

# **Preliminary Notices on the Discovery of a Planned, Classical Town near Kyparissia, Gortynia\***

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This paper presents the evidence for the discovery of a regularly planned town of the classical period near modern Kyparissia in southwestern Arkadia. For the first time in the archaeology of Arkadia, a planned town has been uncovered that predates the synoecism of Megalopolis in the 4th century B.C. Based on a thorough presentation of the archaeological data, the author challenges previous argumentations concerning synoecism in ancient Arkadia, attempts a reconstruction of the urban plan of the newly discovered town and assesses its identification with urban centres mentioned in historic and ancient periegetic sources.

## *I. Introduction*

On the eastern slopes of Mount Lykaion and ca. 15 km northwest of Megalopolis the modern village of Kyparissia is situated, spread over two hills.<sup>1</sup> (Plan 1) The first one (374 m above sea level) is occupied by the houses of the village, whereas the other (400 m high) bears on its top the recently renovated funerary chapel of Hagia Kyriaki. On another height, one km northwest of Kyparissia, the hamlet of Mavria is located.<sup>2</sup> The two localities are accessible from east-northeast, across an extensive plain that stretches out towards the river Alpheios and is crossed by the Sikalias stream.

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1. Koutsoukos 1980, 113; Pikoulas 2001, no. 2001.

2. Koutsoukos 1980, 117; Pikoulas 2001, no. 2378.

Pausanias informs us that in antiquity the area was occupied by the territory of Trapezous. The Periegetes, following the road from Gortys to Megalopolis and immediately after pointing out the ruins of Brenthe (in the area of modern Karytaina), states (8.29.1-5): Διαβάντων δὲ Ἄλφειον χώρα τε καλουμένη Τραπεζουντία καὶ πόλεως ἔστιν ἐρείπια Τραπεζούντος. Καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλφειον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καταβαίνοντι ἐκ Τραπεζούντος, οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ Βάθος ἔστιν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἔνθα ἄγουσι τελετὴν διὰ ἔτους τρίτου θεαῖς Μεγάλαις ... Τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Βάθους σταδίους ὡς δέκα ἀφέστηκε καλουμένη Βασιλῖς. Since the beginning of the 19th century, European scholars and travellers have identified Trapezous in the area of Mavria and Basilis near Kyparissia.<sup>3</sup> The view that the plain of Kyparissia should be identified with ancient Basilis was also adopted by A.G. Bather and V.W. Yorke who carried out the first excavations there at the end of the 19th century.<sup>4</sup> The brief investigation was restricted to the southeastern part of the village, the Alonia, and brought to light "... bases, possibly for the support of statues. The best preserved of these consists of three slabs of whitish limestone ..."<sup>5</sup> The structure was dated "not much later than the sixth century B.C." and "at the same place a fluted bronze bowl, probably dating from the fifth century B.C., and some rough red-figured ware with hunting scenes" were found.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century Stefanos Klon conducted new excavations in the same area, slightly to the east, and uncovered foundations of structures that, according to the excavator, identified beyond any doubt the site as ancient Trapezous.<sup>7</sup> No excavation has been undertaken in the area ever since.

## II. The new excavations: 1998-2001

The recent investigation in the area has been necessitated by the protection of the archaeological area of Kyparissia against the continuous mining activity of

3. Dodwell 1819, 379-80; Leake 1830, 27-8, 291, 293, 321; Ross 1841, 89-90; Curtius 1851, 304-5; Bursian 1872, 240-1; Frazer 1898, 312-6. Generally on the subject see Jost 1985, 169-71.

4. Bather and Yorke 1892-93, 229-31.

5. Bather and Yorke 1892-93, 229.

6. Bather and Yorke 1892-93, 230. Of the find objects from the excavation I have identified, in the storerooms of the Collection of Bronzes in the National Archaeological Museum, the bronze skyphos with inventory number 10786 with the bronze skyphos (height 9 cm) mentioned by Courby 1922, 332 n. 2. Cp. *infra* n. 40.

7. Klon 1907, 123. Concerning the place-name Armakadia which Klon uses to define his excavation area, it should be noted that the flat stretches of the plain east-southeast of Kyparissia still preserve this name. Note, though, Jost 1985, 170, who locates the investigation area "au Sud de Mavria, entre Mavria et le village actuellement abandonné de Phlorio". However, the hamlet of Florio was located at a distance of ca. one km northwest of Mavria, as pinpointed in the map of Arkadia provided in Callmer 1943.

the Greek Electrical Company (DEI).<sup>8</sup> Under difficult circumstances, the 5th Ephorate of Antiquities at Sparta has conducted rescue excavations in the plain that extends east of Kyparissia from 1998 to 2001 and, in particular, within the area already expropriated by DEI.<sup>9</sup> (Plan 2)

The uncovered ancient site (ca. 350 m above sea level) spreads over the plain that extends east-northeast of the Hagia Kyriaki hill, north and south of the road to Kyparissia. (Fig. 1) The stream Sikalias runs along the northern part of the settlement, whereas the Alpheios river valley defines its eastern part. The habitation was enclosed by a fortification wall whose north-northwestern section has already been located and partially excavated. The eastern section of the wall must have collapsed in the 1999 landslides that also destroyed part of the settlement. The southern and western part of the settlement was protected by the steep, acropolis-like hill of Hagia Kyriaki.

Until present, we have investigated part of the habitation area that extends to the south of the modern road to Kyparissia. Our excavations have confirmed the existence of a unique orthogonally arranged settlement in southwestern Arkadia. The town was planned in rectangular blocks of nearly uniform size, traversed by streets. Its urban plan has close similarities with Olynthos in Macedonia, which was synoecized in 432 B.C.<sup>10</sup>

The general picture obtained so far at Kyparissia is as follows: Six parallel streets, 4.60 m wide, the στενωποί,<sup>11</sup> with a west-southwest to east-northeast direction, traverse the central and southern zone of the settlement, thus creating six rectangular blocks. (Fig. 2) Each block is 54 m wide and is made up by two rows of houses separated by a drainage alley (1.5 m wide), which collected rainwater from the roofs. The streets are made of packed earth and are supplied with an open drainage channel for the collection of rainwater and with a pave-

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8. The existence of geological layers of lignite in the plain of Megalopolis has been known for a long time. Lignite mining and exploitation began in late 1950s; see Petronotis 1973, 15-8. The plain of Kyparissia covers an area of 4500 stremmata. Until summer 1998, when DEI took the initiative to have the area investigated by excavation by the 5th Ephorate of Antiquities, the Lignite Electrical Plant at Megalopolis had already exploited the southern half of the plain, creating an ellipsoid crater about 2 km long and 1 km wide, in continuous and intensive expansion northwards, with subsequent expropriations of the agricultural plots east of the villages Kyparissia and Mavria.

9. The financial expenses of the excavation were covered by DEI. The expropriated agricultural plots are no longer cultivated because of the activity of DEI, and are now used for grazing by the inhabitants of Kyparissia and Mavria. When Ludwig Ross (1841, 89-90) visited Kyparissia, he noted that the farmland east of the village was planted with vines.

10. For the history and town planning of Olynthos, see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 68-113.

11. For the ancient term στενωπός, see Ginouvés 1998, 178.

ment of roughly worked limestone slabs. The settlement had a well-organized system of water-provision and sewage, as suggested by the discovery of stone-built wells and pipelines of stone and terracotta.<sup>12</sup>

As mentioned above, the width of each block is occupied by two rows of houses with southern orientation, separated from each other by a drainage alley and facing the street through which they were accessible. The excavated houses preserve their stone socles to a height of 0.40 to 0.60 m, made of unworked stones of small and moderate size, packed with earth. All walls are 0.40 to 0.50 m thick. Little, if any, distinction is made between interior and exterior walls. The superstructure of the walls consisted of mud-brick and timbering.<sup>13</sup> Tiles of Laconian type were used for the roofs. (Fig. 3)

Despite the fragmentary character of our rescue excavation, a group of rooms at the southwestern zone of the settlement provides a clear picture of the arrangement of the houses and the function and use of individual spaces. (See Plan 2, north of street 5, and Fig. 4) The interior of the houses was accessible through a long narrow corridor, 3.5 m wide, which communicates directly with the main street. The main part of the house (ca. 400 m<sup>2</sup> large) extends to the east of the corridor.<sup>14</sup> The corridor leads off to the courtyard that occupies the central part of the unit and divides the main (eastern) house into two wings: a) the northern wing occupied by the rooms shared by the family, and b) the south wing equipped with a hearth found *in situ*, where presumably cooking took place. In general terms, the plan of the Kyparissia houses is similar to those at Olynthos, although the presence of a portico or veranda (the so-called *pastas*) that gave access to the main rooms on the north side of the house, has not yet been confirmed at Kyparissia.<sup>15</sup> The western part of the houses functioned as store-rooms, as suggested by a system of rectangular rooms, walls without openings in

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12. Wells of similar construction have been excavated during lignite extraction work at Choremi and Thoknia. However, the important finds from their interior still remain unpublished; see the report by Spyropoulos 1982, 117.

13. The practice of constructing the house walls of adobe reflects the general practice of the classical period, attested by numerous literary passages of the period: Robinson and Graham 1938, 223-5.

14. The eastern end of the house has yet to be found.

15. For the Olynthian house type, see Robinson and Graham 1938, 141-51; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 82-9. Our knowledge of housing in ancient Arkadia is fragmentary. The house at Kyparissia presents similarities with the so-called House I at Gortys, which is dated to the 4th century B.C. The rooms are arranged around a central court, the portico (*pastas*) is absent, whereas one of the sides of the house is unusually long (ca. 25 m): Reekmans 1955; *id.* 1956. At an excavated Roman house at Stymphalos, a long, narrow passage serves as an entrance leading from the street directly into the courtyard; see Williams *et al.* 1998, 270-4 fig. 2.

their outer face and the discovery of a large number of storage vessels and pottery of lesser quality.<sup>16</sup>

From 30 to 85 m south of the Sikalias streambed, excavations have brought to light the northern section of the fortification wall of the settlement to a total length of 250 m.<sup>17</sup> (See Plan 2) This wall, 3.5 m wide, runs parallel to Sikalias and then takes a strong turn to the west-southwest towards the hill of Hagia Kyriaki. Only the lower part of its foundation has survived to a height of ca. 0.40 to 0.60 m. It consists of roughly shaped limestone slabs of moderate size and of a core of small stones, earth and pithos-sherds. (Fig. 5) The upper part of the stone foundation, the λιθολόγημα, should have been constructed more carefully and provided the proper surface for the mud-brick superstructure of the wall.<sup>18</sup>

The excavation of the best-preserved part of the wall has not yet confirmed the systematic use of towers.<sup>19</sup> However, an ellipsoid, tower-like structure, 5 x 4.5 m large, with a curved front has been uncovered ca. 30 m south of the Sikalias streambed.<sup>20</sup> At a distance of 90 m to the southwest of the tower, excavations have revealed a rectangular indentation in the inner face of the wall that could be identified as the lower part of a staircase leading to the battlement.<sup>21</sup> Finally, at a distance of ca. 40 m northwest of the course of the wall, the remains of another rectangular tower were uncovered, probably connected with an outwork.

At the southern border of the settlement, on the northeast foot of the hill of

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16. The internal arrangement of the house complex at Kyparissia presents close similarities with House A vii 7 at Olynthos: Robinson and Graham 1938, 123-4, pls. 42 and 99.

17. Today the stream has been diverted towards the northwest for the needs of DEI.

18. The original defence wall at Kyparissia might have presented similarities with the well-preserved Peisistratian wall at Eleusis, dated to the mid-6th century B.C. (see Ziro 1991, 11-6, pls. 4-5, esp. p. 14 n. 40). In general terms, fortification works in the mainland, until the Hellenistic period, are characterised by deep foundations of unworked stones that created not only a strong base for the upper part of the defence wall, but also prevented the digging of trenches beneath it (Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1998, 99 fig. 56, and 104 plan 28).

19. The defence tower represents one of the main characteristics of the original appearance of fortification walls at least from the mid-6th century B.C. on; see Ziro 1991, 16 n. 50. Before the end of the archaic period such additions appear occasionally in the defence walls of settlements in the mainland and Asia Minor (Lang 1996, 31).

20. Semicircular defence towers appear in Sicily, South Italy, the Greek mainland and Asia Minor already in the middle of the 6th century B.C. (Wokalek 1973, 123-5). The ellipsoid tower at Kyparissia seems to predate the strong semicircular towers of the fortification walls of the Arkadian towns of the 4th century B.C., e.g. Mantinea, Stymphalos and Gortys. Similar oval towers with rounded fronts flank the gate of the late archaic wall of Mendolito at Sicily (Bouyia 2000, 72 fig. 38, and 73 n. 37 with further bibliography).

21. Compare the reconstruction of the staircase of access to the brick-made wall at Athens: Orlandos 1955, 79 fig. 38.

Hagia Kyriaki, the remains of a graveyard dated to the Roman imperial period have been uncovered. The graveyard contained fourteen tombs in clusters, bordered by enclosure walls. The cist graves were made of limestone slabs. Each grave held a skeleton laid down in a supine, extended position directly on the earth, and was regularly furnished with a pot close to the skull. All grave offerings date to the Roman period. Until present, no funerary remains earlier than the Roman imperial period have been identified at the site.

### *III. The organization of the town*

The town of Kyparissia holds a distinct place in the archaeology of southwestern Arkadia. (Plan 1) Nevertheless, the proper position of the Megalopolis basin on both sides of the Alpheios river and between Mount Lykaion and Mount Mainalon, has favored the development of a number of settlements since the archaic period.<sup>22</sup> The position of the town at Kyparissia in the Megalopolis plain would have been very suitable for an urban settlement planned after a strictly geometric system.

The urban system of rectangular blocks traversed by streets is reminiscent of that implemented for the first time when the first Mediterranean colonies were founded during the Greek colonization.<sup>23</sup> This orthogonal system served not only practical purposes but also the sense of equal partnership (ἰσομοιρία) between the colonists. On the Greek mainland it was applied already in the 6th century B.C., e.g. at Amvrakia (modern Arta) and Leukas, two Corinthian colonies at the Ionian Sea,<sup>24</sup> and Halieis in Southern Argolid.<sup>25</sup> An increase in the number of 'Streifenstädte' is noticed during the 5th and, particularly, the 4th century B.C., when this system of urban planning reached its full development.<sup>26</sup> Instructive cases are Olynthos in Macedonia and Kassope in Epeiros, two *poleis* that were synoecized in 432 B.C. and the middle of the 4th century B.C. respectively.<sup>27</sup>

22. Hejnic 1961, 99.

23. Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 299-301.

24. For Amvrakia, see Vokotopoulou 1971; Andreou 1993. For Leukas, see Andreou 1998.

25. Boyd and Rudolph 1978; Rudolph 1984.

26. *i.e.* cities divided *per strigas* in Roman terminology. Cp. for the term Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, XVI, 1-2 and 305-6. Such organized, urbanistic patterns, characterized by simplicity, are clearly distinguished from the more developed Hippodamean towns.

27. For Olynthos, see *supra* n. 10. For Kassope, see Dakaris 1984; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 114-79. The internal arrangement of another 'Streifenstadt' is archaeologically documented at the small settlement at Orraon, north of Amvrakia, founded in 360 B.C. (Dakaris 1986).

Archaeometric studies and excavation have demonstrated that at least one more regularly planned *polis* existed in ancient Arkadia: Stymphalos, of the 4th century B.C., situated at the northeastern frontier of the region.<sup>28</sup> Its position within a plain and its enclosure by a fortification wall correspond with the evidence from Kyparissia.<sup>29</sup> By analogy to Stymphalos, the fortification wall at Kyparissia should be reconstructed as irregularly polygonal. (Plan 2) The fortified site of Kyparissia followed the 'villes mixtes' model and included the hill of Hagia Kyriaki, where in all probability the acropolis of the ancient city was situated as suggested by Dodwell's report.<sup>30</sup> One could estimate the maximum length of the fortified area to 1000 m on a north-south axis, and the maximum width to 650 m.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, the area enclosed by the walls occupied at least 40 ha.<sup>32</sup>

As mentioned above, the urban plan of the discovered town, apart from the size of its blocks, corresponds closely to Olynthos and Kassope.<sup>33</sup> The precise

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28. For the geophysical survey at Stymphalos, see Williams 1983; *id.* 1984, 174-86; *id.* 1985; *id.* 1988. For the excavations, see Williams and Cronkite Price 1995; Williams 1996; Williams *et al.* 1997; Williams *et al.* 1998; and the paper by H. Williams in this volume. According to the interim reports presented in Williams *et al.* 1998, 279-80, it is clear that the site of ancient Stymphalos was in use as early as the classical period; the flourishing of the city stretched from the 4th to the 2nd century B.C., but the extensive building activity during the early 1st century A.D. makes the study of the early history of the city difficult.

29. For the plan of ancient Stymphalos, see Williams *et al.* 1998, 262 fig. 1. For the date of the construction of the walls, see *eid.* 1998, 305-8 and 312-5.

30. Dodwell 1819, 379-80. The 'villes mixtes' model, *i.e.* towns that combine the defensive advantages of a hill with facilities for agriculture and communication provided by the plain, are frequently attested in Arkadia during the archaic and classical periods (Jost 1999, 198-201). The hill of Hagia Kyriaki is steep and wooded and difficult of access. The results of the recent surface survey on the top of the hill have not yet confirmed Dodwell's report. However, this may be due to modern human interference with the landscape of the hill.

31. The walls of Stymphalos enclose an area about 850 m east-west by 700 m north-south with a total circumference of about 2.3 km, as Williams 1988, 232-3 mentions.

32. The urban centres of Mantinea, Tegea and Megalopolis covered a large area (124 ha, ca. 190 ha and ca. 350 ha respectively) on ground level; the acropolis together with the lower city of the small polis of Asea was at least 25 ha large. For the size of some urban centres of Arkadia during the archaic and classical period, see Forsén 2000, 39-41. Concerning the definition and the size of an ancient Greek town, see recently Forsén and Forsén 1997, 166-72.

33. For the planning of Olynthos see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 76-7, and for Kassope, Dakaris 1984, 17-8. The width of the block at Olynthos is 36 m, at Kassope and Amvrakia 30 m and at Stymphalos ca. 35 m. In western Greek colonies of the archaic period, the blocks are large (*e.g.* Taras is reported to have blocks of ca. 71 by 140 m); see Boyd-Jameson 1981, 340. Large blocks (55 by 175 m) were also anticipated for Heraclea of Lucania, founded in 433/32 B.C.: Castagnoli 1971, 134.

length of these blocks is not known, since we lack the 'avenues', πλατεΐαι,<sup>34</sup> that bore the heavy traffic in the centre of the settlement and connected the blocks with the main gates of the fortification wall. Traces of one such 'avenue', 8 m wide, have been recognized in the centre of the excavated site, based mainly on the fact that it is situated on the axis of the aforementioned indentation in the inner face of the wall. (See Plan 2, street 3, and Fig. 2) Thus, one could expect here to discover one of the main gates that would have been protected by this feature.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, the discovery of a house only ca. 20 m south of the course of the fortification wall may suggest that the settlement was densely built and that the regular urban plan was applied to the whole extent of the fortified area. No public centre has been discovered in the town so far. However, the existence of public buildings is implied by the proper organization of the town and by corresponding examples from other urban sites with similar plans.<sup>36</sup> The area of the public buildings should be sought on the north-northwest slopes of the hill of Hagia Kyriaki, where limited investigation at the end of the 19th century brought to light structures of public character.<sup>37</sup> (Plan 2)

Similar care must have been taken for the regular distribution of the farmland east and south of the settlement, although the continuous mining activity of DEI has deprived archaeologists of a clear view of the ancient countryside.<sup>38</sup> The cemeteries of Kyparissia would also have been orderly organized. They must have been located *extra muros*, along the roads connecting the ancient *polis* with its countryside and neighboring settlements.<sup>39</sup> Finally, a religious centre within the territory controlled by Kyparissia should be identified ca. 1.5 km northeast of

34. Diod. Sic. 12.10.7; Ginouvés 1998, 178 with n. 6.

35. It was not possible from the clearing of this part of the wall to verify the existence or not of a gate. Compare, however, the rectangular indentation near Gate A at Gortys, dated to the first half of the 4th century: Martin 1947-48, 99-102 pl. XIII.

36. A differentiated distribution of land based on different use is a basic characteristic of the so-called 'Streifenstädte'; see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 305. The position of the *agora* has been archaeologically documented at Kassopi (Dakaris 1984, 19-38; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 124-6) and Amvrakia (Andreou 1993, 99).

37. *Supra* p. 332. It is the site known today as Alonia, part of the privately owned farming plots of the inhabitants of the village Kyparissia. At Stymphalos, the site destined for public, political and religious use was situated to the south and southeast of the acropolis; see Orlandos 1925, and Williams *et al.* 1998, 284-5 (for the stadium site).

38. For the division of rural land in Greek planned cities, see Boyd and Jameson 1981. For the definition of the territory of an ancient Greek town, see Forsén and Forsén 1997, esp. 166-72, with an extensive discussion on the territory of Asea.

39. Regarding the traces of such an important road that led from Megalopolis to Mount Lykaion, via Kyparissia and Mavria, see Pikoulas 1999, 293-4, no. 43, pl. 10.



the excavation site near Alpheios, at a place known as Vathy Rhevma, where the ruined chapel of Hagios Georgios is situated.<sup>40</sup> This site has been recognized as the Baths mentioned by Pausanias (8.29.1), where every three years a festival with secret rituals was arranged in honour of the Great Goddesses.<sup>41</sup>

#### *IV. The date of the town*

The ancient town near Kyparissia belonged to the *ethnos* of the Parrhasians, one of those tribes which constituted the nation of the Arkadians.<sup>42</sup> Although the evidence for the early history of the Parrhasians is scarce, the tribe did exist in the archaic period, as they are mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships.<sup>43</sup> A key document for the study of the tribe is contained in Pausanias' account of the foundation of Megalopolis around 370 B.C., namely the list of eight Parrhasian communities, whose inhabitants – like other Arkadians – were convinced to abandon their homelands in order to found the new city.<sup>44</sup> The discovery of the urban centre near Kyparissia may illuminate critical historical questions concerning not only the history of Parrhasians but also the internal organization of the Arkadian tribal states.<sup>45</sup>

A careful study of the stratigraphy, in combination with the full and systematic study of the objects, in particular the pottery, is in progress and will provide us with evidence on the life-span of the settlement, its organization and the character of its buildings.

A more complete picture of the economic and political connections of the settlement at Kyparissia with other Greek districts is obtained by the coins found during the excavations. The majority seems to belong to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.<sup>46</sup> The metal objects, of iron and bronze, are connected with the

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40. The first trenches in the area were dug by the English team that excavated at Kyparissia (Bather and Yorke 1892-93, 227-9). The finds from the excavation that I have identified in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum and will present in detail elsewhere, include female terracotta figurines, bronze animal figurines and bronze finger-rings of the archaic and classical periods. Stefanos Klouvakos conducted excavations at the same area some years later (1907, 123-4).

41. See also Jost 1985, 170.

42. On the territory and history of the Parrhasians, see Meyer 1968a; Roy 1972; Pikoulas 1990, esp. 474-8.

43. Hom. *Il.* 2.608.

44. Paus. 8.27.4.

45. For the subject in general see lately Nielsen 1996.

46. a) five (5) bronze coins (418-370 B.C.) from Arkadian Heraia (Babelon 1914, 671-8, pl. 228 nos. 15-23), b) one (1) bronze coin (370-363 B.C.) of the Arkadian *koinon* (*ibid.* 582-91 pl.

everyday activities of the inhabitants of this rural settlement, and they include, *inter alia*, tools for agricultural use such as sickles and pruning knives, bronze vessel handles, structural material (e.g. bosses, door handles), lead clamps for repairing pottery vessels, weights and jewelry and personal ornaments (e.g. simple bronze finger rings). The most important metal object is the bronze butt-end of a spear (σπαρωτήρ) which is typologically similar to another such object from Arkadia, dated around 500 B.C.<sup>47</sup>

It is also possible to make some preliminary observations on the uncovered pottery. It is represented by a rich series of storage pithoi and by black-glazed pots with simple, functional shapes, locally produced. Most of the pottery, which so far only comes from disturbed, unstratified deposits, dates from the first half of the 5th to the late 4th century B.C., but there are also a few, albeit typical, fragments of late archaic pottery.<sup>48</sup>

Based on the finds, the building technique of the fortification wall and the urban plan, as well as the history of the region, we can propose the following chronological development for the settlement at Kyparissia:

1. The site was used as early as the late archaic period.<sup>49</sup>
2. The life of the orthogonally planned city reached its peak in the second half of the 5th to late 4th century B.C.<sup>50</sup>
3. The city survived at least for a few decades after the foundation of Megalopolis, and then probably disappeared or continued as a small agricultural settlement.<sup>51</sup>

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224 nos. 8-15), c) one (1) 5th century silver coin from Aigina (*ibid.* 155-8 pl. 194 nos. 22-25), and d) one (1) silver coin from Thebes, dated between 379 and 338 B.C. (*ibid.* 249-50 pl. 201 no. 25).

47. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 38.11.7; Richter 1939, 194-201 figs. 4-5.

48. My colleague Mrs. Nicola Mueckner, who is currently studying the pottery from recent Greek-German excavations at the Megalopolis *agora*, kindly helped me with the assessment of the pottery finds from Kyparissia and agreed with me on the date of the finds. I thank her for her valuable help.

49. During preliminary investigations at the eastern foot of the Hagia Kyriaki hill, and at an unusually deep level, building remains have been uncovered that do not show any connection with the settlement itself. Further systematical investigation may probably confirm the original suspicion concerning an older phase of the settlement.

50. It is not accidental that in later 5th century the Parrhasian tribe struck coins, see Roy 1972, 45 n. 28.

51. It is historically documented that Asea, a city that took part in the synoecism of Megalopolis, continued to exist as a *polis* during the Hellenistic period; see Forsén and Forsén 1997, 162. One could plausibly argue the same for the settlement at Kyparissia, although this cannot at present be confirmed by archaeological data. However, in an Arkadian federal decree (the Phylarchus-decree: *IG V.2*, 1), dated in the 360s, the Parrhasians are no longer mentioned in the list of Arkadian tribes; see Roy 1972, 45.

4. During the Roman imperial times, there existed a small settlement as confirmed by the cemetery at the foot of the Hagia Kyriaki hill.

#### V. Kyparissia: A case of synoecism?

E. Kirsten has demonstrated that all *polis*-centres that were synoecized during the 5th century B.C. were founded in a plain.<sup>52</sup> These cities are often protected by a hill and located near a river, as in the case of Kyparissia. Ancient sources report the foundation of a number of Arkadian towns that were synoecized. The synoecism of Tegea and the first synoecism of Mantinea are chronologically placed after the Persian wars.<sup>53</sup> Mantinea and Megalopolis were both synoecized (Mantinea for the second time) by the initiative of Epameinondas in 370 and 368/67 respectively, and both spread over a plain and were not protected by an acropolis.<sup>54</sup> The synoecism of Heraea is dated to 370 B.C.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, our knowledge of the urban planning of these Arkadian centers is limited; but it is generally accepted that the regular urban plan was chosen for the *poleis* that were synoecized, such as Olynthos and Kassope.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, this type of plan would effectively protect the basic principle of *isomoiria* among those settlers who had abandoned their homelands in order to settle the newly founded *poleis*.<sup>57</sup>

The position of the newly discovered settlement at Kyparissia in the plain of Megalopolis and its regular urban plan could allow the hypothesis that a synoecism took place in southwestern Arkadia already in the 5th century B.C., despite the fact that ancient literary sources do not mention any such event in Parrhasia.<sup>58</sup> But which historical circumstances could have contributed to the foundation of the urban centre at Kyparissia?

According to Thucydides, Mantinea was the leading power of a local hegemonial *symmachia* by 423 B.C.<sup>59</sup> His passage 5.33.1-3 demonstrates that the

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52. Kirsten 1964.

53. For the foundation of these two cities, dated ca. 478-473 B.C., see Moggi 1976, 131-9 (Tegea) and 140-56 (Mantinea).

54. For the re-organization of Mantinea: Moggi 1976, 251-6. For the synoecism of Megalopolis: *ibid.* 293-324.

55. Moggi 1976, 256-62.

56. The archaeological evidence concerning the urban plan of Mantinea is still limited; see generally Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, 258-60.

57. For the conditions of founding a city under synoecism, see Nielsen 1996, 65.

58. Williams 1988, 233-4, attributes also the foundation of Stymphalos in the 4th century B.C. to a synoecism.

59. For this Mantineian *symmachia*, see Nielsen 1996, 79-84.

Parrhasians were members of this alliance until 421 B.C.; previously, the Mantineians had kept their Parrhasian allies in a subordinate position and placed a garrison in their territory. In 421 the Lakedaimonians detached the Parrhasians from the *symmachia* and made them *autonomoi*. Quite remarkably, Thucydides refers to the Parrhasians as *poleis*: τὰς ἐν Παρρασίῳ πόλεις (5.33.2).<sup>60</sup> Undoubtedly, the discovery of the town at Kyparissia confirms Thucydides' testimony for the existence of *poleis* in Parrhasia during the classical period. It also confirms Th.H. Nielsen's thesis that Arkadian tribes – among them the Parrhasians – “at least from the fifth century were united in what we can call tribal states and that these were subdivided into *poleis*...” and that in classical Arkadia “tribal organization and *polis* structure co-existed”.<sup>61</sup> The urban planning of Kyparissia sheds some light on the vague picture of the organization of the Parrhasian tribal state. Thus, already in mid-5th century B.C. a strong political and administrative centre was founded in Parrhasia by the union of several pre-existing communities in the area.

#### VI. The name of the polis

Due to the absence of epigraphical evidence, the attribution of a name to the urban centre at Kyparissia is risky. Pausanias reports two ruined towns in the area, Trapezous and Basilis, which could give a name to our settlement.<sup>62</sup> Although this study is based mainly on a preliminary study of the archaeological evidence, it is tempting to identify the settlement at Kyparissia with Arkadian Trapezous,<sup>63</sup> the only Parrhasian town attested in ancient sources<sup>64</sup> as early as the 6th century B.C.<sup>65</sup> Unlike Basilis, it was among the towns of Parrhasia that participated in the synoecism of Megalopolis. But Pausanias also states (8.27.5-6) that the people of Trapezous did not accept the decision taken by the tribal authorities of the Parrhasians to settle in the recently founded city of Megalopolis. Their reaction was not left unpunished by the rest of the Arkadians, and those of the Trapezountians who saved their lives, abandoned their city and went to Trapezous of Pontos, where they were accepted μετροπολίτας τ' ὄντας καὶ ὁμωνύμους.

The archaeological evidence from Kyparissia corresponds in the most

60. Nielsen 1996, 80-1 and 83.

61. Nielsen 1996, 100-3, esp. 100. For the organization of the Parrhasians in the classical period, compare also Pikoulas 1990, 474-5.

62. For the opinions which have been expressed previously see *supra* n. 3.

63. Hejnic 1961, 15, 42, 44, 60, 61, 65, 67, 75, 81, 82, 85, 88, 91, 92; Meyer 1968b.

64. As Roy 1972, 50 correctly remarks, tribal cohesion among the Parrhasians was strong.

65. Hdt. 6.127.

remarkable way to the historical facts connected with Trapezous. As mentioned above, there are clear indications that the area was inhabited since the archaic period. The abandonment of the settlement also corresponds precisely with events mentioned by Pausanias and connected with the history of Trapezous. Xenophon's statement (*Anab.* 4.8.22) that Trapezous of Pontos was a colony of Sinope has raised scholarly interest regarding the connection between Arkadian and Pontic Trapezous.<sup>66</sup> Indications of direct contacts between the two homonymous *poleis* can be drawn from the historical narrative: the famous March of the Ten Thousand who managed in 401/00 B.C., under the leadership of the Athenian Xenophon, to proceed through Anatolia and reach Trapezous of Pontos, from where they returned to their homeland. It is well known that a great number of these mercenaries were Arkadians,<sup>67</sup> among whom Parrhasians are also mentioned with their own name. Consequently, a close relationship between Arkadian and Pontic Trapezous is historically attested at least thirty years before the synoecism of Megalopolis. This fact could, to some extent, justify the settlement of the inhabitants of the Arkadian city in the homonymous city at Pontos.

The discovery of the ancient settlement near Kyparissia opens new horizons for the study of the historical topography, residential architecture and political and social organization of classical Arkadian centres. Despite the incomplete archaeological investigation at Kyparissia, it is plausible to argue that we are dealing with a strong and organized, urban centre that had contacts not only with other Arkadian cities, but also with other Greek centres. Furthermore, it is of great significance that for the first time, an urban centre with a preconceived regular plan going back to the early classical period has been uncovered in western Arkadia.

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66. Regarding the connection between Arkadian and Pontic Trapezous, see Janssens 1969, 31-5; Lampsidis 1990; Vagiakakos 1990, 453-4.

67. Mercenary service was one of the principal income sources of the Arkadians already from the classical period. As stated by Xenophon, 4000 out of the 10,000 mercenaries of Kyros were Arkadians; see Roy 1999, 346-9.

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Fig. 1. Kyparissia: Aerial photo of the ancient settlement. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)



Fig. 2. Kyparissia: View of the central zone of the habitation area, with Streets 2, 3 and 5, seen from east. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)



Fig. 3. Kyparissia. Detail of Street 3, with pavement, drainage channel and rooms behind it, seen from southwest. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)

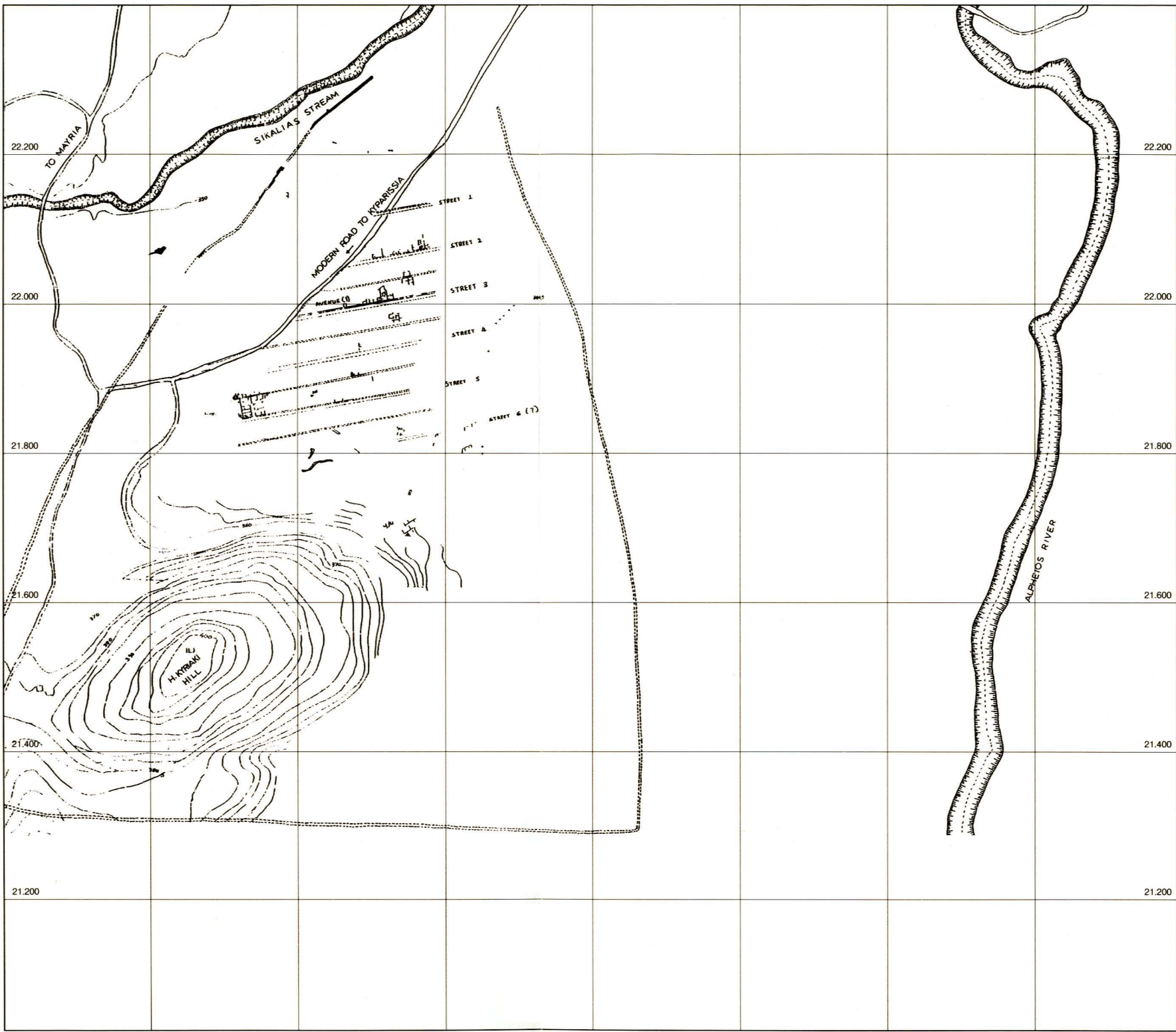


Fig. 4. Kyparissia. General view of the house-complex north of Street 5, seen from southwest. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)



Fig. 5. Kyparissia. Detail of the fortification wall. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)





Plan 2. Topographical plan of the ancient settlement near Kyparissia. (Plan: E' Ephorate.)