cemetery before the late sixth or early fifth century BC. In one context connected with the discovery of the monumental tholos tomb in the winter of 1953 Romaios reported that “bones and some peculiar bronze objects” were found “underneath a large stone slab.”<sup>114</sup> The positive confirmation of bones in this context is, indeed, the first documented attempt to reuse the cemetery at Analipsis for funeral purposes after the Bronze Age. This new grave appear to have been situated on the edge of the tholos mound since it had not collapsed into the tomb. Romaios could conclude that the peculiar bronze objects were pieces of gaiters, leg covers from hoplite armour. Romaios dated this context to “the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 6<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>115</sup> Even though the stratigraphic relationship between this context, the tholos itself, and other traces of reuse or intentional visits is anything but clear, it appears that we are, in fact, dealing with a hoplite burial, probably from the second half of the sixth, or even as late as the first half of the fifth century BC.

After the single hoplite burial there are no material remains of reuse or intentional visits at the Mycenaean cemetery at Analipsis before the Late Classical to early Hellenistic periods. Some later material, mainly black-glazed but with some coarse pottery, come from the context connected with the collapse of the large tholos. ‘Later intrusions’ in the miniature tholoi at Analipsis can also be connected with these later periods. One of the miniature tholoi at Analipsis (7) contained hardly any grave goods at all, and was thus most likely looted in antiquity. Two other miniature tholoi (5 and 6) clearly contained material from later historical periods. Three sherds “from the historical periods” as well as the lower part of a Hellenistic pithos and numerous Hellenistic roof-tile fragments were found in miniature tholos no. 6. In addition to a fair number of sherds “from the historical periods” m. tholos no. 5 also contained fragments of roof-tiles, again, “from the historical periods.” No bones were found in this tomb, which probably indicates

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<sup>114</sup> The discovery was made by a local farmer, who delivered the finds to a school-teacher at Vourvoura, who again presented them to Romaios the following summer. Romaios, 1954, 271.

<sup>115</sup> Among the finds in this context was also one handmade miniature hydria. See Romaios, 1954, 271. The whereabouts of these objects is unknown.

that it was looted in antiquity, and perhaps like no. 6, also reused for burial in the Hellenistic period.<sup>116</sup>

Also the post Bronze Age record of material practices connected with the Analipsis cemetery displays a diverse and complex relationship between the past and historical present. Some of the miniature tholoi appear to have been reused for funeral purposes in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and practically all the graves, the large tholos included, were looted already in antiquity. Now, from a reformed modern perspective grave robbery is a moral disgrace, and in a certain linear historical perspective it also represents a great methodological problem. The disgraceful intrusion spoils the linear-historical virginity of the intact tomb, and makes of it a mess of different pasts and presents. Grave robbery is, on the other hand, one of the best material practice indicators of the cultural appreciation of ancestral heritage. Our acquaintance with tomb raiders so far have focused on the important symbolic role that bone relics played both in antiquity, and in medieval and early modern community identity. As the Lara Croft's of history have always known, however, tombs can also hold more solid currency than osteological remains. Grave goods in Greek Bronze Age tombs sometimes comprise precious art works made from the most valuable materials. Even though it had also obviously been looted in antiquity, the monumental Analipsis tholos still contained prestige objects of gold, silver, bronze, and ivory when it was excavated in the 1950's. That grave monuments of the distant past often contained precious artefacts was well known in antiquity. This is certainly the contextual background of the ancient popular denomination of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, where from other monumental tholoi, especially those that were excavated by one of Lara Croft's greatest 19<sup>th</sup> century cousins Heinrich Schliemann, we know that the assemblage of precious objects and precious materials were quite impressive in a Greek context.<sup>117</sup> One of the great cross-historical adventures of Schliemann was that, unlike most of his contemporaries, he believed, what an average ancient Greek grave robber probably knew from experience, that the Homeric epithet of 'Mycenae rich in gold' was more than mere fiction. This does not, of course, mean that Schliemann was correct in his belief that the lines of the epic represented directly transmitted

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<sup>116</sup> Kalogeropoulos, 1998, 19-20.

<sup>117</sup> For the Treasury of Atreus see Pausanias, 2.16.6. For a discussion of the Mycenaean exploits of Schliemann see Stiebler, 1990.

knowledge about the wealth of Bronze Age Mycenae. Probably much closer to home is the assumption that the origin of the Homeric epithet reflects the experience of grave robbers in the Greek world after the Bronze Age.

In addition to the looting and reuse of Bronze Age funeral contexts there are two other kinds of material practice documented at Analipsis that deserve special attention here. Most uncommon in the Greek context is the late sixth to early fifth century hoplite burial on the edge of the monumental tholos. Although a common practice in Geometric burials, dedication of armour is practically absent from burials in Greece after 700 BC. From the seventh century onwards dedications of weapons come from civic sanctuary contexts rather than from 'individual' or 'family' burials.<sup>118</sup> There are some indications, however, that the custom persisted in other remote regions on the Greek Mainland. In a 7<sup>th</sup> century pithos-burial east of Kalavrita on the Achaean-Arcadian border the grave goods included an Illyrian helmet, a pair of greaves, a sword, and three spears – virtually a complete set of hoplite armour (minus the shield).<sup>119</sup> A similar sixth century hoplite burial is also attested in Opuntian Locris. The grave-goods here included a Corinthian helmet, spears and swords. As at Analipsis, a large stone slab covered the burial.<sup>120</sup> Despite these parallels from other isolated areas, the one at Kalavrita interestingly enough in another Arcadian frontier zone, the hoplite burial in connection with the large tholos at Analipsis is certainly peculiar, and it bears testimony to a pronounced sense of local tradition at a time when its two neighbours (Tegea and Sparta) were at their mightiest.

At this time the alliance between the two was safely consolidated. One of the most important contributions from the border region between the two poleis would, as we have seen, have been to supply either party to the alliance with military resources. If the Analipsis settlement had perioikic status in the Lacedaimonean polis at this time, its contribution could have been both in the form of weapon production and manpower. The Analipsis hoplite buried on the edge of the large tholos might even have served in the Spartan foreign legion, the Skiritai. The Lacedaimonean perioikoi were, no doubt, dependant subjects. This probably means that they were not allowed to have their own political institutions. There is,

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<sup>118</sup> See Snodgrass, 1967, 48.

<sup>119</sup> See Mastrokostas, 1961, 130f, Plate 156; and Snodgrass, 1967, 72.

<sup>120</sup> See Keramopoulou, 1927, 107, Plates 64-66; and Snodgrass 1967, 72-3.

however, nothing to indicate that the Lacedaimonean polis interfered very much with local tradition at perioikic settlements. Strict cultural regimes with suppression of local cults and sanctuaries were probably reserved for helot territories such as Messenia. Indeed there is every reason to suspect that local cultural tradition at perioikic settlements were, if not directly encouraged, then not interfered with at all. In this contemporary cultural-political landscape the Analipsis settlement appear to have expressed its local tradition in a very old-fashioned manner. Even though its men of arms most certainly served under a foreign banner in this period, their military achievements were still connected with the local, one is almost tempted to say 'Heroic', ancestry.

The hoplite burial from around 500 BC is the only documented example of re-appropriation of the monumental tholos for funeral purposes. Otherwise it seems that this practice was reserved for the miniature tholoi on the plateau above it. Even though it was probably not re-used for burial purposes at an earlier stage, there is one documented attempt to enhance its position in the visual culture of the local past much earlier than the hoplite burial. There is nothing to indicate that the monumental late Geometric vase that Romaios found among the ruins of the collapsed roof of the monumental tholos was connected with an actual burial, although the possibility cannot be altogether excluded. Nicolas Coldstream considered the Geometric vessel to be a dedication in connection with ancestral worship in 'the Homeric age.'<sup>121</sup> I will take up later in what sense I believe that the Late Geometric marker can be considered in a broader 'Homeric' context as a monumentalisation of local ancestral past. There is, however, no need to postulate that it was as a sign of the local actualisation of an heroic past in order to recognise its position in the contemporary visual culture of local ancestral past at Analipsis. From the Late Geometric and until the collapse of the tholos no later than the Late Classical period, and probably later judging from Romaios' description of ceramic material in the building rubble, the large Late Geometric vase enhanced the central position of the tholos in the topography of the local past. This visual enhancement of the local ancestral topography represents a monumentalisation along the same lines as the architectural elaboration of sacred places that was going on throughout

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<sup>121</sup> See Coldstream, 1976, 10. See also Antonaccio, 1995, 68-9; and Alcock, 1991, 465.

the Greek world during this period.<sup>122</sup> Together with the somewhat peculiar and old-fashioned hoplite burial this situates the Analipsis tholos in a position in the local landscape of memory that would otherwise have been occupied by a sanctuary. As has been emphasised by François de Polignac and others the cultural contraction point in the formative phase of ancient Greek local identity was often located just outside the main settlement centre. In the case of Tegea we have seen how this off-centre cultural identity position was occupied by the peri-urban sanctuary of Athena Alea. It would seem that at Analipsis this position was occupied by the Bronze Age cemetery, which was always at the centre of the visual culture of the past at this place.

##### 5. THE MAINTENANCE OF SPECTRAL IMAGES: A HOMERIC EXCURSUS

Although it might seem slightly old-fashioned in the context of current Mediterranean archaeology, much influenced as it still is by the scientific ideal of New Archaeology, I will in the last section of this chapter try to connect the type of landscapes, material -, and visual culture practices that we have reviewed with the epic tradition. This is not, however, because I feel the need to reintroduce the concept of the Homeric Age to the discussion of tomb-cult and hero-cult. I am rather interested in how the epic tradition can provide a discursive analogy to what goes on in the ancient Greek museum of ancestors that we have visited at Analipsis and Paleokhoro in the Sarandapotamos Valley. The most important epic source to this discursive museum of ancestors is the 11<sup>th</sup> song of the *Odyssey* where Odysseus converses with the dead. In addition to providing us with a discursive analogy to the landscape, material -, and visual culture of the ancient Greek museum of ancestors this Homeric topos also provides us with a rhetorical paradigm of the kind of landscapes of memory that we have been dealing with up to this point in the discussion. This Homeric excursus will, accordingly, also serve as a preliminary theoretical conclusion on the first three part of this dissertation.

On his way to meet the shadows of the dead in the underworld Odysseus must make a journey through the subterranean landscape that we have already visited in the previous chapter. This is a landscape that mainly consists of streams of water, and the figural language of liquids also plays a special role in the epic discourse of

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<sup>122</sup> See de Polignac, 1995.

the museum of ancestors. Once he reaches the karstic sink hole to the underworld (*Erebus*), beyond which no living man can pass, Odysseus meets the shadows of many men and women. In the following it is especially the encounter between Odysseus and his dead friend Elpenor that I wish to focus on. Elpenor's death is described in the 10<sup>th</sup> book of the *Odyssey* at which time Odysseus and his crew are stuck on the Island of Circe.<sup>123</sup> Because Odysseus and his men have to leave the island in a hurry, Elpenor's body was left behind without a proper funeral.<sup>124</sup> He is, accordingly, someone who has not yet found his place in the landscape of the dead. The errand that the ghost of Elpenor approaches Odysseus with is to help him find a proper place in a landscape of ancestors. The first thing that is interesting to ask, in our context, is how this place is characterised in the poem.

The most immediate way that ancestral presence is visualised in a landscape is in the tomb, whether it is a built structure, or a simple mound (τύμβος). Grave mounds distinguish themselves from natural features in the landscape as *sêmata*, signs that announce the presence of ancestors in the landscape. In a most concrete sense the local network of such ancestral signs is the local landscape of memory. The *sêma* can be the grave itself, the mound, or grave markers on top of the grave. In later grave architecture the *sêma*-aspect of the grave-marker is often articulated as an apotropaic symbol; a lion, a gorgon, or a sphinx. The depiction of a centaur on the monumental Late Geometric ceramic vessel that was placed on top of the large tholos at Analipsis represents an early paradigm of these later *sêmata*.<sup>125</sup> In this case the *sêma* also visualises early Iron Age re-appropriation of local ancestral past. The grave is also a *mnêma*, a memorial, or *memory image*. The active imaging-process that takes place in the maintenance of the image of the deceased represents a very characteristic feature of ancestral veneration in ancient Greece. It is also a *mnêma*, a 'memory image,' of the deceased that is carved on Classical grave sculpture. At Analipsis we have observed a range of different visualisation techniques and material practices that all aim at maintaining these memory images of the dead. In the epic representation of the encounter between Odysseus and the ghost of

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<sup>123</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.62-78.

<sup>124</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.54.

<sup>125</sup> A *sêma* is also a marker of individuality, like the *sêmata* on warrior shields that allow comrades to distinguish who is hiding behind the next shield in the phalanx, or the alphabetic 'signature' or token whereby one's identity is certified. See Homer, *Iliad*, 6.176.

Elpenor this image-maintaining process is described in ecological and physiological details.

In order to appreciate the relevance of this process in the context of ancestral veneration it is necessary to delve into the multi-layered Homeric concept of the soul.<sup>126</sup> There is ψυχή, the respiratory life-principle that has conventionally been called the ‘breath-soul,’ and which at the time of death disappears beneath the earth like smoke.<sup>127</sup> As have been pointed out by Richard Onians ψυχή represents the last, cold breath of the dying body (σῶμα), and this cold breath of death is contrasted with the ‘warm vapour of life’, which Homer always called θυμός. In fact, the binary opposition between body and soul that is so deeply embedded in post-ancient Western culture and languages is, in the Homeric epics, something that is first actualised when the ψυχή departs from its σῶμα at the time of death. ψυχή should, as Onians has pointed out, instead be equated with εἶδωλον, “the visible but impalpable semblance of the once living” that drifts back and forth in the Hall of Hades as a mere *shadow* (σκιά), a flat image-projection of the deceased.<sup>128</sup> What is important in our connection is that the ψυχή does not transform into an εἶδωλον automatically, and that both ψυχή and εἶδωλον are regarded as visual phenomena. Ψυχή is a kind of ghost which cannot exactly be seen, but which nonetheless is perceived as a visual experience without form, as smoke. The εἶδωλον is a spectral resemblance of the dead and the result of a transformation process. It is the ψυχή that transforms through a kind of interaction between the world of the dead and the world of the living, a kind of active image making that involves rituals of ancestral veneration. In the encounter between Odysseus and Elpenor the epic language of this active image making is revealed.

When Odysseus has performed the prescribed chthonic ritual by the chasm Erebus, the εἶδωλα of the dead approach him as a collective swarm that has been robbed of its individuality and reason (λόγος).<sup>129</sup> In this swarm of flickering shadows Elpenor stands out as a particularly disturbing character. When Elpenor first appears before his comrade, he appears in the invisible form of the ‘last cold breath of death’ (ψυχή), also characterised in the *Odyssey* as a blurred “phantom of the

<sup>126</sup> One of the best introductions to this topic is still Richard B. Onians’s classic study of ancient Greek concepts of the mind and the body. See especially Onians, 1951, 93ff.

<sup>127</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 23.100. See Onians, 1951, 93.

<sup>128</sup> Onians, 1951, 94–95. See Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.495; and 11.207.

<sup>129</sup> On the unintelligible language of the dead see Bremmer, 1987, 84ff.

person such as is encountered in a dream,” and not as an εἶδωλον.<sup>130</sup> The despair of Elpenor was not just that he was recently deceased, but primarily that Odysseus had forgotten his corpse on the island of Circe: “For we had left his *corpse* (σῶμα) behind us in the hall of Circe, *unwept* (ἄκλαπτον) and *unburied* (ἄθαπτον), since another task was urging on us.”<sup>131</sup> In this line Odysseus reveals both the physiology and ritual practices of active recollection that will aid in the restitution of the memory image of his dead friend.



Figure 7.13  
Athenian red  
figure vase with  
Odysseus and  
Elpenor in the  
Underworld.

The next line of the poem, τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ δάκρυσα ἰδὼν ἐλέησά τε θυμῷ, is usually translated as *When I saw him I wept, and my heart had compassion on him.*<sup>132</sup> Although it is not altogether clear from the Greek text whether it is the seeing that causes the weeping or the other way around, both seeing and weeping figure as active processes in the restoration of Elpenor’s memory image, his εἶδωλον, an image as his character is also depicted in the pictorial language of contemporary art in a fifth century vase painting (Fig. 7.13). An artificial character is given to the simulacrum of Elpenor who is here portrayed as an image inside the image. As have been pointed out by Robin Osborne the pose, proportions, and corporeal features of the Polykleitan canon, the primary contemporary artistic expression of the time, are easily recognisable in the execution of Elpenor’s figure. The legs of his εἶδωλον also appear half submerged in the chasm of the underworld as the vase painter has cut

<sup>130</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.51. The paraphrases of the Homeric expression ἡὕτ’ ὄνειρος as “a phantom of the person such as is encountered in a dream” is Onians’. See Onians, 1951, 95.

<sup>131</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.53–54.

<sup>132</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.55.

them off with the outline of the subterranean landscape background.<sup>133</sup> In the final line of the discourse it is noted that Elpenor was all the time *on the other side* (ἐτέροθεν), probably on the other side of the chasm Erebos, but at this stage he is no longer a mere ψυχή, but has attained a firm εἶδωλον. The εἶδωλον of Elpenor has accordingly come about through Odysseus' recollection that has manifested in an emotional response (weeping), dialogue, but above all through a kind of inner vision that revoked the image of the deceased. It is Odysseus' renewed care for this image that is dramatised in the Homeric dialogue between the two comrades.

In addition to the important role that is played by visual imaging in the process of remembering ancestors, the poem also emphasises the liquids involved in the process of recollection. Fluxes are, as we have seen, important both in the ecology and physiology of ancestral recollection. It is by means of a bodily fluid, *the tears of Odysseus over his friend* (τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ δάκρυσσα)<sup>134</sup> that Elpenor's subterranean existence is converted from ψυχή to εἶδωλον. As have been pointed out by Onians the flux of tears plays a very important role in Homer's spiritual imagination: in a description of how husband and wife can long for each other Homer reveals how tears are equated with the very 'stuff of life' (αἰών): "nor were his eyes ever dry of tears, but there *flowed down* (κατείβετο) the sweetest αἰών as he lamented for his return."<sup>135</sup> The αἰών that *is lost* (κατείβω) at longing is also equated with the loss of the liquid (ὕγρως) of life that evaporates at the last breath of life (ψυχή).<sup>136</sup> By remembering and longing for his friend Odysseus also loses some of his own αἰών, and it is this flux, the flux of memory, that reanimates, and maintains the spectral image of his friend in the underworld. Without this flux of recollection, that materialises in the tears of Odysseus, or in the tears of attendants which are represented in so many funeral scenes on Late Geometric ceramic *sêmata*, the dead will evaporate into oblivion.<sup>137</sup>

The place of recollection, which is the itinerary *telos* of Odysseus' journey into the underworld, is also a liquid place. The itinerary through the waterscape of the underworld Odysseus receives from Circe, the witch who knows things that one is

<sup>133</sup> See Osborne, 1998, 169. On the iconography of this scene see otherwise Robertson, 1992, 212.

<sup>134</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.55.

<sup>135</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 5.151ff. The translation is Onians'. See Onians, 1951, 201.

<sup>136</sup> Onians, 1951, 202ff.

<sup>137</sup> Ceramic grave markers (*sêmata*) usually have a 'crack' in the bottom, a practical measure so that rain-water will not fill the container, but the flux through the *sêma* can also be seen as a symbolic flux of memory.

not supposed to know. The first river that Odysseus must cross on this itinerary is Okeanos, the all-encircling world-river, and thus it becomes clear that he is on the very border of *oikoumene*, the inhabited world.<sup>138</sup> In addition to some of the rivers of the underworld (Acheron, Periphlegeton, Cocytus, and Styx) the chasm into the underworld (Erebus) is also mentioned in connection with the sacrifice. This chasm is located at a place where there is a rock sticking out of the surrounding alluvial sediments from the rivers of the underworld – a rather precise geological description, in fact, of a sink-hole (*katavothra*) in a karst landscape. This geological *ekphrasis* provides the epic paradigm for the landscape iconography in the Classical vase painting (Fig. 7.13) that represents the meeting between Odysseus and Elpenor, as well as the ancient cultural perspective on the chthonic landscape features that we have observed in the Sarandapotamos Valley.

Another actualisation of the figural language of liquids in the context of ancestral veneration is the particular kind of sacrificial ritual that is performed. The chthonic sacrifice as described in the *Odyssey* consists of liquids (χοαί) and bread.<sup>139</sup> The liquids appear in pairs. The first pair is called μελίκρητον. This was a mixture of honey and milk, a special cocktail for libation in chthonic sacrifices. The second chthonic libation cocktail consists of wine and water. In this mixture there is also created a connection between the valley of the dead and the plateau of the living. The mixture (*krasis*) of wine and water also belongs together at the symposium in the world of the living. The libation of the communal drink of living men at the grave thus becomes a ritual metonymy for the encounter between the two worlds, between the living and the dead, between the past and the present. It is also interesting that the poem is very specific about how Odysseus prepares the place of libation, because he is explicitly instructed to dig the compulsory sacrificial pit into the ground. Thereby the poem also consolidates the practice of intruding into the space of the tomb, as a material practice for the maintenance of the streams of memory between the two worlds, the terrestrial world of the living and the subterranean world of the dead. The material practices of recollection are laid out as disturbing the dead with intrusions into their burial places and pouring libations on those disturbed places in the ancestral landscape of memory.

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<sup>138</sup> See Romm 1992, 9-44.

<sup>139</sup> On offerenings to the dead see Onians, 1951, 272ff,

PART FOUR

FROM THE MOUNTAINS:  
THE JOURNEYS OF THE GODS

## CHAPTER VIII

## HERMES

Hermès passe partout dans  
l'espace et les temps.

(From Michel Serres,  
*Esthétiques. Sur Carpaccio*, 1975)

The journey along the bank of The Forty Rivers has so far taken us to many places in the terrestrial and subterranean regions of the district of ancient Tegea. The itineraries of the following three, and final, chapters all lead to the mountains. The thematic focus of our ascent into the Tegean Mountains will be on the landscape of the gods. In the previous two chapters I pointed out that the Olympian gods are not as attached to specific localities as chthonian divinities. The designation of Mt. Olympus as the place of the Olympian gods is a topographical allegory of their elevated horizon. Although *the* Olympus was generally believed to be situated on a mighty limestone crown that rises to 2917 m above the southern Macedonian plain, there were many Olympus's in antiquity, especially in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> Because it was also regarded as the Arcadian dwelling place of Zeus, Mt. Lykaios (**Map 1**) was also considered as a local Mt. Olympus in Arcadia.<sup>2</sup> The tendency in the history of Greek literature is for Mt. Olympus to become more and more an abstract figure that expresses how the gods are raised above the concerns of man about life and death. In Greek myth and visual art the divine preference for high places is often expressed in terms of ornithic attributes. The favourite bird of the captain of the gods is the eagle, and in the encounter with Leda it comes natural to him to appear in the shape of a swan. Hermes has winged boots, and the divinity of Helen could, as we have seen in chapter five, be expressed in terms of her ornithic birth (**Fig. 5.11**). In the *Iliad* Mt. Olympus it is always characterised in the form of a perspective. This Homeric view, *from the mountains*, is the perspective of the following three chapters.

<sup>1</sup> On Mt. Olympus on the border between Thessaly and Macedonia in the Greek Mainland see Higgins & Higgins, 1996, 91. The most famous Mt. Olympus's in Asia Minor are the Keshish Dagh in Mysia and the Nif Dagh east of Smyrna.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, 8.38.2

The most concrete re-territorialisation of this Homeric perspective from the mountains in the landscape of the ancient historical present was places of military surveillance. One such place in the Tegeatike is the Classical watchtower at Agia Paraskevi (**Map 4 and Fig. 4.2**), the small mountain that separates the Partheni Basin from the Douliana Valley. The site provides a panopticon (**Fig. 4.1**) of the Tegean Plain. In times of the monumental conflicts down on the plain, which comprise some of the most extensive land battles in ancient Greek history, the view from this position would have given rise to an ambivalent feeling of control and indifference in the watch-man posted there. The watchman at Agia Paraskevi was posted on the frontier of the terrestrial world. He could see things that were otherwise restricted to the vision of the Olympians. To see the Tegean Plain from a bird's eye perspective he would also have to occupy a marginal and inhospitable landscape. Such remote and inhospitable landscapes were usually characterised as *χῶραι ἐρήμια*, 'deserted districts.' Very generally *χῶραι ἐρήμια* are all wild and uncultivated areas, what we in our romantic-ecological language would call virgin landscapes, places that have not been cultivated, or influenced at all by human culture. The people who reside in those areas, pastoralists, hunters, woodcutters and charcoal-burners live virtually on the edge of the civilised world. Now, not all *χῶραι ἐρήμια* are mountains, and not all mountains are *χῶραι ἐρήμια*.<sup>3</sup> In the context of the ancient Greek polis there are, however, few landscape types that constitute marginal frontier zone in the same way that mountains do.

It is rather common in traditional societies for mountains to constitute the most pronounced natural frontiers of the landscape. The Greek landscape is characterised by alternating high mountains, narrow valleys, and small open plains. The paradigm of a polis landscape is easy to recognise even as one passes through it on a modern highway. As you ascend from a mountain pass onto an open plain you are pretty sure to encounter the central territory (*χῶρα*) of an ancient Greek polis. As you climb from the plain onto a new mountain pass you are just as sure to leave it, as you again become aware that you encounter the territory of a new polis when you cross the pass onto the next plain. The political border between poleis is often constituted by a mountain range. Tegea had political mountain borders like this opposite Sparta, Argos, and Asea. Against another of her most dominant neighbours

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<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of *χῶραι ἐρήμια* in Greek culture see Daverio Rocchi, 1988.

Mantineia there was no mountain border, but this frontier was also a continuous source of conflict. By the mere toil required to pass a mountain border it provided the more stable, better, borders between poleis in antiquity. This micro-ecological affinity between mountains and borders is also illustrated in the phonetic similarity between ὄρος (mountain) and ὄρος (boundary) in ancient Greek.<sup>4</sup>

The view from the mountains projects a complex image of otherness in ancient Greek culture. It constitutes political, social, cultural, and religious otherness. By focusing on how the three gods Hermes, Pan and Artemis were built into the elevated parts of the Tegean landscape of memory I also aim at a better understanding of how this otherness was an important part of Arcadian and Tegean cultural identity. Because all Olympian gods dwell on the highest mountain, divinity is, in general, a very important element in the cultural otherness of the mountains. As there are some gods that are more prone to ornithic attributes than others (Zeus & Hermes), there are also some gods that are more fond of the mountains than others. The three gods who will accompany us on our journey into the Tegean Mountains all have their own particular preferences for mountain life. Hermes is the only one of the triad who with his winged boots and helmet developed ornithic attributes as part of his Classical iconography (**Fig. 7.13**). Because Hermes has a remarkable ability to move unrestrained between every thinkable location it does perhaps seem a bit peculiar that he would turn up in a discussion about place-specific local Arcadian landscape of memory. According to mythological tradition he was, like his son Pan, born in Arcadia, although not at Tegea. As the god of travel he is also a very appropriate companion on our journey through the landscapes of Tegea. Pan is actually never counted among the Olympian gods. He is, however, most fond of mountains. Like Hermes and Artemis he is also a very special friend of the marginal people that dwell in the mountains. The full-fledged Olympian Artemis is not an Arcadian by birth, but she develops a very special relationship with Arcadia. Like her socio-cultural relative Orestes she becomes an adopted Arcadian.

It should be pointed out that my emphasis of the triad of Hermes, Pan, and Artemis is hardly representative of the rural cults of ancient Tegea. There are certainly also sanctuaries and sacred places devoted to other divinities in the Tegean country-side, and the personae of these divinities – Zeus, Demeter, Apollo,

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<sup>4</sup> By this I do not mean to imply that there is an etymological connection between the two.

and Dionysus to mention some of the more prominent – are no less important, or characteristic, for the Tegeatike than those I will be dealing with here.<sup>5</sup> The triad of Hermes, Pan and Artemis is emphasised here primarily because they serve to illustrate some aspects of Tegean landscapes of memory that are of interest in the context of my discussion. The only sanctuary that has been documented with reasonable confidence in the Tegean Mountains was dedicated to Artemis. Her place in the local landscape is, accordingly, of a more public character. As will be seen when I return to it in the final chapter on Artemis, it is obvious that this sanctuary served to visualise the early appropriation of polis territory that has been so much at the focus of the cultural history of rural Greece since François de Polignac published his now classic study in 1984. Although I agree with de Polignac on most points, my concern with Artemis is somewhat different than his. With Artemis, as with the other two, my primary concern is how their places are situated in the context of local tradition.

In the broader context of the rural geography of religion at Tegea divinities like Pan and Hermes were marginal persona. Especially Pan is a very important cultural symbol of Arcadian identity, and, indeed, of Tegean identity. Both divinities also had either urban or sub-urban sanctuaries at Tegea, and both would accordingly be afforded some attention in a general survey of the Tegean geography of religion. There is, however, another aspect of their role in the local geography of recollection that interests me here. Although it may be somewhat anachronistic to express it in this manner, there is some justification in saying that they both belong in a field of personal religious experience. Pan, for example, has a very strong and unreliable divine personality. He also has a unique tendency to make himself heard by common individuals. In the context of Greek religion, outside the so-called mystery cults, this is a very special quality.<sup>6</sup> Acoustic appearances especially in the Arcadian mountains, and on one very important political occasion in the Tegean Mountains, make Pan's landscapes of memory very special personal places. Although it is expressed in a very different religious language, Hermes too is a personal divinity. His swiftness makes it possible for him to be present almost everywhere at almost

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<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive survey of the sacred geography of the Tegeatike I refer the readers to Madelaine Jost's excellent treatment of Arcadian sacred geography in Jost, 1985. For a brief historical and archaeological survey of the Tegean sanctuaries see Jost, 1985, 142-165.

<sup>6</sup> On the emphasis of the personal in Greek mystery cults see Burkert, 1987, 12-29.

the same time. From the perspective of individual every-day experience he is, no doubt, the most omni-present of the Olympians. In origin as in every-day ritual appropriation his places are often very intimate places.

Hermes is the first of the two ‘personal’ divinities in the rural Tegeatike whom I will turn to here. It has often been claimed by those who forward a continuity paradigm between pagan polytheism and Christian monotheism that the Virgin Mary and the saints tended to inherit the character and attributes of pagan divinities. With Hermes this continuity is evident on at least two distinct, but intersecting, levels. In official religion the Christian angels, divine messengers and protectors of men, however rooted in Hebrew tradition, also inherited some of their qualities and ornithic attributes from the Greek Hermes, the divine messenger, and protector of men. This case of cultural continuity, however interesting in its own right, is only indirectly relevant in our context. What is of vital importance for the reconstruction of historical local landscapes of memory is that some of the place-specific visualisation techniques and material practices concerned with his ancient appropriation can be found, in the same generic places as in the pagan era. In the long run Hermes does not rub off as easily as other persona in the polytheistic repertoire.

### 1. ‘HERE AND THERE AND EVERYWHERE’ THE TIME AND SPACE OF THE ANCIENT GOD HERMES

Hermes occupies a central position in the ancient Greek landscape of memory. I can think of no better example to visualise this position than the depiction of Odysseus’ encounter with Elpenor in the underworld (**Fig. 7.13**) on the fifth century Athenian vase that I discussed in the previous chapter. Hermes is often depicted in Greek art as a simple stele (**Fig. 8.1**) with no other representational features than a head and an erect male organ (*ithyphallos*). This type of primitive image reflects a traditional role that was played by simple stone images of Hermes. The general trajectory of the development of the iconography of Hermes goes from a simple an-iconic stele, the herm, to the Classical anthropomorphic representation.<sup>7</sup> In local contexts, as at Tegea, the general trajectory of this development is sometimes rather misleading.

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<sup>7</sup> For a review of the iconography of Hermes in vase painting see Zanker, 1965.

In the fifth century depiction of the subterranean encounter between Odysseus and Elpenor the anthropomorphic Hermes appears with all the attributes of his rhetorically elaborated iconography (**Fig 7.13**). He is depicted as a bearded grown man in a simple cloak of the kind that was used by travellers. He has winged boots and helmet, and he is carrying the *kerykeion* (messengers staff) in his hand. The place of Hermes in Odysseus' journey into the underworld is as his companion. As Hermes *Psukhopompos* it is his task to be the guide from the terrestrial to the subterranean world, and he is, in fact, the only one of the gods who can journey between all three plateaus of existence. He has a permanent seat at the Table of the Olympians, but there is, on the other hand, no other Olympian god that is so close to the every-day life of men as Hermes. Hermes is here, and there, and everywhere. As the French philosopher Michel Serres has expressed it; "Hermes passes through everywhere in space and time."<sup>8</sup> If this is the case, if Hermes is everywhere at all times, how can he, at all, have *one* specific place in the local landscape of memory?

One answer to that question is that he cannot have one specific place in the local landscape of memory. The paradoxical elaboration of this answer is that he cannot have specific places in local landscapes of memory, because Hermes can only be *between* places. As has been pointed out by L. Kahn, Hermes is the divinity of the ambiguities of communication.<sup>9</sup> In this context communication must be understood in the broadest sense of the word. This also clarifies the place of Hermes in the fifth century vase painting of the subterranean encounter between Odysseus and Elpenor (**Fig 7.13**). Hermes is present in the scene in a double role as guide and travel companion. He has guided Odysseus on the dangerous journey to a borderland between the terrestrial and the subterranean worlds, but he is also standing by to receive the soul of Elpenor and guide him on the right path to the Hall of Hades. He also plays the role of intermediary in the linguistic communication that takes place between Odysseus and Elpenor. The pictorial dialogue of the image emphasises that the words and gestures of Odysseus are carefully guided by the god of rhetoric. This is also the pictorial pun in the scene (**Fig. 8.1**) with three herms in conversation – the god of linguistic interchange communicating with himself! Note how in the scene with Odysseus and Elpenor (**Fig 7.13**) the right hand of the god is gently raised in a gesture of speech, almost as though he is whispering to Odysseus, and

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<sup>8</sup> Serres, 1975, 1. My translation.

<sup>9</sup> See Kahn, 1978.

how Odysseus' gesture of violence (the raised sword) is modified by the parallel messenger staff, the visual sign of verbal communication, in the hand of Hermes. Surely this must be the pictorial paradigm for the Christian iconography of divine inspiration.



Figure 8.1  
Fragment of a red-figure pelike  
with three herms in conversation.



Figure 8.2 In situ boundary stone (to the left in the image)  
in front of north wall of triangular sanctuary in the  
Athenian Agora.

Because Hermes is the divinity of the ambiguities of communication his place is always at the boundary. It is probably significant that Hermes shares a common an-  
iconic visual culture with boundary stones (ὄροι), simple square pillars that were set  
up to demarcate private and public boundaries (Fig. 8.2).<sup>10</sup> Like the three talking  
herms (Fig. 8.1) such boundary stones also frequently 'talk.' A famous one in the  
Athenian Agora says; ΗΟΡΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΕΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ (I am the boundary of the Agora!).<sup>11</sup>  
Hermes is the protector of people who move across the frontiers. He protects the  
Arcadian shepherds as *Hermes Nomios*. In the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* he is called  
'the Prince of Thieves', protector of those who move things under the cover of  
darkness and trickery!<sup>12</sup> The official messengers (the *kerykes*) are especially  
protected by Hermes. It is often pointed out that Athena is the special guardian of  
Odysseus, but Hermes too has him as his very special protégée. Unlike Dionysus,  
another divinity connected with ambiguous frontier zones, Hermes is not a violent  
character.<sup>13</sup> He may cheat, steal, and twist messages, but he rather supports those  
who perform such acts than negatively hurts those that these acts are performed  
on. In accordance with his non-violent character he is not usually connected with  
warfare. With his preference for treachery, charm, and rhetoric he is the anti-thesis

<sup>10</sup> See Wrede, 1986, 39ff.

<sup>11</sup> See Camp, 1992, 51, Fig. 30.

<sup>12</sup> See especially Brown, 1947.

<sup>13</sup> On Hermes and Dionysos see otherwise Kahn, 1978, 113ff.

of Ares. When, however, unconventional measures are taken in connection with warfare, like sneaking up on an enemy under cover of darkness or inside a wooden horse, he is a likely character to appear on the stage. With his preference for persuasion and tricks rather than violent confrontation on the battlefield Odysseus is, in many ways, the heroic double of Hermes.

Hermes is angel, ἄγγελος, messenger, and translator, the perfect postal service, who with the swift wings of his boots and helmet (**Fig 7.13**) transports messages from one place to another. In mythological narratives Hermes is always situated at the structural edge of the story. He does not appear to have any will or desire of his own, in contrast to an otherwise characteristic feature of the Olympians. He always interacts on the behalf of someone else, always conveying someone else's message, or someone else's goods (as the god of trade), or someone else's body on journeys in general, and on the journey to the other side in particular. It would be a mistake, however, to construe this unselfish avoidance of interference on his own behalf as a simplistic theology of communication. Hermes is in full control of the process of verbal communication, of every box in the linguistic communication model so to speak. The productive side of rhetoric is his domain from *inventio* to *actio*. He is involved in the intellectual origin as well as the act of pronouncing a statement. He is also present in the act of interpretation. The foreign word that we still use in linguistic science as a technical term for interpretation, hermeneutics, is derived from the Greek verb ἑρμενεύω, to 'hermenise' if we like. This can mean both to explain and to translate. Its basic meaning is the linguistic conveyance of meaning from one place to another, from topos to topos, from phrase to phrase. To 'hermenise' is the verbal equivalent of *ekphrasis*. The communication of meaning from one medium to another and from one phrase to another within the same medium are processes where Hermes is always involved. The hermeneutic process also extends to artistic image making. When the art of statuary is called ἡ ἑρμογλυφική τέχνη it is not just because the sculptors made herms but also because Hermes is involved in the act of transforming the meaningless stone block into meaningful statuary.

In rhetorical *ekphrasis*, in linguistic interpretation in the ancient Greek sense, and in the process of transforming meaningless matter into meaningful art the messages that are transported from one place to another are never preserved

untainted by the circumstance of their routes. A description of a battle is always set in another rhetorical context than the battle itself, and the hermeneutics of the description is located in its ability to establish a connection between the battle and its rhetorical context. It is this field of semiotic circumstantialities, the connection between the context of a description and the object of description, that is the cultural arena of Hermes. This understanding of the extended cultural arena of Hermes also opens up for an interpretation of his place in the local landscape of memory. Like messages, memories are never untainted by the circumstances of their reception. As the ancient mnemotechnicians were acutely aware of, memory is always subject to time- and place-specific circumstances. The theory of *ars memoria* represents a systematic attempt to utilise the time- and place-specific circumstances of memory in rhetorical education. The places and images of Hermes in the rural landscape of ancient Tegea unfold the circumstantialities of memory in practice.

## 2. TEGEAN HERMES: ANCIENT SANCTUARIES AND INCIDENTAL PLACES OF COMMEMORATION

Although civic monumentality is not one of the most characteristic features of the ancient cult of Hermes, civic sanctuaries of Hermes with temples, altars, and temenoi walls are not unheard of. An interesting case from Tegea is the sanctuary of Hermes Aiputos, briefly mentioned by Pausanias in his *ekphrasis* of the sacred geography of the Tegean urban centre. Pausanias refers to this sanctuary directly after the description of the fountain of Auge, which was situated ‘to the north of’ (πρὸς ἄρκτον)<sup>14</sup> the temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea. He thus continues; ἀπωτέρω δὲ τῆς κρήνης ὅσον σταδίοις τρισὶν ἔστιν Ἑρμοῦ ναὸς Αἰπύτου.<sup>15</sup> The use of the particle δέ after ἀπωτέρω probably refers to the direction ‘to the north of’ indicated above, so that an adapted translation would read; “and three stadia further [to the north of] the fountain is a temple of Hermes Aiputos.” Since there is every reason to believe that the Fountain of Auge is identical with the excavated

<sup>14</sup> Pausanias, 8.47.4. The phrase πρὸς ἄρκτον actually means ‘towards the bear’, which refers to the constellation known as The Bear (The Big Dipper). The bear in question was the transformed Arcadian maiden Kallisto. In the discussion of Artemis in chapter ten I will return to the place of this constellation in the local Tegean landscape of memory.

<sup>15</sup> Pausanias, 8.47.4.

basin just to the north of the Athena Alea temple that I discussed in chapter six, this would give a pretty good indication of where to look for the temple of Hermes Aiputos. The route suggested by Pausanias, some five to six hundred meters (three stadia) to the north of the Fountain of Auge, takes us somewhere in the vicinity of the Tegean village of Nea Episkopi (**Map 5**). During the recent survey of the urban centre we did, in fact, discover the foundations of an ancient building just on the southern edge of that village.<sup>16</sup> Although we presently know very little about the urban, or sub-urban, sanctuary of Hermes Aiputos at Tegea, it still makes a very interesting case for the local appropriation of Hermes. As has been noted by Madelaine Jost, the connection between Hermes and the hero Aiputos is most intriguing. This is, in fact, the only example where Hermes is associated with a specific hero cult.<sup>17</sup> Now, the connection between Hermes and chthonic divinities is commonplace in ancient Greek culture. In myth he often appears as the guide and helper, especially of favourite heroes like Perseus and Heracles.<sup>18</sup> In the visual arts we have also seen an example of how he is associated with Odysseus. In Arcadian tradition he is often woven into local heroic genealogies as the forefather of important heroes.<sup>19</sup> Further below we shall also see how this image of Hermes as a particularly local persona also found its expression in popular visual culture at Tegea.

Apart from this one isolated case of a civic sanctuary of a particularly local (chthonic) Tegean Hermes, his cult at Tegea, as elsewhere in ancient Greece, is characterised by the time- and place-specific circumstances of every-day life. Traditionally scholars have considered the commemoration of Ἑρμῆς, or Ἑρμῶν in Arcadian dialect, to be related with ἔρμα.<sup>20</sup> The ἔρμα signifies the kind of incidental stones one uses for support, for instance 'to keep ships upright when hauled

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<sup>16</sup> It is presently not possible to confirm if this sanctuary was actually inside or just outside the urban fortifications. If it was outside, it must, like the sanctuary of Athena Alea, have been situated very close to the perimeter. The foundations were discovered during the year 2000 fieldwork of a NAS field-team supervised by myself. The existence of a temple foundation outside *Nea Episkopi*, which appears to be a quadrangular terrace just on the southern edge of the village, has since been confirmed by GPR surveying undertaken by Harald Klempe. The GPR survey identified a substructure with rectangular dimensions about 19.5 x 41 m. On a preliminary survey of exposed building blocks Dr. Jari Pakkanen, University of London, identified a piece of a ramp. Taken together these indications are very much in favour of an ancient temple building. See Ødegård, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> See Jost, 1985, 254f. For another opinion on Tegean Hermes Aiputos see Immerwahr, 1891, 85.

<sup>18</sup> See Jost, 1985, 255.

<sup>19</sup> See Immerwahr, 85.

<sup>20</sup> On the obscure ethymological origin of Hermes see Kahn, 1978, 12ff.

ashore,<sup>21</sup> or used for the construction of simple cairns consisting of stones heaped up along the road by travellers.<sup>22</sup> These cairns were called ἔρμακες (ἔρμαξ in singular). In fairly recent times this *en route* incidental deposition of stones was still going on in the pastoral landscapes of Arcadia, and it can hardly be a coincidence that such incidental cairns (**Fig. 8.3**) are called ἀρμακάδες in modern Arcadian dialect.<sup>23</sup> The ἔρμα can also signify the stones that are used to pile up a mound (τύμβος) on top of a simple tomb.<sup>24</sup> There is a visual as well as a conceptual connection between tombs and herms in the local landscape of memory. The practice of adding another stone to an already existing road-side cairn with an incidental origin was customary in antiquity, and both the fact that it is a ritualised activity undertaken by people on the move, and its incidental character, situate these cairns in a typical ‘Hermetic’ field of cultural signification.<sup>25</sup> Rather than regarding this as the etymological and historical origins of Hermes in ancient Greece, we can view it as a case of semiotic contamination, a kind of cultural metonymics, between these two phenomena. After all, the practice of incidental construction of cairns in the rural landscape, or continued heaping of stones on an already existing pile, which originally may have been a grave or an agricultural cairn, where the cultural memory of its origin has passed into oblivion, is a cross-cultural phenomenon not necessarily connected with worship of the ancient Greek god Hermes.<sup>26</sup>

One place of commemoration of this type in the Tegean highlands, at a place called *Stous Phonemenous* (Στους Φονεμένους), has been identified as an ancient roadside sanctuary of Hermes. Situated high up in the Northern Parnon at an altitude of more than 1200 meters there is nothing whatsoever attractive about this place other than the incidental convergence there of traffic routes from many different directions (**Map 3**). The monument consists of a group of large cairns that have probably been piled up by bypassers during a very long time rather than ever having been constructed at a finite point in history. Both its accidental situation in

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<sup>21</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 1.486.

<sup>22</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 156.

<sup>23</sup> This point was first made by Konstantinos Romaios. See Romaios, 1957a, 71; and Romaios, 1908, 395ff.

<sup>24</sup> See Sophocles, *Antigone*, 848.

<sup>25</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 156.

<sup>26</sup> Such cairns can especially be found in mountainous areas, where they sometimes are the only visible signs of safe passage for travellers, in the Central European Alps as well as in the Norwegian Highlands.

the landscape and its ambiguous origin are features that really make this place a paradigm for the place-specific, but accidental commemoration of Hermes. In the summer of 1903 Romaios excavated the “three mounds of stone and earth” at *Stous Phonemenous*. The place-name, which is of post-ancient origin, is probably derived from the expression εἰς τοὺς φονεμένους (“at the place of the murdered men”). In the ancient landscape the site was situated in the heart of the χῶραι ἐρήμιαi between the territories of Tegea, Argos, and Lacedaimon.<sup>27</sup> The pass where the large cairns is located constituted a natural boundary between those three poleis. That this marginal place attracted any attention at all in antiquity is most certainly because it was also an important node in the regional traffic-network between the three Peloponnesian giants: through the Upper Sarandapotamos Valley beyond Analipsis and Vourvoura there was a connection to the Tegean Plain, and to the ancient Tegean road-network that we discussed in chapter three. From the south the Stous Phonemenous Pass was connected with Sparta via Sellasia and Karyai/Arachova (**Map 1**).<sup>28</sup> Towards the north there was also a route to Kynouria and the Argolid. Like the more famous high mountain route over Mt. Taygetos that connected Sparta with Messenia (**Map 1**) this high mountain route (**Map 3**) was probably a military emergency route from Sparta to Kynouria and the Argolid.<sup>29</sup> Because it bordered on her Peloponnesian archenemy Argos, this route must have been a very important one for Sparta. It provided immediate access to the *peroikoi* of Kynouria, and it was also a convenient direct route to the Argive frontier that often required the military attention of the Spartan kings.

It is evident that the Stous Phonemenous site was an important crossroads in the ancient communication network, but Romaios found no traces of a settlement, or, in fact, of any military presence in the form of a border fort. This was not a place to build and dwell. It was rather a place one passes through. This incidental character

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<sup>27</sup> The site was treated especially by Romaios in two articles, in a brief review in English after the first excavation campaign (Romaios, 1905), and in a longer article in Greek after the second campaign (Romaios, 1908) where Romaios also discussed the finds at Stous Phonemenous in a broader topographical and cultural context. Since I have not been able to find the site, it is also difficult to decide the precise altitude of the monument. Based on the 1:50.000 Greek army maps the altitude of 1270 meters, which is suggested by Romaios (see map in Romaios, 1957a, 67, fig. 1.), seems too high. A few years later Romaios undertook another excavation at Stous Phonemenous. This time he discovered and excavated a similar mound situated approximately 300 meters to the west of the mounds excavated in 1903. See Romaios, 1905, 138.

<sup>28</sup> Pritchett touches upon this route in the discussion of Pausanias’ road from Sparta to Arcadia. See Pritchett, 1982, 1-28.

<sup>29</sup> For the most recent comprehensive discussion of this network see Phaklaris, 1990, 209-216.

is also reflected in the monuments at Stous Phonemenous. The investigation undertaken by Romaios showed that all the three mounds were constructed in the same manner. Their 'building material' consisted mainly of small stones mixed with earth. Two of the mounds had the form of circles, whereas a third (Γ) was shaped like an ellipse. The shape of the latter probably reflected the fragmentary remains of a six meter long wall inside it, the origin of which has remained obscure. Inside the mounds Romaios found mainly fragmented pottery (one spherical Attic aryballos in Γ, and black-glazed sherds in A & B) and a few roof-tiles.<sup>30</sup> In the surface layer of mound A Romaios found a broken stone slab with a fragmentary Laconian inscription with the letters ΝΕΘΛΟΣ which he restored as [Ἑρμᾶ]ν ἔθλος, and dated to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>31</sup> Romaios took this as evidence of 6<sup>th</sup> century worship of Hermes at this site. Already a decade before Romaios investigated the site William Loring suggested that the mounds in the Stous Phonemenous Pass were identical with the so-called Laconian Herms mentioned by Pausanias as a common boundary of Argos, Tegea, and Lacedaimon.<sup>32</sup>

Above the village rises Mount Parnon (ὄρος Πάρνων). On it the Lacedaemonian boundary meets the boundaries of Argolis and Tegea. *Stone images of Hermes* (Ἑρμαῖ λίθου) stand on the frontier (ἐπι τοῖς ὄροις), and the place gets its name from them.<sup>33</sup>

The investigation of the site undertaken by Romaios provided such support for Loring's hypothesis that most scholars have since accepted it. This is, however, not to say that all Romaios' conclusions have escaped criticism. As noted by Madeleine Jost, Romaios' reconstruction of the 6<sup>th</sup> century inscription is dubious, and accordingly also his case for a 6<sup>th</sup> century document of Arcadian Ἑρμᾶν at this location.<sup>34</sup> P. B. Phaklaris included the Stous Phonemenous site in his survey of Kynouria, and it was also taken up by Pritchett. Also the two most recent visitors to this place have confirmed Loring's identification.<sup>35</sup>

My point here not to make additional comments on individual finds, nor to discuss whether the term Ἑρμαῖ λίθου should be taken as evidence that there were stone pillars on top of the cairns in Antiquity, or whether the phrase simply refers

<sup>30</sup> Romaios, 1908, 389.

<sup>31</sup> Romaios, 1908, 391ff.

<sup>32</sup> Loring, 1895, 55. See also Jochmus, 1957, 43. For a survey of earlier observations see Romaios, 1908, 383-4.

<sup>33</sup> Pausanias, 2.38.7.

<sup>34</sup> Jost, 1985, 454, and note 1.

<sup>35</sup> See Phaklaris, 1985, 239-242; and Pritchett, 1989, 105-106.

to the fact that the herms consisted in the stone piles themselves.<sup>36</sup> What is interesting in our context is how the Stous Phonemenous material provides a local paradigm of an incidental place of Hermes. The most important point is, I believe, the location. As was noted also by Pritchett, the Stous Phonemenous cairns are situated at the highest point of the pass where the traffic of three different ancient powers converged.<sup>37</sup> It was a common boundary of their territories.



Figure 8.3  
Contemporary άρμακάς from Kynouria.



Figure 8.6 A contemporary road-side shrine from the district of ancient Tegea.

It was a landscape that belonged to all, and to no one, and it was a place and not a place. This ambiguous place is high up on the mountain (όρος Πάρνων), and right on the frontiers (έπι τοίς όροις) of the three. Όρος and όρος become virtually interchangeable at this place of Hermes. The mountain constitutes the common boundary; but, as we have observed earlier, it is also important that it is the itinerary movement across the mountain rather than the mountain as a distinct entity that constitutes the boundary. The mountain pass is not a place of permanent residence. It is a place that is constituted as such by virtue of its being always already passed. It is also in this sense that the mountain was a place of Hermes, not because it was the dwelling place of Hermes. Rather it was because it was a place where no one took the time to stop any longer than it would take to deposit another stone that it was the perfect place of Hermes.

<sup>36</sup> See Phaklaris, 1985, 239-242 for a detailed discussion of the Stous Phonemenous material.

<sup>37</sup> See Pritchett, 1989, 105.

This tropology of moving is also inherent in the monument, or monuments, at the Stous Phonemenous site. Three different territories converge at Stous Phonemenous; and there are, appropriately, three separate cairns. As was pointed out by Phaklaris, everything about these monuments indicates that they were created in that incidental manner characteristic of the veneration of Hermes Enodios.<sup>38</sup> Incidental stones, abandoned building material (tiles), and pottery fragments have been placed on the piles by travellers as symbolic offerings to the god.<sup>39</sup> The presence of a regular wall in one of the three cairns indicates that at some time there had been a specific building of some type here. Whatever kind of building it may have been is irrelevant to the cultural status of the three accidental monuments. The piling up of stones on top of these ruins represents a material practice for the re-territorialisation of the past of the place that actively obscures its specific origin. This material practice of oblivion transforms the specificity of the place into a general cultural signifier of transmission, or, to express it in the religious language of ancient Greece, into a place of Hermes.

### 3. MEMENTO MORI OF EVERY-DAY LIFE: THE POST-ANCIENT RECEPTION HISTORY OF 'THE PLACE OF THE MURDERED MEN'

The subsequent reception history of the site of the ancient Laconian Hermai is no less obscure than its place in ancient history, but it provides a very interesting case for continuity in the local landscape of memory. Up until a couple of decades ago the pass was still used as a local route between the mountain communities of the early modern district of Agios Petros. This connection between the village of Agios Petros and the Eurotas Valley was of some importance in early modern times.<sup>40</sup> In the Ottoman period Agios Petros was an important place because of its relative independence. The local monastic control of this mountain region probably goes back to the medieval period, at which time the Stous Phonemenous pass connections with Mistras (**Map 1**) in the Eurotas Valley and Nikli and later Mouchli (**Map 3**) in the Tegean Plain would have retained some interest.

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<sup>38</sup> See Phaklaris, 1985, 193-195.

<sup>39</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 156.

<sup>40</sup> See Pritchett, 1989, 105.

Romaios, who excavated the site in 1903, is one of the few scholars that has taken an interest in the local relationship between the ancient past and the medieval historical present in the mountain district of Agios Petros. This was no doubt a very personal matter for Romaios. Since he was born and raised at Vourvoura (Map 2) not far from Stous Phonemenous, he had an intimate knowledge of this landscape. In his work with the places and monuments of this area he fused learning and personal experience in a very special manner. It is evident that this fusion might be considered somewhat problematic from the viewpoint of linear history. If Romaios (Fig. 8.4) may sometimes have acted more as an artist of recollection than a rigorous scientist, this makes him all the more interesting in our context. It is especially interesting to observe how Romaios used the Stous Phonemenous example to visualise the local dialogue between recollection and oblivion.



Figure 8.4  
Portrait of Konstantinos Romaios.



Figure 8.5 Icon of St. George the Younger of Ioannina.

This local dialogue between recollection and oblivion starts with a mistaken interpretation: although no bone-remains were found on the site during his first campaign at Stous Phonemenous in 1903, Romaios proposed in his first publication that the mounds at Stous Phonemenous were tombs and that “the place got its

name of 'Ερμαῖ when the existence of the tombs was forgotten."<sup>41</sup> Since skeletal remains could not be located in the following season, Romaios later abandoned this hypothesis.<sup>42</sup> The reason why Romaios was attentive to the funeral possibility in the first place is rooted in his knowledge of local traditions of the more recent past. It is this tradition that is reflected in the toponym *Stous Phonemenous*, which means 'at the place of the murdered men'. According to Romaios the Agios Petros community held that the mounds were the graves of three great Greek heroes, who were killed in a hazy mytho-historical past while defending their land against intruders.<sup>43</sup>

One possible historical reception context for the mounds of the murdered men is the Ottoman period. Popular Greek folklore from this period is littered with local heroes who opposed the Ottoman overlords. Some of these heroic defenders of Orthodox independence also acquired status as Orthodox saints, so-called neo-martyrs like St. George the Younger of Ioannina (**Fig. 8.5**).<sup>44</sup> Since the district of Agios Petros was an independent Orthodox district in the Ottoman period, it would also be most appropriate if its rural landscape was imprinted with the memory of heroic opposition. As is also pointed out by Romaios this type of toponym is also attested in the medieval Peloponnese. As a parallel Romaios refers to an example from the medieval *Chronicle of the Morea*, where ἡ φονεμένη ράχι ('the stream of the murdered') is the name of a place where a battle was fought between Franks and Byzantines.<sup>45</sup> On the local horizon of the Orthodox present the Byzantine struggle against the invading armies of Western powers, be they Franks or Venetians, was as valid a heroic paradigm as the resistance against the *Tourkokratia*.

As a heuristic device the mistaken interpretation of Romaios opens up for a very interesting understanding of the reception history of the cairns which were venerated in antiquity as a common frontier sanctuary of Hermes. Romaios is, however, not the only early commentator on the tradition that lead him to a mistaken, but productive, interpretation of the cairns. The English General Jochmus, who visited the area in the 1850's, also appears to have been aware of the tradition, and it is also possible that Romaios may have been influenced by him in his first mistaken interpretation. In a Romantic spirit Jochmus ascribed the toponym to a

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<sup>41</sup> Romaios, 1905, 138.

<sup>42</sup> See Romaios, 1908. See also Jost, 1995, 454.

<sup>43</sup> Romaios, 1908, 383 and 401-2.

<sup>44</sup> See Clogg, 2002, 57.

<sup>45</sup> See Romaios 1908, 402; and *The Chronicle of Morea*, 5373 & 5384.

tradition “perpetuated from the earliest age of Grecian antiquity.”<sup>46</sup> William Loring, another Englishman and contemporary of Romaios, fiercely opposed this suggestion, which he regarded as “the guesses of half-educated priests or schoolmasters with a smattering of ancient Greece.”<sup>47</sup> Unlike Loring who was obsessed with cleansing the pure linearity of Greek Antiquity from the disturbances of non-linear local memory, Romaios was able to save his mistaken interpretation of the ancient monument in an intelligent historical critique of local tradition.<sup>48</sup>

What is also most interesting about Romaios’ recognition of the cultural meaning of violent and heroic death in folklore at *Stous Phonemenous* is that it points towards a kind of incidental commemoration in the Orthodox landscape of memory that has certain unexpected affinities with the ancient reception context of this place of Hermes.<sup>49</sup> Along the roads throughout the Tegeatike, as well as in any other modern Greek landscape, the traveller will frequently encounter a kind of incidental Orthodox sanctuary (Fig. 8.6). These roadside shrines consist of more or less elaborated miniature chapels, often just a metal box on a simple pole with space for an oil-lamp and a small icon. They are usually set up by the families of people, who have been involved in a fatal, or near-fatal, traffic accident on that very spot. Whether the origin of this kind of Christian road-side shrine, however attractive an hypothesis in a discussion of long-term features in local landscapes of memory, can be situated in an incidental veneration of *Hermes*, or other ancient Gods for that matter, is really beside the point here. What is important to note is that the spontaneous appropriation of the ancient Ἑρμᾶ in local Christian memory is undertaken according to the paradigm that governs the Christian roadside sanctuaries. In the early modern tradition the mounds should accordingly not be regarded as graves, but as the place of an incident, a place where three heroes were murdered. This provides a generic connection between the reception context of the ancient Hermes sanctuary and the medieval or early modern tradition that is preserved in the toponym *Stous Phonemenous*.

As cultural analogies the Christian roadside sanctuaries display an incidental sense of place, which is reminiscent of the ancient veneration of the Laconian

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<sup>46</sup> See Jochmus, 1857, 43.

<sup>47</sup> Loring, 1895, 55, note 111.

<sup>48</sup> See Romaios, 1908, 25.

<sup>49</sup> In no way do I mean to imply that we are dealing with the kind of continuous tradition “perpetuated from the earliest ages of Greek antiquity,” Jochmus’ suggests. See Jochmus, 1857, 42.

Hermai. The ontological status of these places is strikingly ambivalent. It may be a place of death, but it is not a grave; it may be a place of worship, as oil-lamps are lit there on important days of the religious calendar, but it is not an official Christian sanctuary. The Christian roadside shrine becomes a kind of every-day *memento mori*. Although this is not an explicit purpose of such ancient incidental sanctuaries to Hermes as the Laconian Hermai, the insecurity of being on the road, even under the protective wings of Hermes, was probably always a reminder of potential death in Antiquity. The presence of Hermes in the context of an every-day *memento mori* is also entirely appropriate, for Hermes was not only the guide for men in life (*Hermes Enodios*) but also the guide who accompanies the soul to the afterlife (*Hermes Psukhopompos*). The place which was demarcated by the *Hermai* represented an ambivalent space. It was situated along the road (*Enodios*) where one was never safe; and the situation in the *khoraí eremai*, at the juncture of the territories of Argos, Lacedaimon, and Tegea, would have made travellers acutely aware of the its ambivalence. This threefold neither-nor was probably also visualised on the spot by the presence of three separate mounds. Like the Christian road-side shrines the Ἑρμαῖ were also visual reminders in the landscape: they served as warning-posts to remind the traveller of what kind of landscape he finds himself in outside the boundaries of the polis, but they also serve as reminders of the protection that Hermes affords the traveller when he is in this particular situation.

#### 4. TRADITIONAL IMAGES OF HERMES, AND THE SO-CALLED 'ARCADIAN HERMS'

So far I have focused on the places rather than the faces of Hermes in the Tegean landscape of memory. The ancient Greek story about the images of Hermes is very special, and ancient Greek imagery of Hermes is particularly conservative. Like his Olympian relatives he is frequently featured using the visual rhetoric of the human form already in Archaic art.<sup>50</sup> Hermes is, on the other hand, the last of the Olympians to preserve the more primitive composite form in visual representations. This typical form of the herm consists of a stone pillar with a bearded head and *ithyphallos*. There is something old-fashioned about this ancient Greek image of

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<sup>50</sup> For an early example in vase painting see Boardman, 1998, 211, Fig. 434.

Hermes, and Hermes is probably a very old divine persona in Greece. Some scholars have, in fact, argued that a form of the name Hermes can be found already in Mycenaean Linear-B tablets.<sup>51</sup> The mythological tradition always emphasised that Hermes was an Arcadian by birth. If the chronological stages in the history of the iconography of Hermes were ordered in the appropriate linear manner, we would expect that the old-fashioned aniconic Hermes pillars also originated in Arcadia. We do, on the other hand, have pretty good contemporary testimonies that this was not the case:

The Greek practice of making ithyphallic statues of Hermes, however, was not learnt from Egypt, but from the Pelasgians. The Athenians were the first Greeks to take over the practice, and then everyone else got it from them. The point is that the Pelasgians became fellow inhabitants of the land occupied by the Athenians at a time when the Athenians already counted as Greeks. Anyone will know what I mean if he is an initiate of the mysteries of the Cabiri—rites which are celebrated on Samothrace and are Pelasgian in origin, since the Pelasgians who came to share land with the Athenians had previously lived on Samothrace and were the ones from whom the Samothracians learnt the rites. Anyway, the Athenians were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic statues of Hermes, and they learnt it from the Pelasgians. The Pelasgians told a secret story about it, which is revealed during the mysteries in Samothrace.<sup>52</sup>

Already at the end of the sixth century BC herms were an integrate part of everyday visual culture at Athens, and under the Peisistratides they became closely associated with reforms of the Athenian communication system. Around 520 BC Hipparchus set up herms to mark the mid points, and thus also establishing a road-network, between the villages of the Athenian polis.<sup>53</sup> At Athens these images were, as Thucydides puts it in connection with their infamous mutilation in connection with the Athenian campaign against Sicily in 415 BC, “... a national institution, the well-known square figures, of which there are great numbers both in the porches of private houses and in the temples.”<sup>54</sup> The ithyphallic type that Herodotus talks about as the preferred Athenian herm under the Peisistratides also spread to other regions of Greece.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> A good case has been made for reading *e-ma-a* in Linear-B tablets as a Mycenaean version of Hermes. See Burkert, 1985, 43, note 9; and 156, note 5.

<sup>52</sup> Herodotus, 2.51.

<sup>53</sup> Plato, *Hipparchus*, 228d.

<sup>54</sup> Thucydides, 6.27.

<sup>55</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 156. For a detailed account of different types of Greek herms see Lullies, 1931.

A very particular type of stone herm has been found at Tegea. In 1911 Konstantinos Romaios made a catalogue of the collected specimens.<sup>56</sup> The type, which Romaios labelled Arcadian herms, consists of a crudely cut simple square shaft crowned by a pyramidal head (Fig. 8.7).

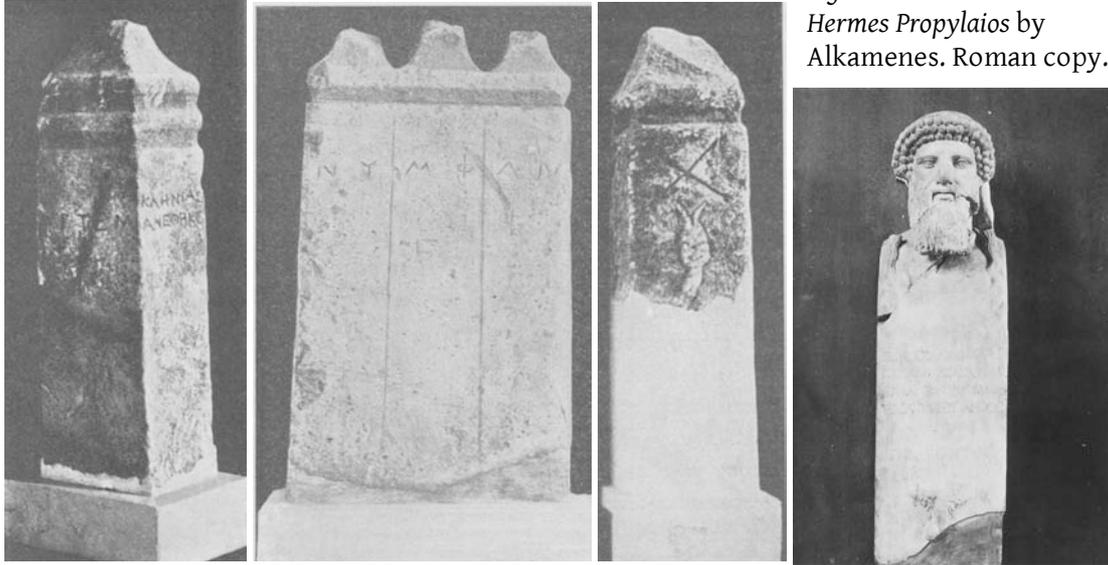


Figure 8.7 Three different 'Arcadian Herms' from Tegea.

Figure 8.8  
Hermes Propylaios by  
Alkamenes. Roman copy.



All documented examples are relatively small, and are made of marble from the Tegean marble quarries at Douliana. Some are slim and long, whereas others are rather short and compact. The pyramidal head is sometimes separated from the shaft by a simple band, and there are also some examples where the herms are carved joined in series of two or more. In 1911 Romaios recorded 27 specimens in the collections at Tegea and Tripolis. The exact provenance of many of the examples remain unknown, but Romaios clearly states that most of the Arcadian herms in the two collections were found at Tegea, and to certain extent at neighbouring sites such as Mantinea and Pallantion. Six were found in the mountain sanctuary of Artemis at Psili Korphi that I will return to in the final chapter. Four were found in the vicinity of *Palea Episkopi* (the ancient agora at Tegea), three come from the village of *Agios Sostis* just to the north of the urban area, and an unspecified number were found at *Ibrahim Effendi* (*Nea Episkopi*) on the western edge of the city.<sup>57</sup> One of the examples dedicated to Artemis was probably found along the road from Mouchli

<sup>56</sup> Romaios, 1911.

<sup>57</sup> Herms are, of course, found in many sanctuary contexts and are not necessarily connected with the individual divinity of Hermes. In the case of the Arcadian herms found at Nea Episkopi there may be such a correspondence, since the recently discovered foundations of a temple there might belong to Tegean Hermes Aipyros. See Ødegård, 2005.

to Achladokambos, i. e. the ancient road from the Tegeatike to the Argolid. More than a third of the specimens have dedicatory inscriptions.<sup>58</sup> The earliest example, dated on the basis of the inscription, a dedication to Zeus the Thunder-thrower (Διὸς στορπάω), is from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and the latest example is from the second century AD.<sup>59</sup>

The Arcadian herms appear as a very uniform group of local visual culture at Tegea. Most documented examples stem from public sanctuary contexts. Both urban (*Agios Sostis*, *Palea* and *Nea Episkopi*) and rural (*Psili Korphi* and near *Mouchli*) sanctuaries are represented in the catalogue. The even distribution over the religious topography of Tegea of this special image of Hermes probably also qualifies this image as a visual mark of local identity. As Romaios also pointed out it is interesting that the Arcadian herms from Tegea are very small, almost miniature statues executed in a rather crude manner. This could indicate that they stem from a genuine popular local tradition at Tegea.<sup>60</sup>

Like with the famous Athenian herms the Arcadian herms at Tegea display a conservative attitude to the visual culture of Hermes. The form itself is a simple abstraction in stone of the age-old apotropaic phallic pillar, of the kind that also crowned the traditional ἔρμακες.<sup>61</sup> At Tegea this persistently local form remained unaltered from the fifth century BC to the second century AD. Upon his visit to the Tegean Agora in the second century AD Pausanias actually comments on the traditional preference in Arcadia for simple quadrangular stone pillars as images of the gods, “There is also an altar of Full-grown Zeus and a quadrangular image (ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον): the Arcadians appear to me to be exceedingly fond of the quadrangular shape.”<sup>62</sup> What exactly Pausanias means with ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον is unclear, but it probably refers to a primitive kind of pillar (ἄγαλμα), which the Greeks generally held to be the oldest kind of an-iconic representations of sacred personae. In order to appreciate better the cultural meaning of this conservative Tegean visual culture we have observed especially in the Arcadian herms it is necessary to return to the origin of the old fashioned image of Hermes because

<sup>58</sup> Romaios 1911, 150. On the sanctuary of Artemis at Psili Korphi see below.

<sup>59</sup> See Romaios, 1911, 150, no. 1; Tegea Museum no. 217; *IG* 5 (2).64; and Romaios, 1911, 153, no. 9; Mus.no. Tegea Museum 219.

<sup>60</sup> See Romaios, 1911, 156.

<sup>61</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 156.

<sup>62</sup> Pausanias, 8.48.6. See also Romaios 1911, 157.

however precise an expression of local identity these *agalmai* may have been at Tegea, the tradition was imported from Athens.

From the crude serial production of miniature herms in Arcadia we turn to one of the most famous public herms from the Athenian Acropolis. The so-called *Hermes Propylaios* ('Hermes before the gate') was commissioned from the famous Athenian sculptor Alkamenes sometime between 430 and 420 BC as a marker of the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis (**Fig. 8.8**).<sup>63</sup> This would make it more or less contemporary with Herodotus' Pelasgian aetiology of the ithyphallic Athenian herms. Although it has all the composite elements of the paradigm (quadrangular pillar, bearded portrait, phallus), the *Hermes Propylaios* by Alkamenes is a rather peculiar herm. Its phallus is not *ithy-phallic* at all because Alkamenes has adapted the traditional formula to contemporary taste in male public nudity. The style of the portrait is a mixture of contemporary taste and conservative decorum. The face is sensually modelled in the ideal realism of contemporary sculpture. The intricate patterns of hair and beard are, on the other hand, reminiscences of Archaic sculpture. It is this mixture of styles that makes Alkamenes' herm a *monumentum*, an image of recollection, an object in which the past fuses with the present. The topographical context of the herm also situates this *monumentum* in an Athenian visual culture of recollection. As the Athenian citizen climbs from the busy everyday life of the agora up to the Acropolis it is also an ascent from the present to the past, from contemporary life to the ultimate place of Athenian tradition.

Alkamenes' stylistic mixture of past and present in the *Hermes Propylaios* is a translation of Herodotus' Pelasgian aetiology of the traditional Athenian image of Hermes into the visual culture of recollection. The ancient decorum of *Hermes Propylaios* translates as a visual expression of Pelasgian tradition. This also opens up for a re-territorialisation of this Athenian visual language of memory in the Tegean context (**Fig. 8.7**). Arcadia was, after all, the only region of Greece which the Pelasgians had, in a sense, never abandoned. All that is strange and old-fashioned in Arcadia was attributed to this particular Pelasgian heritage. To a certain degree the Pelasgian heritage was something that Athenians and Arcadians shared. This common Pelasgian heritage is, as we shall return to in the next chapter, also a current topos of Athenian-Tegean appropriation of Pan. The significant difference

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<sup>63</sup> See Stewart, 1990, I, 63, 165, 267-268, and 324; and Stewart, 1990, II, plate 400.

in the Arcadian and Athenian appropriation of the Pelasgian heritage is that at Athens this was considered as an introduced element that never came to dominate Athenian autochthony, whereas in Arcadia the Pelasgian heritage was always already there.<sup>64</sup> This is probably also the reason why the Arcadian herms from Tegea are not copies of the traditional Athenian herms, or of the clever composite historicism of Alkamenēs' *Hermes Propylaios*. The Tegean herms should nonetheless be regarded as local translations of a similar stylistic appropriation of the Pelasgian heritage of traditional images of Hermes as is claimed by Herodotus. When translated to the dialect of Tegean popular visual culture the image of Hermes becomes, in a sense, more Pelasgian than at Athens.

Hermes takes us to the frontiers of the local landscape of memory. As a god of the mountains he is very much at home in the elevated regions of Tegean territory. His place at Stous Phonemenous also incorporates his role as the protector of those marginal people who move in the *χωραί ἐρήμια*. The places of Hermes are, on the other hand, the places of interaction. The place of the Laconian herms is also a place of intersection, a neutral zone of intercourse between political opponents. In the exchange between Athenian and Tegean traditional modes of hermetic visual culture we have also seen how the faces of Hermes serve to translate cultural interaction into specific, indigenous traditions. That the traditional image of Hermes was, as Thucydides put it, a 'national institution' at Athens did not exclude the possibility that the Athenian paradigm could be translated into a Tegean dialect. To the extent that this chapter about the places and faces of Hermes in Tegean landscapes of memory illustrates how persistently local traditions participate in complex cultural networks that involve immediate neighbours as well as more distant partners it also opens up the frontiers of a field in the religious topography of the Tegean mountains that I will continue to address in the following, and final, two chapters. It is only appropriate that it is Hermes who stands at the entrance to this field. Standing at the entrance, at the place which is always between one place and another, always between places, continuously on the move, is really *the* place of Hermes.

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<sup>64</sup> On Athenian autochthony see Loraux, 1996.

## CHAPTER IX

## PAN

O goat-foot God of Arcady!  
This modern world is grey and old,  
And what remains to us of thee?

No nymph or Faun indeed have we,  
For Faun and nymph are old and grey,  
Ah, leave the hills of Arcady!

Then blow some trumpet loud and free,  
and give thine oaten pipe away,  
Ah, leave the hills of Arcady!  
This modern world has need of thee!

(From 'Pan' by Oscar Wilde)

Pan is the Arcadian son of Hermes. Although he shared with his father a preference for the outskirts, and for the marginal people who live in the outskirts, he is as far from a chip of the old block as they get. Hermes is beautiful, silent, and always in favour of verbal diplomacy. Pan is ugly, noisy, and violent. Hermes is the trustworthy guide, who will accompany his followers through dangerous territories. Hermes embodies the boundary between civilisation and barbarism, between polis space and a-political space, between inside and outside, and between life and death. Pan embodies the transgression of boundaries. He is uncultivated, wild, and notoriously untrustworthy. Hermes resides between the wild and the cultivated, on the extreme frontiers of polis space such as his place at *Stous Phonemenous* in the Northern Parnon (**Map 2**) in the midst of the *χωραί ἐρημίαι* between the *χωραί* (polis territories) of Tegea, Lacedaimon, and Argos (**Map 1**). Pan resides beyond the frontier. He is at home in the *ἐσχατιαί*, the most distant places, on the high snow-covered mountains and in the deep and dark forests.<sup>65</sup>

The people who move in those most distant places, wood-cutters, charcoal-burners, hunters, messengers, watchmen, and shepherds are the most likely to encounter the Arcadian goat-god, but it is very unlikely that such an encounter will be a positive experience. The most common experience of Pan is to be stricken by

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<sup>65</sup> See Borgeaud, 1988, 60.

panic (πάνειον), indeed one thing that ‘has remained of Pan in the modern world’ to paraphrase Oscar Wilde’s poetic lament. Aeneas Tacticus, who has supplied an account of the phenomenon of πάνειον in his *Poliorketika*, underlines that the term originated in Arcadia.<sup>66</sup> The risk of being seized by this sensation is very much present in its extensive έσχατιαί. Any unintelligible sound that is heard in the wilderness can cause panic. A typically sophistic rationalisation of the panic of the έσχατιαί is provided by Apollodorus of Athens in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC:

The mountains, the glens, and all the grottoes of the mountains are liable to echo. There are all sorts of complicated noises in the mountains produced by dogs and wild and tame animals: their echoes become mixed together. So it often happens that people do not see the creatures making the noises, but hear only the disembodied voice by itself, and so say that Pan is sounding the flute and syrinx in the caves with the nymphs.<sup>67</sup>

The epiphanies of Pan are mainly aural. One side to Pan’s preference of sound is that he is regarded as a musical divinity. The noise and echo of the wilderness is the music of Pan. The syrinx and the flute with which he is often depicted in art represent the sound and fury of the wilderness. In the later reception history Panic musicality becomes a standard topos of the Bucolic genre. In ancient Greece there are, however, other arenas for Panic musicality than the pastoral bliss of Theocritus’ Arcadia.

One arena that the sensation of panic is often connected with in ancient Greek culture is the battlefield.<sup>68</sup> Panic typically strikes an army at night, when the troops sleep with their weapons, and will jump up in terror at any sound, fearing that the enemy is near. The type of music associated with Pan is clearly related to military music. The wind instruments of Pan can, at times, be associated with pastoral bliss. The flute and the syrinx represent the typical Bucolic orchestration. At other times, as when in Longus’ *Pastorals* Pan comes to the rescue of Daphnis who had been caught by pirates, the pipes of Pan can have a disturbing sound:

From the crag which lifted up itself over the promontory, was heard a strange sound of a pipe; yet it was pleasing as a pipe, but like a trumpet (ώς σάλπιγξ) or a terrible cornet, which made them run to their arms and call those enemies whom they saw not at all.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Aeneas Tacticus, *Poliorketika*, 27. For a discussion of the term πάνειον see Borgeaud, 1988, 228-229, Note 6.

<sup>67</sup> Apollodorus of Athens (cited by the schol. *E. Rh.* 36, 244 F 135 Jacoby). See also Borgeaud, 1988, 93f for a commentary.

<sup>68</sup> See Borgeaud, 1988, 88ff.

<sup>69</sup> Longus, *Pastorals*, 2.25.3-4.

There are both written and pictorial testimonies of the use of wind instruments in hoplite formations, often in combination with percussion instruments. Military music of this kind serves, of course, a double purpose. As is indicated by the flute player featured between the hoplite falanx's on the Protocorinthian Chigi vase (Fig. 9.1) wind instruments were used to coordinate tactical manouvres.<sup>70</sup>

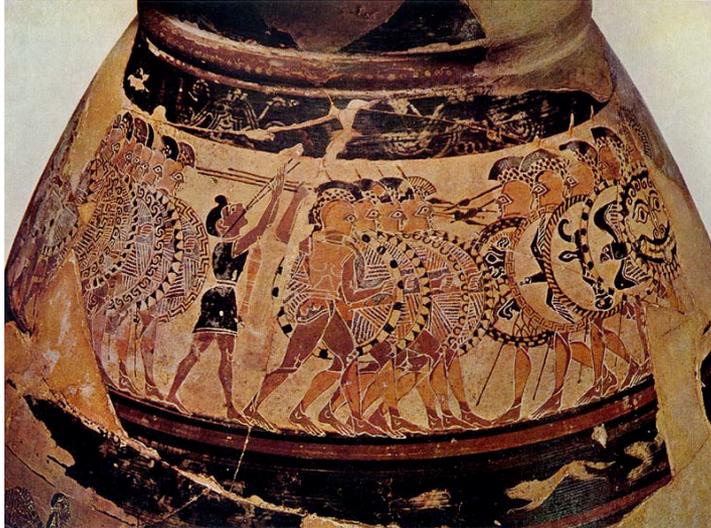


Figure 9.1 Hoplite formation with flute player. Chigi Vase.



Figure 9.2 Arcadian dedication to Pan in the form of a bronze statuette of a shepherd.

In a military context music can be used to create order and motivation among the troops, but music can also be used on the battlefield to frighten the enemy. With their wind and percussion instruments the ancient hoplite army used a similar psychological sound stratagem as the hard-beating, loud-sounding, and syncopating wind- and percussion music of the Ottoman Janissaries. Aeneas Tacticus also suggested that this kind of aural panic can be achieved with other means than the regular orchestra, as, on one occasion, by driving a herd of cows with bells into the camp of the enemy.<sup>71</sup> The significance of this emphasis on aural sensation in the cultural persona of Pan in our context means that not only will we have to look for the faces and places of Pan in the Tegean landscape of memory, we will also have to listen for the echo of his past noise in the Tegean Mountains.

One of the few good things that can come to human civilisation from Pan is the enhancement of the fertility of livestock, especially goats.<sup>72</sup> The favours of Pan represent a kind of necessary burden for the procreation of livestock. He is the

<sup>70</sup> On the Chigi Vase see Arias, 1962, 275-276.

<sup>71</sup> Aeneas Tacticus, *Poliorketika*, 27.

<sup>72</sup> Pan's preference for goats also involved wild animals since there were also wild goats in ancient Greece. See Borgeaud, 1988, 63.

protector of wild and domesticated animals alike, but is rather a threat than a protector to the shepherd. Panic human sexuality is something which civilised city-dwellers would rather not be associated with; rape, buggery, and intercourse with animals. In Arcadia Pan was, however, a most important symbol of civic identity. In more than one sense Pan was *the* Arcadian god. Archaeological sources have, for one thing, confirmed that the earliest cult of Pan was situated in Arcadia.<sup>73</sup> This image of Pan as the primeval Arcadian god is probably also related to the perception of Arcadia as a primitive land dominated by pastoral economy and primitive rural cults rather than by agriculture and civilised city-life.<sup>74</sup> How this image was configured in Tegean landscapes of memory is the topic of this chapter. So a central focus of interest in the discussion of the Tegean faces, voices, and places of Pan is the role of the primitive in Tegean civic identity. This involves a dialogue between local tradition and the perception of outsiders, Athenians and Romans in particular. Before I turn to this, from the Arcadian perspective, extrovert image of Pan, I will describe his Arcadian visual culture.

## 1. THE ARCADIAN VISUAL CULTURE OF PAN

In ancient Greek culture the plastic image, often termed ἄγαλμα (*agalma*) which means “a thing of glory,” functions as an important vehicle of interaction between the terrestrial and divine worlds. In Classical Greek visual culture the *agalma* is usually a rhetorical visualisation of the divine persona. Unlike the much-revered an-iconic wooden idols that were sometimes kept in contemporary sanctuaries as relics of the origin of the specific cult, *agalmata* are usually contemporary dedications. Sometimes such a dedication to a divinity depicts not the divinity, but the donor. This is the case with a group of Arcadian bronze statuettes that go back to the middle of the sixth century BC. The figures represent shepherds, dressed in the characteristic shepherd’s hat and long cloak. In one example the shepherd also carry a young ram under his left arm and holds a jug, perhaps filled with milk, in the

<sup>73</sup> Borgeaud 1988, 3, note 4.

<sup>74</sup> See Borgeaud 1988, 5ff. Contrary to what iconoclasts like Bruno Snell claimed the spiritual landscape of Arcadia was not constructed by Virgil. It was, as Bourgeaud has demonstrated an integrated part of Arcadian identity, and of the outside world’s image of this region from an early time. See Snell, 1953, 281-309. Vergil’s image of Arcadia is, of course, to a great extent the projection of an imaginary portrait of noble savages (pastorals), designed for the entertainment of Roman city-dwellers. Thus Snell, 1953, 281-309.

other (Fig. 9.2).<sup>75</sup> A worn inscription on the base of the figure reads, “To Pan.”<sup>76</sup> The bronzes not only represent the donor, but the act of donation and dedication to the divinity. One very interesting detail about these Arcadian dedications to Pan is the economic language that is used to express religious devotion. As elsewhere the purpose of the visualisation is to present gifts to the divinity, but it is somewhat peculiar that wealth is articulated in the language of pastoral culture, a ram and a bowl of milk. The current expression of wealth in Classical Greek was formulated with the language of agriculture rather than pastoralism. In the Homeric epics, on the other hand, wealth is often expressed in terms of flocks. In the Late Archaic and Classical contexts the Arcadian dedications would, accordingly, have been perceived as old-fashioned expressions of wealth. Just as the Arcadian dialect has the most features among the Greek dialects with close similarities with Homeric Greek, as well as with Linear B for that matter, the Arcadian shepherd-dedicants represent a kind of Homeric cultural-linguistic archaism.<sup>77</sup> As with other Homeric archaisms that we have discussed, the symbolic appropriation of this Homeric language of wealth does not reflect any specific historical reality. It first of all reflects the role of composite images of the past in the construction of Arcadian identity.

Pastoral signifiers of wealth and prestige played a different role in Arcadia than elsewhere in the Greek world. There may, in fact, be many reasons for that. One of the most distinct features of all pastoral economies is flexibility, and pastoral tribes tend to exploit this flexibility through a number of different strategies of co-existence with settled farmers, as seasonal labour, craftsmen, and mercenaries.<sup>78</sup> In the Classical period huntsmen and herdsman were considered to be ideal for mercenary service, not just because they would have been available because of the flexibility of their life-style, but also because their physical capabilities made them excellent soldiers.<sup>79</sup> As I have pointed out earlier, it is well known from ancient sources that mercenary service was a common Arcadian profession. A large contingent of Arcadians, as many as 4000 if we are to believe Xenophon, served as

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<sup>75</sup> Richter, 1953, 67, Plate 48h.

<sup>76</sup> Another similar dedication, without ram and jug, has a more telling inscription, which also gives the name of the dedicant: “Phyleas sacrificed it to Pan.” See Richter, 1953, 67, Plate 48g. See also Lamb, 1926, 138, Cat.no. 10.

<sup>77</sup> On the Arcado-Cypriot dialect and its close linguistic relationship to Mycenaean Greek see Brixhe, 1991. For a general discussion of the ancient Greek attitude to dialect see Hall, 1997, 170-177.

<sup>78</sup> See Khazanov, 1994.

<sup>79</sup> Thus Xenophon, *Cyneg.*, 1.18; and Aristotle, *Polit.*, 6.2.7.

mercenaries in the service of Cyrus II in Asia Minor. After leaving their homeland as young men the mercenaries that went on the Asian campaign with Xenophon stayed away from home for a long time. One can easily imagine that staying away for a long time may, in fact, have strengthened their sense of belonging to this home (Arcadia) that they shared with many of their comrades. It is an attractive hypothesis that the Arcadian identity of Arcadian mercenaries in Asia was constituted as a collective memory of the pastoral landscapes of their homeland.<sup>80</sup> The wealth and prestige that is expressed in the Arcadian shepherd statuettes could therefore just as well be the wealth and status of men in mercenary service. What better image to appropriate this identity than the image of Pan? This idea probably also occurred to Cyrus, who at the time of the Asian campaign of his Greek mercenary army struck coins with the head of Pan, probably in commemoration of the collective identity of his Arcadian mercenaries.<sup>81</sup> In light of the poor documentation presently available the role of pastoral economy in the ancient Tegeatike should, as I have argued, be regarded as a promising subject for future landscape studies in the region. Presently we can say few definite things about it. What we can say, however, is that the economic flexibility that the mountainous regions of the Tegeatike offer and which was certainly extensively exploited in later periods, would have made Pan, the shepherd god, a most proper image for the people that lived in this area to identify with. This appears to have been especially the case for people like mercenaries, who, although they did not live permanently in this area, or any other area for that matter, probably regarded themselves as a kind of pastoral nomad. A special case for such an Arcadian identity could be argued for the Skiritai in the southern Tegeatike (**Map 2**). Although they were not mercenaries in the same way as the Ten Thousand of Xenophon, they were still nomadic soldiers in the service of a foreign power. Although their arms had been appropriated by the Lacedaimonean polis long before Tegean synoecism, the Skiritai were probably always regarded as Arcadians in a cultural sense. Like the

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<sup>80</sup> It has even been suggested that Arcadian identity *per se* was formulated as a response to the nomadic life of Arcadians in mercenary service. See Roy, 1972.

<sup>81</sup> Xenophon, *Historia* 16. See also Roy, 1972, 134ff. One of the generals in the service of Cyrus, a certain Xenias from Arcadian Parrhasia, also arranged games on honour of Zeus Lykaion, as a doublet of the famous games of Zeus Lykaios in his pan-Arcadian sanctuary on Lykaion Oros. This sanctuary was common to Zeus and Pan. See Jost, 1985

Arcadian myth and topography of Orestes this image of Pan also served to visualise the schizo-ethnicity of the Arcadians.



*Figure 9.4*  
Marble relief of Pan from Tegea.



*Figure 9.3*  
Athenian black-figure vase with Pan represented as a standing goat.

As with Hermes, we know relatively little about how the iconography of Pan developed in his homeland before his cult spread outside of Arcadia.<sup>82</sup> In the earliest examples from Attic vase painting, dated before the Persian Wars, he is represented as a goat (**Fig. 9.3**). During the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC his image becomes more frequently anthropomorphic.<sup>83</sup> Like his father, Pan rarely plays a prominent dramatic role in the scenes where he is depicted. In fourth century South-Italian vase painting he is usually portrayed as a spectator to the dramatic scene, rather as a pictorial emblem of certain spaces, typically ‘panic’ landscapes such as mountains

<sup>82</sup> Borgeaud 1988, 52.

<sup>83</sup> See Brommer, 1949–50.

or forests, than as a proper mythological persona.<sup>84</sup> In the famous Attic cave-reliefs (Fig. 6.5) Pan sits on a rock as though he was a part of the scenographic furniture. This marginal pictorial role is echoed in Pan's virtual lack of literary mythology. Pan is always situated on the edge of pictorial and verbal narratives. His role in the visual arts is scenographic, and apart from his incidents involving his comic sexuality he cannot be connected with any epic or dramatic works. Pan is a kind of *parergon* phenomenon.<sup>85</sup> His persona is not an active protagonist in narrative plots, but rather frames them. Pan is not so much a mythological persona as he is a pictorial device in the mythological system of representation. This intermediary role which Pan played in ancient Greek systems of cultural representation also emphasised his relationship with his father Hermes. In Classical Greek culture Hermes is the god of persuasion, rhetoric, and communication.<sup>86</sup> Although he has a more developed Classical mythology and iconography, the persona of Hermes, like that of his Arcadian son, is, as we have seen, also situated in an intermediary position in the cultural system of representation.

The local collection of representations of Pan is rather limited at Tegea. In 1834 Ludwig Ross uncovered a marble relief with a depiction of Pan (Fig. 9.4) from a location somewhere between the Tegean villages Alea and Stadio (Map 5).<sup>87</sup> The context associated with the relief was secondary. The sculpted scene is of a crude local character, and, although Alkminis Stavridou claims that it is made of Pentelic marble, probably of local Douliana marble.<sup>88</sup> The surface of the frieze is severely eroded, and the block is broken in a couple of places. Kokkinou-Domasou suggested a Roman date for the execution of the frieze, but more recently Stavridou has argued for a third century BC date. To date a provincial work like this on the basis of stylistic evidence is obviously difficult.<sup>89</sup> The Roman date would certainly make the scene a likely candidate for a conventional pastoral one, and thus the reflection of the Roman image of Arcadia. Because I believe that there is something particularly

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<sup>84</sup> See Borgeaud 1988, 58 and 213, note 127. In the strict sense a mythological persona is built around the traditional stories (*muthoi*) where he or she is the main character. On the structural meaning of *mythos* see Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449b34ff.

<sup>85</sup> I have borrowed the term *parergon*, which covers phenomena that take place beyond, or at the margins of, the work (*ergon*), from the French philosopher Jacques Derrida. See Derrida, 1987, 37-82.

<sup>86</sup> See Kahn, 1978, 121ff, and 153ff.

<sup>87</sup> See Ross, 1841, 70.

<sup>88</sup> See Stavridou, 1996, 77-78. There is no justification whatsoever for her claim that the material is Pentelic marble.

<sup>89</sup> See Kokkinou-Domasou, 1973, 55. The Roman date was accepted by Madelaine Jost. See Jost, 1985, 157. See also Stavridou, 1996, 78.

local about this scene I tend to agree with the third century BC date proposed by Stavridou.

In contrast to the Attic cave reliefs (**Fig. 6.5**) where Pan always occupies a marginal visual role, he is at the centre of visual attention in the Tegea relief. The pictorial centre of this image is, however, an ambiguous place. Since there is no narrative or dramatic persona whom we can place at this centre, we are inevitably left with describing the pictorial margins of the image. In a manner that is not altogether different from the Attic cave reliefs, the frame in the Tegean image of Pan designates a specific environment, and a specific architectural space. Pan stands in a wooded environment, and thus he is clearly situated in his aboriginal Arcadian space. There is a noteworthy distinction between vertical and horizontal elements in the pictorial framing of the god. Vertically Pan's space is defined as his old landscape, the forest, but horizontally the image maker has introduced architectural designators of his space. He is standing on a levelled surface that is identical to the base of the carved relief, and the horizon of his pictorial space is crowned with a pediment, a pictorial signifier of temple architecture. If the horizontal and vertical frames are seen together they create the image of a hybrid sanctuary. The pediment rests on two trees, as though they were wooden columns, and the floor of his rustic space is visually confined by the horizontal order of an architecturally elaborated sanctuary. In the pictorial centre of this emblematic image of a sanctuary, the Arcadian god stands with his rustic insignia, the whip, the syrinx, and the goat.

This Tegean image of Pan points to his place in the local landscape of memory. That this is, indeed, an old place is emphasised in a peculiar architectural tableau. His place is pictured as a temple, but a very old-fashioned one. Its roof is supported by columns of wood. There is a double meaning to this. It signals that the place of Pan is not a place in the city or on the cultivated plain. His sanctuaries are in the woods and mountains. The wooden columns also function as visual memory devices. Archaic Greek temples did, indeed, have wooden columns. Even though there will have been very few examples that were still preserved in the Roman period, authorities on the history of architecture such as Vitruvius were well aware that this had been the case.<sup>90</sup> Examples such as the Olympic Heraion also demonstrate

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<sup>90</sup> See Vitruvius, 5.2.

that the old wooden columns were treasured as architectural relics long after they were no longer fashionable.<sup>91</sup> At Tegea we have seen that the wooden columns (Fig. 2.4) in the Archaic temple of Athena Alea (approximately 600 BC) were preserved well into the fourth century BC, when the temple was destroyed by fire. The investigation of the remaining foundations of the Archaic temple undertaken by Erik Østby in the 1980's also made it very likely that even after the fire some of the half-burned wooden columns of the interior colonnade were repaired, and, at least until the new temple of Scopas was built much later in the century, integrated into a temporary sanctuary on the site.<sup>92</sup> The use of wooden columns was a common phrase in the local dialect of cultural memory. The emblematic image of Pan is thus formulated as a visual pun on the ancient Greek architectural language of the past. No narrative of the persona of Pan is displayed in this image. It is rather a tableauxisation of the Arcadian sacred environment of Pan, formulated in the visual discourse of architecture rather than in the narrative discourse of myth.

Pan's preference for places in the woods and in the mountains, in the *ἔσχατιαί* outside the space of the polis, is another important feature of his persona that is visualised in the marble relief from Tegea. As I will now begin to approach not just the faces, but also the places of Pan in the local landscape of memory, this feature will prove to be most consistent. Now, Pan's sympathy for animals (wild animals as well as live-stock, especially goats) and wild places does not make him unique in the assembly of the ancient Greek gods. Artemis, as we shall see in the final chapter, is another example. Artemis' love of animals is, however, a very ambiguous matter. This is not the case with Pan. His love of animals and wild places is absolutely unambiguous. His sentiments towards humans, though, are another matter. This preference for animals and wild places instead of human culture is a very peculiar thing about Pan. In the following example, which is connected with the place of Pan on Mt. Parthenion on the border between Tegea and Argos, I will focus on an aspect of the ancient worship of Pan that is not so often appreciated, his role in the consolidation of environmentalism in the ancient Greek landscape of memory.

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<sup>91</sup> On the Olympian Heraion see Mallwitz, 1966, 319.

<sup>92</sup> See Østby, 1986, 77ff. See also my discussion in chapter two.

## 2. THE TEGEAN MICRO-ECOLOGY OF PAN, AND THE ANCIENT PRESERVATION OF BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

In antiquity Mt. Parthenion constituted the physical boundary between Tegea and the Argive Plain (**Map 1**). As we have seen in chapter three, the mountain pass between the Plain of Hysiai on the Argive side and the Partheni Basin on the Tegean side (**Map 4**) is probably one of the most ancient local communication routes in the area. In antiquity, as presently, it was the main transhumance route between the Argive lowlands and the Arcadian highlands. The Partheni Pass was, however, a passage of far greater importance than as a local inter-connection between the Tegean mountain plain and the Argive coast. It was also the main traffic gate between the Isthmus and the central Peninsula (**Map 1**). In the Partheni Pass there was, according to Pausanias, a precinct of the Tegean hero Telephos, the offspring of the encounter between Heracles and Auge (**Fig6.4**). He was exposed on Mt. Parthenion as child but had miraculously survived because he was suckled by a deer.<sup>93</sup> Now, Pan is never mentioned in the myth of Telephos. At Mt. Parthenion, however, he is clearly situated in a landscape that belongs to Pan. Pausanias also confirms this, since he says that “a little farther off the road” (ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον) there was a sanctuary of Pan. Supposedly the sanctuary was situated near the spot where Pan had once appeared (as a voice) to the Athenian messenger Philippides.<sup>94</sup> One interesting thing about Pausanias’ *ekphrasis* of the Parthenion Pass is the geographical contrast between the place of Telephos and the place of Pan. The place of Telephos, who was exposed in the wild but returned to civilisation because of a benevolent wild animal, is a roadside sanctuary clearly defined by a sacred precinct (τέμενος). The sanctuary of Pan, on the other hand, is situated in the wild, and there is no precinct there, merely a sacred place (ἱερόν). The track that takes the perieget to this place of Pan on Mt. Parthenion is not a regular, inter-connecting, route in the fragile network of civilisation through the χώραι ἐρήμῳι (**Map 3**). As we have seen in the preceding chapter such places along the routes of the network are rather

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<sup>93</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.6.

<sup>94</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.6-7. I will return to a discussion of the Philippides incident further below. No good suggestion for the location of this sanctuary of Pan have been suggested. Since it was ‘a little off the road’ the chapel of Ag. Parthena situated right next to the road is probably not a good suggestion. See Pikoulas, 1999, 259. The medieval site of Mouchli, which is ‘a little off’ the ancient road, and where fragmentary remains of antiquity have also been found, is probably the best suggestion. On the ancient remains at Mouchli see Moutzopoulou, 1960, 297, and fig. 13.2. For another recent discussion about this sanctuary see Cardete del Olmo, 2005.

the places of Hermes. There is a separate track (“a little farther off the road”) that takes the perieget to the place of Pan. This is a route into the wilderness, the ἔσχατιά. Since it was the wilderness that actually saved Telephos, the two sacred places in the Parthenion Pass are connected by a place-specific dialogue between civilisation and barbarism. The position of the two in this dialogue is clear, though; Telephos belongs in the well-defined space of civilisation, and Pan belongs in a vertical landscape that defies definition, a place where the only precincts are unapproachable (ἄβατος) like the common precinct of Pan and Zeus on Mt. Lykaion (**Map 1**).<sup>95</sup>



*Figure 9.5*  
Mountain  
tortoise on Mt.  
Parthenion.

Pan’s place on Mt. Parthenion provides a convenient contrast to the place of his father Hermes in the Arcadian mountains. It would appear that Hermes is associated with the passages through the χώραι ἐρήμιαι, whereas Pan is associated with the wilderness itself, the ἔσχατιά. Unfortunately, the matter is not altogether that simple. The wild vertical landscape of Arcadia belongs as much to Hermes as to Pan. Mt. Kyllene (**Map 1**), one of the highest and most rugged of the Peloponnesian mountain peaks, is a paradigm of Arcadian verticality. According to Arcadian tradition Mt. Kyllene was also the birthplace of Hermes. The mountains bordering on the Pheneatean side of the frontier between Pheneos and Stymphalos (*Tríkrena*, ‘three springs’) were also sacred to Hermes. According to Arcadian tradition the nymphs had washed him in some springs there after his birth.<sup>96</sup> On the Pheneatean frontier towards Pellene and neighbouring Mt. Kyllene was another mountain

<sup>95</sup> Inside this precinct the laws of nature are turned upside down, and no man must enter it. See Pausanias 8.38.6.

<sup>96</sup> Pausanias, 8.16.1.

sacred to Hermes (*Mt. Khelyudorea*, 'Mountain of the flayed tortoise'), "where Hermes is said to have found a tortoise, taken off its shell, and made a lyre of it."<sup>97</sup>

Typically Hermes is the inventor of the lyre, an instrument for making music, but he only plays it once himself, as though to test the perfection of his new instrument of aural deception. After testing the instrument he passes it on to Apollo, of whom it becomes a most treasured attribute. The invention of the lyre also illustrates something very important about the ecological preferences of Hermes in the Arcadian mountains. His perspective on the vertical wilderness is to what extent it is possible to make use of it for the good of human civilisation. When it is approached by the clever Hermes the wilderness is transformed into civilisation. The wild Arcadian mountain tortoise is turned into a musical instrument, which, as the attribute of Apollo, is the most powerful symbol of civilised human culture. In a swift and undetectable motion Hermes moves between the civilisation and wilderness and creates pockets of civilisation in the most remote and wild places. Bee-keeping, making cheese in the mountains, collecting mountain herbs, and harvesting the bark of the famous Arcadian cork oak, all these are typically Hermetic activities that create islands of civilisation in the wilderness.

It follows from the example of the invention of the lyre and other Hermetic activities in the Arcadian mountains that Hermes and Pan have not actually divided these landscapes between them. It is rather the question of a division of labour within the same landscape. This is, however, a familiar division of labour that is not without conflict. At Mt. Parthenion this conflict is played out in Pan's divergent attitude to the Arcadian mountain tortoise. Also at Mt. Parthenion there were, and still are (**Fig. 9.5**), mountain tortoises "most suitable for making lyres." In emphasising that they were exploited for making lyres there is an indirect reference to the practice invented by Hermes on Mt. Khelyudorea. Pausanias was told by some "men of the mountains (οἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἄνθρωποι)" that no one should approach the tortoises on Mt. Parthenion because they were sacred to Pan. In opposition to the 'Hermetic' practice and Arcadian tradition of making lyres from mountain tortoises, the 'men of the mountains' emphasise another attitude toward the environment, an attitude, which in modern terms we would have called preservation of biological diversity. What is important here, however, is that just as

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<sup>97</sup> Pausanias, 8.17.5.

the tradition of making lyres of mountain tortoises is linked to one ancient Arcadian (Hermes), the prohibition against making lyres out of mountain tortoises is linked to another ancient Arcadian (Pan). On the horizon of the ancient historical present the traditional regulation of these two Arcadian mountains represents opposing strategies in the exploitation of natural resources: it is alright to kill tortoises on Mt. Khelyudorea, but Mt. Parthenion is a sanctuary for these animals! What at the outset seemed to be superficial dramatisation on account of local memory might have had wide-ranging consequences in regulating local environmental resources. In the tortoise example, the memory of Hermes projects cultural technology and exploitation onto the landscape, whereas Pan stands for the preservation of biological diversity.

### 3. THE TEGEAN GEOGRAPHY OF PAN

In addition to the one on Mt. Parthenion Pausanias mentions two other rural Pan sanctuaries at Tegea.<sup>98</sup> All three are associated with rural stations on the Tegean road-network. The Parthenion sanctuary was situated right on the edge of Tegean χῶρα, and on the route of the ancient main road (the Peloponnesian Highway) from the Partheni Basin to the Plain of Hysiai (**Map 4**). The point on the main road through the Parthenion Pass where there was a precinct of Telephos and from which there was a separate route to the sanctuary of Pan was the very point that constituted the boundary between Tegea and Argos. This point on the itinerary, on which the territories of both Argos and Tegea converge, is repeatedly referred to in Pausanias' *ekphrasis*:

At this point (τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ) begins Mt. Parthenion. On it (ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ) is shown a sacred enclosure of Telephus [...] A little way off (ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον) is a sanctuary of Pan, where the Athenians and Tegeans agree that Pan appeared to Philippides and spoke with him. [...] When you have passed over the top (τὴν κορυφὴν) of the mountain and reached the arable land you come to the boundary between Tegea and Argos: it is at Hysiae, which belongs to Argolis.<sup>99</sup>

At Mt. Parthenion this point of reference, which constitutes the boundary, is designated by Pausanias as the κορυφή, the highest point of the pass. The reference point, the ultimate political and cultural boundary between Argos and Tegea and

<sup>98</sup> Documents for the cult of Pan at Tegea are rare. See Immerwahr, 1891, 199.

<sup>99</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.6-7.

between civilisation and wilderness is a place for Hermes rather than Pan. The place of Pan is “a little way off” from the hermetic reference point. It is, however, most interesting that the place of Pan in Pausanias’ *ekphrasis* of Mt. Parthenion is very close to the political boundary between Tegea and Argos. It is close to it, but at the same time not identical with it, situated in the politically neutral wilderness.

Although the description of the situation is not as elaborate as at Parthenion a similar location must also be assumed for a Pan sanctuary that Pausanias mentions on the road from Tegea to Thyrea. This road was probably a separate route from the urban site of Tegea through the Douliana Valley and onto the Plain of Astros on the eastern Peloponnesian coast (**Map 2**).<sup>100</sup> The Thyrea route more or less followed the course of the Garates river, probably identical with the stream that is presently called Doulianatis. This is clearly not a major route in the ancient Peloponnesian road-network, but it would have provided a significant local passage between Thyrea and the Tegean Plain. It is a route that the ancient historians are rather silent about, which confirms that it was primarily a link for amicable interactions between neighbours. Tegea was seldom involved in conflicts with the “Thyreatis and the villages of that district (κώμας τὰς ἐν τῇ Θυρεάτιδι),”<sup>101</sup> as is the expression used by Pausanias to characterise the de-centralised, and old-fashioned, settlement structure of this area. The first monument that Pausanias described on this route was the tomb of Orestes. The monument that concluded his *ekphrasis* of the Thyrea route was another Pan sanctuary:

The river Garates flows beside the road. Crossing it and going ten furlongs farther you come to a sanctuary of Pan, and beside it is an oak-tree, which is also sacred to Pan.<sup>102</sup>

Pausanias’s literary practice suggests that he always terminates the description of a route between one district and another at the boundary. To retrace the remaining section of one route one usually has to turn to the book on the adjacent district. Book Eight on Arcadia concluded with the description of major routes leading out of Tegean territory (**Map 3**). In all cases the *ekphrasis* is terminated on the border. Only the sections of the Tegean routes that belong to Arcadia are included in book eight.

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<sup>100</sup> A similar route was also adopted by the early modern road from Tripolis to Agios Petros in the Northern Parnon district. See Leake, 1830, 88-89. Although it moves in a very different manner through the terrain, the modern highway from Tegea to the Astros Plain probably takes the same general direction as the ancient road. See Phaklaris, 1990, 209-216 for a discussion of this route.

<sup>101</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.4.

<sup>102</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.4.

The termination of the description of the routes from Tegea to the Parthenion Pass and the border on the Thyrea route also have another thing in common: the last station mentioned by Pausanias in both cases is a sanctuary of Pan. Pan's places represent the ultimate frontiers, both political and cultural, of the Tegean polis.

It is noticeable that also at the border station of Pan on the Thyrea route the natural environment is provided special protection by Pan. Whereas at Mt. Parthenion Pan's environmentalism is directed towards an animal species, it is a plant species that is awarded his special favours on the Thyrea border. The oak had, as discussed in chapter one, a very special place in the Arcadian landscape of memory. As a source of the primitive diet, which was considered to be characteristic of the acorn-eating Arcadians, the oak was a prominent cultural symbol for them.<sup>103</sup> A belt of oak from Mantinea in the north, via the Partheni Basin in the east, and all the way to Mt. Parnon to the southeast (**Map 2**), was regarded as the visualisation of Tegea's Arcadian borders. Both tortoises (**Fig. 9.5**) and oaks were important features of the Arcadian landscape of memory. The tortoises were raw material for the production of a very important element in the literary Arcadian landscape, namely music. Similarly, oaks belong to the visual decorum of the Arcadian landscape. Like tortoises that are excellent for making lyres, Arcadian oaks were also excellent for making rather a lot of things. Arcadia was famous for its high quality oak timber in antiquity, and the Tegean oak forests would have been in no less need of protection from Pan the environmentalist.

The third rural sanctuary of Pan at Tegea was situated along the direct route to Laconia (**Map 3**). At this place of Pan it would appear that it was primarily the political boundary against her most powerful neighbour that was at stake:

On the way from Tegea to Laconia there is an altar of Pan on the left of the road (ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ), also an altar of Lycaean Zeus, and some foundations of sanctuaries are still to be seen (λείπεται δὲ καὶ θεμέλια ἱερῶν). These altars are two furlongs from the city wall ...<sup>104</sup>

The third Tegean Pan sanctuary is actually the first rather than the final point on Pausanias' itinerary from the Tegean urban centre to the Lacedaimonian border. In the ancient Greek tropology of moving the place of this sanctuary none the less constitutes the boundary between Tegea and Sparta. This particular itinerary, as we might recall, the direct route between Tegea and Sparta, also ran parallel with a

<sup>103</sup> See Herodotus, 1.65.

<sup>104</sup> Pausanias, 8.53.11.

river, the so-called Upper Alpheios of Pausanias. The border between the territories of Lacedaimon and Tegea was, according to Pausanias, the river.<sup>105</sup> As at Mt. Parthenion (**Map 4**) the Pan sanctuary on the Sparta route was situated a little way off, “on the left of the road,” which puts it in Pan’s landscape.

Madelaine Jost has noted that common sanctuaries of Pan and Zeus Lykaion probably had a very special place in Arcadian landscapes of memory as doublets of their pan-Arcadian sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion (**Map 1**), or Mt. Olympos as the Arcadians also called it.<sup>106</sup> These doublets, Jost argues, should probably be connected with the establishment of the Arcadian League in the early fourth century BC. Since Tegea played an important role in the establishment of the Arcadian League, this sanctuary would have been an important contraction point not just in the local Tegean landscape of memory, but in the re-territorialisation of a common Arcadian cultural and political heritage. If the identification is correct, then the location of this sanctuary on the route to Sparta would also have been somewhat of a political statement, since it was chiefly against Sparta that the members of the Arcadian League joined forces. Tegea was Sparta’s most ancient Peloponnesian ally. The doublet of the pan-Arcadian sanctuary of Pan and Zeus Lykaion on the Tegean route to Sparta would accordingly have represented the political and cultural frontier of early fourth century Arcadia.

At the time when Pausanias visited the place, the Arcadian League, which was a short-lived adventure anyway, had long since ceased to exist. That, unlike the two other Tegean Pan sanctuaries, it was in a state of ruins in the second century AD, and that Pausanias actually makes this comment, is another detail that makes it particularly interesting in our context. Pausanias is very sensitive to the ruins of Classical Greece. They represent the visual presence of the greatness of the Greek past in the trivial landscape of its Roman overlords.<sup>107</sup> In this context it might also be interesting to view these ruins in connection with earlier Roman appropriation. After the Battle at Actium in 31 BC Augustus punished Tegea because of her support of Marc Anthony. It is also very probable that at the same time Sparta, which together with Mantinea had supported Octavian at Actium, could re-new her

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<sup>105</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.1.

<sup>106</sup> For Madelaine Jost’s discussion of these doublet sanctuaries see Jost, 1985, 157-8; especially on Megalopolis, Jost, 1992; and, Jost, 1994.

<sup>107</sup> See Alcock, 1993, 1-3; and Alcock, 2002, 38.

influence in the borderland between herself and Tegea (**Map 2**) after Actium.<sup>108</sup> It would certainly have seemed appropriate for the Lacedaimonians at this time to undertake an ‘ethnic cleansing’ of its border with Tegea. Unfortunately, the precise location of this sanctuary is unknown, and there is therefore no archaeological testimony to test this hypothesis.<sup>109</sup> Until the sanctuary is located this will have to remain a hypothesis.

Two of the three extra-urban Tegean sanctuaries dedicated to Pan are situated relatively far away from the *astû*, in mountain passes that make up natural boundaries between the Tegeatike and neighbouring *poleis*. It is notable that the Tegean network of Pan sanctuaries not only delimits Tegean territory against the territories of other *poleis*, but against the territories of non-Arcadian peoples in particular, in the northeast against the territory of the Argives, in the south against the Thyreatis, and in the south against the territory of the Lacedaimoneans. This pattern is consistent with the fact that there are no Pan-sanctuaries along the southwestern to northern routes out of the urban centre of Tegea. These routes all led to other *poleis* that were considered to belong to the Arcadian *ethnos*, i. e. Pallantion, Asea, and Mantinea (**Map 1**).

The Tegean distribution of Pan sanctuaries confirms the impression of Pan as belonging in the wild, in the a-political *khôrai eremai* between the territories of individual *poleis*. There are, on the other hand, also pronounced political elements in his Tegean geography. The distribution of the Tegean Pan sanctuaries on the geo-political frontier between Tegea and neighbouring *poleis*, and on the geo-ethnic frontier between Arcadia and neighbouring *ethnoi* is reminiscent of the geographical configuration of Artemis sanctuaries on the Arcado-Argive frontier, as was pointed out by François de Polignac.<sup>110</sup> There is one distinct difference, however: the frontier sanctuaries of Artemis appear to have been common, or have served to visualise the later appropriation of common frontier land by one of the

<sup>108</sup> On the Spartan relationship with Octavian see Cartledge & Spawford, 2002, 95-96.

<sup>109</sup> If the marble relief with Pan from Tegea originates from this sanctuary, a third century BC date, as was suggested by Stavridou, is consistent with this hypothesis. See Stavridou, 1996, 78. On other remains from Tegea that might stem from this sanctuary see Jost, 1985, 157.

<sup>110</sup> See de Polignac, 1995, 37-38.

neighbouring poleis.<sup>111</sup> As for the Tegean Pan sanctuaries, they also serve as markers of Arcadian ethnicity.

Pan's place on the Tegean frontier has a double meaning. On one hand, the belt of Pan sanctuaries between Tegea and her non-Arcadian neighbours serves to identify the political boundaries of the Tegean polis with the cultural identity of Arcadia. Although this traditional appropriation of the Tegean hinterland as sacred to Pan certainly goes back to before the early fourth century, the Tegean places of Pan were probably given an augmented political meaning in this period as the geopolitical frontier of the Arcadian League. The political ideology of Pan, in this context, would have been primarily to define geographical and ethnic boundaries between "us and them," between Arcadians and other *ethnoi*. In another, and probably more ancient, context the places of Pan on the Tegean frontier served to consolidate an inclusive political ideology.

#### 4. MEMORY AND DIPLOMACY: TEGEA-ATHENS, *TOUR/RETOUR*

We have already seen how the Tegean Pan sanctuary on Mt. Parthenion exemplifies the role of Pan as a protector of biological diversity (Fig. 9.5). Pan's place on Mt. Parthenion established traditional legitimacy for regulated interaction between men and animals, but it was also a place for peaceful political interaction between states. According to Pausanias, the place of Pan on Mt. Parthenion was identical with the very place where, at the time of the Persian Wars, a certain Athenian messenger had an encounter with the god. The name of this messenger was Philippides. He met Pan on Mt. Parthenion when he was on his way back from Sparta with the reply of the Lacedaimoneans to the Athenian plea for help before the confrontation with the Persians at Marathon in 490 BC. This, according to Pausanias, "the Athenians and Tegeans agree on."<sup>112</sup> Herodotus gives a more detailed description of what took place at Mt. Parthenion in 490 BC, just a couple of days before the battle at Marathon. The context for Herodotus' description is very

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<sup>111</sup> This appears to have been the case with the famous sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis that was situated on Mt. Taygetos on the frontier between Messenia and Laconia. See de Polignac, 1995, 36, og 38.

<sup>112</sup> Pausanias, 8.54.6.

different from that of Pausanias. He presents the event primarily as aetiology for the cult of Pan at Athens:

The first thing the commanders did—and this was before they left the city—was send Philippides (an Athenian who was a professional courier) to Sparta with a message. According to Philippides himself, and as he told the Athenians, he had an encounter with Pan near Mount Parthenium, which overlooks Tegea. Pan called out his name, he claimed, and told him to take the following message to the Athenians: ‘Why do you ignore me, when I am a friend of Athens? I have often been of service to you in the past, and will be again in the future too.’ The Athenians believed in the authenticity of this experience, and later, when their affairs had prospered, they build a sanctuary of Pan under the Acropolis, and on the basis of this message of his they worship him with annual sacrifices and a torch-race.<sup>113</sup>

As Philippe Bourgeaud has commented, there are several good reasons why Philippides should have an encounter with Pan on Parthenion. First, there are the geographical circumstances. He is passing through “a landscape dotted with sanctuaries of Pan.”<sup>114</sup> Pan’s appearance to him is further a model of the typical Arcadian experience of the god as a voice. Philippides’ Arcadian experience thus indicates that there is something ‘Arcadian’ about Philippides, the Athenian messenger (*keruks*) and long-distance runner (*hêmerodromos*). Even an Arcadian would have been intimidated by an encounter with Pan, but Philippides, who is unaware that he is also ‘an Arcadian,’ is confronted with a double otherness. However, Pan comforts Philippides in a reassuring and diplomatic manner, ‘I have always been a friend of the Athenians,’ he exclaims, ‘but I do not understand why the Athenians pay no attention to me; I have been useful to the Athenians in the past, and I will be so in the future as well.’

As a messenger (*keruks*) Philippides is also closely associated with Hermes. The genealogy of the *kêrukes* (‘the heralds’) at Athens was traced back to a union between Hermes the Arcadian, and one of the daughters of the mythical Athenian king Kekrops (Aglauros, Herse, or Pandrosos). Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos were connected topographically with the site of the most ancient settlement in Athens on the northern slope of the Acropolis.<sup>115</sup> This theory is attested in Critias’ final monologue in the Platonic dialogue, which bears his name:

And near the place of the present Acropolis there was one spring—which was choked up by the earthquakes so that but small tricklings of it are now left

<sup>113</sup> Herodotus, 6.105.

<sup>114</sup> Bourgeaud, 1988, 134.

<sup>115</sup> For an overview of this area see Camp, 1992, 24. For a more detailed discussion of prehistoric habitation on the edge of the Athenian Acropolis see Levi, 1930-31.

round and about; but to the men of that time [20.000 years ago according to Critias] it afforded a plentiful stream to them all, being well tempered both for winter and summer.<sup>116</sup>

The spring of Aglauros has been identified as a now dry karst cave on the North Slope of the Acropolis, an area where there are in fact several wells and indications of settlements from early Helladic and Neolithic times.<sup>117</sup> At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Greek archaeologist P. Kavvadias identified a previously unknown cave in this area as a precinct to Pan. The cave is also situated on the northern slope of the Acropolis, but farther to the west. The location matches Herodotus' description of "a sanctuary of Pan under the Acropolis," which according to Athenian tradition was the place where Pan was initially introduced to Athens.

This area on the northern slope of the Athenian Acropolis is a reservoir of prehistoric sites that have been appropriated into the religious geography of Athens: It is situated just inside the Pelargikon/Pelasgikon, the pre-Themistoklean fortification of the Acropolis, and one of the most important monuments in the Athenian landscapes of memory (**Fig. 9.6**).<sup>118</sup> The situation of the worship of Pan in Pelasgian Athens (inside the Pelasgikon) is not coincidental, but marks the age-old, but once forgotten, relationship that the Athenians have with Pan, with Arcadia, and with Tegea. It was also indicated in Pan's message to the Athenians that he has been with them for a long time, but that he had been forgotten. The voice from Mt. Parthenion thus leads the Athenians to the rediscovery of an old friend of Athens, and to the re-territorialisation of this forgotten friendship as an Arcadian, and Tegean, embassy of Pan at Athens. This way of thinking about Pan as a re-discovered Tegean ambassador at Athens also opens up for a new interpretation of the Athenian iconography of Pan. This interpretation relies on the distinct visual culture of Pan that can be observed at Athens and at Tegea: The most characteristic feature of the Athenian image of Pan, what most sharply distinguishes it from the Arcadian image of Pan, is that he is situated in a cave environment (**Fig. 6.5**).<sup>119</sup> This connection between Pan and caves is an Athenian invention. In Arcadia Pan is never associated with caves. This Athenian iconography of Pan also reflects the Athenian

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<sup>116</sup> Plato, *Critias*, 112d.

<sup>117</sup> See Travlos, 1971, 72, ill. 93. See also Plato, *Critias*, 111c.

<sup>118</sup> Travlos, 1971, Fig. 116.

<sup>119</sup> It should be noted here that the iconography of Athenian Pan also has a scenographic, parergonal, character. The difference consists in the kind of environment framing the visual presence of the god, mountains and forests in Arcadia, and caves at Athens.

geography of Pan. On the northern slope of the Athenian Acropolis (Fig. 9.6), as well as in many other places in the Athenian country-side, Pan sanctuaries were located in caves. In Arcadia, on the other hand, Pan sanctuaries are never located in caves. There he belongs in the woods and on the mountains.

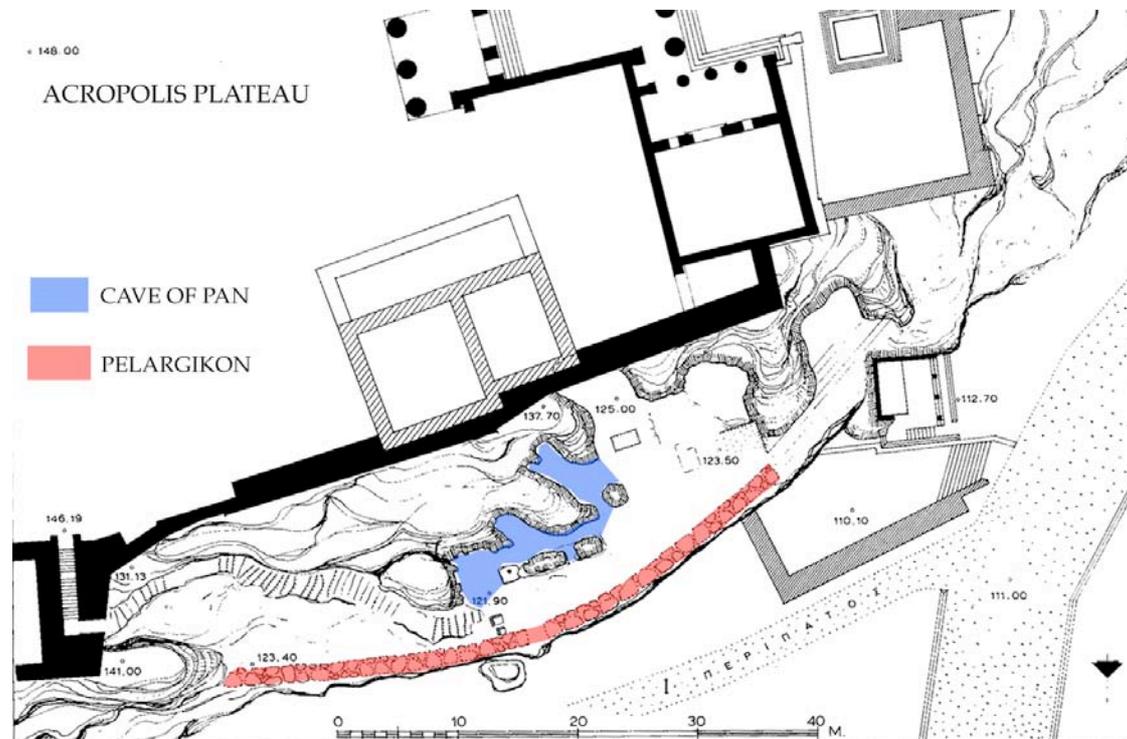


Figure 9.6 Plan of a section of the Pelargikon/Pelasgikon fortifications at the Athenian Acropolis and related monuments.

In order to appreciate the cultural meaning of this distinction between Arcadian Pan of the woods and mountains and Athenian Pan we have to ask what the cultural metaphor of the cave means in ancient Greek culture. In Platonic figurative language the cave represents a confinement of space that conceals from the cave-dweller that there is something outside the cave. On the other hand, the cave represents a concealed space that hides something from those who are outside. In the myth about the rediscovery of Pan at Athens the cave becomes a cultural symbol of his old and forgotten dwelling place. When his hidden place is rediscovered, Pan is reinstated in his proper position in the Athenian landscape of memory. In this Athenian *ars memoriae* of Pan the cave is both place (*locus*) and image (*imago*). It is the place of the god in the most ancient topography of the city of Athens inside the Pelasgikon. The cave is also a parable of the cultural dynamics between oblivion and recollection. The passing of time since the Pelasgian era has

covered the Athenian cave of Pan with deep sediments of oblivion. At the time of the Persian Wars his place was re-discovered, probably in the form of some kind of archaeological excavation of his cave. Herodotus says nothing in detail about how this re-discovery came about, but as in the case of the re-discovery of the bones of Orestes at Tegea we can imagine that someone – perhaps an oracle, or indeed the god himself speaking to Philippides on Mt. Parthenion – told the Athenians where to look. The place of a hero like Orestes can be discovered because someone incidentally stumbles across his bones, but a god is a different matter. Because the gods are immortal, there are no material markers of their presence in the landscape apart from their sanctuaries, and images set up by men. There are special cases, of course, like the place where the *xoanon* of Artemis fell from the sky in the Tauris, or preferred locations in proximity to springs, but to locate a god requires special instructions.

By re-territorialising Pan in their Pelasgian landscape the Athenians try to set things straight. His cult is re-instated, and not introduced as a new and foreign element. The cultural configuration of Pan in Athens makes him almost as Athenian as he is Arcadian, and the side effect of this configuration is that it also emphasises the Pelasgian past shared between Athenians and Arcadians, and between Athens and Tegea in particular. It is only proper that this configuration is initiated by a message brought from Arcadia to Athens by someone, who, as a *keruks*, already claims divine Arcadian descent from Hermes. The appropriation of the Arcadian god into the memorial landscape of Athens, where an Athenian family with a semi-Arcadian descent plays an important part, has seemingly no obvious ‘ideological’ purpose like the territorial dialogue between Tegea and Sparta about the bones of Orestes. It has been suggested, however, that the time of the reinstatement of the rustic Arcadian in Athens should be seen against the background of contemporary democratisation of Athens: less than two decades before the confrontation at Marathon, Kleisthenes had restructured Athenian landscapes of memory in a way that has been characterised as the politicisation of space.<sup>120</sup> An important device in Kleisthenes’ restructuring program is the *Aufhebung* of traditional genealogical bonds with the past, which are replaced by a more abstract concept of the citizen. In matters dealing with the polis the citizen is first and foremost a hoplite warrior, but

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<sup>120</sup> See Lévêque & Vidal-Naquet, 1996.

he is also a farmer. Most Athenian citizens lived in rural demes wherefrom they farmed their land and herded their flocks. While the religious culture of these citizens on the official level is visualised in the image of Olympian Athena on the Acropolis, it has been argued that the more unofficial 'private' religious culture of Athenian citizens was probably centred on less Olympian divinities along a spectrum that includes ancestor worship, local nymphs and river gods, and other divinities on the margin of Mt. Olympus like Pan.

The rural sanctuaries of Pan in Attica (Marathon, Vari, Pendeli) are all located in caves, and most of them have, especially from the fourth century onwards, 'private' family-dedications of reliefs with Pan, Hermes, and the Nymphs situated in a cave environment (Fig. 6.5). One late fourth century example from Pendeli has an inscription with the name of the dedicant on its base, "Agathemeros set this up to the Nymphs."<sup>121</sup> In the centre of the image stands a naked young man with a *kerykeion* in his left hand. The conventional interpretation is that he represents Hermes, but the historical context augments a certain ambiguity to this figure. The naked young male is a conventional pictorial formula for the representation of a god like Hermes or Apollo, but the same formula is also used to depict athletes, like the long-distance runner (*hêmerodromos*) Philippides. The figure accordingly rests in the pictorial ambiguity between the messenger god Hermes and the 'heroic' Athenian messenger-athlete Philippides, as a *keruks* a descendant of Hermes, and the bringer of Pan to Athens. Together with Pan, who is sitting on a rock playing the syrinx, this hermetic hero-god stands in the company of a group of place-specific (chthonic) personae; the Nymphs, and a couple who are in a pronounced value perspective the representation of the mortal descendants of this divine menage.

At Athens it is evident that the cult of Pan took on an almost chthonic character. In the Tegean countryside it was rather his role as political mediator that was emphasised. The motivation for Philippides' being in this landscape in the first place was to negotiate relations, formulated as a request for military aid, not with Tegea, but with Sparta. Indirectly Tegea is deeply involved in this request. If Sparta had decided to come to the rescue of the Athenians at Marathon, Tegea would have to as Sparta's most important military ally. That this would indeed have been the

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<sup>121</sup> Athens, National Museum, no. 4466; Travlos, 1971, Fig. 420.

case is confirmed by massive Tegean participation in the later Battle at Plataea.<sup>122</sup> Before the Battle at Plataea there was another diplomatic controversy that also involved Athens, Sparta, and Tegea. The conflict between the three poleis at Plataea was about who should hold what position in the battlefield. Herodotus presents this slightly technical military controversy in some detail. This provides us with a unique source for the discourse of military diplomacy between the Greek allies at the time of the Persian Wars.

The one position that was not negotiable at Plataea was the left flank, which was held by the Lacedaimonean contingent. The Tegeans, however, claimed that their heritage of military achievements – especially the incident where the Tegean king Ekhemos drove back the Heraklidai from the Peloponnesus by killing Hyllus in single combat – afforded them the right to choose their position after the Lacedaimoneans. Although fiercely rejecting the claim of the Tegeans on the basis of similar military deeds in the remote past as well as at Marathon, the Athenians leave it to the Lacedaimoneans to decide, who shall hold the left flank. The Lacedaimoneans unanimously recognise the superior right of the Athenians, but reserved the honourable place next to themselves on the left flank to the Tegeans.<sup>123</sup>

The main reasons why the Tegeans did not explicitly bring up their recently established military diplomacy with Athens in the discourse at Plataea – a diplomacy which was constituted through the heritage of Pan as well as in the Pelasgian heritage, both of which they shared with the Athenians – was probably that they had every reason not to provoke their Lacedaimonean allies. Although they had remained allies for a very long time, ever since the Lacedaimonean subjection of Tegea in the middle of the sixth century BC, the relationship, military as well as culturally, between Tegea and Lacedaimon always represented a potential conflict. That the Tegeans were not afraid to mention their previous military achievements against the Lacedaimoneans at Plataea (“We ‘we proved ourselves by our successes in combat time and again not just against you Spartiates ...”<sup>124</sup>) illustrates what both Tegeans and Lacedaimoneans knew very well, namely that their alliance was of a purely strategic rather than of a culturally sympathetic,

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<sup>122</sup> No less than 1500 hoplites according to Herodotus, 9.28.

<sup>123</sup> Herodotus, 9.28.

<sup>124</sup> Herodotus, 9.26.

nature. For the formulation of a cultural alliance between Tegea and Athens, on the other hand, Pan was a most convenient negotiator.

Although Pan is *the* Arcadian god, his places in Tegean and Arcadian landscapes of memory are more closely inter-connected with the outside world than one might at first expect. One side to this extrovert Pan is that he accompanies Arcadians who are on the move. Moving from place to place was, as we have come across in many connections, always considered to be a typical Arcadian way of life. Pan's sphere of influence is, however, not restricted to nomadic shepherds roaming the Arcadian woods and mountains. He follows Arcadian mercenaries on their expedition deep into Anatolia, and he resides in the Arcadian Embassy at Athens. This role as political and cultural negotiator makes Pan more, perhaps, of a true son of Hermes than one might at first sight expect from the ugly, violent, and noisy 'goat-foot God of Arcady.'

At Tegea Pan is positioned as a multi-valent intermediary. His landscape at Tegea is his aboriginal Arcadian landscape in the deep woods and on the high mountains rather than in subterranean places where he set up his Athenian embassies. Unlike any other religious persona Pan represents the biological diversity of this landscape. Endangered animals (tortoises) and plants (oaks) are offered his special protection. His role as a caretaker of Arcadian biological diversity is, no doubt, the most peculiar role of Pan in Tegean landscapes of memory. Like no other divinity he is an intermediary between men and the world of animals. His role as a political animal in the Tegean landscape also has more than one side. At a time when Arcadia also made sense as a political concept (the Arcadian League, early fourth century BC) Pan, together with Lykaion Zeus, served as a symbol of this new political alliance. This certainly situates Pan in an anti-Spartan position. If this also justifies the identification of Tegean Pan as a democratic god, as he was at Athens, is a more complex issue. It is interesting, however, that Pan served as a shared cultural symbol at Athens and Tegea at such an early stage in the development of Athenian democracy.

## CHAPTER X

## ARTEMIS

And give to me all mountains; and for city, assign  
me any, even whatsoever thou wilt: for seldom is it  
that Artemis goes down to the town. On the  
mountains will I dwell and the cities of men I will  
visit only when women vexed by the sharp pangs of  
childbirth call me to their aid.

(From Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*.)

Like Hermes and Pan Artemis is very much at home in the vertical Arcadian landscape. She is the special protector of hunters and pastoralists, who move in the mountainous wilderness (*agroteria*).<sup>125</sup> Like Pan she has an actual place in the wilderness rather than on the edge of the wilderness (like Hermes), but her relationship with specific places is most ambiguous. Unlike Pan and Hermes she was never said to originate in any specific region of Greece. Rather, not unlike Dionysos, she was regarded as someone who came from outside of Greece, and she is often referred to as a foreigner (*xene*).<sup>126</sup> Her preference for vertical places is not, however, the only feature of her character that makes her somewhat of an Arcadian. As with Orestes her nomadic lifestyle makes her a powerful symbol of Arcadian identity. For this reason travel is an important topic also in this chapter.

In the following journey to Artemis' Tegean times and places I will, as always, rely on a few passages from Pausanias' *ekphrasis* of Tegea. On occasion, and especially so towards the end of our campaign, the third century BC poet and Alexandrian scholar Callimachus of Cyrene will also join us. Since my aim is to focus on the local Tegean landscape of Artemis, Callimachus does, perhaps, seem an odd choice. Callimachus has usually been considered the archetypal ivory-tower poet in ancient Greek literature. Recent discussions about his hymns have, however,

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<sup>125</sup> See Burkert, 1985, 149ff.

<sup>126</sup> Dionysos is, of course, an old Greek divinity. In 19<sup>th</sup> century scholarship he was always considered as a foreign introduction in the Greek pantheon. That he was an indigenous Greek divinity was first suggested by Walter Friedrich Otto. See Otto, 1948, 71-80. Otto's hypothesis has since been confirmed by Linear B tablets from Pylos. See Burkert, 1985, 162.

pointed out that some of his work was written for public performances rather than for the reading chair.<sup>127</sup> There can be no doubt, however, that his works were composed in a particularly scholarly manner. In this librarian's footnote poetry the relationship with local traditions in the Greek world is one of ironic distance rather than intimate identity. In our context it is, however, exactly this ironic distance that makes Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* such a compelling travel guide. Callimachus' literary epic of the journeys of Artemis is an appropriate analogy to our own journey into the Tegean landscapes of Artemis. As in Callimachus' poem, our journey is the imaginary journey of someone sitting in a library of recollection on a distance from the places and times we describe. Like Pausanias, Callimachus was well travelled in ancient Greek landscapes of memory. His epic works are virtual encyclopaedias of sedimented local traditions, and like Pausanias he often emphasises the strange and unfamiliar. In his epic form specific local traditions are not draped in the authenticity rhetoric of Pausanias' first hand travel description. There are, indeed, few references to local guides in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*. The distinction between Pausanias and Callimachus is, however, as much of form as of content. Where Pausanias' peculiar prose always emphasises the specific feature of a local tradition, Callimachus translates the specific and prosaic to the general discourse of epic. What in retrospect represents the most genuine reproduction of ancient Greek landscapes of memory, the archaistic prose of the Second Sophistic or the Hellenistic epos, is really a matter of taste. One must, as shall we, be careful to apply different methods of reading their itineraries.

As portrayed by Callimachus the character of Artemis is complex. She is a helpless young girl, and she is a cruel mistress. Her absolute virginity is, as Walter Burkert has expressed it, "not asexuality as is Athena's practical and organizational intelligence, but a peculiarly erotic and challenging ideal."<sup>128</sup> The favourite attribute of Artemis is the bow, but her arrows are gentle (*aganoi*), and the death caused by them is benevolent and soft (*malakos*). This paradoxical weapon of Artemis is reserved for women, and it especially comes to the 'rescue' of women in agony in childbirth.<sup>129</sup> The benevolent kind of violence that Artemis imposes on women, a

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<sup>127</sup> This viewpoint is, for instance, put forward by Alan Cameron. See Cameron, 1995.

<sup>128</sup> Burkert, 1985, 150.

<sup>129</sup> On Artemis' arrows reserved for women; *Iliad*, 21.483; *Odyssey*, 11.172-73; 324-25; and 15.478. On her relieving arrows; *Odyssey*, 5.123; 11.172; and 18.202.

kind of active euthanasia, is a stark contrast to the cruel deliverers of plague that the arrows of her brother Apollo inflict. On the other hand, sacrifices offered to Artemis can be particularly violent and savage, and in myth she is not foreign to human sacrifice. The most famous example is the obligation on Agamemnon to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia at Aulis.<sup>130</sup> The tradition that Spartan boys were flogged to death on the altar of Artemis Orthia in Sparta is sometimes seen as a part of Roman mystification of Sparta, but it is nonetheless one of the many examples of violent anomalies in Artemis' benevolent character. Her relationship with the systematic use of violence in war is analogous to her a-sexual sexuality. Like Pan and Hermes, she is not directly connected with fighting, but rather works as the guide (*Hegemone*) and rescuer (*Soteira*) of her favourites. The connection between Artemis and war is indirectly based on a cultural analogy between war, hunting, and pastoralism. Pastoralism and hunting are effective activities for preparing young boys for war. To the extent that these activities function as training exercises for young recruits war is very much the business of Artemis; but with war itself, the ultimate telos of male upbringing, Artemis will have no dealings with.<sup>131</sup>

Artemis is a divinity who carefully nurtures the seeds of civic culture, hence her epithet *kourotrophos* (nourishing, educating), rather than one who turns the order of the polis upside-down like Dionysos; and she is deeply involved in the education of both sexes.<sup>132</sup> She prepares boys for war as well as girls for marriage. Artemis is herself the eternal *parthenos*: "Grant me to keep my maidenhood, Father, for ever"<sup>133</sup> are the first words that Callimachus puts into the mouth of the goddess as she herself is being nurtured on the lap of her father, the almighty Zeus. The training that young girls undergo in the company of Artemis, with whom they must stay for a while as a transitional rite from *parthenos* to *gune*, is completely a-sexual. Although Artemis is the most attractive of maidens, she is absolutely unapproachable. Therefore all girls must abandon Artemis, and Artemis must abandon them, when they become women in the act of marriage. She leaves them to Aphrodite and Hera, and she will have no dealings with the sexual aspect of marriage. This is why, as

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<sup>130</sup> Sacrifices that are offered to Artemis before battle involve the slaughter of the sacrificial victim by cutting its throat (*sphazein*) in contrast to the *thuein* of normal sacrifices. See Vernant, 1991, 251.

<sup>131</sup> On hunting as part of ephebic education see Vidal-Naquet, 1986, 106-128.

<sup>132</sup> At Sparta she had a special role as protectress of the *agoge*, the strict Spartan education system which was instituted by the mythical founder Lycourgos. See Euripides, *Hyppolytos*, 229; and Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 3.4.18.

<sup>133</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 6-7.

Callimachus puts it, she seldom “goes down to the town.” But Artemis is never far away because as the result of marriage there will soon be someone new to nurture. Wherever a child is born Artemis is there to support the mother and take care of the offspring. The separation of a *parthenos* from Artemis when she becomes woman is temporary. On the day of realisation of the ‘event’ that Artemis has prepared the *parthenos* for, the ultimate *telos* of marriage – the reproduction of a *pais*, a potential citizen, or wife – the *gûne* is readmitted into the protected space and time of her mistress.

Pausanias mentions three individual Artemis-sanctuaries in the Tegeatike: Artemis Hegemone, Artemis Limnatis, and Artemis Knakeatis.<sup>134</sup> The sanctuary of Artemis Hegemone, which is related to in connection with the description of other memorials in the urban centre, was probably situated in an urban, or sub-urban context (**Map 5**). The two other sanctuaries he mentions in his description of the direct southern route towards Sparta (**Map 3**). Pausanias situates these two sanctuaries according to their distance from the city-wall. The sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis was about seven stadia from the wall, and the sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis about 17 stadia from the wall.<sup>135</sup> In addition to the two rural Artemis sanctuaries that are clearly on the Tegean side of the Spartan frontier, Pausanias also mentions a sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis, where an annual ‘dance-festival’ was celebrated by Spartan girls.<sup>136</sup> This sanctuary was near Karyai in the Karyatis on the frontier between Tegea and Sparta.<sup>137</sup> Thus the direct route from Tegea to Sparta through the Sarandapotamos Valley was marked by three Artemis sanctuaries.

In connection with a description of *stasis* at Tegea before the establishment of the Arcadian League (370 BC) Xenophon also refers to a sanctuary of Artemis at Tegea, where a pro-pan-Arcadian fraction under the leadership of Kallibos and Proxenos took refuge.<sup>138</sup> Since all extra-urban Tegean Artemis sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias were situated on the direct route to Sparta, it is very likely that the

<sup>134</sup> Pausanias, 8.47.6 (Artemis Hegemone); and 8.53.11 (Artemis Limnatis and Artemis Knakeatis).

<sup>135</sup> Pausanias, 8.53.11.

<sup>136</sup> Pausanias 3.10.7.

<sup>137</sup> Pausanias 3.10.6.

<sup>138</sup> According to Xenophon the refugees found their way to the sanctuary via the Pallantion-gate, presumably on the western or southwestern side of the urban centre. Otherwise Xenophon does not give any clues as to the location of this sanctuary. See Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 6.5.9. The end of the struggle between the opposing Tegean fractions, which took place at the Artemis-sanctuary, was that the refugees headed by Kallibos were captured, “thrown on a wagon” (ἀναβαλόντες ἐπὶ ἀρμάμαξαν), and taken back to Tegea. Since a wagon was needed to transport the prisoners, we must assume that this sanctuary was farther away than just around the corner from the Pallantion-gate.

Artemis sanctuary mentioned by Xenophon was identical with one of them. Archaeological testimonies indicate, however, that there were Artemis sanctuaries along other routes leading out of Tegea. On the north-eastern Tegean frontier in the gorge between Mt. Ktenias and the acropolis of the medieval settlement of Paleo-Mouchli Victor Berard discovered, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, another small Artemis-sanctuary, which is not mentioned in the literary testimonies.<sup>139</sup> At the most our count of Artemis-sanctuaries in the Tegeatike reaches seven altogether, and all but one (A. Hegemone) were located in the country-side. At least one Tegean Artemis sanctuary was located high up in the Tegean mountains.

### 1. THE HIGH SUMMIT OF ARTEMIS

Although it cannot with certainty be identified with any of the listed Artemis sanctuaries, the only excavated ancient sanctuary in the outlying Tegeatike, at a place presently called *Psili Vrisi*, 'the high spring,' or *Psili Korphi*, 'the high summit' (**Maps 2-3**), was probably also dedicated to Artemis. Romaios suggested that this was the sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>140</sup> Since Romaios' publication of this site in 1952, scholarly interest in this place has been motivated primarily by specialist concern about groups of artifacts and architecture.<sup>141</sup> In our context it will serve as the main point of departure in a discussion about the place of Artemis in the ancient Tegean landscape of memory. That she occupied an important seat in the theatron of mountains surrounding the orchestra of Tegea from Mt. Boreion in the southwest to Mt. Parthenion in the northeast is testified by the high number of Tegean Artemis sanctuaries. Most of them are, as we have seen, located in ex-centric places in relation to the Tegean *astû* down on the plain, but few other places in the Tegean theatron are as ex-centric as the place occupied by the Artemis sanctuary at Psili Vrisi/Korphi (**Fig. 10.1**). The modern toponym, *Psili Korphi* ('the high summit') or also *Psili Vrisi* ('the high spring'), has preserved this

<sup>139</sup> See Jost, 1985, 163 for references.

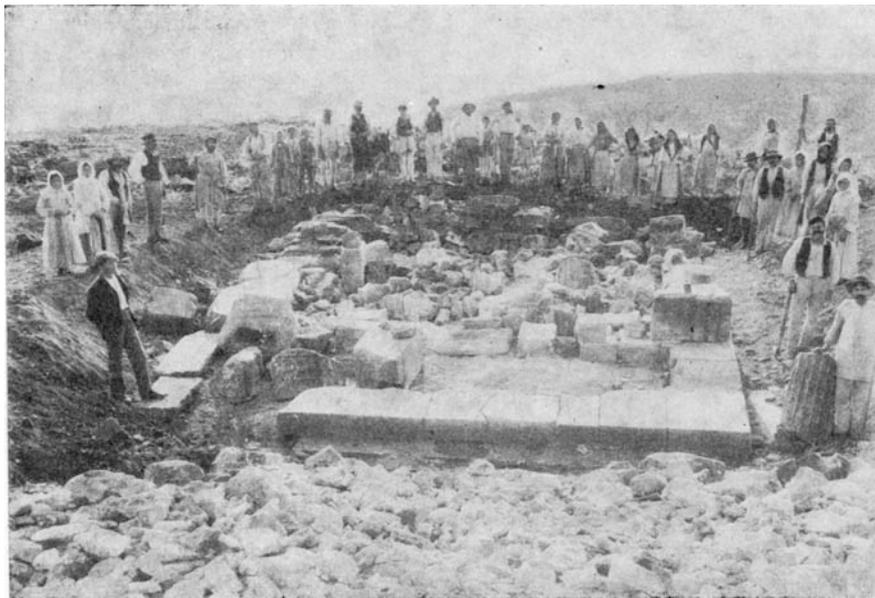
<sup>140</sup> The explanation offered by Romaios is rather curious. He claimed that the distance given by Pausanias (19 stadia) should not be taken to mean from the city wall (which is what he actually says), but rather from the point on the route to Sparta from which the road to this sanctuary broke off. See Romaios, 1952, 2. See also Jost, 1985, 160-161; Pritchett, 1985, 81-82; and Voyatzis, 1991, 29.

<sup>141</sup> On pottery and metal miniatures see Voyatzis, 1991. On architecture see Østby, 1995; and Winter, 1991. For a discussion of the sanctuary in a religious context see Jost, 1985, 160-161. See also Morgan, 1999, 397.

age-old phenomenology of this place. The elevated location of this sanctuary reproduces, more clearly than the fragmented architecture and material culture there, the withdrawn place of Artemis, “on the mountains” as Callimachus says.



*Figure 10.1* View over the Tegean Plain from the ancient Artemis Sanctuary at Psili Korphi in the Northern Parnon. Ruins of the ancient marble temple are visible in the foreground.

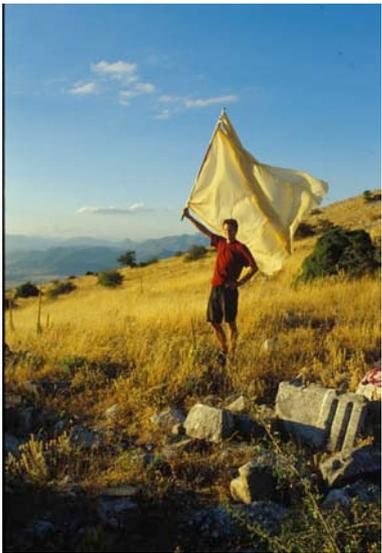


*Figure 10.2* Excavation photo of Romaios' excavation of a small marble temple at Psili Korphi in the Northern Parnon.

In 1907 Konstantinos Romaios excavated the remains of a small marble temple (Fig. 10.2) at Psili Korphi.<sup>142</sup> The building is located on a terrace just below, and to the west of, the northern most tip of the Parnon Range at an altitude of more than one thousand meters. Although the builders of this site must have taken advantage of a natural feature here the fragmented and overgrown remains of a terrace wall indicate that we are dealing with an artificial terrace. The modern toponym *Psili Vrissi* (the high spring) is associated with the elevated location of a karst spring 200

<sup>142</sup> See Romaios, 1952.

meters SSE of the temple site. This spring is situated on the route from the temple site to the ancient Tegean marble quarries.<sup>143</sup> On a projecting ridge 3-400 m to the NW of the temple is a neat plateau, with a remarkable view (**Fig. 10.1**) of the Tegean plain that constitutes this place as another ornithic view-point. From this plateau it is possible to see the entire Tegean plain, and also the edge of the territory of her immediate neighbours.



*Figure 10.3*  
The Swedish archaeologist Fredrik Fahlander holding the banner that was used for an inter-visibility test between Psili Korphi and the Tegean Plain in 2001.



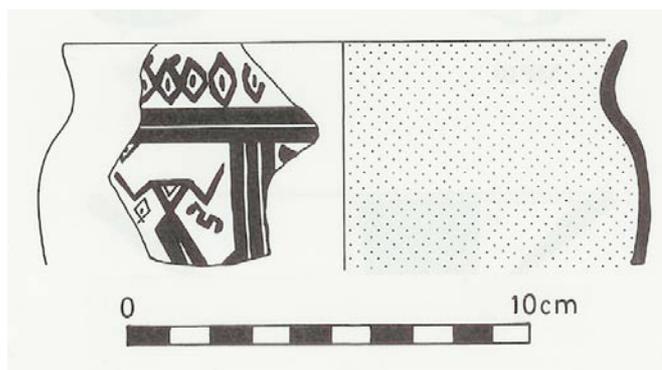
*Figure 10.4*  
View of Northern Parnon from the Tegean Plain. The site of the ancient sanctuary of Psili Korphi is visible as a faint light yellow dot. The location is indicated with a white circle.

The panorama extends from the Plain of Pallantion in the west, via the entrance to Mantinea in the north to the Partheni Basin and the Douliana Valley on the east. The horizon is crowned by Mt. Agios Elias over Asea, the snow covered peaks of Mt. Kyllene in the north and Mt. Artemision in the north-east (**Map 1**). The entire Tegean Plain is right below, and towards the south you have a good view of the Upper Sarandapotamos Valley. In 2001 I undertook a simple test of the inter-visibility between this site and the Tegean Plain (**Fig. 10.3**).<sup>144</sup> The test confirmed

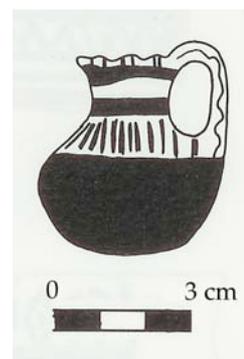
<sup>143</sup> Below the terrace where the temple is situated is a large area with terraces, and probably remains of houses, to judge from a wide scatter of tile fragments. Apparently the site has been extensively plundered for ancient marble blocks since the 1907 excavation. Many architectural blocks are still visible where Romaios excavated the foundations of the temple, and the occasional architectural decorations, such as the fragments of two triglyph blocks, can be observed in the surrounding terrace walls.

<sup>144</sup> The test was undertaken by simply setting up a banner, actually a yellow sheet, on the site, and observing it from the plain. I am grateful to my colleague the Swedish archaeologist Fredrik

that the temple would have been clearly visible from the plain (**Fig. 10.4**). Seen from the city this would have been an ever-present reminder of the place of Artemis in the Tegean mountains. In accordance with his identification of the temple as that of Artemis Knakeatis, Romaios suggested that there was also a settlement here called Knakea, its name being formed with the ending *-ea* which is common in local toponyms (Tegea, Alea, Manthyrea, Asea).<sup>145</sup> Some remains of walls, not mentioned by Romaios, can also be observed in the vicinity of the temple site. Surface scatters of medieval to early modern roof-tiles indicate rather that these walls belong to a more recently abandoned settlement that was built on the ruins of the abandoned ancient site.<sup>146</sup> No building remains are attested at *Psili Korphi* older than the small marble building excavated by Romaios. Superficially the excavator did discuss some groups of artefacts that certainly predate the small temple. The bulk of this material has since been published by Mary Voyatzis,<sup>147</sup> who thus greatly improved the possibility for a reconstruction of the history of this site.



*Figure 10.5*  
Fragment of a Late Geometric miniature vessel from Psili Korphi Sanctuary with the depiction of a human figure.



*Figure 10.6*  
Subgeometric miniature vessel from Psili Korphi Sanctuary with snake pattern on handle.

Her investigation of pottery from *Psili Korphi* indicated that dedications were offered at the site by the second phase of the Late Geometric period (LG II). Early pottery from *Psili Korphi* includes a fragment of a Late Geometric II/Subgeometric skyphos. The preserved piece (**Fig. 10.5**) is decorated with a human figure with both arms

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Fahlander and the Norwegian archaeology student Jørgen Johansen, who patiently held the banner at Psili Vrissi on a cold Arcadian summer evening as I observed it from the plain.

<sup>145</sup> See Romaios, 1952, 3; and Voyatzis, 1991, 29.

<sup>146</sup> I have made the same observations of medieval to early modern tiles many times during excursions to this site.

<sup>147</sup> See Voyatzis, 1991, 84-87, for the discussion of the early pottery from *Psili Korphi*. Apart from a couple of alternative interpretations of iconography, I have generally followed Voyatzis' careful discussion of the pottery. Where not illustrated here pottery fragments are referred to in the text with Voyatzis' catalogue numbers.

raised.<sup>148</sup> The figure is symmetrically flanked under its arms by two small, almost abstract figures. The position of these figures indicates that they do not serve merely decorative purposes in the composition.<sup>149</sup> The figure to the right probably represents a snake, and the one to the left looks like a fish. A possible interpretation is that we are dealing with the *Potnia Theron* ('protector of animals') motif that Artemis is already identified with in the *Iliad*.<sup>150</sup> The snake motive is also found in another early dedication. In a group of hand-made miniatures is one oinochoe with an incised snake on the outer face of its handle (Fig. 10.6).<sup>151</sup>



Figure 10.7  
Bronze  
hydrophoros  
from Tegea  
from the second  
half of the 8th  
century BC.  
Same type as a  
not so well  
preserved  
specimen found  
at the Psili  
Korphi  
Sanctuary.

This is obviously a chthonic motive. We have earlier seen that this motif was also found on early dedicatory pottery in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (Fig. 6.6), where it can probably be connected with a chthonic feature, perhaps with the fountain of Auge.<sup>152</sup> It would also have been most appropriate if Artemis were accompanied by one of the daughters of Okeanos at a place which in the early modern landscape of memory was called *Psili Vrissi*, 'the high spring'.

<sup>148</sup> Voyatzis, 1991, 301, MP3.

<sup>149</sup> Voyatzis insists on calling these figures fillers. Although hardly satisfactory from the visual semantics point of view, the concept of 'fillers' in early Greek art is deeply incorporated into the vocabulary of Classical archaeologists. A theoretical debate about this issue is absent. For examples of alternative approaches to the visual semantics of fillers in a discussion of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC Polyphemos amphora from Eleusis, see Osborne, 1988; and Whitley, 1994. See also Osborne, 1998, 57ff.

<sup>150</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 21.470.

<sup>151</sup> Voyatzis, 1991, 302, MP9.

<sup>152</sup> Oinochoai with handles depicting snakes twisting in a meandering pattern have also been found at Tegea and at Sparta. See Voyatzis, 1991, 86, plate 29; and Coldstream, 1968, 216.

Quite a few bronze miniatures were also uncovered at *Psili Vrissi*. The assemblage includes what appears to be animal figurines, which we shall return to below, and one partly broken bronze water-carrier, or hydrophoros. Together with a similar bronze from Tegea, probably contemporary and perhaps even from the same workshop, it has been dated to the second half of the eighth century BC (**Fig. 10.7**).<sup>153</sup> Two lead kouroi figurines are from the seventh century BC. This type of dedication in lead is very common in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Those at *Psili Vrissi*, like a few examples from Athena Alea at Tegea, are surely imports from Laconia.<sup>154</sup>

The small marble temple at *Psili Vrissi* (**Fig. 3.8**) is probably one of the earliest marble temples in the Greek world altogether. Erik Østby has argued for a date around 570 BC.<sup>155</sup> That such an early temple in a remote location would be executed entirely in marble is surely connected with its close proximity to the ancient Tegean marble quarries (**Map 3**). It is, on the other hand, a clear statement of the importance of the ex-centric establishment of collective memory at Tegea. The architectural details of this building are most unusual: Stylistic anomalies include a lack of antae at the corners of the cella, variation in upper width and fluting of column shafts, and the occurrence of three different types of Doric capitals. Also three different types of triglyphs are preserved, with two variations in proportion and three different decorative schemes (**Fig. 10.8**).<sup>156</sup> The *Psili Vrissi* temple also differs from the normal Doric design in the absence of guttae under regulae and mutulae. Mutulae occur above triglyphs, but not above metopes.<sup>157</sup> That the only early parallel for this feature is found in another Arcadian temple (Athena at

<sup>153</sup> See Dugas et al, 1924, 354, no. 51, fig. 17; Romaios, 1952, 27, fig. 20 y; and Voyatzis, 1991, Cat. No. B4.

<sup>154</sup> Voyatzis, 1991, 124, and plate 62, B11 & 12; and Dawkins, 1929, 267-8, plate clxxxv, 28. The lead figurines from *Psili Korphi* represent kouroi, which is an uncommon type, but does occur, in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

<sup>155</sup> See Østby, 1995, 309, and 320. Suggested dates for its construction range from the second quarter of the sixth century to the beginning of the fifth. See Romaios, 1952, 18; Winter, 1991, 216; and Østby, 1995, 320. Only three column bases at the eastern front of the building were preserved. As reconstructed by Romaios the building measured approximately 14 x 16 meters, and had tetrastyle prostyle porches both front (partly reconstructed) and in the back (completely reconstructed). Østby suggests an alternative reconstruction with prostyle porch only at the eastern entrance. See Østby, 1995, figs. 179 and 180.

<sup>156</sup> Since this design is rather difficult to incorporate into a single building, Georges Roux has suggested that one of the triglyph types does not belong to the temple itself, but rather to a triglyph altar. See Roux, 1961, 400.

<sup>157</sup> Smooth mutulae are found in Hellenistic architecture but are a highly unusual feature in an Archaic temple.

Alipheira), illustrates, as Erik Østby has convincingly argued, that the small temple at *Psili Korphi* is best regarded in an Arcadian Doric context.<sup>158</sup> Seen from the outside, especially in later periods, this building would have appeared as strange and old-fashioned. These features would certainly have emphasised the antiquity of this ex-centric local visual culture of Tegean Artemis.

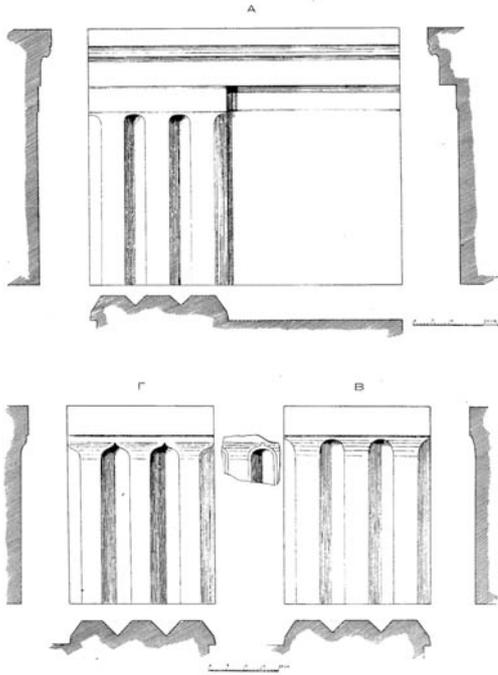


Figure 10.8 Drawing of three different triglyphs documented by Romaios at the site of the Psili Korphi Sanctuary.



Figure 10.10  
Marble dog from  
Psili Korphi  
Sanctuary.



Figure 10.9  
Marble gorgoneion  
from Psili Korphi  
Sanctuary.

A similar old-fashioned mood is evoked by the only piece of preserved architectural sculpture from Psili Korphi (Fig. 10.9), which Romaios identified as a gorgoneion

<sup>158</sup> On the temple at Alipheira, which was excavated by Orlandos, see Orlandos, 1967-68; and Østby, 1995, 364ff.

(Fig. 3.8).<sup>159</sup> The fragment consists of the upper edge of the acroterion, with only the gorgon's head preserved. The design is most unusual. The style of the head on the marble acroterion was characterised by Romaios as Daedalic. The curly hair hanging in front of the gorgon's shoulder is not unlike the curls on a Daedalic ivory sphinx from Perachora.<sup>160</sup> Perhaps even more similar is the hair of the famous limestone relief from Mycenae.<sup>161</sup> The early date for the marble temple suggested by Østby (570 BC) is certainly more consistent with the Daedalic hairstyle than the late date suggested by Romaios (520 or 530 BC).<sup>162</sup> That this old-fashioned piece of statuary was *in situ* for a very long time is indicated by the severe water erosion to which it has been subject. Among the later remains from *Psili Vrissi* is a beautifully carved marble dog (Fig. 10.10), dated by Romaios to the end of the sixth century, and 30 bronze arrows.<sup>163</sup> Romaios also found terracotta figurines at *Psili Vrissi*, ranging in date from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, among which were some 4<sup>th</sup> century *hydrophoroi*, and 10 figurines of Artemis with dogs.<sup>164</sup> Since finds from the Hellenistic period are the latest noted by Romaios, it appears that the sanctuary was abandoned already by the end of the Hellenistic period. If so, this would explain why Pausanias makes no mention of it.

The *Psili Korphi* sanctuary is the vertical antecedent of the sanctuary of Athena Alea. The early pottery assembly at *Psili Vrissi* makes the sanctuary, as Catherine Morgan has formulated it, a microcosm of the main Tegean sanctuary of Athena Alea just outside the urban centre on the plain.<sup>165</sup> The early phases of both sanctuaries display a close relationship with the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. In the early pottery assemblage at *Psili Vrissi* this applies both to styles of pottery decoration and to some iconographic features like snake 'ornaments'. Together with the *hydrophoroi* and the fact that the sanctuary is located near the high spring (*Psili Vrissi*) these chthonic features are also most appropriate in a

<sup>159</sup> See Romaios, 1952, 18-19.

<sup>160</sup> Stewart, 1990, II, Fig. 22.

<sup>161</sup> Stewart, 1990, II, Fig. 77.

<sup>162</sup> In Romaios' stylistic vocabulary he uses 'Daedalic' almost as we use 'Archaic'. He distinguishes between early and late Daedalic. Early Daedalic he exemplifies with the seated goddess from Ayoryitika, which is, in fact, a late Daedalic sculpture from the end of the seventh century (see Kranz, 1974, 24.), and not, as Romaios indicates, from the first half of the sixth. See Romaios, 1952, 18-19.

<sup>163</sup> The marble dog is in the Tegea Museum, Cat. no. 243. See Romaios, 1952, 27.

<sup>164</sup> The terracotta *hydrophoroi* are of the same type as has been found in abundance in a deposit at the small peak of Agios Sostis down on the plain, and just outside of the urban centre of Tegea. Romaios, 1952, 28.

<sup>165</sup> See Morgan, 1999, 397.

sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>166</sup> There are cases of Corinthian or Argive imports, e. g. an early proto-Corinthian ring-vase,<sup>167</sup> but Voyatzis emphasises that a local provenience should not be excluded for much of the pottery.<sup>168</sup> Some groups of non-ceramic decoration, such as bronze arrows are also found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, and the lead figurines are clearly imports from Sparta. Since an early metallurgical workshop has been discovered at Tegea,<sup>169</sup> there is certainly no technical reason why the bronze dedications at *Psili Vrisi* should not also be of local Tegean origin.

The material and visual culture in the early stages of those two main Tegean sanctuaries mirror each other, as does their optical mastery (**Figs. 10.1 and 10.4**) of the Tegean landscape. The sanctuary of Athena Alea is the main sanctuary in the horizontal world of ancient Tegea, situated just outside its urban centre and at a critical point in the environmental cultivation system of the plain (**Map 5**). In addition to enhancing total visual control of the vertical Tegean landscape the location of the *Psili Korphi* sanctuary is also topographically associated with the main resource of this landscape, the Tegean marble quarries (**Map 3**). The spatial dialogue between those two places thus served to bind the two most prominent micro-ecologies of the Tegean landscape, the plain and the mountain, closely together. That the spatial dialogue between these two contraction points in the Tegean landscape of memory was a most ancient one was also emphasised in the architectural elaboration of this sanctuary. As far as the later architectural elaboration of the sanctuary is concerned local Arcadian Doric is emphasised. The old-fashioned style of the building and its peculiar architectural sculpture could certainly served as a visualisation of an ancient indigenous tradition. Without historical testimonies from the later phases of this sanctuary or more precise documentation of archaeological contexts it is very difficult to provide a broader cultural context for the sanctuary. It is evident, however, that the stylistic anomalies of the small temple, and probably also its modest size, contributed to the

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<sup>166</sup> Madeleine Jost has pointed out that the figurines from Tegea and Psili Vrisi reflect the importance of water sources in sanctuary contexts. See Jost, 1985, 373.

<sup>167</sup> See Voyatzis, 1991, 87, MP 2.

<sup>168</sup> See Voyatzis, 1991, 87. How local is an interesting question. Voyatzis indicates that pottery production may have taken place at Psili Korphi itself, but the main local pottery production site was probably Tegea. Forthcoming results of petrographic and chemical analysis of pottery from NTEX undertaken by the Fitch Technical Laboratory at the British School at Athens, will hopefully illuminate these questions.

<sup>169</sup> See Nordquist, 1997.

belief that the sanctuary was an ancient feature on the Tegean frontier. A similar desire to emphasise local tradition can also be observed in the early visual culture of the dedicatory material at Psili Korphi.

## 2. BEARS, TORTOISES, AND ASTRAL CONSTELLATIONS. THE LOCAL VISUAL CULTURE OF ARTEMIS

Among the geometric bronzes from *Psili Vrissi* there is one example (**Fig10.11**) of a seated figure that deserves special attention. The figure is articulated in a typically geometric and economic pictorial language. Its arms are bent so the knees and elbows meet and create a repeated pattern in profile. The figure appears in a seated and almost contracted position. Both arms are raised towards the face in a very similar manner to the Cycladic figurines that play the double flute. This makes it seem as though the figure is holding something up to its face. Perhaps the figure is even ‘holding his face’ because it is a mask. Apart from the tipped, small ears rather toward the back of the head and the general anthropomorphic impression there are really no distinguishing features on the body of the creature. This figure belongs to a distinct group of Late Geometric bronzes of which there are other examples from Sparta, Olympia, the Alpheios Valley, and Eretria.<sup>170</sup> As with the other votives from *Psili Vrissi* some of the bronzes in this group have Argive stylistic elements, whereas others have a more Laconian character. One example (**Fig. 10.12**), not as well preserved as the *Psili Vrissi* figure, and with a slimmer more ‘Argive’ body is from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. From the same sanctuary too comes another bronze figurine (**Fig. 10.13**) with a rather similar ‘seated’ pose. This figure is, however, clearly articulated in a more differentiated pictorial language, and it is thus probably from the beginning of the seventh century. Its arms have been liberated from the strict geometric formula. The head is especially interesting. It is not a human head and could very well represent the head of a bear, Voyatzis has suggested.<sup>171</sup> The off-balance body and its stiff arms attempting to regain balance almost gives the figure the impression of falling backwards, or even floating in mid-air. Since there are no contemporary parallels for this figure, we must assume that

<sup>170</sup> For a discussion of the parallels, and further references see Voyatzis, 110ff.

<sup>171</sup> See Voyatzis, 1991, 117-120.

it was derived from the local eighth century type of which there is one example from *Psili Vrissi*.



Figure 10.11  
Bronze figure from Psili  
Korphi Sanctuary, first  
half of 8th century BC.



Figure 10.14 Goat-headed terracotta  
figurine from Lykosoura.



Figure 10.12  
Bronze figure  
from Athena Alea  
Sanctuary, third  
quarter of 8th  
century BC.

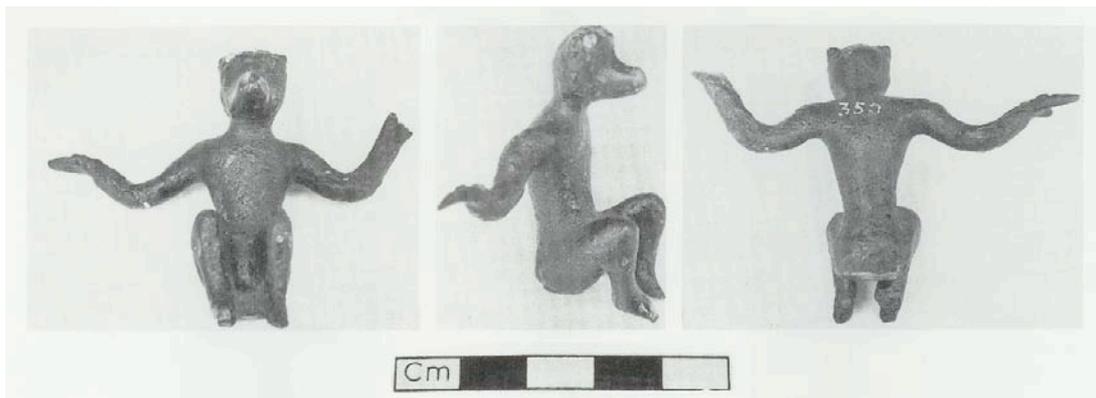


Figure 10.13 Seventh century BC bronze figure from Athena Alea Sanctuary.

Considering the existence of a metallurgical work-shop in the sanctuary of Athena Alea and the wealth of local bronze dedications from Tegea, it is very likely that both the examples from the Athena Alea sanctuary (Figs. 10.12-13) as well as the Mavriki figure (Fig. 10.11) were all manufactured at Tegea. This group also

constitutes an early example of a distinct Arcadian, and probably Tegean, visual culture. In this context it is most interesting that an early Tegean visual culture can also be attested in other bronze miniatures, e. g. tortoises and lyres. Both examples have been found at *Psili Vrissi* as well as in the Athena Alea sanctuary.<sup>172</sup> As we have seen earlier, both tortoises and lyres have their special places in Arcadian and Tegean landscapes of memory. These two Arcadian memory images are also connected because the one (the tortoise) can be the raw material for the manufacture of the other (the lyre). This connection was built into the Arcadian landscape of memory as a family quarrel between Hermes and Pan. The lyre was an Arcadian invention of Hermes, but the tortoises, especially those at Mt. Parthenion ‘that were excellent for making lyres’ also enjoyed a special environmental protection from Pan. But where in this Tegean ecology of recollection does a bear-masked figure floating in mid air fit in?

The tradition for making composite figures, half man, half human, can also be observed elsewhere in Arcadian myth and visual culture. Figurines with human bodies, masked with the faces of animals, have also been found at other Arcadian sanctuaries. One example is the goat-headed terracotta figurines with long robes from Lykosoura (**Fig. 10.14**).<sup>173</sup> Arcadian legends are also rich in stories about the metamorphosis of men into animals, and many of those legends are connected with the early Arcadian royal family. The most famous is the ware-wolf legend connected with the institution of human sacrifice at Lykaion Oros, Arcadian Mt. Olympus. Contrary to the Athenians, who, under Cecrops, “refused to offer anything that had life in it,” according to Pausanias, Lykaon, the son of Pelasgus, and a contemporary of Cecrops, “brought a human baby to the altar of Lycaean Zeus.”<sup>174</sup> Immediately after this sacrifice Lykaon was changed into a wolf. The traditional ware-wolf character is also embedded in the name of Λυκάων, ‘the wolf-man’ (λυκάνθρωπος) from λύκος (‘wolf’). Since the days of Lykaon a man always changes into a wolf at the time of the sacrifice to Lykaeon Zeus, but the Arcadian ware-wolf would not necessarily remain a wolf for ever. If he abstained from eating human flesh for the

<sup>172</sup> See Morgan, 1999, 445, note 83.

<sup>173</sup> See Jost, 1985, 177, and Plate 45, Figs. 3-4.

<sup>174</sup> Pausanias, 8.2.3.

following nine years, he could change back into a man again. If not, he would remain a wolf for ever.<sup>175</sup>

A less famous, but no less spectacular Arcadian legend of metamorphosis involves the transformation of a woman into a bear. This story also relates to the Arcadian lineage. The story goes as follows according to Pausanias:

Besides all this family of sons, Lycaon had a daughter Callisto. This Callisto (I merely repeat the common Greek story) was loved by Zeus, who had an intrigue with her. When Hera found out she turned Callisto into a bear, and Artemis, to please Hera, shot the bear down. Zeus sent Hermes with orders to save the child whom Callisto bore in her womb; and Callisto he changed into the stars known as the Great Bear, which Homer mentions in the return voyage of Ulysses from Calypso:—

*Watching the Peliades and late-setting Bootes,  
And the Bear, which also they call the Wain.*

But perhaps these stars are so called merely out of compliment to Callisto, for the Arcadians point out her grave.

When Nyctimus died, Arcas, son of Callisto, reigned in his stead. He introduced the cultivation of corn, which he learned from Triptolemus, and taught the people to bake bread, to weave garments, and to spin wool, which last art he acquired from Adristas. After his reign the country was called Arcadia instead of Pelasgia, and the people Arcadians instead of Pelasgians. They say that he mated, not with a mortal woman, but with a Dryad nymph. For some nymphs were called Dryads and Epimeliads, and others Naiads, and Homer mostly mentions the Naiads. This particular nymph was called Erato, and they say that she bore Azas, Aphidas, and Elatus to Arcas, who had previously had a bastard son Autolaus. When his sons grew up, Arcas divided the country between them into three portions. [...] Tegea and the adjoining country fell to the lot of Aphidas; hence poets speak of Tegea as 'the lot of Aphidas.'<sup>176</sup>

The mythological fate of Kallisto and her place in the Arcadian genealogy connects a complex web of traditions to the Tegean bear-figurines. Kallisto, the 'most beautiful' *parthenos*, is, like Artemis, a model for the girl before marriage. When she transgresses the boundary of normal marriage to a mortal with her intrigue with her grandfather Zeus, it arouses the rage of Hera, the wife of Zeus, and also the goddess of the model marriage. Artemis, with whom Kallisto is sometimes identified, does not appear in the legend until she is properly called upon to shoot one of her gentle arrows at Kallisto, who is in childbirth. Hermes instantly comes to rescue of her offspring, Arkas, who is the mythical founder of civilised Arcadia. He brings agriculture, bread, and weaving that supersedes the prehistoric civilisation of Pelasgos in Arcadia. In the legend Kallisto appears as the deliverer of culture, just

<sup>175</sup> Pausanias, 8.2.6.

<sup>176</sup> Pausanias, 8.3.6–8.4.3.

as Artemis is the deliverer of children, and of boys and girls ready and packed for marriage and war. Before, however, Kallisto can deliver Arkas she must be transformed into a bear. The most beautiful *parthenos* must change into a wild animal before she can give birth to the bringer of civilisation. Kallisto-becoming-bear thus serves in the legend as a mythical prototype of the civic initiation ritual. The young boys and girls, who are about to become ripe for marriage, must themselves 'become bears,' become wild, in their final transitional journey into the space of Artemis. One facet of the cultural meaning of the Arcadian myth of Kallisto is as a paradigm for the female initiation ritual. Initiation rites during which young girls were 'playing the bear' in a sanctuary of Artemis is attested in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.<sup>177</sup> A similar ritual context can be imagined for the Tegean bear figurines. Although the connection between bears, Artemis and initiation rituals for girls are common features that can be found at Brauron as well as at *Psili Korphi*, there are some features that distinguish these two places of Artemis. The 'bear figurines' at Brauron are terracotta miniatures of young girls, not of bears. The Tegean bear figurines are also manufactured in bronze, something which would indicate a different level of prestige, perhaps as the dedications of wealthy parents.

What is most interesting about the Tegean bear figurines in the context of the Artemis sanctuary at *Psili Korphi* is not only that they can be connected with similar initiation rituals for young girls but that they can also be connected with the Arcadian legend of Kallisto. This makes for a very special landscape of memory. In the legend retold by Pausanias the myth of Kallisto is also an aetiology for the astral constellation that we still call *Ursa Major* (the Great Bear).<sup>178</sup> As was noted by James Frazer, the son of Kallisto the bear is 'the bear man' as much as his name 'Ἄρκάς is probably related to ἄρκτος ('bear'). According to this ideological etymology the Arcadians are the bear people.<sup>179</sup> The place where the memory-image of the bear people is inscribed is a place on the hemisphere. From the nocturnal view-point of the Tegean Artemis sanctuary on the High Summit, this memory-image of Kallisto is a sublime vision. It stands there on the black sky of the present as an ever present reminder of the common past of the Arcadians. The astral image of the bear is a memory-image of the great mother of Arcas, the progenitor of all Arcadians and the

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<sup>177</sup> See Kahil, 1977.

<sup>178</sup> See Richer, 1994, 53-56.

<sup>179</sup> See Frazer, 1965, vol. 4, 191.

source of post-Pelasgian Arcadian civilisation. In that sense it is a sign that points towards the remote past of Arcadia as a cultural concept. In the local context of the nocturnal view from Tegean Artemis sanctuary at Psili Korphi the image of a distant past was also re-enacted every year as young girls from Tegea came to this place to experience the transformation from girl to young woman. The image of the bear on the Tegean horizon thus evokes the ambivalence of Artemis. She is ever so near and familiar and ever so distant and foreign.

### 3. THE RETURN OF A STRANGER. THE ARCADIAN JOURNEYS OF ARTEMIS

The foreign character of Artemis has occasionally raised the question if she was introduced to Greece from a non-Greek religious culture?<sup>180</sup> Callimachus has the strangeness of Artemis built into the epic as a journey. This journey takes place in time as well as in space. It also represents stages of Artemis' own peculiar education, which starts in the lap of her almighty father, from which she, despite her urge to travel, refuses to depart. Before Artemis became settled in Greece with 'Olympic' sanctuaries, she lived a nomadic life during which she travelled to all kinds of strange places in the terrestrial world, and to places beyond as well. One of her journeys beyond the inhabited world of men (*oikoumene*) takes her to Okeanos. Her visit to the world-stream Okeanos provides the sexually un-approachable eternal *parthenos* with an opportunity to adopt her own children. The sixty daughters of Okeanos can, as we have also seen at *Psili Korphi*, be found throughout her places in this world. The bow, which is as inseparably linked with Artemis as the nymphs, she obtained on a visit to the Island of the Cyclopes. She also visits places on the edge of *oikoumene*, the land of the Scythians, and Thracia. Finally she visits remote places inside *oikoumene*, which represent the local *eskhatiai* of civic communities, "the white mountains of Crete leafy with woods," and on several occasions she goes to the Arcadian mountains.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> There is no satisfactory historical etymology for her name, and it is debated whether or not her name can be found in Linear B texts. See Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 149.

<sup>181</sup> Callimachos, *Hymn to Artemis*, 13 (Okeanos); 41 (White Mountains of Crete); 46 (Cyclopes); 114 (Thracia); and 174 (Scythians). On the concept of *oikoumene*, the outer regions of the world, see Romm, 1992, 9ff.

According to Callimachus Artemis' first visit to Arcadia occurred directly after she visited the Cyclopes. The place that Callimachus assigns to Arcadia on Artemis' itinerary also indicates what a strange kind of place it is. The occasion of Artemis' visit to Arcadia is that she will acquire her hounds from Arcadian Pan. On Mount Mainalon, to the northwest of the Tegean plain, Pan slaughters a lynx "that the bitches might eat it for food."<sup>182</sup> Among the different hounds that Pan gives to Artemis, Callimachus mentions especially "seven Cynosourian bitches swifter than the winds—that breed which is swiftest to pursue fawns and the hare which closes not his eyes."<sup>183</sup> These Cynosourian hounds were an especially appreciated Arcado-Laconian breed of hunting dogs. Their place in Artemis' own education is critical. The connection of this race of hunting dogs to Arcadia positions this district as an instrument in the education that Artemis herself went through on her journey towards the cultivation of her own self in settled sanctuaries. It is not Artemis that teaches hunting techniques to the Arcadians, but rather she who learns from them. Some of Artemis' tools stem from a monstrous origin. She obtained her bow from the Cyclopes. Her trained hunting dogs came from the Arcadian mountains, and her character is thus, from the outset of Callimachus' epic journey, shaped by a little Arcadian civilisation. The marble dog (**Fig. 10.10**) Romaios found at *Psili Vrissi* can perhaps be connected with the traditional origin her Cynosourian hunting dogs in the Arcadian mountains. The clay figurines of Artemis with dogs, and the bronze arrows from the same site are also dedications of a kind that emphasise the importance of hunting as a transitional ritual for young boys in the ritual space of Artemis. The monumentalisation of the Cynosourian race at *Psili Vrissi* indicates that this myth, like the myth of Kallisto, may have been especially emphasised in the cultic display at this sanctuary.

Before Artemis finally settles in Greece she also visits Scythian Tauri. The Scythians were a nomadic and primitive people who lived right on the border of *oikoumene*. In Herodotus' *Histories* the Scythians are the non-Greek people offered the most thorough description, second only to the Egyptians. As François Hartog has argued, the cultural meaning of the Scythians for the Greeks was that they represented everything that was different from themselves:<sup>184</sup> they did not live in

<sup>182</sup> Callimachos, *Hymn to Artemis*, 88-89.

<sup>183</sup> Callimachos, *Hymn to Artemis*, 93-95.

<sup>184</sup> See Hartog, 1988, 3-208; and Romm, 1992, 67-76.

cities, but practised nomadism, and to Artemis they offered human sacrifice. The Greeks also knew that the ways of the Scythians also represented layers in their own composite past. In the time of the Pelasgians people lived a nomadic, Scythian life. When Artemis finally settles in Greece ‘to dance with the daughters of Okeanos,’ she comes from Scythia, a place which is remote in space and in time:

But when the nymphs encircle thee in the dance, near the spring of Egyptian Inopus or Pitane—for Pitane too is thine—or in Limnae or where, goddess, thou camest from Scythia to dwell, in Alae Araphenides, renouncing the rites of the Tauri.<sup>185</sup>

When Artemis finds stable dwelling places, sanctuaries, it is not the setting up of altars or the building of temples that constitutes those sites as her dwelling places, but rather the fact that there the goddess is in close proximity of dancing water-nymphs. Exactly as Callimachus prescribes we have also seen that the karst springs at *Psili Vrisi* made that place a proper dwelling place for Tegean Artemis. It is also interesting that Callimachus explicitly lists a place in Attica (Alae Araphenides, an Attic deme between Marathon and Brauron where there was a sanctuary of Artemis) and two sanctuaries in Arcadia established by Proteus, king of Argos, in Azania and Lusa.<sup>186</sup> Arcadia and Attica were also among the first places where the nomadic Pelasgians had settled. They represent places where the cult of Artemis is derived from the great antiquity of her dwelling there. That this goddess had a special place in Athenian as well as Arcadian landscape of memory thus becomes another thread of cultural recognition that weaves the pasts of those two districts together.

One of the most important events in the settling of Artemis is visualised in the transportation of her *xoanon* to Greece from the Taurid.<sup>187</sup> According to legend this *xoanon* of Artemis had fallen from the sky in Tauris, where it was initially integrated into the primitive worship of Artemis. The route of the *xoanon* to Greece is also connected with the shared Pelasgian past of Athens and Arcadia. Plutarch reports that on approaching Greece the Pelasgians travelled in the company of the old *xoanon* of Artemis.<sup>188</sup> The settling of the Pelasgians is thus paralleled by the settling

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<sup>185</sup> Callimachos, *Hymn to Artemis*, 170-174.

<sup>186</sup> Callimachos, *Hymn to Artemis*, 235

<sup>187</sup> A *xoanon* is usually a wooden likeness of the old kind, sometimes only a simple plank, but more frequently an anthropomorphic statuette, sometimes made from Levantine timbers such as cedar and ebony. See Stewart, 1990, I, 104-105.

<sup>188</sup> See Vernant, 1991, 207.

of her first and original cult image, a central piece of cultic furniture in her Olympic sanctuary.

The connection between Arcadia and the *xoanon* of Artemis is also emphasised in another myth about its journey to Greece. The occasion is also connected with the exploits of another nomad, Orestes, who had been afflicted with madness and wandered about after having killed his mother. During his wanderings, in fact as a part of his own re-settling, Orestes went to the Taurid, from which he brought back the *xoanon* as well as his sister Iphigenia. The settling of the nomad Artemis thus prefigures the settling of the nomad Orestes. Unlike Artemis, who is a nomad and a savage by superior divine choice, Orestes was driven into nomadism by the madness caused by his savage crime. As we have seen, he eventually settled in Arcadia. His tomb was originally at Tegea, but there are also other places in Arcadia that had appropriated him into their memorial landscape. From the Greek point of view Arcadia is a kind of cultivated Scythia, remote and primitive. For this analogy to be perfect we might have expected that Orestes had taken the *xoanon* with him to Arcadia, and perhaps even to Tegea, and to one of the most ancient Artemis sanctuaries there. According to the analogy, if Orestes found his resting place at Tegea, why should not also his travel companion, Artemis, do the same?

In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Tauris*<sup>189</sup> Orestes set up the *xoanon* in the Attic deme of Halai Araphenides, which is also one of the preferred places of Artemis mentioned by Callimachus. In Pausanias' day the Attic sanctuary at Brauron claimed to have the *xoanon*,<sup>190</sup> but there were also other sanctuaries that made this claim. On the basis of events connected with the foundation of the sanctuary Pausanias argues in favour of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. When the *xoanon* was 'discovered' there by the two Spartans Astrabakos and Alopeke, they both went mad at the very instant they laid their eyes upon it and, like Orestes, were driven into nomadism by their madness. In his short description of the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis outside the city, which Romaios identified with a location on the border of the Tegean *khôra*, Pausanias mentions that there was "an image of ebony (ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἑβένου ξύλου). The fashion of the workmanship is what the Greeks call Aeginetan."<sup>191</sup> That the *agalma* here is distinguished by its Aeginetan style probably

<sup>189</sup> Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Tauris*, 85-91, and 1448-61.

<sup>190</sup> Pausanias, 1.23.7, and 1.33.1.

<sup>191</sup> Pausanias, 8.53.11.

means that Pausanias wishes to emphasise its stylistic archaism.<sup>192</sup> There is no way of deciding whether the Tegean sanctuary also laid claim to the Taurid *xoanon*, but the fact that the archaising features of the cult statue are mentioned by the perieget opens up for this possibility.<sup>193</sup> Like Orestes Artemis preserved so much of her nomadic character that she, that is her ancient *xoanon*, could belong to more than one sanctuary at the same time. Like the scattered medieval fragments of the Holy Cross, and the bones of Orestes, the *xoanon* of Artemis was a scizo-topic relic. The multitude of its directions in the Greek world is paralleled in the multitude of ‘the sixty daughters of Okeanos’ that were dispersed among the many places of Artemis in the Greek world.

Among the many places in the Greek world where Artemis settled Arcadia was special. This is connected with the fact that Arcadia had a very special position in the Greek image of the past because of the unbroken Pelasgian tradition there. The Pelasgians never really left Arcadia, and the Arcadians never completely abandoned the Pelasgian way of life. They may have become partly civilised thanks to the ‘reforms’ of Arcas, but they could still be observed in their simple Pelasgian huts, living off acorns, and dressed, like Scythians, in leather and furs, and maintaining a predominantly pastoral economy. The landscapes of Arcadia thus became a mirror image of those past times and distant places that Artemis had abandoned when she came “from Scythia to dwell [...] renouncing the rites of the Tauri.” Coming to Arcadia for Artemis is accordingly a bit like coming back to Scythia. For the Arcadians Artemis had always been there before she became civilised, and she had also learned her particular style of civilisation, the hunt, in the Arcadian landscape. At *Psili Vrisi* the image of Arcadia as a very ancient dwelling place of Artemis is, as we have seen, reflected in the old-fashioned stylistic features of architecture and architectural sculpture. When Callimachus wrote his hymn to Artemis the peculiar building up in the Northern Parnon may still have been standing as a concrete

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<sup>192</sup> In antiquity the Aeginetan style was, and still is, connected with a school of sculptors from Aegina, who were responsible for the design of the architectural sculptures on the temple of Aphaia at Aegina. This style is basically a transitional style between Archaic and Classical. At the time of Pausanias this style will certainly have appeared to be very ancient. Archaic or archaising cult statues were, of course, found in many Greek sanctuaries. In the sanctuary of Athena Alea, for instance, the old cult statue, which was made by Endoios, was supposedly in the sanctuary until Augustus moved it to Rome.

<sup>193</sup> It should, however, be noted that Pausanias does not explicitly call the statue a *xoanon*. On Pausanias’ use of the word *xoanon* see Donohue, A. A., *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture*, Atalanta, 1988, 140ff.

visual reminder of Artemis age-old familiarity with this landscape. The latest ancient material that is documented here is from the Hellenistic period. I do not imply that Callimachus visited Tegea, and climbed up to the High Summit of Artemis (Psili Korphi), only that the Arcadian stations on his memorial itinerary of Artemis were culturally mirrored in the stylistic anomalies of her sanctuary there.

When Pausanias visited the Tegeatike in the second century AD the sanctuary at Psili Vrisi had long since been abandoned. In this perspective Romaios' identification of this sanctuary with the sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis mentioned by Pausanias may not be so far fetched after all. All that Pausanias actually says about the sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis, in addition to indicating that it was located 17 stadia to the south of the Tegean *astû*, was that 'the temple was in ruins' (ἔστι ναοῦ τὰ ἐρείπια).<sup>194</sup> Regardless of whether it was identical with the ruins at *Psili Vrisi* – Pausanias probably never saw the ruins of the temple of Artemis Kankeatis for himself anyway – this archaeological ghost in Pausanias' text illustrates that the age-old places of Artemis in the Tegeatike continued to haunt the cultural identity of the Tegeans long after they had been abandoned.

The Tegean High Summit of Artemis is the terminal station on our ascent into the vertical, ornithic space of the Tegean mountains. This vertical place of Artemis is also the highest and most remote place in the ancient Tegean landscape of memory. As far as our documents of the rural Tegeatike extend, there were no settlements or sanctuaries beyond the summit of Artemis at more than one thousand meters above sea level in the Northern Parnon. This place of Artemis represented the ultimate frontier in the sacred geography of ancient Tegea. In post-ancient times we have seen that the Northern Parnon district experienced a virtual cultural colonisation. This process probably started already in the medieval period, and was brought about by the disintegration of the urban centre on the plain. Places like Vervena, Agios Petros, and Arachova, some of which have Slavic names, are probably among the most ancient settled places in this vertical landscape. The fragmented remains of a later settlement at Psili Vrisi probably belong to this period. Mountain settlements such as Vervena have, as we have seen, probably a very long history as permanent stations for the exploitation of summer pastures in the Northern Parnon

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<sup>194</sup> Pausanias, 8.53.11.

district. Whether pastoral transhumance was practiced in this area in antiquity is, as I have briefly touched upon, a controversial issue. From one point of view there can be no doubt, I believe, that the Northern Parnon district was more of a wilderness in antiquity than it was in medieval and early modern times. From this point of view the life of the Northern Parnon was as far away from life down on the plain as it was possible to get.

There is, however, a very important exception to the remoteness of this place in relation to the terrestrial landscape of ancient Tegea. Just a few hundred meters away from the sanctuary, and at approximately the same altitude, were the ancient Tegean marble quarries. There is every reason to believe that the sanctuary was, in fact, situated *en route* between the quarries and the plain. This also situates the highest and most distant place in the cultural topography of ancient Tegea at a structurally important and, in a manner of speaking, central place in her civic traffic network. This is especially so because, as we have seen in chapter three, it was the mountain route to the Tegean marble quarries that gave the Tegean traffic network its persistently local character. The most remote place in the cultural topography of ancient Tegea is, from a certain point of view, also a central place in its civic landscape of memory. There are certainly many other good reasons for situating a place of Artemis at this elevated location in the Northern Parnon. It truly embodies all the generic qualities of Artemis. It is in the wilderness, remote from the city, and near one of the daughters of Okeanos. It is a perfect arena for the journeys of initiation for young boys and girls. It is, however, the paradoxical position of this place in the topography of ancient Tegea that makes this such an appropriate place of Artemis. It is, like her, both distant and intimate at the same time.

## EPILOGUE:

## THE FUTURE OF THE PAST IN THE DISTRICT OF ANCIENT TEGEA

At the beginning of *The History of the Peloponnesian War* Thucydides claimed that future generations would find it very difficult to believe that Sparta's power was once great if it was abandoned and only the ruins of its buildings remained. Unlike other great contemporary powers, Athens in particular, with their "regularly planned urban quarters, temples and monuments of great magnificence" Sparta simply consisted, according to Thucydides, of a collection of villages "in the ancient Hellenic manner."<sup>195</sup> Yet, claimed Thucydides, Sparta was the greatest power in Greece! Thucydides' Archaeology of Sparta is one of the most captivating topoi about the future of the past in ancient Greek literature. It is almost as though Thucydides predicts how the most obscure ruins and small fragments of Greek antiquity will some day be relentlessly hunted down by modern archaeologists. Thucydides' prediction of how the future would look upon the archaeological ruins of his own age also evokes the kind of theories about the past which I have called 'the ancient model'. In the context of Thucydides' own historical present, Sparta was already regarded as an example of 'the ancient model' of the past. This model example was, however, nothing like the meagre ruins of Sparta in the landscape of our present, an archaeological desert that only the most relentless readers of Thucydides ever visit. In Thucydides' day the Spartan relic of the traditional Hellenic settlement pattern at the same time represented a most vivid contemporary power. The Spartan example thus illustrates, above all, how for the ancients a place-specific landscape of memory was not just a vague story, a static image or the ruins of some building or memorial, but a vivid actualisation of the power of the present. In the case of the Spartans it was exactly their old-fashioned

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<sup>195</sup> Thucydides, 1.10.

settlement pattern, and their simple old-fashioned way of life, that made them so powerful in the political landscape of ancient historical present. Thucydides' futuristic Spartan Archaeology also represents the most basic reception theory of the kind of place-specific pasts, landscapes of memory, that has been the focus of the discussion above. The cultural value, if I may use this odious term in a current context, of local landscapes of memory such as the Tegean, or Spartan, is precisely their ability to condense the past and the future into concrete images and places in the landscape of the present.

It is the discursive propensity of a historical discussion like mine that it is the past rather than the future that is the focus of attention. In the above discussion of Tegean landscapes of memory I have frequently pointed out that the object of inquiry is not just the past, but the past of the past. We have seen that at Tegea the past in the past found its expression in architectural culture (the appropriation of the Archaic temple of Athena Alea into Scopas' reconstruction project), in the reverence for palaeontological remains (the Bones of Orestes) and in the maintenance and reuse of prehistoric funeral contexts at Analipsis. We have also seen how the 'the ancient model' that Thucydides evokes in his archaeological *ekphrasis* of Sparta also worked as a guide for the interpretation of ruins of prehistoric settlements like the Neolithic Tel at Ayioryitika in the Partheni Basin (the contrafactive place *Korythea*), and we have seen how the exploitation of natural resources ('Heracleian' hydraulic management) as well as the preservation of biological diversity (Pan's tortoises on Mt. Parthenion) also had their particular places in the ancient Tegean landscape of memory. These examples all represent ancient interpretations of how the past had shaped local institutions, settlement structures, and the relationship between local communities and the physical environment.

On the other hand, a discussion about the past's pasts presupposes, like Thucydides' Spartan Archaeology, that the past has a future. The past of one specific historical present is also the future of some other historical present. In the introduction I characterised my approach to the places and images of the Tegean past as a kind of time-travel. All historical investigations, I suppose, are time-travels. The purpose of my time-travel to the district of ancient Tegea has been to provide a view of the places, monuments, legends, and local visual culture of that

district that looks slightly different from the linear reconstruction of its history. In order to communicate the view of this time-travel I have found it appropriate to use an analogy from the local historical ecology: as in the deposition of water-borne sediments from the Tegean Mountains onto the Tegean Plain, a process which is responsible for covering the ruins of the urban site with alluvium, the continuous accumulation of a linear sequence of layers of the past is repeatedly disturbed by the regular flood seasons and fluctuations in intensity and direction. The title of this dissertation, *The Forty Rivers*, seemed appropriate not just because the Sarandapotamos is the main surface river that connects the different Tegean landscapes from plain to mountains, but also because the non-linear *Forty Rivers* is an appropriate image of the non-linear Tegean landscapes of memory.

One of my primary concerns with the focus on the non-linearity of local landscapes of memory has been to experiment with other discursive approaches for local tradition than the discourse of linear history. No other place in the local landscape of memory illustrates the actuality of this concern better than the Analipsis site on the border between Tegea and Sparta. The monumental layout of the ancient site serves as a concrete visualisation of commitment to the local past. Even today when the excavated monuments at Analipsis are eroded and overgrown it is easy to grasp how closely connected the ancient settlement and the prehistoric cemetery were. The past was an integrate part of the historical present at this place, as the dead also had their place in the world of the living. On reviewing the archaeological documentation from this site more closely we encountered a fountain of local memory. The Early Mycenaean tholos tomb at Analipsis is a virtual museum of ancestors, the purpose of which was to visualise the place of past generations in the local landscape of the present. In addition to grave goods contemporary with the tomb Romaios also found Neolithic stone implements as part of the ancestral exhibit. This indicates that already in the Late Bronze Age there was a conscious sense of local past at this place. Although with different visualisation strategies this sense of local past is visibel in several historical periods onto the present day: in connection with his early archaeological investigations at Analipsis and its vicinity Romaios set up a vitrine on the premises of the Athletic Association at Vourvoura, the mountain village only a few kilometres from Analipsis where Romaios was also born and raised. I have never been closer to a time machine than when I visited

Vourvoura for the first time one cool afternoon in October in 1999. The earliest piece in the Vourvoura vitrine is a small Neolithic axe, not unlike one of those that Romaios found in the Analipsis tholos. There was also, as far as I could make out in the dim light of the old classroom where the vitrine is placed, Classical and Roman pottery, terracotta figurines, and a Roman oil-lamp. On the floor below the vitrine there were also some worn fragments from Byzantine buildings in the vicinity. It struck me how the memorabilia from different pasts in the Vourvoura vitrine from the 1950's are a contemporary double of the ancestral museum at the Analipsis tholos. At this remote location in the Tegean Mountains, more than at any other place in the District of ancient Tegea, the non-linear local past still has a place in the landscape of the present.

Places and monuments like Vourvoura/Analipsis and the Panagia Sanctuary at Palea Episkopi, a late 19<sup>th</sup> century reconstruction of a Middle Byzantine church resting on the foundations of the pagan theatre of ancient Tegea are examples of how the future of a local past has extended into the landscape of the historical present. What is the present future of the Tegean past, we are left to speculate about. Some things are, however, more nearly certain than others. Renewed scholarly focus on the district of ancient Tegea will, no doubt, arise from the forthcoming publication of the recent Excavations in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea (1990-1994) and the Norwegian Arcadia Survey (1999-2001). The recent survey has documented the presence of a large urban site at Tegea since the late sixth century BC. We now also know more about the ecological consequences of the establishment of the urban settlement at Tegea. Interestingly this situates the most important early cultural institution at Tegea, the Sanctuary of Athena Alea, in a landscape “characterised by wetlands, ponds, and probably also riverine activity”<sup>196</sup> just outside the urban site. It also makes us aware of the challenge for the settlement throughout its history to keep the hydrological forces of the plain in check. In prosperous times such as in antiquity, in the middle Byzantine period, and in the early Ottoman period we have seen that the heroes (Heracles, St. Nikon, and local saints) that contribute to the hydraulic management of the plain are given prominent places in the local landscape of memory.

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<sup>196</sup> Ødegård, 2005, 214.

Since the final season of the extensive survey of the Tegean Plain in 2001 the director of NAS Knut Ødegård has supervised a team of Russian scientist that has undertaken a magnetometry scan of sections of the urban site. The results are most promising.<sup>197</sup> Foundations of several individual buildings as well as indications of a regular intra-mural road network are already appearing. When, in the near future, we are able to correlate these results with surface scatter distributions documented during the recent survey, it should be possible to provide relatively detailed scenarios of the Tegean past that is still covered by the alluvial deposits of the Tegean Fan. The result of this investigation will, hopefully, also provide a relevant tool for the future maintenance of local past. As a continuation of Norwegian involvement with Tegea we also plan to start a new field project in the area, *Sites and Marginal Landscapes: The Norwegian Arcadia Survey. Part II*, in 2008.<sup>198</sup> Whereas NAS I applied an intensive survey approach to the large urban site of Tegea, NAS II will be more focused on locating sites with a more extensive survey methodology combined with analysis of digital terrain models (prediction of hydrological fluxes and communication routes) and remote sensing data (airial photographs and satellite images). Since NAS II aims more at the prehistoric and post-ancient history of the district of ancient Tegea, we are also more focused on the slopes and mountains surrounding the Tegean Plain than the plain itself.

The present settlement structure in the central area of the urban site of ancient Tegea reflects, as we have seen, the role of the Tegean Plain in the Ottoman management of agricultural production. The settlements are still, basically, small agricultural villages. For reasons that I have discussed in some detail in chapter four, there is, as with the sanctuary of Athena Alea good reason to believe that the most spectacular ancient monuments are, in fact, buried beneath the present villages. It is, for instance, quite remarkable that no ancient monument has ever been identified at Stadio, which is by far the most extensive of the Tegean villages. ancient spolia are not uncommon in this village, and from Evliya Çelebi we also know (see chapter four) that this was one of the earliest places that was re-settled

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<sup>197</sup> The publication of the results of these investigations will appear in Bakke & Ødegård, forthcoming.

<sup>198</sup> The project has come about as a cooperation between myself and the Norwegian archaeologist Hege A. Bakke-Alisøy, Research Fellow at The Dept. for Archaeology, History, Cultural and Religious Studies at The University of Bergen. Bakke-Alisøy is the project mangager of NAS II. Application for a perimit to do field-work from 2008-2011 was handed in to the Greek Ministry of Culture in November, 2007. Field-work will start in October, 2008.

after the Ottoman consolidation of power in the Inner Peloponnese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As the recent archaeological survey has demonstrated, there are also extensive archaeological ruins beneath the present agricultural fields that surround these villages. My guess is that most of the ancient Agora as well as the bulk of the ancient and medieval town can be excavated at Tegea without removing more than a few stone fences and modern dirt roads, not to forget, though, a huge volume of sediments from the Sarandapotamos that make up some of the best agricultural land on the Tegean Plain. There are, however, many reasons why the ruins of ancient Tegea, however easily accessible they might be, should be approached in a more cautious manner.

One of the most tangible results of the recent archaeological survey for the agricultural communities of the Tegean villages is that the Greek cultural heritage authorities have imposed restrictions on their land. In practice this means that no one can sell their land or, indeed, make any changes in present land use. It is difficult not to see a certain historical irony in the local effect of the modern cultural heritage regime. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, at which time most of the Tegean villages were founded, evidence of local tradition – it might be the discovery of the grave of a forgotten village saint or the ruins of ancient or medieval buildings – could serve as a key to public recognition, and protection, of the local agricultural communities. One of the most severe problems concerned with sounding the cultural heritage alarm in the landscape of the present is illustrated by the situation of the Tegean villages. The survival of the village communities is inseparably bound up with opportunities to develop their traditional agricultural economy into more complex service- and information based activities. But because severe restrictions have now been imposed on realising the potential of property and changes in land use, proceeding with local development projects will be very difficult. The future of this area is presently, in a double sense of the word, *framed* by its past. It is difficult not to sympathise with those local farmers who think that the foreign archaeologists have taken the land away from them in a malicious conspiracy with Athens and Brussels. At least to a certain extent it is, however, very possible that the cultural heritage also represents a positive element for the future of the local communities. I would be lying if I said that mass tourism of the kind that Northern Europeans know from their visits to the Greek Islands would be a good idea in a

place like Tegea. The quickly deteriorating foundations of the Classical temple of Athena Alea can hardly withstand one more season with busloads of tourists from Athens.

One very serious problem with a transition from traditional agriculture to tourism and other service- and information based activities at Tegea will, no doubt, be its effect on the landscape. We have already seen the effect of the abandonment of the country-side in general, and of the Tegean Mountains in particular, during the past couple of generations. Recent experience has demonstrated that when traditional landscape maintenance is no longer undertaken by local communities, cultural landscapes deteriorate very quickly. At Tegea, as well as in other European regions, one of the most acute effects of this deterioration of the cultural landscape has been that pastures and cultivated areas in labour intensive sloping terrain have become overgrown with vegetation. The predominance of fire-adapted species such as pine has also led to a tangible increase in forest fires. Most of the Tegean mountain villages retain some traditional exploitation of pastures, but this is presently kept at a critical minimum level. If the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, it is merely a matter of time, a very short time, before the Tegean mountain villages and the cultural monuments there, e. g. the Analipsis settlement at the High Summit of Artemis will experience the same problems. The maintenance of their cultural landscapes is presently a critical issue for the future of the past in the Tegean Mountains. This is also a part of the cultural heritage motivation for the planned survey (NAS II), to provide an overview of archaeological sites and traditional land use in the marginal landscape of the Tegean Mountains.

Since the restrictions on property realisation and change in land use on the plain have only recently been introduced, it is presently difficult to predict even the short-term effect on its cultural landscape. The most challenging issue for the future of the past of the area is certainly to find a good balance between preservation and development. Monuments such as the sanctuary of Athena Alea are obviously in desperate need of conservation measures and more appropriate accommodation for visitors. Setting up fences, regulated pathways, and information boards, however important, will not do the job for the future of the local past on the Tegean Plain. What is also needed, I believe, is local strategies that are political as much as scientific, and ecologically informed as much as focused on preservation of

cultural monuments. Partly thanks EU politics and partly on account of initiatives from local entrepreneurs there are some examples in recent years of re-territorialisation of traditional land use in the area. One example of this is the increase in local wine production under the label of Mantinea. There is probably some time ahead before Tegean wine production can arise with its own label, but it is especially interesting in the context of the future of the local past that an appreciation especially of Mantinea whites in recent years has arisen from a blend of local grape varieties with introduced modern grapes and production techniques. This blend of past and present is a most appropriate vision for the future of the local past. Shortly after the Tegean village communities were recently synoecised into the modern county of Tegea the county came up with another visionary idea. The plan is to convert some of the old village schools in the area into hostels. Having spent much of the past ten years or so travelling back and forth across the district of ancient Tegea, it is very easy for me to be enthusiastic about this idea. As I see it, the opportunities for small-scale educational tourism at Tegea are great. There are many other places in Greece where spectacular monuments from Prehistory to the early modern period can be comfortably viewed through the polarised windows of air-conditioned modern busses. The really exiting Tegean landscapes of memory are situated beyond the track of modern tourist busses. This is something that men like Herodotus, Pausanias, Evliya Çelebi, and William Martin Leake, who had visited Tegean landscapes of memory in the past, knew very well. To the extent that their journeys, and my own, will inspire someone else to make the effort, a modest stream of the future of the district of ancient Tegea may still be running from the forty rivers of its past.

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