

Ancient Arcadia

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Ancient Arcadia

Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia,
held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002

Edited by

Erik Østby

Athens 2005

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Composed in Times / Greek Times and SPIonic by Erik Østby

Distributor
Astroms Editions
Mimers v. 44
S-433 64 Sävedalen
Sweden
www.astromeditions.com

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ISSN 1105-4204

ISBN 82-91626-25-1

Printed in Greece 2005

Argyropoulos Ltd. Athens

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Preface

Norwegian archaeological research in Greece has no long history: the Norwegian institute at Athens was inaugurated as late as 1989 and is one of the youngest foreign archaeological schools in the Greek capital. But Norwegian archaeological interest in Arcadia had by then already been safely established. My first observations at the temple site of Athena Alea at Tegea were made in 1977, when I visited Greece as a guest of the Swedish institute at Athens, and they have turned out to be the starting point of a long, pleasant and fruitful involvement with several archaeological sites in Arcadia, first and foremost with Tegea.

In any other country than Greece, the archaeological and literary evidence from ancient times in Arcadia would certainly have made the region a first-rate research field for archaeology, history and related disciplines; but in a country so rich in impressive, archaeological sites, Arcadia has never loomed large. But Greek archaeologists have done fine work here since long ago, and it is a pleasure to recall here the many important studies on various smaller temple sites by Konstantinos A. Rhomaios, himself an Arcadian, and by Anastasios K. Orlandos. Foreign activity has been more sporadic, and early projects rarely developed into long-term activity at specific sites, although several Arcadian sites might deserve that. Early French activity at Tegea and Mantinea, British at Megalopolis, Austrian at Lousoi, Swedish at Asea and Italian at Pallantion were things of the long-gone past when I first visited Tegea, and it did not then seem likely that there would be a sequel to them.

A distinct change to this situation took place from the early 1980s onwards, quite frequently in the form of a return to old sites – the British survey at Megalopolis, the new Italian fieldwork at Pallantion and Austrian at Lousoi, the Swedish Asea survey. Much impressive field-work has been conducted by the Greek ephorate of Arcadia and Laconia under the direction of Dr. Theodoros G. Spyropoulos, also an Arcadian, whose commitment to his home region since he took up his office in 1979 has given us the new central archaeological museum of Arcadia at Tripolis. But at some sites we have in recent years also seen substantial, new initiatives by foreign schools, often in the form of extensive collaboration projects; this is the case for the recent Greek and German investigation at Megalopolis, and for the internationally funded and staffed project which the

Norwegian institute at the end of the 1980s initiated at Tegea. Recent results from these two Arcadian key sites are amply represented in the present volume.

At a fairly early stage, the new interest in Arcadian past found an outlet in the form of an international colloquium, organized for the first time in 1984 in collaboration between the Austrian and Canadian schools who had both projects going on within the borders of ancient Arcadia. It has been a particular pleasure to have both organizers of that initial event, Dr. Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon and Dr. Hector Williams, represented at the seminar and in the present volume. The colloquium was an informal one, and the proceedings were not published; but beyond its value as a review of recent activities, it gave a promising indication of a renewed interest in the district among Greek as well as foreign scholars. A second colloquium of a similar kind was arranged in 1998 by the four Nordic institutes, some of which had by then developed a collaboration at Arcadian sites. The event was successful, but remained on a modest scale, and no proceedings were published. But there was a general agreement that the initiative should be repeated, and before fourteen years had passed a second time.

When preparations were started and invitations distributed for a third Arcadian seminar, to be arranged in 2002 by the Norwegian institute, it became clear that something was now happening to Arcadian studies. The response was overwhelming; at a certain point we had more than 50 papers offered, and had to be unpleasantly severe when the program was set up and speaking time allotted. At the seminar papers were read by renowned and established Greek and foreign scholars, but also by a considerable number of eager, young people who were making their way into the international research community, probably in some cases presenting papers at an international meeting for the first time. The generally high standard also of their contributions encouraged us to have the proceedings of this third seminar duly published, in the hope that it may serve as a general overview of the actual status of Arcadian studies. One important piece is unfortunately missing from that mosaic: the director of the 5th Greek Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Dr. Theodoros G. Spyropoulos, who had by then just taken retirement, was for personal reasons unable to attend the seminar and is not represented in the publication. Those who know something about the impressive results of his activity in Arcadia through more than twenty years can only wish him good luck with the heavy task of publication which he has ahead of him. But the conference was attended by some of his collaborators, and we had in addition a solid presence from neighbouring ephorates with responsibilities for parts of ancient Arcadian territory; particularly from the ephorate of Achaia we received fine communications on the results from their recent field projects. Our co-organizer, Dr. Yanis Pikoulas, deserves a particular thank for establishing those contacts for us.

There are more thanks to be expressed. The seminar in 2002 was made possible by a grant from the Norwegian Research Council (NFR), by the practical assistance and some financial support from the Norwegian institute and its director at the time, Dr. Synnøve des Bouvrie, and by the Italian Archaeological School under Dr. Emanuele Greco who generously let us use their fine lecture hall free of charge. We gratefully acknowledge an additional, financial contribution from the Greek shipping company “Arkadia” and its managing director Nikolaos I. Manias, which made some pleasant, social events possible. The expenses for the publication of the present volume have been carried by the Norwegian institute, under its present director Dr. Knut Ødegård, with welcome contributions from the Faculty of Arts and from the Research Foundation at the University of Bergen. These are all to be warmly thanked for their assistance and support. But first of all we thank our friends and colleagues from 14 nations who came to Athens and to our institute, made the seminar so pleasant and memorable, and taught us more about the archaeology, history and culture of this exciting and special part of ancient Greece.

Erik Østby

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Notes, abbreviations and references in the articles in this volume follow the recommendations of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (104, 2000, 3-24), with a few exceptions for papers with very few notes or where for other reasons a conventional note-system seemed more convenient. Ancient texts are cited by the abbreviations used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Editing of the volume was concluded in March 2005.

I. MYCENAEAN ARCADIA

The LH IIIC Period in Arcadia and Imports from Southern Italy

Massimo Cultraro

In the last decades the publication of some important Mycenaean cemeteries in Achaea and Elis has revealed the presence of several bronze artefacts which show close affinities with the Late Bronze Age metalworking in the Western Mediterranean. The aim of this paper is to investigate the archaeological evidence related to the LH IIIC period in Arcadia, where some significant data could be connected with the Late Bronze Age of Southern Italy. The archaeological record examined includes a bronze sword from Palaikastro belonging to the much-discussed Naue II category, and a group of violin-bow fibulae and bronze pins, which show strong parallels with the Terramare culture and northern Adriatic metallurgical workshops. Finally, to close this picture of relations between Arcadia and the Italian peninsula, we can mention the evidence from Punta Meliso (Apulia, Italy), where diagnostic Mycenaean pottery includes a type of belly-handled amphora which was very popular in Achaea and Arcadia during LH IIIB2 and IIIC.

Evidence for contacts between Italy and mainland Greece in the Late Bronze Age is a subject of great interest for an archaeological, as well as a historical approach.¹ Its importance increases particularly when evidence for such relations is provided by the discovery of artefacts of Italian Late Bronze Age tradition in Aegean contexts.² Recent excavations both in Italy and Greece have brought to light much new, relevant material which needs to be assessed. The publication of important Mycenaean cemeteries in Achaea and Elis reveals the presence of several bronze artefacts which show close affinities with western Mediterranean metalworking in the Late Bronze Age, especially from the Balkans or the Italian peninsula.³ In the case of mainland Greece, evidence of

1. Matthäus 1980; Harding 1984; Bettelli 2002.

2. Pålsson Hallager 1985; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulos 2000.

3. Eder 1999; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulos 2000.

foreign material in the Aegean context is not limited to the north-western region of the Peloponnese, but new and important data can be recorded from Arcadia. Previously, very little evidence was available from this region, particularly concerning the period LH IIIC.⁴ The recent investigations at Palaiokastro and the publication of old excavations have added substantial, new information to our knowledge about Mycenaean Arcadia, for a long time considered a peripheral region of the Mycenaean world. The aim of this paper is to focus on some artefacts which might be related to cultural contexts not Mycenaean, especially in the late palatial phase (end of the 13th century), when Arcadia shows closer contacts with other regions of western Peloponnese, as well as with external areas in the Mediterranean world.

We may start with the most important evidence provided by the late Mycenaean settlement at Palaiokastro. Located in the Gortynia district of western Arcadia, the site occupies a strategic position along the western, right bank of the Alpheios river, where it is possible to control the main inner route from the plain of Megalopolis and, through the northern Eurotas valley, from Laconia to Elis.⁵ (Fig. 1) Near the prehistoric settlement, which was perhaps defended by a well-preserved fortification wall, there is evidence for an extensive Late Helladic III necropolis consisting of rock-cut chamber tombs and pit graves. Most of the material, which has not yet been published, belongs to LH IIIC Middle and Late.⁶

The evidence from chamber tomb no. 6 deserves attention. It consists in a long open *dromos*, with a semicircular niche at its right side; through the *stomion* there is access to the main circular chamber (diameter 5.60 m), which has a small, round cavity in the middle of the vaulted roof. (Fig. 2a) In the tomb, investigated by C. Christou in 1957, two LH IIIC vases and a group of bronzes were found. The bronze catalogue lists a long sword (Fig. 3a), two socketed spear-heads (Fig. 2b), a one-edged knife, a pin (Fig. 4a), and a wedge-shaped object, interpreted as a chisel.⁷

Apart from the two spear-heads which are related to a standard type of Mycenaean offensive weapons widely distributed in the Aegean world,⁸ the long sword belongs to the much-discussed Naue Type II category, frequently attested in the Aegean during the LH IIIC, though its origin is somewhat controversial.⁹ The example from Palaiokastro is complete and in very good condition. (Fig. 3a) The structural elements include two grooves running parallel down each side of

4. Howell 1970; Krigas 1991.

5. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 83, site B 32.

6. Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998.

7. Demakopoulou 1969; Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, 274-6, pl. 52.

8. Avila 1983, 52-3, no. 110, pl. 17.

9. Catling 1961; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 98; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 177-81.

the blade; the hilt is rather long with a pommel consisting of two 'ears' projecting almost horizontally and a spur protruding at the centre. The sword must have been cast in a two-piece mould; the hilt-plates, made of some perishable material (bone or wood), were secured by ten rivets, four of which are preserved.

The weapon from Palaikastro clearly belongs to Catling's Group II of the so-called Naue II cut-and-thrust swords.¹⁰ This is a class of swords which was developed in the Aegean as a modification of an earlier category of swords, which was probably introduced from Central Europe through the Adriatic routes in the second half of the 13th century B.C.¹¹

In mainland Greece swords of this class are clearly attested in the Argolid (Mycenae, Tiryns)¹² and in Achaea (Kallithea, Krini-Patras),¹³ while some examples are found in eastern Crete (at Moulíaná, Siteia, Myrsine, Karphi, Vrokastro),¹⁴ in the Cyclades (Grotta cemetery), in the Dodecanese (Kos) and in Cyprus, at Enkomi.¹⁵ To the list of known Naue II bronze swords may now be added a new example from Alpheiousa, along the valley of the Alpheios river in Elis; the context is not clear, but could be understood as a funerary assemblage.¹⁶ Including the weapon from the chamber tomb at Palaiokastro, ten Naue II bronze swords are so far known from Achaea, Elis and Arcadia, and this number is impressive if it is compared with only six from the rest of the Peloponnese.

The exceptionally long sword from chamber tomb 6 at Palaiokastro, comparable with the swords from the cemeteries in Achaea (Klauss and Krini), and the provenance context related to warrior's graves, suggest that all these examples should belong to Catling's "Group II developed".¹⁷

The swords of Catling's Group II probably have their origin in the north-west Balkans or in the Carpathian area; the group is derived from Cowen's "Erbenheim Group", which started during the Hallstatt A1 period.¹⁸ The examples from the western Balkans and Central Europe are rather different, particularly in the shape of the spur and the riveting system. The closest foreign affinities of the Arcadian sword, as well as of the examples from western Peloponnese, are to be found in Late Bronze Age metalwork from the Italian peninsula (Allerona class)

10. Catling 1961, 116-20.

11. Harding 1984, 162-5; Bettelli 2002, 134-6.

12. Catling 1956, nos. 1-5.

13. Yalouris 1960; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 177-81, figs. 3-5, pl. 26 c.

14. Catling 1961, nos. 18-22; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 95-105, nos. 227-47.

15. Catling 1961, nos. 25-7.

16. O. Vikatou, in *ArchDelt* 51, 1996 [2001] B Chron., 194, pl. 62 e.

17. Catling 1961, 119-20.

18. Cowen 1955, 73-8; Harding 1984, 165.

rather than in Central Europe.¹⁹ (Fig. 3b) The affinities of the sword from Palaiokastro with the Allerona group can be specified on the following points:

- 1, the shape of the blade section as a flattened lozenge;
- 2, the thickness in the junction of blade and hand-guard;
- 3, the blood channels or ridges on the blade;
- 4, the number and the position of the rivets.

The affinity with the Italian examples becomes still closer if we accept that the Palaiokastro sword was cast in a two-piece mould, such as those of Allerona type found in Piverone, in north-western Italy.²⁰ (Fig. 3c) However, the wide distribution of the class in mainland Greece, as well as the characteristic features of this weapon, suggest that all the specimens found in the Aegean are produced by local workshops, influenced by a foreign tradition of sword-making. In the light of the archaeological record currently available, there is no definitive evidence that any of these weapons was imported, but the idea of making a metal sword, and many of the sword-shapes, did come from outside, especially from the Italian peninsula.

Indirectly, the Italian context suggests a significant confirmation of the affinities of the Palaiokastro sword with metallurgical workshops in the Italian peninsula, and it also establishes a much desired synchronism between Italian Recent/Final Bronze Age and mainland Greece LH IIIC. In the LBA site at Montegiorgio (Ascoli Piceno), a sword of Allerona type was found together with a 'Peschiera' dagger (Fig. 4c), which shows close affinities with a bronze dagger from the LH IIIC acropolis at Teichos Dymaion.²¹

All these swords of Catling's Group II seem to appear in the Aegean during the LH IIIC (Fig. 5b), and the archaeological context of the Arcadian example is very important, because it contributes to date very closely this class of weapons in the middle of the 12th century B.C.

Among the bronze objects from Tomb 6 at Palaiokastro there is a pin, with a simple shank, separated by two ridges from the biconical head ending in a small knob.²² (Fig. 4a) As K. Demakopoulou has stressed,²³ there are no close parallels for the pin from Palaiokastro in the corpus of Late Bronze Age pins from mainland Greece. However, a possible parallel could be proposed with a bronze pin from a looted chamber tomb at Platamos, in Elis;²⁴ in this case the context

19. Bianco Peroni 1970, 67-70, nos. 158-63.

20. Bianco Peroni 1970, nos. 168-70.

21. Bianco Peroni 1970, 69, no. 163; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulos 2000, 144, pl. 36.1-2.

22. Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, 276, B5, pl. 52 c.

23. Demakopoulou 1998, 276.

24. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 57, no. 140.

cannot be defined, but an attribution of the cemetery to the late palatial period seems fairly likely.

The shape and the incised decoration on the two objects from Palaiokastro and Platamos show close affinities with a class of pins attested in northern Italy during the Late Bronze Age. In particular, a pin from the cremation cemetery at Fontanella Grazioli, near Mantova (Lombardia), reveals a shape and decoration similar to the example from Palaiokastro.²⁵ (Fig. 4b) The latter evidence is most important in archaeological terms, because the connection between western Peloponnese and the northern Italian province is corroborated, as remarked above, by the distribution of the daggers of 'Peschiera' type in the Argolid and Achaea during the LH IIIB-IIIC periods. (Fig. 4b) This particular class of daggers is derived from northern Italian metalworking of 'Bronzezeit D', indicating again the same area of provenience suggested for the pin of Palaiokastro.²⁶

In his recent excavations at Palaiokastro Th. Spyropoulos has explored more than 100 new chamber tombs dating from LH IIB to Submycenaean.²⁷ The material has not yet been published; the archaeologist refers to some bronze pins, some violin-bow fibulae and a new Naue II sword, in addition to that discussed above. Moreover, a large hydria contained a cremation burial together with an iron sword. Unfortunately we have no drawings of the fibulae, but the description assures that they are of the violin-bow class. This category of fibulae is attested in the cemetery at Klauss, near Patras, and in the Mycenaean acropolis of Teichos Dymaion, both in LH IIIC contexts.²⁸

Some material earlier than the Geometric period has been found in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. This includes two LH IIIC stirrup jar fragments, an LH IIIC Psi-figurine and two bronze fibulae. One of these bronze objects is very interesting: it is an example of a Late Mycenaean violin-bow fibula, with rectangular top and flat with two holes at either end.²⁹

In this sanctuary the stratigraphical context of these objects could not be defined, and the sporadic LH IIIC finds cannot with any certainty be referred to ritual activity,³⁰ because, as we will explain below, such Late Mycenaean bronze artefacts as dress ornaments are usually attested in funerary contexts. In the case of ancient Protogeometric and Geometric sanctuaries in mainland Greece, these

25. Carancini 1975, 229, no. 1665.

26. Bettelli 2002, 133.

27. Blackman 1997, 33-4.

28. Papadoupoulos and Kontorli-Papadoupoulos 2000, 143-4.

29. Voyatzis 1990, 210, B243; *ead.* 1995, 273.

30. Voyatzis 1995, 281.

items need not necessarily mark the beginning of cult activity and could be considered as heirlooms or survivals.³¹

The material mentioned above and the affinities with some examples from Achaea suggest that the fibula from Tegea should be dated to LH IIIC Middle. Mary Voyatzis includes a similar, unpublished example from Gortsouli, north of Tegea.³² There is also a violin-bow fibula of this type from the sanctuary at Lousoi, which can be related to the LH IIIC fibulae class, although the archaeological context is not definitive.³³ (Fig. 4d)

For the Late Mycenaean fibulae category, an important study by K. Kilian³⁴ has confirmed the chronological position of the violin-bow category in LH IIIB2 and IIIC, and it is generally accepted that this class is typologically earlier than the arched variety. As for the examples from Tegea and Lousoi, the couple of holes could be connected with a system of fixing a bronze plaque above the arc; this type reminds of Kilian's "Blattbügelfibeln" group, frequently attested in western Peloponnese and the Ionian islands during LH IIIC Early and Middle.³⁵ (Fig. 5a)

Although there is as yet no definitive solution to the problem of its origin,³⁶ this group of fibulae is very likely derived from metallurgical models of northern Italy or the Balkan peninsula. The Arcadian variety with two holes on the flat parts is more common in central and north-eastern Italian LBA than in the Balkan province.³⁷ It resembles some examples from the Terramare culture, which is the same cultural assemblage recalled above in the classification of the 'Peschiera' daggers from Achaea.³⁸ (Fig. 4c) It is worth noting that the Adriatic province of Italy has been mentioned in defining the typological parallels for the pin and the Naue II sword from Tomb 6 at Palaiokastro.

To corroborate the affinities of some LH IIIC bronzes with Italian metallurgical models, we might add a new piece of evidence from Achaea: in an LH IIIC Early chamber tomb at Klauss, a two-edged bronze razor was found.³⁹ (Fig. 4e) This object has no parallels in the Aegean and recalls the 'Scoglio del Tonno' razor type attested in the Italian peninsula during the Recent and Final Bronze Age.⁴⁰ The ellipsoid shape and the oval central opening, bordered by high

31. Snodgrass 1971, 277-8.

32. Voyatzis 1990, 210.

33. Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 52, no. 76; Voyatzis 1990, 210, pl. 169.

34. Kilian 1985.

35. Kilian 1985, 173-89, figs. 5-7.

36. Bettelli 2002, 133.

37. Bietti Sestieri 1973, 405-6; Kilian 1985, 176-8.

38. Peroni 1996, 248, figs. 48.4 and 51.8.

39. Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulos 2000, 144, pl. 36.4.

40. Matthäus 1980, 115, Abb. 3.

flanges, show close affinities with some razors of the Adriatic area and the north-western Terramare culture.⁴¹ The rarity of this type in the Aegean world suggests that the bronze razor from Klauss should be considered a product of South Italian metallurgical workshops.

To sum up the results of this analysis, it appears that during LH IIIC Arcadia, as well as the areas of north-western Peloponnese, entertained close relations and contacts with the coastal Adriatic regions of the Italian peninsula. The absolute chronology of LH IIIC is a notoriously thorny question, since fixed points are hard to identify and correlations are made difficult by the development of many regional styles.⁴² There is some evidence to suggest that in north-western Greece the Mycenaean tradition is likely to have lasted much longer than elsewhere. According to T. Papadopoulos and other scholars,⁴³ the end of LH IIIC in north-western Peloponnese, and so in Arcadia, is contemporary with the early Protogeometric phase in Attica reaching down to the end of 11th century. In this phase north-western Peloponnese develops its own regional pottery style, showing influences from other parts of mainland Greece as well as from Crete, the Dodecanese and the eastern Aegean.⁴⁴ Together with the emergence of a unique local style, the second important element characterizing LH IIIC in north-western Peloponnese is the wide network of relations between local centres and external areas, as stated above.

To close this picture of relations between Arcadia and the Italian peninsula, the evidence from Punta Meliso can be mentioned. (Fig. 5c) The site is one of two small headlands jutting out from Capo Santa Maria di Leuca, the easternmost point of the Salentine peninsula in Apulia.⁴⁵ Remains of an LBA fortified settlement with oval huts have been discovered on the top terrace; the material is represented by a variety of local 'impasto' pottery and a large number of Mycenaean sherds.

The more diagnostic Mycenaean pottery includes a type of belly-handled amphora (FS 58), which is extremely popular in Achaea and Arcadia in LH IIIB2 and IIIC.⁴⁶ (Fig. 5d) A significant feature is the globular body, while its canonical counterpart from the Argolid has an ovoid shape. As M. Benzi and G. Graziadio have suggested,⁴⁷ similar examples recorded in Elis, Arcadia, western Messenia

41. Bianco Peroni 1979, 9-11, nos. 37-52.

42. Deger-Jalkotzy 1998; Mountjoy 1999, 38-55.

43. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 184-5; Snodgrass 1971, 399.

44. Mountjoy 1999, 296.

45. Bettelli 2002, 26, site 42.

46. Benzi and Graziadio 1996, 97, PM 1, fig. 2.5.

47. Benzi and Graziadio 1996, 106.

and the Ionian islands (Kephallenia) confirm that these belly-handled amphorae are peculiar for LH IIIC workshops in western Peloponnese.

The other pottery assemblage from Punta Meliso shows close links with local styles in north-western Greece, like the deep bowls (FS 285) and kraters (FS 282) showing typologically and stylistically affinities with the LH IIIC pottery production from Achaea, Elis and Arcadia.

As compared with other LH IIIC pottery from South Italy, the Punta Meliso assemblage shows peculiar stylistic features and cannot be described as 'provincial Mycenaean'. Chemical and thin-section analyses have demonstrated that the Mycenaean pottery from Punta Meliso was produced locally, suggesting the presence *in loco* of Mycenaean craftsmen.⁴⁸ If we accept this conclusion, Punta Meliso will provide meaningful evidence for the establishment in Apulia of a small group of Mycenaean refugees, probably coming from Achaea and Arcadia. This interpretation is in keeping with recent assessments of Italian-Aegean relations and with the analysis of metallurgical production, which supports the diffusion throughout the Aegean world of bronzes of mainland European models;⁴⁹ we can conclude therefore that some Aegean people had established themselves in an Adriatic coastal site during the first half of the 12th century B.C., while at the same time Italian craftsmen, such as bronzesmiths, migrated in the opposite direction.⁵⁰ In LH IIIC mainland Greece, the appearance of fibulae, pins or two-edged razor-knives, such as the example from the Late Mycenaean cemetery at Klaus in Achaea (see above), can be explained more easily in terms of western Mediterranean people getting established *in loco* than by changes in the dressing fashions of Peloponnesian communities. After the collapse of the palace system, full-time specialist artisans once entirely supported by the palatial economy would now be looking for other ways to sustain themselves by the production of items useful to new elite. The evidence from the large Mycenaean cemeteries at Patras, Krini ad Klaus in Achaea strongly confirms that specialist artisans originating from Italian regions were established in western Peloponnese since LH IIIB2.

This phenomenon should be connected with the introduction of the Naue II swords (Fig. 3), which became very successful cutting and thrusting weapons, replacing the old-fashioned Aegean types F and G. It is worth noting that the warriors buried in Achaea and Arcadia were equipped with a Naue II sword and a spear-head of the common Creto-Mycenaean type. According to the reconstruction by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier,⁵¹ the joint use of sword and dagger, which

48. Benzi and Graziadio 1996, 126.

49. Bettelli 2002.

50. Bietti Sestieri 1973, 406-12.

51. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 144-61.

had characterized the combat technique of LH II-III A Mycenaean warriors, apparently declines during LH IIIB2, when the cut-and-thrust sword and spear constitute the fulcrum of the new armament, probably accompanied by shield and greaves.

The characteristic LH IIIC swords, if compared to the Mycenaean weapons of the palatial period, suggest some changes in the techniques of fighting. The blades are shorter and wider; their graduated sections strengthen the edge of the blade as well as its length. Unlike long, straight swords, their leaf-shaped blades are particularly suited to pull-cuts, elliptical cutting actions. Such weapons are designed for the close-quarter, multi-opponent combat situations of a *melee*. In other words, they are weapons of war, not of ritualized combat.

It is difficult to establish the social identity of such swordsmen. Swords of Naue II type, as well as other weapons, have been related to mercenaries or auxiliary troops;⁵² however, it seems extremely hazardous to imagine western Peloponnese in LH IIIC occupied exclusively by foreign mercenaries, even if they were integrated in the local communities. The evidence from the cemeteries in western Peloponnese, especially from Krini and Palaikastro, suggests that these warriors equipped with powerful, offensive weapons had a high military and/or social rank.⁵³ The rich chamber tomb 6 at Palaikastro belongs to Class 1 in Cavanagh's classification,⁵⁴ imitating a tholos tomb with a relieving triangle cut in the rock over the doorway, while the round cavity in the middle of the vaulted chamber is an imitation of a tholos profile.⁵⁵ (Fig. 2a)

From the present evidence, it remains to conclude that during LH IIIC the region of Arcadia provides a complex cultural and social framework similar to the adjacent landscapes Achaea and Elis. During the first half of the 12th century Arcadia shows close affinities with the rest of western Peloponnese, as well as the Argolid. Recent chemical analyses of a group of LH IIIC sherds found at Palaikastro have suggested that some pieces might be imports from foreign workshops, maybe from north-eastern Peloponnese or the Argolid.⁵⁶ Arcadia also appears to have been densely populated and the population dislocated in scattered settlements, each with a corresponding cemetery where the largest tombs were destined for local rulers. The scarce evidence of LH IIIA-B Arcadia⁵⁷ does not help us to reconstruct settlement and territory organization of those periods, and so to define more clearly those changes which possibly

52. Drews 1994, 147-9.

53. Deger-Jalkotzy 1999, 121-31, esp. 130.

54. Cavanagh 1987, 168-9.

55. Danielidou 2000.

56. Mommsen, Beier and Hein 2002, 624.

57. Howell 1970; Krigas 1991.

took place during the transition from the palatial system to the post-palatial period. Alternatively, evidence from LH IIIC funerary contexts confirms that well-equipped warriors, especially swordsmen, have increased in number and have operated in a new socio-economic reality that has apparently undergone changes maybe since the end of LH IIIB. The Mycenaean tradition of the material found in the Arcadian cemeteries suggests that these people were late Mycenaean, whereas the appearance of dress accessories and weapons which are not Mycenaean support the idea of foreign elements circulating in western Peloponnese since LH IIIB2.⁵⁸ In this scenario, it is possible that specialist metalworkers, coming from the Italian peninsula, introduced new elements to the growth of existing Arcadian settlements, establishing a more dynamic relationship between bronze-smiths and the members of a new upper class. The techniques of manufacturing these weapons, and the diffusion of their use as symbols of power and social status, may be among those new elements. Considering this general archaeological picture, I would conclude that the great variety and abundance of bronze objects in the Geometric sanctuaries in Arcadia⁵⁹ cannot simply be accidental, but might indicate the preservation of older Late Bronze Age metalwork heritage, in which contributions from the western Mediterranean, especially from the Italian peninsula, were highly remarkable.

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58. Bettelli 2002, 134.

59. Voyatzis 1995.

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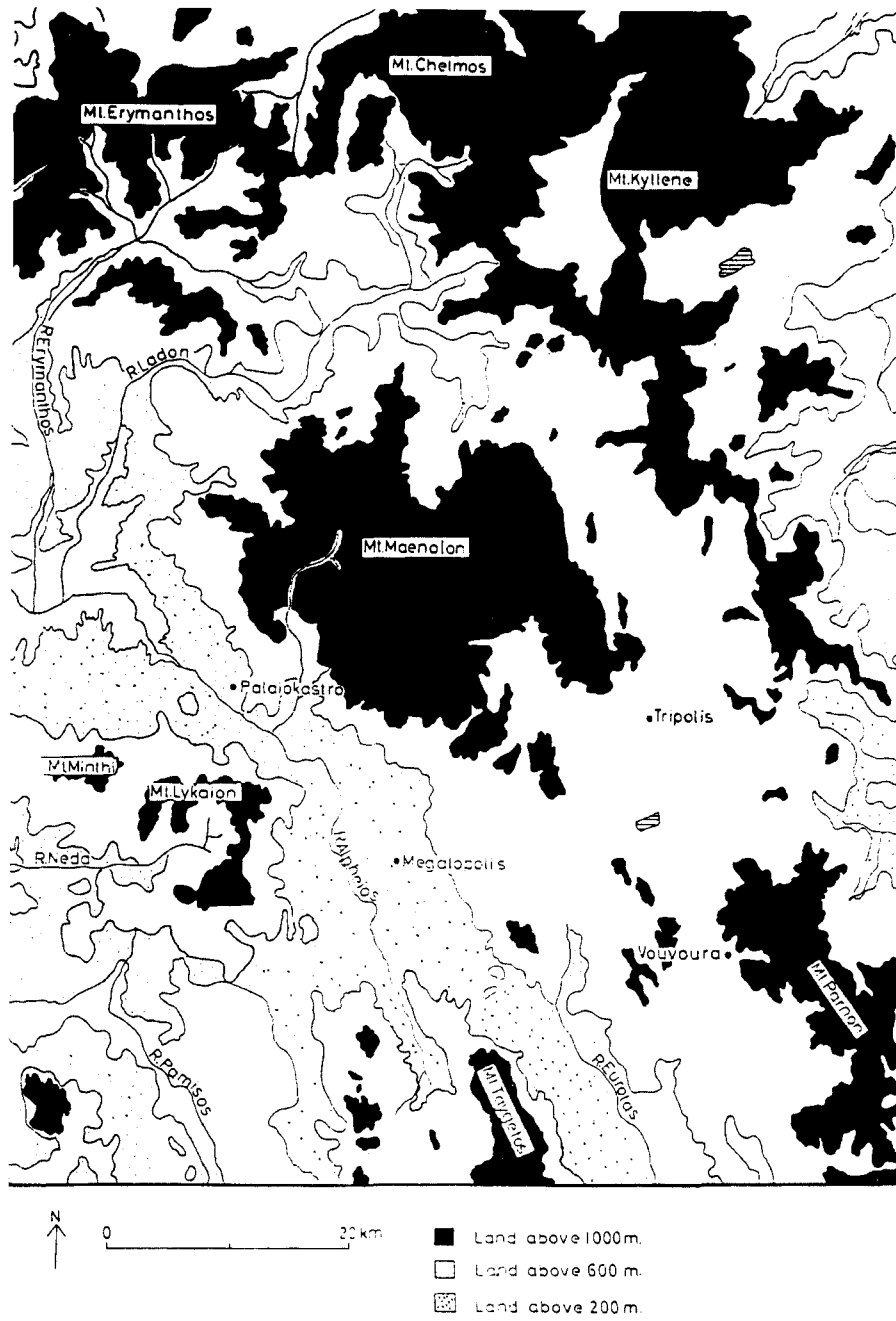


Fig. 1. Map of Mycenaean Arcadia. (After Mountjoy 1999, fig. 102.)

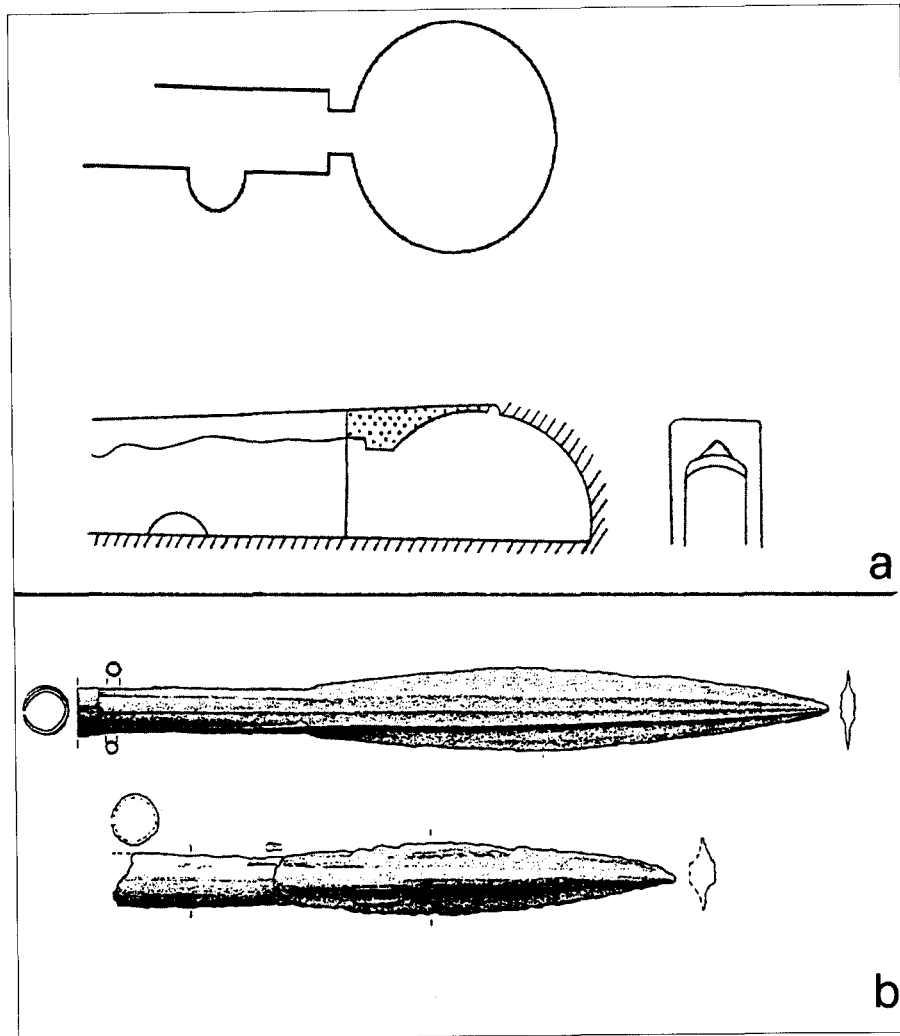


Fig. 2. a) Palaiokastro, Tomb 6: plans and sections (not in scale); b) bronze spearheads from Palaiokastro, tomb 6. (After Demakopoulou and Crowel 1998; a, fig. 5; b, figs. 7-8.)

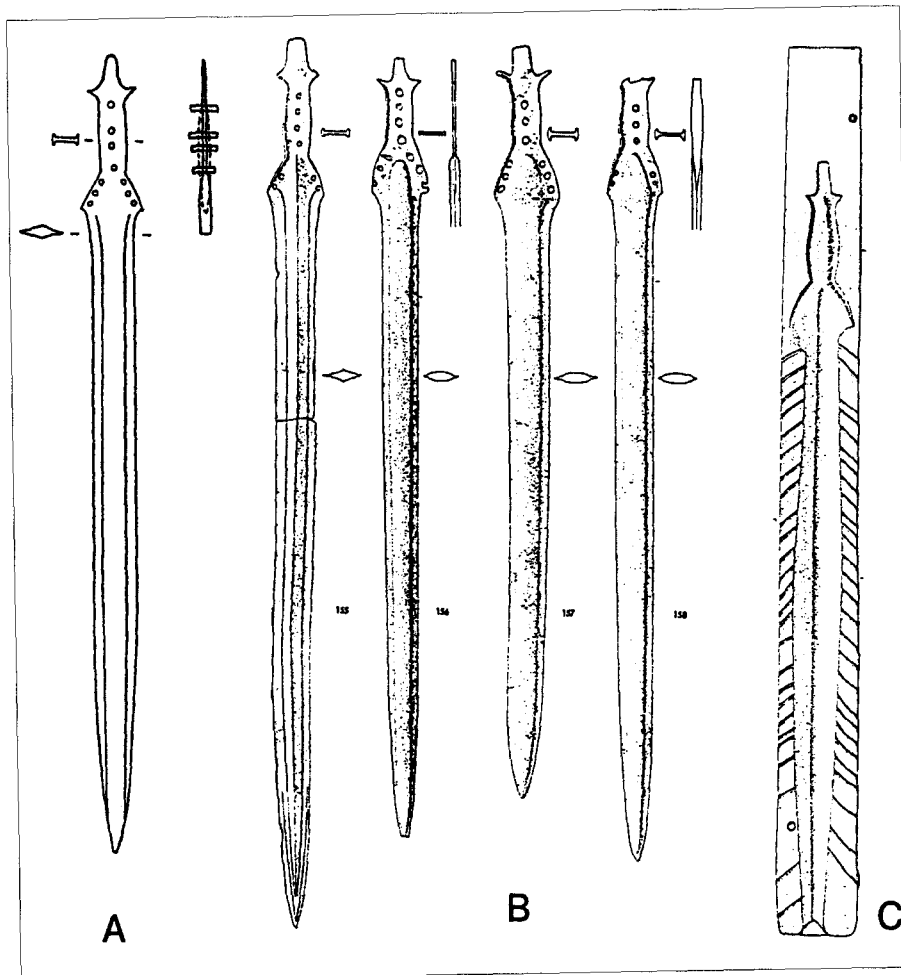


Fig. 3. a) Palaiokastro, Tomb 6: bronze sword (after Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, fig. 6); b) Alleron type swords from LBA Italy (after Bianco Peroni 1970, pl. 22.155-58); c) stone mould for casting Alleron type swords, from Piverone (Turin) (after Bianco Peroni 1970, pl. 25.170).

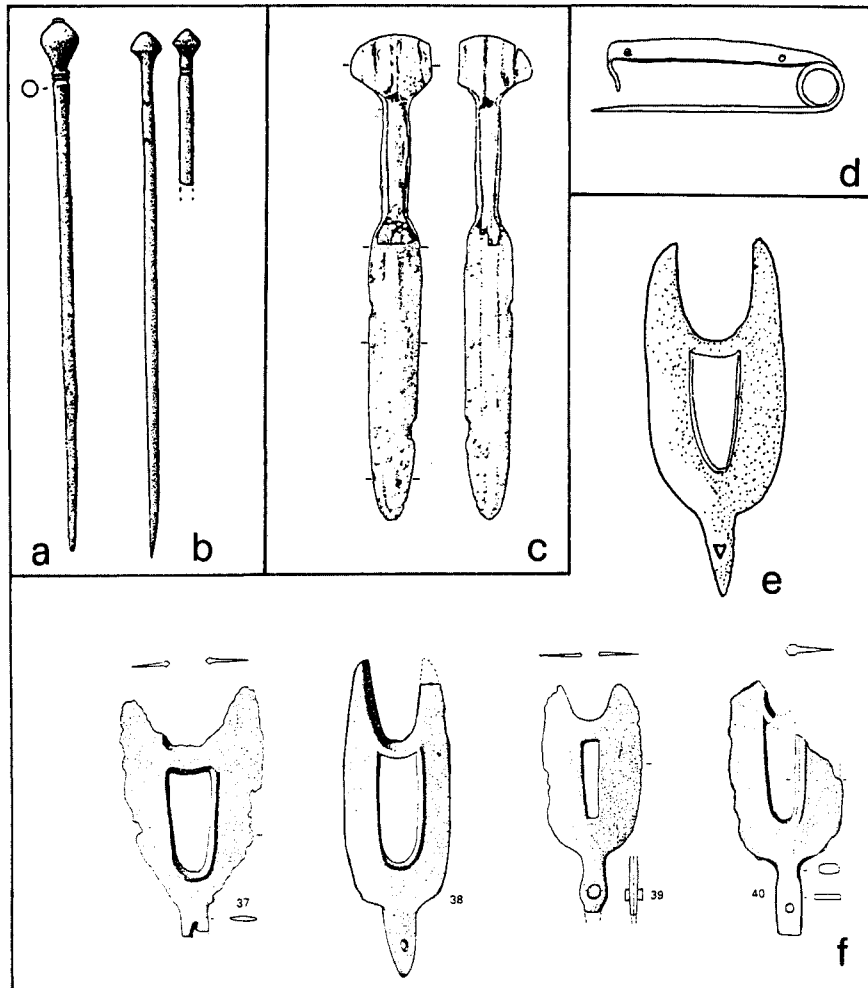


Fig. 4. a) Palaiokastro, tomb 6: bronze pin (after Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, fig. 9); b) bronze pins from LBA Italy (after Carancini 1975, pl. 52.1665); c) Teichos Dymaion, bronze dagger of Peschiera type (after Papadopoulos 1978-79, fig. 358); d) Lousoi, bronze violin-bow fibula (after Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, fig. 76); e) Klauss, bronze razor (after Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulos 2000, pl. 36.4); f) examples of 'Scoglio del Tonno' type razors from LBA Italy (after Bianco Peroni 1979, pl. 4).

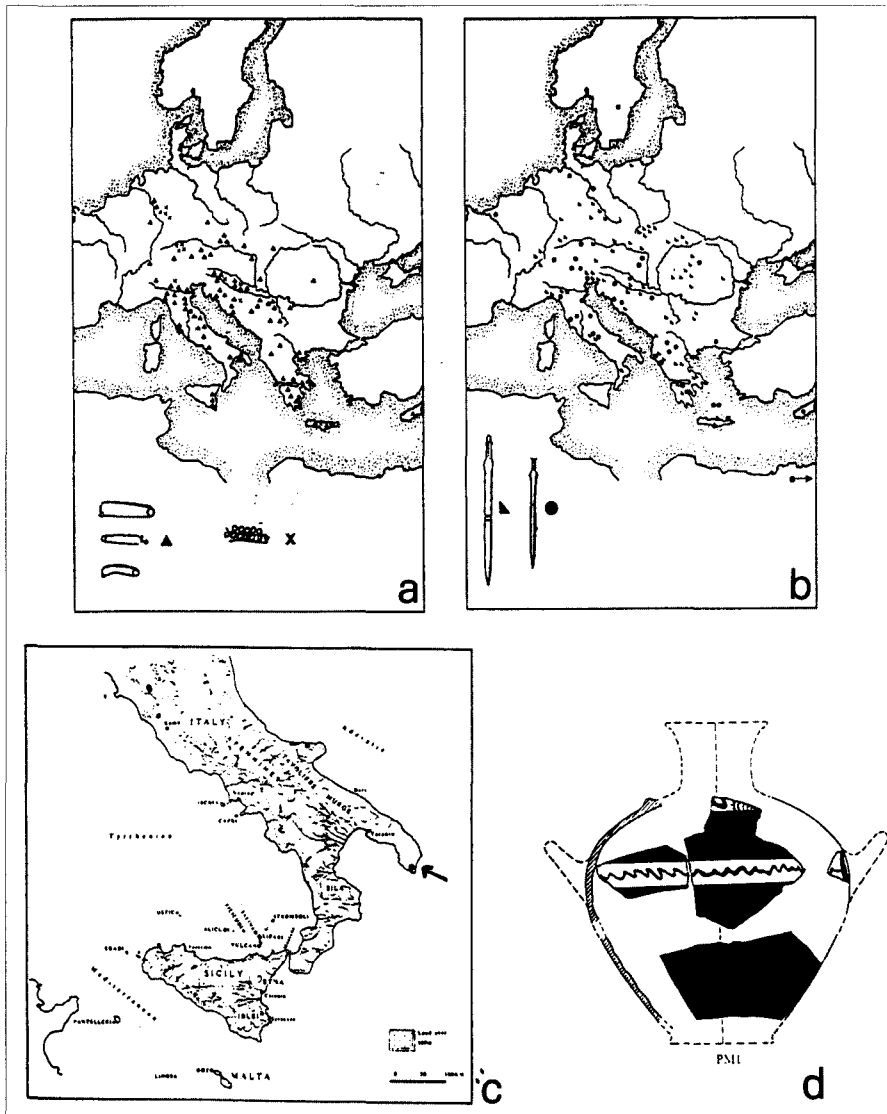


Fig. 5. a) distribution of European model fibulae in LBA (after Bettelli 2002, fig. 58.3); b) distribution of Naue II swords in LBA (after Bettelli 2002, fig. 58.4); c) map of South Italy with indication of Punta Meliso; d) LH IIIC belly-handled amphora from Punta Meliso, in the north-west Peloponnesian tradition (after Benzi and Graziadio 1996, fig. 2.5).

Μυκηναϊκή Αρκαδία: Αποτίμηση των γνώσεών μας*

Ελένη Σαλαβούρα

This paper has a double purpose: it outlines our knowledge about Mycenaean Arcadia and in parallel it attempts to draw perspectives for the research in this neglected area.

The region which we examine – as defined by Pausanias' description – is landlocked and restricted to small high plains and basins, surrounded by great masses of mountains. Travelers of the 18th and 19th centuries passed through Arcadia, but they were interested mainly in identifying the classical sites. More information is obtained by excavated sites and field surveys. Unfortunately few excavations have been made, fewer have been published. R. Howell's survey remains, 35 years after its publication, the only extensive research, but it focuses on the eastern part of the province. This may possibly be the reason why eastern Arcadia seems to be densely populated in contrast to the southern and western part of the region.

On the whole 42 sites are recorded. Most of the Mycenaean settlements were located on rather steep-sided hills that could be easily defended. The natural formation of the region favours the development of rural settlements. It may not be accidental that, with the exception of Analipsis, no administrative centre has been located until now. So Arcadia looks like a 'periphery', although it is surrounded by major Mycenaean centers. Perhaps the frontier regions were included in the sphere of influence of significant sites outside Arcadia. Nevertheless, the exact kind of these relations and the degree of influence are hard to establish by the data available. The altitude and cold winters presuppose that seasonal pastoralism had been developed.

The only two sites where significant quantity of LH pottery of good quality has been found, are Analipsis and Palaiokastro. LH I and II material from Asea and Analipsis implies relations with Argolid and northeastern Peloponnese, but there are also elements which indicate Minoan influence. The majority of the material from

* Η μελέτη βασίζεται στην τελική διπλωματική εργασία του Α' Κύκλου Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών με τίτλο "Η Αρκαδία κατά την εποχή του Χαλκού", που κατατέθηκε στο Παν/μιο Αθηνών (Τμήμα Ιστορίας – Αρχαιολογίας) τον Ιούνιο του 2002. Ιδιαίτερες ευχαριστίες οφείλω στο Γ.Α. Πίκουλα, που εκτός από δάσκαλός μου στην ιστορική τοπογραφία, υπήρξε ο πρώτος, και για αρκετό καιρό ο μόνος, που με ενθάρρυνε να ασχοληθώ με το συγκεκριμένο θέμα.

Palaiokastro belongs to LH IIIC, middle and late phases. The pottery and the Naue type II swords confirm that the site belongs to a northwest Peloponnesian *koine*, part of a larger West Mainland *koine*. The material combines the shapes and motifs found in Elis and Achaea with a large amount of Minoan influence; to this combination local idiosyncrasies are added forming a unique local style.

Much work still needs to be done. Obviously many more sites have yet to be recorded in northern, central, southern and especially western Arcadia, in the fertile valleys across the rivers Ladon and Alpheios. However, collecting surface sherds alone hardly ever gives the complete record of a site's history. Further investigation of the sites already mentioned and further study of finds from the excavations could yield more precise information.

Η ακόλουθη μελέτη έχει διττό σκοπό: αποτελεί μια επισκόπηση των γνώσεών μας για τη μυκηναϊκή Αρκαδία και παράλληλα επιχειρεί να δώσει τις προοπτικές της έρευνας στο συγκεκριμένο γεωγραφικό χώρο.

Ο χώρος που εξετάζεται είναι η Αρκαδία, έτσι όπως περιγράφεται στην περιήγηση του Πausanία.¹ Περιορίζεται, δηλαδή, στα βουνά και στα οροπέδια της κεντρικής Πελοποννήσου και δε βρέχεται πουθενά από τη θάλασσα.² Περιλαμβάνει μια σειρά από λεκανοπέδια και υψίπεδα, που περικλείονται από μεγάλες οροσειρές. Στα ΒΒΑ υψώνεται η Κυλλήνη-Ζήρια και ο Χελμός-Αροάνια, με προεκτάσεις τον Κράθι και την Ντουρντουβάνα-Πεντέλεια, που αποτελούν τα σύνορα με την Αχαΐα και φραγμό προς τον κορινθιακό κόλπο. Στα ανατολικά απλώνεται η αλυσίδα των αργολιδο-αρκαδικών ορέων (Λύσκιο – Αρτεμίσιο – Χτενιάς), που ξεκινούν από την Κυλλήνη για να καταλήξουν στο Παρθένι. Στα νότια οι βορινοί πρόβουνοι του Πάρωνα και του Ταΰγету εισχωρούν στη λεκάνη της Μεγαλόπολης, διαχωρίζοντάς την από τη Λακωνία και τη Μεσσηνία. Στα δυτικά όρια τα βόρεια παρακλάδια του Ταΰγету συνεχίζονται στα τριφυλιακά όρη, το Τετράζι-Νόμια όρη, το Λύσκιο και τη Μίνθη. Στα ΔΒΔ η Φολόη, το όρος Λάμπεια, με ανατολικότερη απόλη-

1. Παπαχατζής 1980, 178-9.

2. Φυσικά δε μπορεί κανείς να αρνηθεί τη σχέση και την επικοινωνία της ανατολικής Αρκαδίας με το Αιγαίο μέσω των παραλίων της σημερινής Κυνουρίας, η οποία διαχρονικά και λόγω θέσης αποτελεί τη συντομότερη διέξοδο του ανατολικού τμήματος της Αρκαδίας προς τη θάλασσα. (Βλ. Συριόπουλος 1990, 191 κ.εξ.) Αυτό όμως δεν προϋποθέτει ότι κατά τους μυκηναϊκούς χρόνους αποτελούσε και διοικητικά μέρος της Αρκαδίας. Σύμφωνα μάλιστα με το ομηρικό έπος (Ιλιάδα Β 612-614) οι Αρκάδες, άπειροι στη θάλασσα, μετέβησαν στην Τροία όχι με δικά τους πλοία, αλλά με αυτά του Αγαμέμνονα. Η σχέση (υποτελείς ή σύμμαχοι;) και ο βαθμός εξάρτησης από το καθεστώς των Μυκηνών, που φαίνεται να έχει επεκτείνει την επικράτειά του και στο νοτιότερο τμήμα του αργολικού κόλπου, παραμένει ασαφής. Βλ. και Φάκλαρης 1990, 33.

ξη το Καλλιφώνι, και ο Ερύμανθος-Ωλονός ολοκληρώνουν τον κύκλο του ορεινού αυτού φράγματος, το οποίο όμως αφήνει στα δυτικά ένα μεγάλο άνοιγμα ενώ και στα νότια το περασμά του είναι σχετικά εύκολο.³

Οι περιηγητές ασχολήθηκαν από νωρίς με την Αρκαδία, όλοι όμως επικεντρώθηκαν στην ταύτιση θέσεων και επώνυμων οικισμών, που παραδίδονται από αρχαίες πηγές – κυρίως τον Πausανία. Για τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους λοιπόν πηγές των γνώσεών μας είναι οι ανασκαφές και οι επιφανειακές έρευνες. Σε ότι αφορά τις ανασκαφές στο πρώτο μισό του 20ου αιώνα – τουλάχιστον στη νότια Αρκαδία – κυριάρχησε η μορφή του Κωνσταντίνου Ρωμαίου. Η μοναδική συστηματικά δημοσιευμένη θέση είναι η Ασέα που απέδωσε όμως ελάχιστο μυκηναϊκό υλικό.⁴ Σε αυτήν έρχεται να προστεθεί η πρόσφατη διατριβή του Κωνσταντίνου Καλογερόπουλου,⁵ στην οποία μελετάται συστηματικά και με βάση τα δεδομένα της σύγχρονης έρευνας το υλικό από την Ανάληψη, δίνοντας μια πρώτη εικόνα για το τι μπορεί να κρύβει η Αρκαδία. Παράλληλα οι κατά καιρούς ανασκαφές οικισμών και ιερών των ιστορικών χρόνων ενίοτε έδωσαν και μυκηναϊκά ευρήματα, συνήθως όμως ανεπαρκώς μελετημένα. Την τελευταία εικοσαετία διεξήχθη μια σειρά ανασκαφών από το Θ. Σπυρόπουλο.⁶ Προβληματικό όμως για τους νεότερους παραμένει ότι οι περισσότερες έρευνες έμειναν στο στάδιο της απλής κοινοποίησεως, χωρίς να δοθεί η τελική τους δημοσίευση. Σε επίπεδο επιφανειακών ερευνών το άρθρο του R. Howell⁷ παραμένει μέχρι σήμερα, 30 και πλέον χρόνια μετά τη δημοσίευσή του, η διεξοδικότερη τοπογραφική μελέτη. Η έρευνα, όμως, περιορίζεται στο ανατολικό τμήμα του νομού, στα λεκανοπέδια γύρω από τις κλασικές πόλεις της Τεγέας, της Μαντινείας και του Ορχομενού. Αρκεί μια ματιά στο χάρτη, που συνοδεύει το κείμενο: η διασπορά των θέσεων είναι πολύ πυκνότερη στην ανατολική Αρκαδία και η εικόνα αυτή, ενδεχομένως παραπλανητική, οφείλεται κατά κύριο λόγο στη μελέτη του Howell.

Συνολικά καταγράφονται 42 θέσεις με μυκηναϊκά ευρήματα – που μπορεί να περιλαμβάνουν από ένα μεμονωμένο όστρακο έως ένα εκτεταμένο νεκροταφείο.⁸

3. Για τη γεωγραφία της περιοχής βλ. κυρίως το γνωστότερο και πληρέστερο έργο των Philippson και Kirsten 1959, 200-300.

4. Holmberg 1944, 26, 110-2. Ålin 1962, 73. Hope Simpson και Dickinson 1979, 82-3.

5. Kalogeropoulos 1998.

6. Σπυρόπουλος 1982, 113-6. Σπυρόπουλος 2000, 13-6. Blackman 1996-97, 33-6.

7. Howell 1970, 79-127.

8. Σε αυτές πρέπει να προστεθεί ο Αγιολιάς του Καντρέβα (βλ. Forsén *et al.* 1999, 179-83). Ο Β. Forsén είχε την καλοσύνη να μου υποδείξει τη θέση κατά τη διάρκεια του συνεδρίου. Επίσης η Γ. Αλεξοπούλου παρουσίασε στην ανακοίνωσή της στο ίδιο συνέδριο άλλη μια θέση, το Φιλομάτι Κλειτορίας (βλ. Αλεξοπούλου 1997, 296). Έτσι οι θέσεις ανέρχονται συνολικά στις 44.

Όπως έχει παρατηρηθεί, οι περισσότεροι μυκηναϊκοί οικισμοί η εγκαταστάσεις βρίσκονται πάνω σε χαμηλούς, φύσει οχυρούς λόφους ή στις πλαγιές τους, στις παρυφές εύφορων πεδινών εκτάσεων. Συχνά οι λόφοι αυτοί μοιάζουν με 'ακροπόλεις'.⁹ Αρκετές από τις πόλεις των κλασικών χρόνων φαίνεται ότι είχαν κατοικηθεί παλαιότερα (Πικέρνης-Γκορτσούλι, Ορχομενός, Φενεός, Στύμφαλος), αλλά τα στοιχεία που έχουμε για την κατοίκησή τους κατά τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους είναι ανεπαρκή, ώστε να τεκμηριώσουμε αν όντως πρόκειται για σημαντικές θέσεις ή για το κέντρο μιας ευρύτερης περιοχής. Ελάχιστοι είναι οι οικισμοί που βρίσκονται μέσα σε πεδιάδες (Ψηλή Βρύση-Βατιώνα, Αλέα-Παλαιοχώρι και το ιερό της Αλέας, που ίσως λειτουργούσε ως λατρευτικός χώρος από τους μυκηναϊκούς χρόνους).¹⁰ Και σε αυτή όμως την περίπτωση οι θέσεις περιβάλλονται από λόφους. Δε λείπουν πάντως και θέσεις με ίχνη οχύρωσης.¹¹

Οι θέσεις εμφανίζουν μεγαλύτερη πυκνότητα στη λεκάνη των Καφυνών και του Ορχομενού και στον κάμπο της Τεγέας. Αραιότερη είναι η κατοίκηση στη Μαντινεία με τους οικισμούς να διατάσσονται στις παρυφές της πεδιάδας, γεγονός που αποδίδεται στην αδυναμία αποστράγγισης των λεκανοπεδίων της ανατολικής 'κλειστής' Αρκαδίας. Υδρογεωλογικές μελέτες του Πανεπιστημίου του Μονάχου στη Στύμφαλο,¹² στη Φενεό,¹³ στον Ορχομενό,¹⁴ στη Μαντινεία¹⁵ και στην τεγεατική¹⁶ υποστηρίζουν την πιθανή αναγωγή αποστραγγιστικών έργων στα μυκηναϊκά χρόνια και εντοπίζουν ομοιότητες στην κατασκευή με τα αντίστοιχα, αν και πολύ μεγαλύτερης κλίμακας, έργα στην Κωπαΐδα. Η μυκηναϊκή οικονομία ήταν κατά βάση γεωργοκτηνοτροφική. Είναι πολύ πιθανό λοιπόν ότι οι Μυκηναίοι προέβησαν σε επεμβάσεις αποξήρανσης και εκμετάλλευσης των πεδιάδων, μακρινή απήχηση των οποίων ενδεχομένως αποτελούν οι μύθοι οι σχετικοί με τους άθλους του Ηρακλή. Δυστυχώς όμως οι υποθέσεις δεν έχουν ακόμη επιβεβαιωθεί ανασκαφικά.

Η βόρεια, η δυτική και η νότια Αρκαδία παραμένουν σε μεγάλο βαθμό ά-

9. Hope Simpson και Dickinson 1981, 2.

10. Voyatzis 1995, 281. Jost 1985, 368-70.

11. Ίχνη 'κυκλώπειων' τειχών αναφέρονται από τα Κιόνια-Στύμφαλο (;) (Catling 1982-83, 23, Knauss 1990, 27), και από τον Πικέρνη-Γκορτσούλι (Hope Simpson και Lazenby 1970, 93 και πίν. 8 b), ενώ ο Χρ. Χρήστου βρήκε ίχνη τειχών και στο Παλαιόκαστρο-Αγία Σωτήρα (Daux 1958, 717), πληροφορία όμως ανεπιβεβαίωτη. Πιθανότατα σε αυτές πρέπει να προσθέσουμε το Χελμό και τη Δημητσάνα.

12. Kalcyk και Heinrich 1986, 5-8. Knauss 1990, 40 κ.εξ.

13. Kalcyk και Heinrich 1986, 11 κ.εξ. Knauss 1990, 32 κ.εξ.

14. Knauss 1988, 36. Knauss 1989, 117-9. Knauss *et al.* 1986, 583-611.

15. Knauss 1989, 107-41.

16. Kalcyk και Heinrich 1986, 13-4. Knauss 1988, 26-36. Knauss 1989, 120-1, 136.

γνωστες. Περισσότερες θέσεις καταγράφονται στη λεκάνη των Καλαβρύτων, κατά μήκος του Βουραϊκού. Οι οικισμοί στην κοιλάδα του ποταμού φαίνεται να αποτελούν τυπική μορφή προϊστορικών κοινοτήτων με φανερό τον αγροτικό τους χαρακτήρα. Η κοιλάδα προσχώνεται συνεχώς από το ποτάμι και το έδαφος αν και ορεινό, είναι εύφορο. Παρά αυτά τα πλεονεκτήματα η κατοίκηση δεν δείχνει να ήταν ιδιαίτερα πυκνή. Οι κλιματολογικές συνθήκες και το μεγάλο υψόμετρο συνηγορούν στη διαπίστωση ότι ήταν εποχική.¹⁷ Στο υψίπεδο των Λουσών φαίνεται ότι οι καταβόθρες δε λειτουργούσαν πάντα αποτελεσματικά και το οροπέδιο πλημμύριζε κατά περιόδους. Ίσως σε αυτό να οφείλεται ότι οι προϊστορικές θέσεις στην περιοχή είναι σχεδόν ανύπαρκτες, παρότι όπως ήδη αναφέρθηκε πρόκειται για εύφορη περιοχή στην οποία αναπτύχθηκαν οι Λουσοί, σημαντικό κέντρο της βόρειας Αρκαδίας έως τα ελληνιστικά χρόνια. Δεν αποκλείεται επίσης η περιοχή αυτή να ήταν δασωμένη στα προϊστορικά χρόνια, πράγμα που θα απέτρεπε την κατοίκηση. Η περιοχή του Χελμού και ειδικά τα οροπέδια που σχηματίζονται στην αλπική ζώνη ερευνηθήκαν εντατικά από τον Αδ. Σάμψων, αλλά δυστυχώς δεν εντοπίστηκαν ίχνη προϊστορικής παρουσίας.¹⁸

Στη δυτική Αρκαδία η κατοίκηση εμφανίζεται επίσης απελπιστικά αραιή, γεγονός που αποδίδεται μάλλον στην αδυναμία της έρευνας παρά στην πραγματικότητα και η περιοχή εξετάζεται στη συνέχεια σε συνάρτηση με την κερραμεική.

Το νότιο τμήμα, η περιοχή της Μεγαλόπολης δηλαδή, με εξαίρεση την Ασέα, ίσως τη νοτιότατη περιοχή του Χελμού και δυο-τρεις διάσπαρτες στο χώρο θέσεις, που μνημονεύονται στη διατριβή του Γ.Α. Πίκουλα,¹⁹ η οποία όμως είναι προσανατολισμένη στην ανεύρεση θέσεων των ιστορικών χρόνων, παραμένει *terra incognita*. Επίσης η βόρεια λακωνική, παρουσιάζει αρκετά κενά. Η Πελλάνα αποτελεί σαφώς μια σημαντική θέση ή διοικητικό κέντρο, η παρουσία του οποίου μπορεί να επηρέασε την κατοίκηση στην ευρύτερη περιοχή και σε τμήμα της νότιας Αρκαδίας, ωστόσο η μορφή των σχέσεων των δυο περιοχών παραμένει απροσδιόριστη.

Τέλος η κεντρική Αρκαδία, γύρω από τον ορεινό όγκο του Μαινάλου εντάσσεται στις περιοχές με ανεξιχνίαστη την τοπογραφία τους και για τα ιστορικά χρόνια. Για τα προϊστορικά εκτός από τις ελάχιστες μνείες του Howell²⁰ κυριαρχεί απόλυτο σκοτάδι.

Η κερραμεική προσφέρεται συνήθως για τη συναγωγή ασφαλέστερων πορι-

17. Σάμψων 1997, 368.

18. Σάμψων 1997, 357-9.

19. Πίκουλας 1988, 115-7, 119-21, 135, 159.

20. Howell 1970, 100 αρ. 49.

σμάτων. Σε αντίθεση με αυτή τη διαπίστωση έρχεται το γεγονός ότι η κεραμεική από την Αρκαδία είναι ελάχιστα γνωστή. Το πρόβλημα από το κενό της βιβλιογραφίας επιτείνει το είδος της κεραμεικής. Η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία της είναι χονδροειδής, αδιακόσμητη, επαρχιακού ρυθμού και προϊόν τοπικών εργαστηρίων. Η επείσακτη και για αυτό αναγνωρίσιμη κεραμεική καλύπτει μικρό ποσοστό και αποτελεί κατά κύριο λόγο προϊόν ανασκαφής. Από τα ευρήματα των ανασκαφών, λοιπόν, επιβεβαιώνεται σε γενικές γραμμές το συμπέρασμα ότι η κεραμεική της Αρκαδίας και στα μυκηναϊκά χρόνια είναι κατώτερης ποιότητας και μάλλον επαρχιακού ρυθμού, αν και δε λείπουν οι εκπλήξεις που ανατρέπουν το γενικό αυτό κανόνα. Οι μόνες δυο θέσεις που έχουν δώσει σημαντική ποσότητα, αλλά και ποιότητα κεραμεικής είναι η Ανάληψη και το Παλαιόκαστρο.

Κάποια γενικά χαρακτηριστικά είναι η σπανιότητα καθαρών, ανοιχτόχρωμων πηλών, όπως αυτοί της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας, και η έλλειψη διακόσμησης στα περισσότερα όστρακα. Ακόμη όμως και όταν υπάρχει διακόσμηση λείπει η στιλπνή, ζωηρή βαφή.²¹ ΥΕ Ι και ΙΙ υλικό από τις ανασκαφές στην Ασέα και την Ανάληψη, όπως ανακτορικοί πιθαμοφορείς και ένας κύαθος με δακτυλιόσχημη λαβή και επιμελημένη διακόσμηση, φανερώνει σχέσεις από την πρώιμη μυκηναϊκή περίοδο με την Αργολίδα.²² Εξάλλου από το υλικό δε λείπουν οι μινωικές επιδράσεις (π.χ. αμφορέας με ωσειδές στόμιο και διακόσμηση με ανεστραμμένες σπείρες), που πραγματοποιούνται ίσως μέσω του Αγίου Στεφάνου ή των Κυθήρων.²³ Μια σφαιρική πιεσμένη πρόχους της ΥΕ ΙΙΑ διακοσμημένη με σπείρα από το Παλαιόκαστρο και ένα κύπελλο Βαφειού της ΥΕ ΙΙΒ με διακόσμηση με φολιδωτό από το Σφακοβούνι, που εκτίθενται στο Μουσείο της Τρίπολης, αποδεικνύουν ότι και η δυτική Αρκαδία δεν ήταν αποκομμένη από τον μυκηναϊκό κόσμο.

Με βάση κυρίως την κεραμεική από το Παλαιόκαστρο, η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία της οποίας ανήκει στην ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ μέση και ύστερη φάση, είναι σαφής η σχέση της Δυτικής Αρκαδίας με την Αχαΐα και την Ηλεία²⁴ και η ένταξή της στην Δυτική Κοινή της ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδας,²⁵ γεγονός φυσικό αφού η θέση, στις όχθες του Αλφειού, βρίσκεται πάνω στο φυσικό δρόμο για την Ηλεία. Στη σχέση με τη δυτική Ελλάδα παραπέμπουν και τα ξίφη τύπου Naue II που συνόδευαν ταφές πολεμιστών.²⁶ Τα ευρήματα του Παλαιόκαστρου συνδυά-

21. Howell 1970, 113-4.

22. Τα όστρακα από την Ασέα ίσως είναι απευθείας εισαγωγές από την Αργολίδα, αντίθετα τα αγγεία από την Ανάληψη θεωρούνται προϊόντα ντόπιων εργαστηρίων. Howell 1970, 113.

23. Mountjoy 1999, 296.

24. Πρβλ. Παρλαμά 1974, 49-50.

25. Papadopoulos 1978-9, 131, και Papadopoulos 1995, 201.

26. Papadopoulos 1978-9, 178. Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994, 180. Demakopoulou και

ζουν όμως και μινωικές επιδράσεις, ιδιαίτερα εμφανείς στα σχήματα και τη διακόσμηση των ψευδόστομων αμφορέων πολυποδικού ρυθμού. Πιθανότατα δεν πρόκειται για εισαγωγές, αλλά για απομίμηση κάποιου τοπικού εργαστηρίου, που υιοθετεί μινωικά σχήματα (π.χ. κυλινδρικά αλάβαστρα με ψηλό σώμα, κάλαθοι, κύπελλα με προχολή) στα οποία όμως πλειοψηφούν τα μυκηναϊκά διακοσμητικά θέματα. Αν μάλιστα λάβουμε υπόψη ότι τα μινωικά στοιχεία λείπουν από τα ευρήματα της Αχαΐας και της Ηλείας, τότε μάλλον αποδίδονται σε επιδράσεις από τη Λακωνία ή πιθανότερα τη Μεσσηνία.²⁷ Δημιουργείται έτσι ένα κράμα από επείσακτα αλλά και τοπικά στοιχεία, που καταλήγουν στη διαμόρφωση ενός τοπικού επαρχιακού ρυθμού.

Η διάλυση της ΥΕ ΠΙΒ 'κοινής' στα τοπικά εργαστήρια της ΥΕ ΠΙΓ είναι ένα στοιχείο, που επιβεβαιώνει τη διάσπαση της κεντρικής εξουσίας και τη διείσδυση του 'εξωανακτορικού' παράγοντα στη διαμόρφωση της τελευταίας μυκηναϊκής περιόδου. Αλλά εκείνο που θεωρείται ιδιαίτερα ενδεικτικό είναι η διαπιστωμένη ανασκαφικά αύξηση των πληθυσμών στη λεγόμενη περιφέρεια του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου. Η Αργολίδα και η Μεσσηνία, που αναμφισβήτητα ήταν τα δύο κύρια μυκηναϊκά κέντρα στην Πελοπόννησο, δοκιμάζονται. Οι Μυκήνες και η Τίρυνθα ξεπερνούν τη δοκιμασία και αναβιώνουν. Για την Πύλο όμως το χτύπημα είναι τελειωτικό, όπως και για την υπόλοιπη Μεσσηνία, με τα μέχρι σήμερα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα. Η Λακωνία εμφανίζει επίσης μια μείωση στον αριθμό των εγκαταστάσεων μετά την ΥΕ ΠΙΒ. Αντίθετα η Αχαΐα παρουσιάζει ακμή και πληθυσμιακή αύξηση, ενώ και η Ηλεία δε φαίνεται να επηρεάζεται άμεσα από την καταστροφή. Αν πράγματι οι καταστροφές στα ανακτορικά κέντρα στο τέλος της ΥΕ ΠΙΒ οφείλονται στη διόγκωση της δυσφορίας των υπηκόων και στη συνακόλουθη 'κατάρρευση του συστήματος', τότε είναι φυσικό η Αχαΐα, η Ηλεία και η Αρκαδία, που δεν έχουν να επιδείξουν ανακτορικά κέντρα, να δοκιμάζονται λιγότερο. Στους περισσότερους συνοικισμούς η μετάβαση από την ΥΕ ΠΙΒ στην ΥΕ ΠΙΓ γίνεται ομαλά, ενώ παράλληλα αναπτύσσονται και νέες θέσεις, όπου καταφεύγουν πρόσφυγες από την Αργολίδα ή τη Μεσσηνία.²⁸ Η κατάρρευση του ανακτορικού συστήματος λοιπόν, και η συνακόλουθη αλλαγή των οικονομικοκοινωνικών συνθηκών οδήγησαν τους κατοίκους των διοικητικών κέντρων και υπαγόμενους στην κεντρική εξουσία στην πρωτογενή οικονομία. Οι ορεινές περιοχές, όπως η Αρκαδία και ιδιαίτερα η Γορτυνία και η περιοχή των Καλαβρύτων ενδείκνυνται για κάτι τέτοιο. Επικρατεί βέβαια η άποψη ότι οι πληθυσμοί αυτοί

Crouwel 1998, 274. Blackman 1996-97, 33. Πρβλ. επίσης το άρθρο του M. Cultraro στον παρόντα τόμο.

27. Mountjoy 1999, 296. Σημειώνει όμως ότι τα νεκροταφεία της Πελλάνας και της Επιδάουρου Λιμηράς δεν έχουν δώσει αντίστοιχο υλικό.

28. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 176.

χρησιμοποίησαν την Αρκαδία ως πέρασμα και καταφύγιο, δεν εγκαταστάθηκαν εκεί, αλλά προτίμησαν την Αχαΐα και την Ηλεία.²⁹ Πάντως το εκτεταμένο νεκροταφείο στο Παλαιόκαστρο αποτελεί εξαίρεση σε αυτή την παρατήρηση.

Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι η Αρκαδία είναι ο μόνος νομός της Πελοποννήσου, που συνορεύει και με τους υπόλοιπους έξι. Η ίδια η γεωγραφική της θέση, στην καρδιά της Πελοποννήσου, την καθιστά σημείο συνάντησης και αναγκαστικό πέρασμα για όποιον κινείται στον κατά μήκος ή κατά πλάτος άξονά της. Από την άλλη, αυτή η ίδια θέση την αναγκάζει να έχει κοινά σύνορα με όλα τα υπόλοιπα πελοποννησιακά 'κράτη', στα περισσότερα από τα οποία άκμασαν ανακτορικά κέντρα (Αργολίδα, Μεσσηνία, Λακωνία). Η Αρκαδία δεν έχει να επιδείξει ως τώρα κάποιο ανακτορικό συγκρότημα ή κάποιο σημαντικό διοικητικό κέντρο, με εξαίρεση ίσως την Ανάληψη, στην οποία έχει ανασκαφεί και ο μοναδικός θολωτός τάφος.³⁰ Μοιάζει λοιπόν με μια 'περιφέρεια' ή ορθότερα 'επαρχία' αν και γεωγραφικά περιβάλλεται από σημαντικές εστίες του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου. Ενδεχομένως λοιπόν τουλάχιστον οι μεθόριες περιοχές της να εντάσσονταν στη σφαιρα επιρροής σημαντικών κέντρων, που βρίσκονταν έξω από αυτή. Έτσι η ανατολική Αρκαδία έως την ΥΕ ΙΙΒ σαφώς παρουσιάζει δεσμούς με την Αργολίδα και κατ' επέκταση με τη ΒΑ Πελοπόννησο, η νότια με τη Λακωνία και τη Μεσσηνία και η ΔΒΔ με την Αχαΐα και την Ηλεία, τουλάχιστον κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ. Ο ακριβής χαρακτήρας των σχέσεων και ο βαθμός επίδρασης είναι πολύ δύσκολο να διευκρινιστούν με τα μέχρι στιγμής δεδομένα.

Η μετάβαση στην υπομυκηναϊκή και πρωτογεωμετρική εποχή είναι ασαφής, δε φαίνεται όμως να παρουσιάζει σημαντικές διαφορές από το τέλος της περιόδου στην υπόλοιπη Πελοπόννησο, ακόμη και αν στην Αρκαδία διατηρήθηκε η αχαϊκή διάλεκτος.

Η φυσική διαμόρφωση της Αρκαδίας ευνόησε την ανάπτυξη αγροτικών συν-οικισμών. Αναμφισβήτητα στην περιοχή είχε αναπτυχθεί σε μεγάλο βαθμό η εκτροφή αιγοπροβάτων, αφού ο ίδιος ο τόπος προσφέρεται για κάτι τέτοιο. Εκτός από κρέας και γαλακτοκομικά προϊόντα, το δέρμα και το μαλλί χρησιμοποιούνταν τόσο στην βυρσοδεψία, όσο και στην εριουργία, βιοτεχνικές δραστηριότητες σημαντικές για τη μυκηναϊκή κοινωνία.³¹ Βέβαια, αρκετά ερωτήματα μένουν εκκρεμή σε ότι αφορά τη μορφή της κτηνοτροφίας. Τα ορεινά βοσκοτόπια και οι δριμείς χειμώνες προϋποθέτουν τη μετακίνηση των βοσκών σε πεδινές περιοχές κατά τους χειμερινούς μήνες.³²

29. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 175 κ.εξ. Αντίθετα, η Παρλαμά 1974, 57, θεωρεί ότι στο Παλαιόκαστρο είναι πολύ πιθανό να σταμάτησαν φυγάδες από την Ηλεία.

30. Kalogeropoulos 1998, 9-16.

31. Ventris και Chadwick 1973, 322.

32. Μετακινήσεις βοσκών από τα πεδινά της Αργολίδας στα ορεινά της Αρκαδίας και αν-

Αναμφισβήτητα η περιοχή χρειάζεται πολλή και συστηματική δουλειά ακόμη, η οποία σε πρώτη φάση μπορεί να προσανατολιστεί στην έρευνα της υπαίθρου. Δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι στην Ηλεία παρατηρείται μεγάλη συγκέντρωση οικισμών κατά μήκος του Αλφειού και κυρίως στη συμβολή του με τον Κλαδέο, καθώς επίσης και στην εύφορη γη της κοίτης Ήλιδας, που τη διαρρέει ο Πηνειός.³³ Σε αυτή την παρατήρηση εδράζεται και η πεποίθηση ότι και στη Γορτυνία, στα οροπέδια και στις λεκάνες κατά μήκος του Λάδωνα και του Αλφειού, η κατοίκηση θα ήταν σίγουρα πυκνότερη από την εικόνα που έχουμε σήμερα.³⁴ Ενδεχομένως, λοιπόν, η έρευνα πρέπει να προσανατολιστεί κυρίως στη δυτική και ΝΔ Αρκαδία, περιοχές ούτως ή άλλως πλημμελώς ερευνημένες και για τους ιστορικούς χρόνους.

Παράλληλα με τις ανασκαφές επιβάλλεται η μελέτη και η δημοσίευση του ήδη υπάρχοντος υλικού, ώστε να δημιουργηθεί μια πιο στέρεη βάση πάνω στην οποία θα στηριχτεί η νεώτερη έρευνα.

Ο χάρτης καθώς και ο κατάλογος δεν είναι πλήρως ενημερωμένοι. Πρέπει να προστεθούν δύο ακόμη θέσεις (Τσούκα και Λαγκώματα) στην περιοχή του Φενεού (βλ. G. Erath, "Neolitische und bronzezeitliche Keramik aus dem Becken von Pheneos in Arkadien", στο F. Blakolmer (εκδ.), *Österreichische Forschungen zur Ägäischen Bronzezeit 1998*, Akten der Tagung am Institut für klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien 2.-3. Mai 1998: 111-8. Wien). Για νέες θέσεις στην περιοχή της Ασέας και παρατηρήσεις στην κεραμική βλ. A.-L. Schallin, "The Prehistoric Period — Conclusions. The Late Bronze Age", στο J. Forsén, B. Forsén *et al.*, *The Asea Valley Survey. An Arcadian Mountain Valley from the Paleolithic Period until Modern Times*, 177-82. Stockholm.

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τίστροφα σημειώνονται ήδη από την Ανώτερη Νεολιθική II και με αυτές συνδέεται η εξάπλωση της πρωτοβερνικωτής κεραμικής (Jakobsen 1984, 33). Μέχρι πρόσφατα εξάλλου οι κτηνοτρόφοι της ΒΑ Πελοποννήσου μετακινούνταν τα καλοκαίρια στους ορεινούς βοσκότοπους της Αρκαδίας. Παρόμοιες μετακινήσεις γίνονταν και στο δυτικό τμήμα: μεγάλες ομάδες ανθρώπων, που διαχειμάζαν στα πεδινά της Ηλείας, μεταφέρονταν στα υψίπεδα του Χελμού και στη Γορτυνία, όπου παρέμεναν από την άνοιξη έως το φθινόπωρο (Σάμψων 1997, 324, 394-7, 411-3).

33. Παρλαμά 1974, 25, εικ. 1.

34. Εξάλλου και η ΝΔ Αρκαδία, κυρίως η περιοχή της Λυκόσουρας, που συνδέεται με πολλούς αρχέγονους μύθους (Παυσ. 8.38.1 και 8.41.2), δεν έχει δώσει μέχρι τώρα στοιχεία προϊστορικής κατοίκησης.

ΕΠΙΜΕΤΡΟ: Κατάλογος ΥΕ Θέσεων – Catalogue of LH Sites

1. Αρχαία Φενεός (πρώην Καλύβια): Πύργος. (Ancient Pheneos, formerly Kalyvia: Pyrgos.)
2. Κιόνια: Αρχαία Στύμφαλος. (Kionia: ancient Stymphalos.)
3. Κανδήλα: Μπίγκιζα. (Kandhila: Bigiza.)
4. Χωτούσσα: Άγιος Γεώργιος. (Khotoussa: Ayios Yeorgios.)
5. Βλαχέρνα (πρώην Μπεζενίκος): Πέτρα. (Vlakherna, formerly Bezenikos: Petra.)
6. Βλαχέρνα (πρώην Μπεζενίκος): Πλέσσα. (Vlakherna, formerly Bezenikos: Plessa.)
7. Ορχομενός (πρώην Καλπάκι): Ακρόπολη. (Orchomenos, formerly Kalpaki: the acropolis.)
8. Ορχομενός (πρώην Καλπάκι): Μύτικας. (Orchomenos, formerly Kalpaki: Mytikas.)
9. Αρτεμίσιο (πρώην Κακούρι): Προφήτης Ηλίας. (Artemisio, formerly Kakouri: Profitis Ilias.)
10. Πικέρνης: Γκορτσούλι. (Pikernis: Gortsouli.)
11. Νεστάνη (πρώην Τσιπιανά): Πανηγυρίστρα. (Nestani, formerly Tsipiana: Panigiristra.)
12. Λουκάς: Άγιος Γεώργιος. (Loukas: Ayios Yeorgios.)
13. Άνω Δαβιά: Κάστρο. (Ano Davia: Kastro.)
14. Μερκοβούνι: Αγιολιάς. (Merkounouni: Ayiolias.)
15. Θάνας: Στόγια. (Thanas: Stogia.)
16. Στάδιο (πρώην Αχούρι): Άγιος Κων/νος. (Stadio, formerly Akhuri: Ayios Konstantinos.)
17. Αλέα (πρώην Πιαλί): Ναός Αθηνάς Αλέας. (Alea, formerly Piali: temple of Athena Alea.)
18. Βουνό. (Vouno.)
19. Ψηλή Βρύση (πρώην Μάνεσι): Βατιώνα. (Psili Vrysi, formerly Manesi: Vationa.)
20. Αλέα (πρώην Πιαλί): Παλαιοχώρι(α) ή Συνοικισμός. (Alea, formerly Piali: Palaiokhori(a) – Synoikismos.)
21. Αλέα (πρώην Πιαλί): Σαρανταπόταμος. (Alea, formerly Piali: Sarantapotamos.)
22. Μανθυρέα (πρώην Καπαρέλι): Παναγία. (Manthyrea, formerly Kapareli: Panayia.)
23. Κάτω Ασέα (πρώην Φραγκόβρυση): Παλιόκαστρο. (Kato Asea, formerly Frangovrysi: Paliokastro.)
24. Αθήναιον (πρώην Αλίκια): Άγιος Γεώργιος. (Athenaion, formerly Alikia: Ayios Yeorgios.)
25. Κολλίνες: Κουρνιακός-Ρούσ(α) Απιδιά. (Kollines: Kourniakos-Rous(a) Apidia.)

26. Λεοντάρι. (Leondari.)
27. Ποταμιά: Βάλτος. (Potamia: Valtos.)
28. Σκορτσινού: Χελμός. (Skortsinou: Khelmos.)
29. Γιακουμαίικα (Λογκανίκου): Γιάννακας. (Yiakoumeika: Yiannakas.)
30. Γιακουμαίικα (Λογκανίκου): Κανελάκι. (Yiakoumeika: Kanelaki.)
31. Καλάβρυτα: Μονή Αγίας Λαύρας. (Kalavryta: Ayia Lavra Monastery.)
32. Κέρτεζη: Ράχη Ρουμάνη. (Kertezi: Rakhi Roumani.)
33. Λαγοβούνι: Ασφακοβούνι. (Lagouni: Asphakouni.)
34. Καστριά: Σπήλαιο Λιμνών. (Kastria: Spileo Limnon.)
35. Καστριά: Κάστρο. (Kastria: Kastro.)
36. Κάνταλος: Αρνούγκα. (Kandalos: Arnouga.)
37. Άγιος Πέτρος: Ιερό “Αφροδίτης Ερυκίνης”. (Ayios Petros: sanctuary of “Aphrodite Erykine”.)
38. Δήμητρα (πρώην Δίβριτσα): Τρούπες. (Dhimitra, formerly Dhivritsa: Troupes.)
39. Καρβούνι (πρώην Καλύβια της Λάστας): Σφακοβούνι. (Karvouni, formerly Kalyvia Lastas: Sfakouni.)
40. Δημητσάνα. (Dhimitsana.)
41. Παλαιόκαστρο: Αγία Σωτήρα και Παλαιόπυργος. (Palaiokastro: Ayia Sotira and Palaiopyrgos.)
42. Φιγάλεια (πρώην Παύλιτσα): Κουρδουμπούλι. (Phigaleia, formerly Pavlitsa: Kourdhoubouli.)

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Χάρτης θέσεων ΥΕ Αρκαδίας (οι αριθμοί αντιστοιχούν στο επίμετρο) / Map of LH Arcadia (the numbers correspond to the sites of the appendix).

II. ARCADIAN RELIGION

Rural Religion in Ancient Arcadia: A Methodological Approach

Maria Cruz Cardete del Olmo

Reality, understood as Truth, is a concept always subject to revision. Through landscape archaeology and the postprocessual trends in archaeology, we can develop the idea of 'mental landscape', which gives to perception a very important role in the creation of different realities. If we apply the concept of mental landscape to the study of religion in ancient Arcadia we will find that the temple at Bassai was a focal point for establishing an identity against the enemy. This meaning was decisive for building the landscape. Therefore, Pan's sanctuary at Mount Parthenion is the result of ideological construction by the elite. The elite knew the role of the mountain in popular imaginery and used it in support of its own interests. So, landscape is really a construction of the world.

1. Methodological approaches.

Religion has been understood as one of the most conservative human expressions, as an area opposed to change, very close to ritual practices whose origin would be – according to Mircea Eliade – *in illo tempore*. For a long time, the methodology of history of religion has not attached much importance to change.

My starting point is the opposite: religion is a construction, in the same way as any other social expression. For that reason, it must be studied using a methodology that attaches adequate importance to change.

Consequently, as a process, as dynamic expressions of social needs, religious beliefs are constructions of a specific time and space. These, space and time, are parts of an identity that men, as active individuals, build in conformity with their customs, their society and their environment.

The philosophical approaches of the 1960s have now become an object of historical study. Postmodernism – understood as an attitude and not as a closed, theoretical system – has not only denied that the concept of Truth is ontolo-

gically relevant, but it has also undermined the very concept of Reality. The issue is not any more to investigate Reality but, rather, how the realities were built and how their makers perceived them.

Archaeology has adopted many postmodernist approaches. Through landscape archaeology, the various types of postprocessual archaeology, and with contributions from radical geography, cognitive psychology and sociology and perceptual psychology, it has been able to join the study of religious beliefs and the analysis of perception. That is one of the bases of my research: mental landscapes.

So, what is a mental landscape? From my point of view, it is a construction of perception made in a specific historical time and space. The entire society, with its conflicts and interactions, builds it. It is, expressed more simply, what we perceive when we look at it. For example, in the mid-5th century B.C. several monuments were built at Mount Lykaion. It was a great physical transformation of space, a re-construction of the religious world following new political, economical, social and religious needs. However, they also rebuilt and changed the space and the image that people had of this space; not only the place but also the landscape. In Dennis Cosgrove's words: "Landscape is not only the world that we see, it is a construction, a composition of this world. It is a way of looking at the world."¹

Perception acts on the physical elements that constitute parts of the landscape in order to build realities. Thus, we cannot separate what we have decided to call 'Reality' from what people perceive as real because – at the end – reality is only a changing way of looking, only a perception. Thus, to the Phigaleians the temple at Bassai was equally real as Apollo's existence. We must not distinguish between the real landscapes and perceived or imaginary ones because both are identical: existential landscapes.

Perception becomes the builder of vital experiences, as Hodder says, because the simple act of looking at the world is something active, a way of making sense of experience.² Perception is a language with syntax, morphology and codes of communication constructed by those who need it in order to establish a relationship with the world. These codes are not simply passive recipients of constructed realities, but are themselves builders. As expressed by J.C. Barret and his "postmodernist anthropology", the word or its canonical meaning is not so important because that meaning changes every time that the word is used. What is really important, is the meaning that the word takes when someone uses it and someone else listens to it.³ The challenge is to proceed beyond the canonical

1. Cosgrove 1984, 13.

2. Hodder 1985, 2.

3. Barret 1991, 1.

code and try to understand the word in its cultural context in order to understand better the realities constructed by men and women in the past and in the present.

These theoretical questions require an eclectic methodology. I try to demonstrate that the theoretical basis of landscape archaeology and the various postprocessual disciplines allow us to analyse with historical method ancient religious beliefs through the images that they built.

2. From theory to practice

2a. *The extraurban sanctuary as a representation*

Generally speaking, an extraurban sanctuary is a meaning, a representation. It symbolizes the power of the community, defines the limits of its territory, and it is like a spot, as opposed to what is far away.

Its importance as a concept goes beyond the mere material characteristics of an altar or a building. Without any doubt, the terminological accuracy of what I call, *grosso modo*, extraurban sanctuaries⁴ is very important for the analysis of the religious space of a community. But this work has been and is being made by well-known scholars. In my experience, I only use this expression in a broad meaning. I refer to those sanctuaries and/or sacred localities which, far away from the inhabited centres of the community, help to define its territory. Thus, both the temple of Apollo at Bassai and the small sanctuaries that mark out the mountains of Phigaleia respond to the same need: arrange territories in order to control them, always justified by divine will.

Extraurban sanctuaries are used to create the community. They are the final bastions of the social group, as opposed to the wild nature. They are a focal point of identification when facing a political enemy, a meeting point with neighbours at the occasion of religious holidays, the refuge of fugitives and travellers and, frequently, the womb that turns ephebes into citizens. They are to the community, to the social body, the same as the *agora* is to the *polis*: its centre of reproduction, its mark of identity.

These sanctuaries need a specific place in order to change this place into a part of the social landscape. The limits of the territory are suitable for this because the extraurban sanctuary is the answer to two types of needs: political

4. The terminology is very varied. Depending on geographical, ideological and social factors we can speak of extraurban, extramural, political, rural, peripheral, ethnic sanctuaries. I would like to emphasize some works concerning this issue: de Polignac 1984 and the revised edition, de Polignac 1995; Snodgrass 1980; Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999; Voyatzis 1999; Edlund 1987; etc.

control over a territory, and domestication of the mythical space. That space belonged to the gods. Therefore, the building of an extraurban sanctuary involves a radical transformation of space. The choice of the locality, the deity and the type of sanctuary, as well as the choice whether to build monuments there or not and of what type, are decisions which physically represent various social situations and interests, a hierarchical order, and power relations that may need to be emphasized.

An interesting example to demonstrate how landscape archaeology can help us to understand better a territory and its images is the well-known sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai. I am going to focus on the function of the sanctuary as a representation of the community against foreigners.

Bassai was the most important sanctuary of the Phigaleian community⁵ and a great image for the Arcadians, a sacred expression of the alliance between Arcadians and Messenians against the Spartans. The earliest remains of cult are from the first years after the First Messenian War, ca. 725-700 B.C. The first temple and the first evidence of an important cult activity appear from about 650 on, some years after the defeat of Phigaleia and Eira to the Spartan power. About 575, 25 years after the new defeat at Eira to the Spartans, the temple is rebuilt. There is a new reconstruction about 500, again in a time of war. The construction of the final temple by Iktinos begins in 429. It is interrupted from 421 to 415 by the Spartan pressure against Phigaleia. In 414 the works continue and are concluded by 400, when the territory is invaded by Agis.

Avoiding the discussion whether there were four successive temples here or only two,⁶ it can be said that every increase of building or ritual activity coincides with the periods of war or warlike tension with the Spartans. Moreover, the temple is dedicated to a deity devoted to fighting: Apollo Epikourios.⁷ Bassai is not simply a temple. It is a sanctuary in a more or less peculiar landscape, but also an extraurban sanctuary: an identity signal, an expression of power, a conquest and a physical and mental reconstruction of a territory. Such

5. The discussion about Arcadian political and social organisation is complicated and extensive. I use the general word 'community'. More information is given in the papers published by Nielsen and Roy 1999; Jost 1986; Burelli Bergese 1995; Roy 1972.

6. Was there a remodelling of a previous structure, or a building of a new temple? There is a discussion between Cooper, who believes that there were four temples (Cooper 1996), and Kelly 1995, Voyatzis 1990, 37-43 and *ead.* 1999, 136-8, who think that there were only two temples: the first, built at the end of the 7th century, and the classical temple by Iktinos.

7. I follow Cooper 1996, 2. He thinks that the warlike character of Apollo Epikourios is related to mercenaries. Jost, on the other hand, suggests that the epithet Epikourios refers to a healing cult, as Thucydides states. The war would be a first priority, but there is no relation to mercenaries (Jost 1985, 485-7).

a sanctuary represents the community, because its enlargement helped to build a specific mental landscape: the reality of a powerful community, strong against its enemies.⁸

If perception is able to build landscape and reality, are not then the physical place where the sanctuary is built or the deity who is chosen for it, important? Absolutely not, because the chosen places are answers to the spiritual and physical needs of the community. These needs are involved in a network of meanings composed by each of the elements that constitute a part of it. By these means a way of looking and a subject of observation are constructed, one specific mental landscape and not another.

Concerning Bassai, Phigaleia needed new places to represent the fight against Sparta and the alliance with Messenia, as well as its social and cultural identity. For this, Bassai was a perfect place. On one hand, it is located on the axis of a mountain range with plenty of sacred spots (Mount Kotilon to the north, Mount Lykaion to the northeast, Berekla to the east) and roads connecting Arcadia with Messenia. Although we do not admit Cooper's hypothesis that the temples of Artemis and Aphrodite were included in the same sacred planning as Bassai,⁹ the relation between the different sacred spots in this mountain range is one of the elements that help to build landscape, supporting the perception of the place as sacred, identifying, common. A landscape is not created only by a temple, a sanctuary, a rural settlement, or a road. The elements which build a landscape are not lost in the middle of nowhere, but landscape it in a context, involving spatial and cultural relations, a historical dimension that can include the localities in a meaningful whole.¹⁰ On the other hand, the place was very meaningful also to the Messenians because Mount Eira, south of Bassai, was used by them as a refuge against the Spartan threat.

In addition to the physical confluence of Arcadian and Messenian frontiers and roads in a special geographical area, Bassai was located on a transhumance road. The sanctuary protected the political and military alliance between Messenians and Arcadians. Moreover, it took care of the security of a very important economical activity for such mountain communities as Phigaleia.

8. Cardete 2003.

9. Cooper 1996, 58-61.

10. The archaeological concepts 'non-site' and 'off-site' are very important in this discussion, as we can see in Cherry *et al.* 1991 or Dunneil 1992.

2b. *The mountain as perception*

Arcadia is a particularly mountainous area. That contributes to shape the ways of life of its inhabitants. The mountain was a source of raw materials for daily life – wood, charcoal, stone; a privileged economical environment – hunting, husbandry, gathering; a space for human and political meetings and confrontations – warlike skirmishes, stations on trading routes.¹¹ As an essential place for survival, it is logical that the mountain attracted people who needed it. It developed a complex mixture of images, where the material reality of the mountains was perceived with less intensity than the conception that people had of it.

What did this conception include? It is not a question of mere orography. The Greeks used the word for mountain, *oros*, both for Mount Lykaion, whose highest summit reaches 1420 m, and the Kronion hill at Olympia, with only 123 m. 'Mountain' is conceived as an opposition, the other side of the mirror; it is far away from the *polis*, *asty* or *kome*, but still makes part of the human environment. It is sacred in its own right; it is bigger than mankind. Literary sources describe the mountain as a dangerous and ancient place. Mountains encourage violence; they are the setting of bloody deaths, like Actaion's, and/or deaths *contra naturam*, like Callisto's. Rites that take place in the mountains reflect this cruel, barbarous atmosphere. Mount Lykaion is a good example because every kind of outrage is to be found on its summit: human sacrifice, cannibalism and lycantrophy. I do not want to discuss the historical truth of these images; there are several studies about this.¹² For understanding how a mental landscape is built, it is more important to know if people believed in that reality. As for the question whether humans were sacrificed or not on Mount Lykaion, literary sources seem to show that the Greeks believed it;¹³ and in that sense the sacrifices are real. Those sacrifices are used as a way of building a landscape, and thus as a way of building reality.

Although the mountain may seem to be a place where the rules of human coexistence are broken, it is connected with human communities by many links. It is a meeting point for men and gods, a centre of social and economic reproduction. Processions, which connect the mountain summit with the core of the community, are both physical and mental representations of the gathering of

11. An interesting study of Arcadian economy, with an analysis of mountains, is found in Roy 1999. See also Buxton 1992, who discusses the interaction between economical and religious interest in mountains.

12. The question of human sacrifice at this site has been discussed by Borgeaud 1979; Hughes 1991; Bonnechere 1993 and 1994; Georgoudi 1999; etc. See also the papers by Gundersen and Zolotnikova in this volume.

13. Paus. 8.38.7; Plin. *HN* 8.81; Ps. Plat. *Min.* 315 c; Porph. *Abst.* 2.27.2; Pl. *Resp.* 565 d; etc.

both worlds. These worlds were always connected by contrast: each defines the other. Thus, Mount Lykaion's werewolves returned to an existence as animals, but this was in order to maintain their community at the opposite side of the mirror.

When circumstances change for rural communities because of the development of poleis and new power relations that draw a more complicated and extensive landscape, mountain cults decline or change towards different realities, as stated by de Polignac.¹⁴ Mountains are no longer limits of human environment, but peripheral localities. Landscape is understood in a different way. The material elements are the same, but the perception of them has changed. A rebuilding of mental landscapes takes place.

One example of the essential role of perception is offered by Mount Parthenion. The mountain is on the highway from Tegea to Argos. It is a key point in a very important road-network with an interesting economical dimension. People from Tegea consecrated there two sacred spots with a strong sense of identification in order to distinguish themselves from others. On one hand, there is the sanctuary of Telephos, a Tegean hero whose adventures were sculpted in the metopes of the principal temple of Tegea, the temple of Athena Alea. On the other hand, there is a sanctuary of Pan, the most particularly Arcadian god. The characteristics of both sanctuaries described by Pausanias¹⁵ are typical of mountain sanctuaries. Each sanctuary materializes, in one way or another, the images that participate in the building of a mountain landscape, as much as the physical height by itself. The sanctuary of Telephos commemorates an event which took place in mythical time: Auge, daughter of king Aleos of Tegea, priestess of Athena Alea, was raped by Heracles and became pregnant. To avoid Athena's rage the baby was abandoned on Mount Parthenion. Telephos did not die, but was suckled by a hind. Heracles sent some shepherds, and they took care of him until the boy wanted to know about his origin. The story of the child-hero who is abandoned in order to die, his encounter first with a friendly animal and then with some generous shepherds who take care of him, is a mythological topic, and in Greece the setting is almost always a mountain. The mountain is perceived as a meeting place of realities that would not necessarily meet, but they attract each other and have a common space on the summit, far away from human rational action. Man changes realities at the very same time as he covers them with his mental ideas. It is a way of understanding and living the world.

The mountain is not like the temple, the cult statue, the votive offerings or

14. de Polignac 1998, 148.

15. Paus. 8.54.6-7.

any other human creation.¹⁶ Pausanias says: “Mount Parthenion also rears turtles most suitable for the making of harps, but the men on the mountain are always afraid to capture them and will not allow strangers to do so either, thinking that they are sacred to Pan.”¹⁷ Parthenion is Pan’s mountain because the very existence of the mountain is sacred. Turtles cannot be caught because they are Pan’s, because the mountain is his territory.

The Tegeans used the religious argument to build an identifying landscape because such an argument was very strong. Religious beliefs and faith in the gods modify – in a very different and easily manipulated way – the way of looking at the world and the way of perceiving it, understanding it and controlling it. We see what we want to see, and religion is – almost by definition – what we want to see in the world. A system of belief that does not develop some way of altering, changing and maintaining the perceptions that people have about the world will mess up. Again Mount Parthenion provides a good example.

Everybody knows the story told by Herodotos and Pausanias about Pheidipides’ meeting with Pan at Mount Parthenion.¹⁸ How was that myth born? Several scholars have considered that the messenger might have had a hallucination.¹⁹ According to my point of view, the Athenian aristocracy used, very cunningly, images of mental landscapes in order to create a myth that satisfied determined political interests.²⁰ In a pre-war atmosphere, Athens needed to reinforce the alliances with the Arcadians, the most important mercenary soldiers in Greece. Athens had to strengthen its relations with Tegea, a politically very important *polis*. In spite of the strong conflict between Sparta and Tegea, the Athenians had to remember that Tegea did not always have bad relations with Sparta.²¹

One way of reinforcing ideologically the Athenian-Tegean relationship was the construction of a myth manipulating collective perceptions. First of all, the meeting between the god and the messenger does not take place in any casual setting but in a very special one: at a mountain perceived as sacred, or, differently expressed, a focal point of the Greek religious landscape that people saw as a meeting place. It is an ambiguous space where man could communicate with divine forces, a place chosen by the gods for appearing to poor humans. Se-

16. Very interesting studies of sacred mountains in Buxton 1994; see also Buxton 1992.

17. Paus. 8.54.7.

18. Hdt. 6.105 and Paus. 1.28.4.

19. Parke 1933, 172; Dodds 1973, 115; Borgeaud 1979, 133-62, although he thinks that there are political and economical reasons to explain Pan’s success in Attica in the 5th century.

20. Cardete 2004, 215-22.

21. This can be checked in Thuc. 4.134; 5.32; 5.57, 5.64-78; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.7; 4.2; 4.13-21; 5.1.33; 5.4.37; 6.4.18 and 6.5.6-7.

condly, the meeting takes place at Mount Parthenion, Tegea's sacred mountain, the focal point of the Tegean landscape and consecrated to the most popular god in Arcadia and the identifying Tegean hero. So, the meeting between Pheidippides and Pan stands for establishing a connection between Athens with her civic symbols and Tegea with hers. These new elements enrich the landscape and, when they interact with other elements, they build realities.

Mount Parthenion, Lykaion, Mainalon, Lampeia... these and other mountains are seen as sacred, focal points of power, basic elements for communities which believe in their sacred status. However, not every mountain was perceived as sacred. This difference of conception between similar physical realities adds force to the power of a culturally based perception towards creating an understanding of the world.

3. Conclusion

Religion is a key element in defining a society. It is an active part in the process of building a landscape. Ideological interests have wanted to make landscape into something aesthetic, picturesque and timeless, but it is also a process, a construction, a human decision with a very strong symbolic aspect. Human perception breaks up, crushes and undermines what we have called, in an artificial way, 'Reality'. If we admit that 'Reality' is only a concept that changes according to historical circumstances, in the same way as any other concept, we will arrive to mental landscapes.

The Arcadians lived their world according to their own laws, their moral, political, economical, institutional and religious references. In the same way they understood the world, built their world, shaped their reality and lived their own landscapes.

Existential landscapes, mental landscapes, religious landscapes... everything defines the same issue: the way in which a community builds its world.

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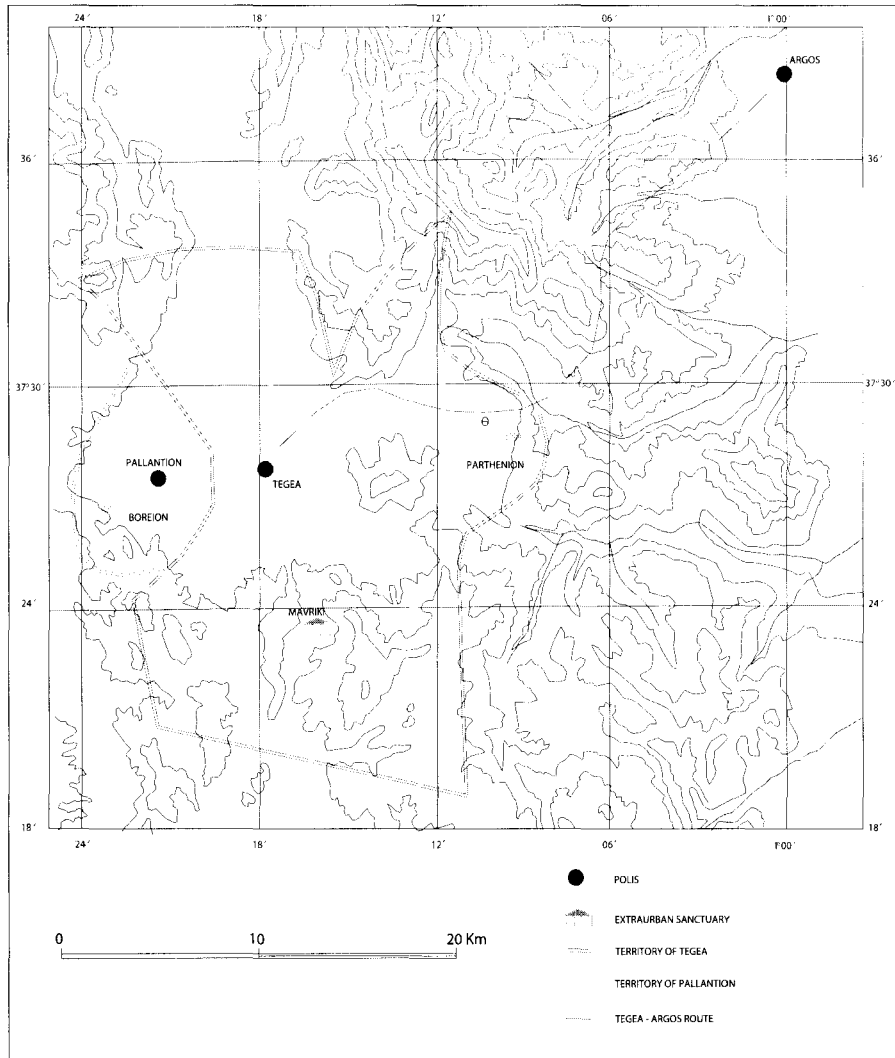


Fig. 1. Phigaleia and its territory. (Drawing: author, based on map from the Hellenic Statistical Service.)

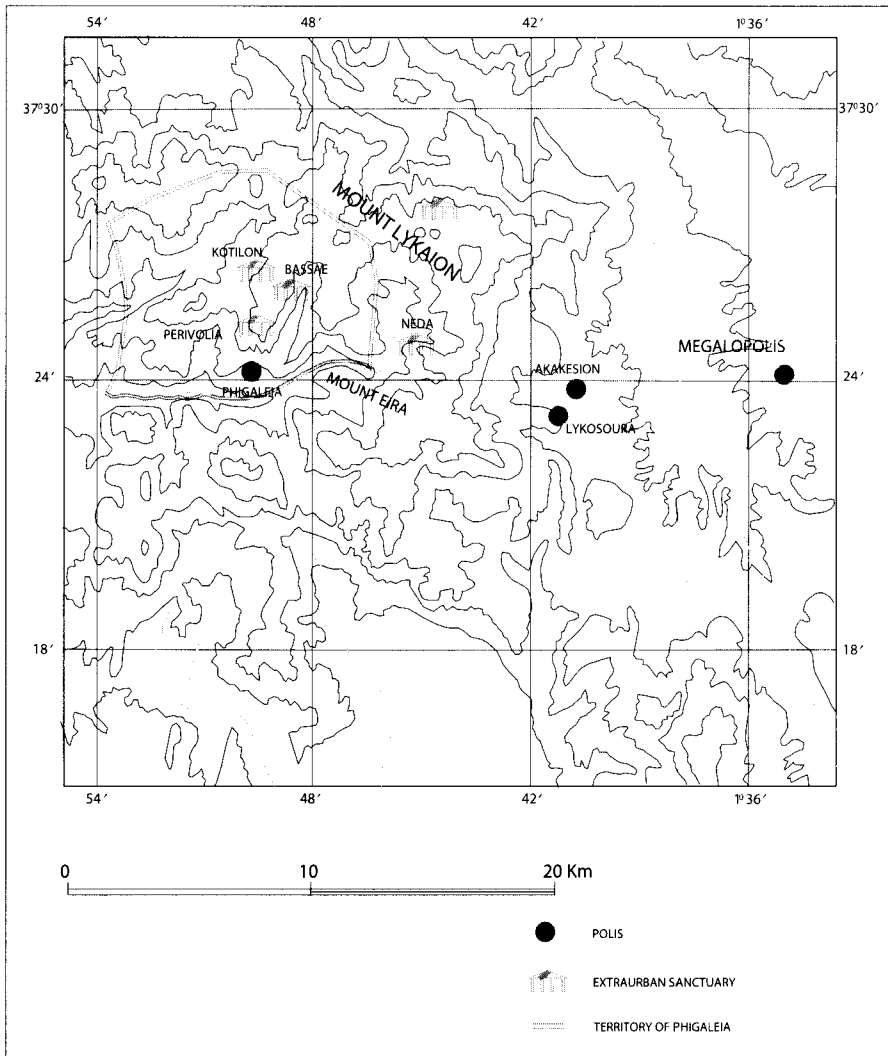


Fig. 2. The sacred area of Mount Parthenion. (Drawing: author, based on map from the Hellenic Statistical Service.)

**Traces of Tribal Puberty Initiation
in Arkadian Religion**
A Survey of Pausanias' Tales

Berit Gundersen

This article explores one possible area of continuity from ancient times in Arkadian religion, namely how myths may reflect Arkadian rituals for inclusion of young girls and boys into society. In Pausanias' eighth book, we find at least 20 narratives about deities, heroes and kings' sons and daughters and more than 100 additional phenomena typical for such coming-of-age rituals: Hunting/chasing/wooing, abduction/rape/holy wedding with or without resulting childbirth, beauty contests, body scars, trans-dressing, hair-cutting, swimming, bathing, episodes of madness and purification. The myths, *i.e.* the ceremonies, take place in caves, springs and rivers, and involve nymphs and nurses. Myths involve dancing, contests and specific musical instruments. Both participants and gods assume the form of such animals as horses, bears, wolves, birds, deer and fish. Artemis is mostly represented as protectress of young children, and so are Apollon, Hera and Athena, while Poseidon, Zeus, Hermes, Pan, Asklepios and Athena are born, and/or reared in Arkadia. Demeter and Poseidon celebrate holy weddings in disguise and have children.

My assumption is that puberty initiation was a very important celebration in past as well as contemporary tribal societies and always involves ancestors and deities. Traces of the initiatory complex are found not so much in archaeological documents as in the structure of the tales of the society which explain the cultural inheritance. Pan-Hellenic as well as native Arkadian deities play an abundant part in the tales reflecting passage rites in Pausanias' eighth book.¹

1. According to Brelich 1969, 476, each deity plays a role in and is perhaps established from the initial institution. Ucko 1962, 47, and elsewhere, has interpreted prehistoric artefacts as figures connected with initiations, and Sættersdal 1995 describes equipment from African initiation rites today. Initiation of African girls: Turner 1968.

The wolf-pack

The second king of the Arkadians, Lykaon, sacrificed a human baby on the altar of Lykaian Zeus. Immediately after the sacrifice he was changed from a man to a wolf, and “ever since the time of Lykaon a man has changed into a wolf at the sacrifice to Lykaian Zeus, but the change is not for life; if, when he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, after nine years he becomes a man again, but if he tastes human flesh he remains a beast for ever”.²

My assumption that this is a tale about an initiation rite is based on two testimonies from Hellenistic time. First, it is said that the Olympic boxing champion Damarkhos changed into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lykaian Zeus and became a man again nine years after. Another story tells about one family where a young boy was regularly selected to undress and swim across a lake, disappear into the wilderness, become a wolf and live among the wolves for eight years. If he had abstained from human meat he could then swim back across the lake, take his clothes on and become human again.³

The nine years' period as well as the role of the wolf in initiation are well known items from Indo-European material,⁴ and also from Greek myths and the Homeric poems.⁵

Beautiful maidens

Penelope has a grave outside Orkhomenos near the stadium where Ladas had exercised. Close by is a sanctuary to Artemis. Games are typically developed from initiations,⁶ and the grave indicates a cult of the primordial maid of the society. The girl is often the king's daughter or a priestess of Artemis, the divine protectress of the group.

Kallisto is the daughter of one primordial king, Lykaon, and the mother of another, Arkas. Perhaps she is also a priestess of Artemis, with whom she hunted when Zeus mated with her. Her grave lies close to the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste*.⁷ Hera turned Kallisto into the bear that Artemis shot.⁸

I will assume that both bear and wolf and other animal motives indicate the wild state of the initiatory candidates during the seclusion phase of the passage

2. Paus. 8.2.3.

3. Paus. 6.8.2; Plin. *HN* 8.81-82, after Varro.

4. Bremmer 1978; Burkert 1983, 84-93; Buxton 1987 and 1988.

5. Odysseus was of Arkadian ancestry through his grandmother Neaira. He went hunting with his grandfather Autolykos, the wolf, son of Hermes, when he got the scar on his thigh like a typical initiation candidate: Hom. *Od.* 19.392-395.

6. Paus. 8.12.5. See Dowden 1989, 133, and Burkert 1983, 92.

7. Paus. 8.35.8; 8.3.6. Atalanta's race-course is not far away: 8.35.10.

8. Paus. 8.3.6; he states that he repeats the current Greek legend.

rites and the rural surroundings consisting of mountains, borders and purifying waters.

Kallisto's name ("The most beautiful") reminds us of the beauty contests that were a part of the initiatory rituals all over Greece⁹ – also in Arkadia, in Basilis, where king Kypselos gave his daughter away in marriage. Among the ruins of Basilis are the remains of the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter and some stades away, in Bathos, they celebrated the mysteries to the Great Goddesses close to a spring, the river and a fire.¹⁰ Marriage in myth reflects the celebration of rites for incorporating young people in the society, Demeter protecting the marriage and mature women.

...and the hero...

Aristokrates was stoned¹¹ because he raped the young priestess at the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnía "who has been worshipped by all the Arkadians from the most remote time". After this they never appointed a virgin priestess, and the priests in this sanctuary lived their lives in purity. The name of the goddess might indicate a celebration of song and dance. The Orkhomenians and Mantineans shared the sanctuary and the celebrations were annual.¹² Aristokrates' grave is in the same area, and beneath Orkhomenos there are heaps of stones along the road, "commemorating men who fell in war."¹³ Near the city of Orkhomenos is the large cedar tree of Artemis Kedreátis, "The Lady of the Cedar", with a wooden statue of her. As a parallel, "the Lacedaemonian maidens hold chorus-dances" around the image of another tree-goddess, Artemis Karyátis.¹⁴

Water plays a part in the story of Auge, the daughter of king Aleos, who had intercourse with Herakles north of the temple of Athena Alea at the fountain not far from the stadium where they celebrated the Alean Games. Auge is also said to have arranged nocturnal dancing celebrations.¹⁵ While her grave is in Pergamon,¹⁶ the version of the story where she gives birth on the way from the

9. Paus. 8.5.6; 8.29.5; Ath. 13.609 e-f; Calame 1997, 122; 138 n. 140.

10. Paus. 8.29.1. Fire seems to have a meaning of purification. Artemis *Pyrónia* has a sacred fire: Paus. 8.15.9. See for the probable location of these sites the paper by A.V. Karapanagiotou in this volume.

11. Dowden 1989, 139, argues that stones in initiation are connected with punishment and purification.

12. Paus. 8.5.11-12; 8.13.1.

13. Paus. 8.13.3.

14. Paus. 8.13.2 (The Lady of the Cedar); 3.10.7 (Artemis *Karyátis*).

15. Paus. 8.4.8; 8.47.4; Dowden 1987, 133 n. 34, dances; Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 336, nocturnal; Moses Chor. *Progymnasmata* 3.3; Nauck *ad Eur. frags.* 265-281.

16. Paus. 8.4.9.

sanctuary to the market place might reflect a procession ceremony from Athena Alea to the temple of Eileithyia surnamed “Auge on her knees” (*en gónasi*).¹⁷ The variation in the stories about her son tells us that the primordial maiden is central to such stories. Interesting archaeological objects for our case from the sanctuary of Athena Alea, such as male and female figurines, have mostly been found in the area north of the temple, where the fountain lies.¹⁸

Auge had two parallels in Mantinea. One is Phialo,¹⁹ whose father put her out to die on the mountain with the child she had conceived with Herakles, who saved mother and child next to a spring with help from birds. Second is primordial Antinoë,²⁰ who has a tomb called “Common Hearth” (*hestía koiné*) in the centre of the town.

Cults of divine mothers and sons

Birth, upbringing and even death are typical ingredients of the tales the Arkadians tell about their gods, and the divine mothers play just as important a role as the mortal maidens.

Zeus’ birth myth speaks of Methydrion, “Between the waters”, where Rhea came and enlisted Hoplados and his few giants as her allies, in case Kronos should attack her. They allowed her to give birth somewhere on Mount Lykaion. On the summit of the mountain is Rhea’s cave, which may only be entered by women who are sacred to the goddess,²¹ just like the grove of Demeter “in the Marsh” (*en élei*).²² Zeus had his childhood in Arkadia: he was bathed after birth in a river therefore called Lousios,²³ and several nymphs are connected with his infancy.²⁴ On the market-place of Tegea he has an altar and a square image as Zeus *Teleíos*, “Fullgrown”.²⁵

The birth of Poseidon seems to have been celebrated in the Mantinea district²⁶ on “The Untilled Plain” (*to pédion to argón*) near Nestane, where the water disappears into a chasm in the earth. “The Untilled Plain” is also known as

17. Paus. 8.48.7.

18. Voyatzis 1998, 136-9, e.g. the nude female of the 12th century B.C. with her hands to her breasts; Jost 1985, 373-4, a hydrophore and a man with the head of an animal.

19. Paus. 8.12.2-4.

20. Paus. 8.8.4; 8.9.5.

21. Paus. 8.36.2-4; 8.38.2 where Zeus was reared.

22. Paus. 8.36.6.

23. Paus. 8.28.2.

24. Paus. 8.31.4: at Megalopolis, the nymph Neda holds him; 8.38.3, Mount Lykaion, Theisoa, Neda and Hagno are said to have reared him. At Tegea Oinoe carries the child: 8.47.3.

25. Paus. 8.48.6.

26. Paus. 8.7.2.

“The Dancing Floor of Maira” (*chorós Maíras*), who is the daughter of Atlas and has a grave in a village named after her in Mantinea and equally in Tegea.²⁷ Near the Untilled Plain is a well called “The Lamb” (*Arne*) because Rhea after giving birth to Poseidon laid him among the lambs while she went to Kronos, telling him that she had given birth to a horse, and gave him a foal to swallow instead of the child.²⁸ At Pheneos, Odysseus honours Artemis *Heurhíppa*²⁹ because she helped him to find his mares, and then makes an offering to Poseidon *Híppios*. At Tegea, Athena is called *Híppia*.³⁰ A *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* is mentioned on Linear B tablet 312 = An 1281 from Pylos, where Poseidon was the main god.³¹

Holy weddings and divine daughters

Closest to Poseidon *Híppios* in cult is Demeter. She has a sanctuary with a festival outside the ruins of Nestane. The same couple was most likely celebrated outside Mantinea with horse racing – where Demeter has a grove on Mount Alesion, named after Rhea’s wandering, and Poseidon *Híppios* a sanctuary beneath it. In another part of Mantinea, near Melangeia, they celebrate rare orgies of Dionysos.³² Beside his megaron and the well there is also a sanctuary of a likewise rare Black Aphrodite, reminiscent of the Black Demeter of Phigalia; these are all chthonic deities in some way connected with human marriage. On the borders of Thelpousa, by the Ladon, as well as on Mount Elaïon outside Phigalia, Demeter celebrates a holy wedding with Poseidon *Híppios*, and as a result the Mistress, Despoina, is born.³³ At Thelpousa her name *Erínys* indicates that she goes back at least to Mycenaean times, and *Lousía* that she was purified after giving birth.

The old image of Black Demeter had the head of a horse, and she had a dove and a dolphin in her hands. At the annual sacrifice, three young ‘sacrificers’,³⁴ as in an initiatory procession, accompany her priestess.

At Pheneos is the sanctuary and rites of Demeter called the Eleusinian. Every two years they perform the Greater Rites, when the priest puts on the mask of Demeter *Kidaría*. Most likely this name goes back to the instrument and thus also to the dance performed by young girls undergoing initiation. According to

27. Paus. 8.12.7-8 (Mantinea); 8.48.6 (Tegea).

28. Paus. 8.8.1-2.

29. Paus. 8.14.5.

30. Paus. 8.47.1.

31. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 483.

32. Paus. 8.8.1 (Nestane); 8.10.1-2 (Mount Alesion); 8.6.5 (orgie of Dionysos).

33. Paus. 8.42.1-5 (Phigalia); 8.25.2-8 (Thelpousa); the sanctuary of the Eleusinian Demeter (8.25.2).

34. Paus. 8.42.11-12.

Pausanias,³⁵ the priest then beats the “Underground Folk” (*hypochthonioi*). In Alea³⁶ they celebrate every two years the feast *Skieria* to honour Dionysos, where women are flogged, “just as the Spartan lads are flogged at the image of the Orthian goddess”. Sexual intercourse, purification, animal motives, mask, beating or flogging as well as music instruments and processions are typical ingredients of initiatory feasts.

Birth and upbringing – even death – of young gods

Hermes in Arkadia has much in common with the initiation candidate, including myths of birth and growing up and a close relationship with the hero – the young dead.

The legend tells that by the Three Springs on the boundary between Pheneos and Stymphalos, Hermes was washed after birth by the nymphs from the nearby mountains.³⁷ On the top of Mount Kyllene, where the Homeric Hymn to him says he was born, is the temple of Kyllenian Hermes, with an image of the god made of juniper wood. Mount Khelydorea³⁸ nearby was the place where the hymn says that he found the tortoise he made his lyra from. The divine child was reared with Akakos son of Lykaon as his foster-father, and was thus called the Akakesian, while Zeus made him the *kourotrophos* of Arkas.³⁹ Hermes is the most important god in Pheneos,⁴⁰ and he is worshipped with his son Myrtilos, who has a grave behind his father’s temple. The legend tells how Myrtilos wooed Hippodameia. Beneath Pheneos is the stadium where the people celebrate games called Hermaia, and near by is the tomb of Iphikles, the brother of Herakles, with a grave-cult. Iphikles was wounded in battle and then nursed before his death by the Pheneate Bouphagos. Another tradition says that Bouphagos was shot by Artemis because he tried to rape her once on Mount Pholoë, and he has himself a river named after him west of Gortys. In Tegea, the temple of Hermes *Aipytos* is close to the temple fountain where Auge had intercourse with Herakles, and to the stadion.⁴¹ In addition to being a prototypical initiation candidate himself, Hermes seems to be involved in celebrations of passage for both sexes.

In Thelpousa are the sanctuary of Boy Asklepios (*pais*)⁴² and the tomb of his

35. Paus. 8.15.1-4.

36. Paus. 8.23.1.

37. Paus. 8.16.1-2 (the grave of Aipytos).

38. Paus. 8.17.1-2,5.

39. Paus. 8.36.10. The place is not far from Lykosoura and the temple of Despoina. Hermes is also represented with the Great Goddesses and Kore in their temples in Megalopolis (8.31).

40. Paus. 8.14.9-12; 8.27.17 (Gortys).

41. Paus. 8.47.4.

42. Paus. 8.25.11: close to the sanctuary of Erinys.

nurse, Trygon. Asklepios was exposed in Thelpousa when he was a little boy and was found by Autolaos, the illegitimate son of Arkas, who reared him. In Megalopolis Boy Asklepios has another sanctuary, and here together with his father, Apollon.⁴³ Also in his temple by the river Bouphagos, Asklepios is a beardless youth.⁴⁴ Other sources also give him graves⁴⁵ both in Arkadia and at Epidauros.

Another candidate for initiation is the native god Pan. In the temple of Zeus *Lykeíos* in Megalopolis he is named *Sinóeis* after his nurse, and in the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura he is tended by nymphs.⁴⁶ An inscription next to the images of Pan and Apollo in the enclosure sacred to the Great Goddesses in Megalopolis says that they are among the first gods. By their pastoral profiles, Pan as well as Hermes can also be likened to Apollo *Kereátas*, and can then be compared with the old horned god from Cyprus, in Greece only known from the Aigyian territory in Arkadia.⁴⁷ On Mount Lykaion the young gods are represented together with father Zeus: Parrhasian Apollo with a grove and Pan with a sanctuary and games. Pan of the Nomian mountains discovered the music of the pipes.⁴⁸ In pan-Hellenic religion Apollon is called Nomian. Pan has his own sanctuary beneath the sanctuary of Despoina, where he is considered as equal to the most powerful gods; “in days of old” he gave oracles with Arkas’ wife Erato as his priestess.⁴⁹

Athena is worshipped at Alipheira together with Asklepios, and people say that she was born and bred among them.⁵⁰ In Teuthis⁵¹ she has a wounded thigh, as heroes often have: Odysseus, Herakles at Tegea, and Iphikles who was healed of his wounds. On the road from Teuthis there are hero graves, which indicate a cult of initiatory type, and Athena is worshipped as the protectress of ephebes. In Kleitor she is called *Koría*, as is Artemis in neighbouring Lousoi.

43. Paus. 8.32.5.

44. Paus. 8.28.1.

45. Jost 1985, 499 n. 9.

46. Paus. 8.30.3; 8.37.2.

47. Paus. 8.31.3 (Megalopolis, both with their instrument) and 8.34.5 (Apollo *Kereátas*).

48. Paus. 8.38.11.

49. Paus. 8.37.11-12. Dowden 1989, 129-35, sets several *aition* myths, also Arkadian, about young people serving as priests in connection with passage rites and not with normal priesthood.

50. Paus. 8.26.5.

51. Paus. 8.28.6-7 (Athena); Odysseus, see *supra* n. 5; Paus. 8.53.9 (Herakles). According to Bremmer 1978 the scar has a initiatory significance. Athena *Koría*, Paus. 8.21.4; Artemis, Callim. *Hymn* 3, 234. If Apollon *Epikóuriós* (Paus. 8.30.3-4; 8.41.7-9) is a helper in war (see Jost 1985, 485-7), he is of the same kind.

Divine maidens protect the young

Above Nonacris in the Aroanian mountains is the cave where the legend says that the daughters of Proitos fled when they were struck by madness.⁵² In this version of the story Melampous brought them down to Lousoi on the borders of Kleitor, where they were healed of their madness in a sanctuary of Artemis called *Hemerasía* by the Kleitorians. Nearby, men smeared with grease sacrifice to Dionysos, who is generally close to Artemis in cult. There is also a spring Alyssos that can cure men from madness. Like many other girls in myths, the Proitids smeared mud in their faces, became mad, were expelled from the society, wandered like wild cows in the mountains, hid in a cave and were cleaned in a spring or river.⁵³

Caves, madness, chasing and purification are well-known ingredients of initiation, and perhaps passage rituals for both sexes were celebrated in this area.

At Stymphalos, Hera has three sanctuaries: for “Girl”, “Grown Up” and “Widow” (*Pais, Teleía, Chéra*). The founder was Temenos son of Pelasgos who reared her;⁵⁴ the goddess is herself an initiation candidate, with fostering and a holy wedding.

By the waters of Stymphalos, the man-eating birds are bred which Heracles is said to have shot down – or he drove them away with the noise of rattles. In Stymphalos is the old sanctuary of Stymphalian Artemis, with a gilded wooden image of the goddess. Near the roof are the images of the birds, and behind the temple stand maidens of white marble, with bird’s legs, the best illustration of the affinity between young girls and wild animals chased for domestication. There is also a story of Artemis punishing the careless celebration of a festival in her honour there by turning the river into a lake, which only disappeared when a hunter chased a deer and both were swallowed by the waters. This indicates a celebration including the chasing of girls as birds and deer.

One legend from Tegea also seems to imply a ritual chasing. The story is about punishment for not helping Leto when she was in pain.⁵⁵ When Apollo and Artemis visited the house of the king Tegeates, one of his sons, Leimon, suspected his brother Skephrus of blaming him, and therefore killed him. Then Artemis punished Leimon by shooting him. A famine struck the land and the

52. Paus. 8.18.7-8. Jost 1985, 419-20 discusses the name *Hemerasía*; perhaps it is influenced from the name of the games, well attested in epigraphic sources. In other sources she is Artemis *Heméra*, “propitiator” or “healer”. According to Calame 1997, 117-8, *Heméra* signifies “taming”.

53. Paus. 8.19.2-3 (Alyssos); Dowden 1989, 103-4, gives other examples too. The archaeological material from the sanctuary includes a hydrophore and dancers (Jost 1985, 419-20), which indicates a classical initiatory feast connected with Artemis.

54. Paus. 8.22.2-4,7.

55. Paus. 8.53.1-4.

oracle of Delphi ordered mourning for Skephrus. During the feast of Apollo “Lord of the Streets” (*Agyieús*) rites are performed in honour of Skephrus, and in particular the priestess of Artemis pursues a man, pretending she is Artemis herself pursuing Leimon. Again it seems that masks have been used in a passage ritual.

In the Knakalesian mountains rare mysteries of Artemis are celebrated,⁵⁶ and not far from that place the legend tells how young boys playing with a rope attempted to hang the image of Artemis *Kondylea*. The inhabitants stoned them to death. When they had done this all the babies were still-born, until the Pythian priestess bade them bury the boys and sacrifice to them every year as sacrifice is made to heroes, because they had been wrongly put to death. The oracle also bade them change the name of the goddess to the “Strangled Lady” (*Apanchoméne*). Apart from implying ritual purification, stone-throwing as a primitive mode of battle is a suitable symbol of primitive liminality in initiatory cults.

The myth from the river Ladon outside Kleitor⁵⁷ about Daphne (“Laurel”) and Leukippos (“White Horse”) contains all the ingredients of rites of passage: trees, water, wooing, cross-dressing, hunting, young dead, and the deity involved is Apollo. There is also the element of growing the hair long in honour of the river Alpheios which resembles initiation myths from elsewhere in Greece: in Arkadia, outside Phigalia by the river Neda, where Rhea was cleaned after giving birth to Zeus, the boys cut their hair in honour of the river. Outside Megalopolis, another young boy, Orestes, does the same thing.⁵⁸ The river might carry associations with the ancestors, and of fertility and prosperity for the society where the young people are becoming an important part.

In Arkadian religion animals abound in myths and cult. A curious example is *Eurynóme*, half woman and half fish, believed to be an epithet of Artemis; she received sacrifices at the hot baths above Phigalia.⁵⁹ Outside the sanctuary of Despoina in Lykosoura dwelled her sacred deer;⁶⁰ they were also sacred to Artemis, here appearing with a deer’s hide, serpents and a dog.⁶¹ The drapery of Despoina carries images of a dolphin and of half animal and half human beings (or of humans with masks or animal’s heads), some playing the flute, as in an orgiastic dance⁶² or procession. Beside the young goddesses Despoina and

56. Paus. 8.23.4, 6-7. The story also reminds of the old tradition of hanging figurines in the trees, and perhaps dancing around them as the young girls in Laconia did (*supra* n. 14).

57. Paus. 8.20.2-3.

58. Paus. 8.41.3 (Rhea); 8.34.3 (Orestes).

59. Paus. 8.41.6.

60. Paus. 8.10.9.

61. Paus. 8.37.4.

62. Paus. 8.37.3; Vernant, 1991, 133 (the drapery). The flute-playing Pan had a sanctuary beneath that of Despoina: Paus. 8.37.11.

Artemis stands Despoina's foster-father, the titan Anytos,⁶³ and Demeter, mother of both. The father is present with the altar of Poseidon Horse.

Arkadian tales of young mortals and immortals, with rape, savagery, marriage and death, seem to reflect tribal puberty passage celebrations in rural sanctuaries with chasing, races and grave cults. Such elements as horses and foster-fathers may represent traces of the Indo-European origins. We have also seen that all deities may, in one way or another, be present in such cults.

An interesting testimony of the continuity of initiatory celebrations in Arkadia is given by Polybios,⁶⁴ who describes how men up to 30 years old, and girls as well, still in his time continued to praise their heroes and gods in the theatres by competitions, hymns and dances accompanied by orgiastic flute-playing.

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63. Paus. 8.37.5. The titan protecting Despoina reminds of how Hopladamos protected Rhea, while the kouretes on Crete protected Zeus as a child. The gigantomachy is said to have taken place in Bathos: Paus. 8.29.1.

64. Polyb. 4.20-21. He was himself an Arkadian of the 2nd century B.C. Brelich 1969, 208-15, interprets this as a musical *agon* and compares it with initiatory celebrations for boys and girls in archaic times in Sparta and Crete.

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The Woman Holding a Liver from Mantinea: Female Manteis and Beyond

Annette Hupfloher

A fragment of a life-size relief from Mantinea, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. no. 226), shows a woman with a liver in her hand traditionally interpreted as a priestess or a prophetess. This article maintains that it is an important piece of evidence in discussions of gender roles in ancient Greek society because it depicts a female *mantis* concerned with the inspection of the entrails of a sacrificial animal. Inscriptions from Larissa and Sparta show that this was not an exception but in all probability a widespread and common practice. Ancient and modern systems of classifying divinitory practices differ significantly.

In the exhibition rooms of the National Archaeological Museum of Greece at Athens there is a life-size relief from Arcadian Mantinea (inv. no. 226) representing a woman holding a liver in her hand.¹ (Figs. 1, 2)

This monument has not been treated very often. Scholarly attention has focused mainly on two issues, discussing basic questions concerning the ancient function and the local context of the object on one hand, dealing with the vexed problem whether the person depicted can be identified as a historical person on the other hand. I shall first give a short description of the object itself and of previous discussions concerning it, and will then proceed to locate the relief from Mantinea in a wider context of cultural history and gender roles in ancient Greek society emphasizing its significance as an important piece of evidence for the reconstruction of gender roles.

1. The photographs are by H.-R. Goette, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen (2000), who also supported my work by discussion and comments. An earlier version of this paper has been published, in German, in <http://www.farch.net> (16.03.2001). The relief was first published by Fougères 1888, 377-80; cf. Fougères 1898, 540-2; Svoronos 1911, pl. 199. The most detailed study is by Moebius 1934. Short discussions: Ridgway 1981, 141-2; Boardman 1985, commentary to fig. 172; Mantis 1990, 51 with pl. 18; Kron 1996, 143; Schefold 1997, 108-9.

The woman on the Mantinea relief is depicted standing, dressed in a heavy peplos, and looking to her right; the head is not preserved, and only traces remain of her elbow below the right breast, which show that the right arm was raised.

The lowest part of the relief is not damaged; it shows that the stone slab was 0.80 m wide. What remains of its height is 1.48 m, including 0.08 m for the plinth beneath the feet. The depth of the stone slab is also 0.08 m, and there are holes on the sides and on the relief ground; one hole is near her left shoulder, and there are traces of a dowel hole which cannot be seen in the photograph near her right breast, presumably to fix an object which she held in her raised, right hand.² Apart from the iconographical details of the *peplos* and the sandals there are two more distinctive elements in the representation: she holds the liver of an animal in her left hand (Fig. 3), and a palm tree was depicted in front of her right leg. The palm must have been almost equally high as the figure of the woman. Other elements of this composition are not preserved, as for example the object she held in her raised right hand and the shape of the top of the palm tree. This has consequences for the question whether the representation was continued on an adjoining slab on the left side – perhaps to give room for palm leaves on both sides. Confronted with open questions of this kind, we should be cautious when attempting to reconstruct the whole scene. The preserved elements of the image are not part of any known, typical composition to be found on grave-reliefs or on vases of classical times.³

A clear statement concerning the palm-tree is difficult to express because the meaning of the palm depends on the context in which it appears.⁴ At least in Attic iconography it can be associated with more than one god: with Apollo,⁵ presumably with Demeter,⁶ with Dionysos, Heracles, and in connection with an altar it would often indicate the sphere of female initiation rites under the

2. Hand raised in prayer: Moebius 1934, 47; Schefold 1985, 108.

3. Images of *extispicium* or hepatoscopy are rare. On Attic vases there is a series of some 20 examples from around 500 B.C. showing it as part of the scene called 'Kriegers Abschied': cf. Durand and Lissarague 1979, 92-108; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981; Bloch 1986; Van Straten 1995, 156-7.

4. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1985, 125; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 370; Laxander 2000, 37 n. 174.

5. Cf. Steier 1941, 402-3 (Apollo of Delos); Miller 1979, 6-18; Graf 1997, 467 (Apollo or Artemis).

6. Cf. Moebius 1934, 47-8 with fig. 2 (cf. Dugas 1910). Based on this fragmentary relief (allegedly from Eleusis, now in Paris, Louvre Ma 3580) showing an incubation scene with a palm-trunk and a sitting female, Miller (1979, 29-31) maintains that the relief from Mantinea has also to be connected with the local cult of Demeter and Core. But the relief from Mantinea does not show a goddess and it does not contain any hint of the two goddesses. Demeter, Core and Egyptian gods in association with palms: cf. Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 370.

protection of Artemis.⁷ To avoid circular argumentation, we should avoid⁸ connecting it with Apollo because of the liver,⁹ or with the trias of Leto, Artemis, and Apollo, although there is an ancient text mentioning a sanctuary of the Letoides near the agora at Mantinea (Paus. 8.9.1). Moreover, for our purpose, it is not important to know which deities might have been involved. On the relief from Mantinea, the palm can be understood in a more general sense as a sign for the location of the scene: outdoors, which does not necessarily imply simply 'nature' versus 'culture', it can also indicate a sanctuary.¹⁰ To confirm a more specific interpretation, we would need more and independent evidence, for example the depiction of an altar in combination with the palm.

The representation of the liver is partially covered by the woman's thumb; it shows two liver lobes and three projections on its top, described as follows:¹¹ a pyramidal one, which might indicate the part called the 'head' of the liver in antiquity, which was of special importance for the interpretation; a drop-shaped one, which should indicate the gall-bladder; and a semicircular one, of which only traces can be observed. If compared with other ancient representations of livers,¹² we can observe almost the same elements of the liver on the top side and roughly the same shape of the liver-lobes especially in highly stylized examples from Italy.¹³ The small group of Attic vase paintings depict hepatoscopy in a radically different way: an assistant boy holding big, fleshy objects presumably representing bovine livers and perhaps other entrails as well to be 'examined' by a departing warrior.¹⁴ When compared with a modern drawing of a sheep's liver¹⁵ the representation from Mantinea seems to show this type

7. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1985.

8. Cf. Jost 1985, 124; 131-2; 491.

9. E.g. Van der Meer 1979, 56 to no. 6.

10. Cf. Laxander 2000, 37 n. 174; Schefold 1997, 108 (sanctuary).

11. Parts of the liver: Thulin 1912, 2451; Rasmussen 2001, 165. Concerning the 'head of the liver', cf. e.g. Plut. *Cim.* 18.4 who explains the term. Its absence was regarded as an indicator of disasters to come; cf. Thulin, *loc. cit.*

12. Representations of livers from antiquity are rare. The nearest parallel to its shape is, as far as I know, the terracotta liver from Etruria, now in Rome, Villa Giulia, inv. 3786; cf. Van der Meer 1979, 61 fig. 7. Concerning the position of the liver in the hand of the interpreter, there are two almost exactly parallel examples: the seer on a gold-amphora from Panagjurishte (mus. Plovdiv), and an alabaster urn from Volterra (Mus. Etrusco Guarnacci 136); Van der Meer 1979, 63 fig. 13 and 64 fig. 20.

13. Highly stylized are the objects from Volterra, the famous liver from Piacenza, also the small representation of the liver on the golden amphora from Panagjurishte, the only example outside of the Italian/Etrurian context; cf. Van der Meer 1979.

14. Cf. *supra* n. 3.

15. Körte 1905, 352 fig. 1.

rather than the more complex shapes of the livers of other domestic animals,¹⁶ and thus it is presumably referring to the most common sacrificial victim in ancient Greece.

Hepatoscopy or, in a more general expression, hieroscopy as a technique of divination was not limited, as has often been assumed, to the western part of the Mediterranean. It was not a specifically Roman or Etruscan technique, but was widely used during animal sacrifice in Greece,¹⁷ and in other ancient cultures as well; in its simplest form it has only the purpose of checking that the sacrifice has been successful and will be accepted by the gods. For this reason, an image of a woman holding a liver in her hand clearly indicates her role: she is a ritual specialist trained in the examination and interpretation of entrails, a specialist who was called *mantis* in antiquity.

Previous scholarship

The woman depicted on the Mantinea relief is often described as a priestess.¹⁸ Another interpretation repeated from time to time identifies her as Diotima,¹⁹ the woman who taught Socrates according to Plato's *Symposion* (201 d). Diotima, as Plato also relates, came from Mantinea. As an instructor, she helped the Athenians to postpone the outbreak of a dangerous disease during the Peloponnesian War. But of course there is also a play on words in Plato, using the instrument of alliteration (or, better, a polyptoton): γύνη μαντική sounds like γύνη Μαντινική.²⁰ Was this a joke? Was Diotima of Mantinea a real person or a fictitious one, Plato's phantasy?

My objection to this approach is, of course, a methodological one: it cannot be proved whether the woman depicted is or is not Diotima, the teacher of Socrates. (Furthermore, it cannot be proved – something all feminists would enjoy – that Socrates had a female teacher at all.) Using philological and historical methods, we will get no answer,²¹ and archaeology will not change this

16. Cf. Nickel, Schummer and Seiferle 1975, 114-5.

17. Cf. Blecher 1905, 173-81; Nilsson 1967, 167; Stengel 1910, 74; Van Straten 1995, 156-7.

18. Moebius 1934, 47: "eine Priesterin Apollons, die sich auf die Opferschau versteht"; Neumann 1979, 43: "Priesterin"; Kron 1996, 142: "the priestess with the divinatory liver in her hand"; Schefold 1997, 108: "eine Priesterin, die bei der Opferschau in der Linken eine Leber hält".

19. Moebius 1934, 45 (summary of different positions). Cf. Wegener 1985, 126. Repetition, not necessarily with consent: Boardman 1985, commentary to fig. 172; Kron 1996, 143; Schefold 1997, 108.

20. The variant μαντικῆς is to be found in Vindobonenses 54 and 21: cf. the edition by L. Robin 1954 (Budé). Concerning the play on words which might have occurred latently in Plato, cf. Casewitz 1992, 3. Concerning the concepts of divination used by Plato, cf. Vicaire 1970.

21. Cf. Moebius 1934, 45; Bloch 1997.

picture: we have no further information bearing on this question. But the message of the relief from Mantinea can be expressed more precisely, and this will help to clarify the picture. In Plato's *Symposium*, Diotima is described as a wise woman and a religious specialist with the ability of postponing diseases. Like Empedocles and Epimenides, she can be considered a miracle-worker and a problem-solver who would be called upon by cities in moments of crisis.²² The woman on the relief from Mantinea, on the other hand, is depicted as someone concerned with interpreting a liver; the old description "la femme au foie" – the woman with a liver²³ – is therefore far more precise and is to be preferred against vague allusions to Plato, priests and prophecy. Although the ritual roles of a priestess and of an interpreter of signs – a *mantis* – could be combined in one person,²⁴ I want to stress that our image emphasizes the second aspect, the mantic one, and not simply her function as a priestess, which could have been indicated in the system of classical iconography by keys (of the sanctuary, of sacred treasuries) or by miniature depictions of the image of a goddess. These are both objects which she could not have held in her raised hand.²⁵

Using the method of stylistic comparison, the relief from Mantinea has been dated, with sufficient certainty, to the end of the 5th century B.C.²⁶ But there are many uncertainties concerning its ancient context and function: was it used as a votive relief or as a grave-marker? It was found in July 1887 during the French excavations at Mantinea near the theatre,²⁷ although not *in situ*. 'Near the theatre' means 'at the ancient *agora*', this much can be said with certainty; but, of course, we do not know whether the monument the relief belonged to was set up at this location.

Life-size representations of individuals were common as grave-markers in classical times, but were not used as votive reliefs²⁸ – as far as we know. Burials, on the other hand, were usually located outside of the settlement area, and certainly not in the *agora*. Since hero graves represent the one and only exception from the rule of extra-urban burial in classical times, can we consider

22. Cf. Burkert 1984, 44-5; Bremmer 1993, 153.

23. Fougères 1898, 540: "La «Femme au foie»".

24. Different roles of cult personnel: cf. Rüpke 1996.

25. Iconographical conventions of holding keys and miniature images: cf. Mantis 1990, 28-65 (*kleidouchoi*); 66-9 (*xoanephoroi*) with pl. 11; 6; 28; Kosmopoulou 2001, 294.

26. Moebius 1934, esp. 54; Karouzou 1979, 77; Ridgway 1981, 141; Boardman 1985, commentary to fig. 172.

27. Cf. Fougères 1888, 376; *id.* 1898, 540.

28. Cf. Moebius 1934, 54; Hausmann 1960, 47; Neumann 1979, 43; Schmaltz 1983, 139 and *passim*.

29. Neumann 1979, 43: "Grab- und gleichzeitig Weihrelief".

the relief from Mantinea to be part of a grave monument²⁹ for a heroine?³⁰ We do not know. The difficulty in interpreting a monument outside of its ancient and functional context is increased by the lack of comparable material from the Peloponnese, where votive reliefs as well as stone grave-markers were not as common in classical times as they were e.g. in Attica. I will therefore put an end here to these unsatisfactory considerations and continue with reflections on the person depicted, which will lead to more interesting perspectives.

Ancient and modern systems of classifying divination

The person on the relief from Mantinea is, as emphasized above, a person interpreting a liver, therefore identified as a person known as a *mantis* in ancient terminology. Even a superficial glance at modern books on ancient Greek culture shows the firm conviction of scholars that female *manteis* did not exist.³¹ There is a possible exception at Larisa, cited by Jan Bremmer,³² the author of the article on divination in the 1997 volume of *Der Neue Pauly*, but he seems to assume that this exception proves the rule rather than invalidate it. But now we have a second example from Mantinea, and I will give a third example later. The traditional position concerning gender roles in the field of divination which is held by Jan Bremmer, Matthew Dillon, and Philip Roth, the author of a monograph on *manteis*, and others, is based on an ancient concept of classifying techniques of divination forming two groups: we find inductive techniques like the interpretation of signs on one hand, and on the other intuitive techniques of divination like ecstatic prophecy. Over Pseudo-Plutarch³³ and Cicero's *De Divinatione*³⁴ this classification can be traced back to the school of Stoic philosophy.³⁵

Whereas the ancient concepts aimed to classify only the techniques, modern conceptualization has given this (innocent) model a social twist, stating that inductive and therefore 'rationalizing' techniques – the interpretation of lightning, earthquakes, miscarriages, animal's entrails, the observation of fire on altars and so on – were normally the task of male, migrating interpreters joining the armies in times of war when their advice was especially important. Women on the other hand acted, according to this view, in a different context of divination, mainly as ecstatic media in sanctuaries specialized in giving oracular advice

30. Moebius 1934, 58.

31. Cf. Roth 1982, 7, 31-3, 75; Bremmer 1993, 152-3; *id.* 1996, 102-3; Dillon 2002, 180.

32. Bremmer 1997, esp. 711.

33. [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 2.212 (*technikos* versus *atechnos*).

34. Cic. *Div.* 1.34 (*ars* versus *natura*); see also 1.11, 1.110, and *passim*.

35. [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 2.212; Pfeffer 1976, 57 with n. 206.

– such as the most famous example, the Pythia at Delphi. This model of classification does not fit with reality in more than one aspect – I simply refer to male ecstatic media in sanctuaries in Asia Minor, such as Klaros,³⁶ and at the Ptoion in Boiotia.³⁷ As I am concerned with women's role here,³⁸ I will now deal with two additional³⁹ examples documenting female *manteis* interpreting signs. The evidence is epigraphical.

First, there is the woman from Larisa in Thessaly, referred to by Jan Bremmer as an exception: the text of a gravemarker simply reads “Satyra, the *mantis*”.⁴⁰ (Fig. 4) The monument is a grave-stele of Hellenistic times which in the present state of investigation gives no further information about the person and the context involved; but observe the strange position of the text on the stone.⁴¹

Second, we find a female *mantis* in a catalogue of Spartan magistrates (*IG* V.1, 141), dating from Augustan times.⁴² Under the heading “*hierothytai*” – the first, defect line of column I – which describes people organizing sacrifices, we find the names of six persons. The first three names are male names, the fourth is Alkibia Teisamenou, then again two male names, Nikokleidas Theodorou and Eutychidas. At their beginning the last three lines have ligatures – abbreviations of terms describing their functions. (Fig. 5) They mean in the case of Nikokleidas *GRAMmateus*, scribe; in the case of Eutychidas, in the last line, *MAGeIros*, which might be translated as ‘butcher-cum-cook’; and in the case of Alkibia Teisamenou *MAN* – *mantis*. There is no doubt involved in this reading,⁴³ and this woman comes from a family of *manteis* at imperial Sparta⁴⁴ which continued to use the name of their famous ancestor, the seer Teisamenos of Elis.

36. Tac. *Ann.* 2.54; cf. Picard 1992, 112-3. A male ecstatic medium may also have been active at early Didyma, possibly reflected in the myth of Branchos: cf. the texts interpreted by Parke 1985, 3-10.

37. Hdt. 8.135 with Burkert 1977, 190.

38. This article summarizes a section of a more extended study on gender roles in the context of ancient divination.

39. There might exist a fourth example: *ArchEph* 1945-47, 106 no. 35 deals with a woman called a *hieromantis*, a holy seer, in an unclear, perhaps Christian context.

40. *SEG* 35, 1985, no. 626: Σατύρα ἄ μαντίς.

41. The photograph has kindly been provided by A. Tsiaphalias, the director of the museum at Larisa.

42. *IG* V.1, 141; Tillyard 1905-06, 468-70 no. 23, with a drawing.

43. Cf. also Winand 1987, 155. *IG* V.1, 141, col. I line 5 has the right solution, but prints the drawing *BSA* 1905-06, 469 which does not show that the ligature in line 5 combines three letters instead of two: M, A, and N can be read with certainty. A is inscribed in M (autopsy; cf. my sketches Fig. 5). I wish to thank A. Panagiotopoulou, ephor of antiquities of Arcadia and Laconia, for the permission to study the stone (inv. no. 818) at the museum of Sparta and the staff of the museum at Sparta, especially E. Sabbou.

44. *IG* V.1, 465, 578, 599. Cf. Spawforth 1992, 234; Hupfloher 2000, 142.

In this case we know the social context and the actual function of a female *mantis*: she is a member of a team charged with the official task of organizing and carrying out sacrifices.⁴⁵ Other members are a *mageiros* concerned with the cutting and cooking of the animals,⁴⁶ a *mantis* for the examination of the entrails, and a scribe for documentation, probably on behalf of the *polis* financing the sacrifices. Similar tasks can be assumed for the woman with the liver from Mantinea, and we cannot exclude the same possibility for Satyra from Thessaly, of whom we know nothing more than her name and function. The context ‘public sacrifice in the *polis*’ as documented in the text from Sparta reveals a situation where a woman could act as an interpreter of signs.

Beyond images

Now we know of three female *manteis*, the documents spanning wide chronological boundaries: from classical times – the relief from Mantinea, and Hellenistic times – the Thessalian grave marker, to the early Imperial period – the last case from Sparta. Were these repeated exceptions to a rule of gendered distinction? Or do these examples indicate a special situation in the Peloponnese, demonstrating an exceptional degree of freedom for Spartan and Arcadian women?

We do not know much about women in ancient Arcadia,⁴⁷ and the idea of women’s liberty at Sparta is part of the so-called legend of Sparta, at least in most of its content, as articles by Paul Cartledge, and, more recently, Lukas Thommen have shown.⁴⁸ But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that most of the ancient sources of information refer to male *manteis*: a prosopographical analysis by Philip Roth (1982) lists 53 male seers,⁴⁹ which is quite considerable when compared with three attested female ones. Moreover, as the lists of

45. Cf. Winand 1987.

46. Cf. Berthiaume 1982.

47. *Contra* Fougères 1898, 326-9. As a reader of J.J. Bachofen, Fougères applied ideas of ancient *gynaiokratia* to the newly excavated monuments of Mantinea thus reconstructing an exceptional influence of women in the field of religion. Considerations concerning the social structure and population of Mantinea: Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, 271-9.

48. The legend: cf. Tigerstedt 1965, 272; Cartledge 1981; Thommen 1999. Concerning women holding priesthoods in imperial Sparta cf. Hupfloher 2000, 220-1 (summary).

49. Roth 1982, 268-87: Appendix A: “A Prosopography of Greek Manteis” which includes 53 persons, whereas Kett (1966, 17-80) has listed 69 persons. Roth’s list is based on Kett’s, but does not include persons called *chresmologoi* and persons from families of seers not explicitly called *manteis* or prophets by ancient texts. Roth has also excluded two Pythiai of Delphi, an “official medium” at the Ptoion, and one “Sibyl-type”, one “Diotima-type”, one “witch”, and one “textual variant” (Roth 1982, 268).

manteis published by Kett and Roth include persons of pre-Hellenistic times only, chronologically stratified statistics based on these works would lead to the relation 53 : 1 in archaic and classical times. To put this male-female ratio into its proper context it is important to examine the sources upon which it is based. Male seers are referred to mainly in the literary sources; they were noticed by the ancient historians (Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon) who were chiefly interested in the description of wars, and it is in this context that we find the large numbers of male seers accompanying armies. The seer of this type was part of the army, he was consulted to help with the decision as to where and when to start the action – the foremost example being the battle at Plataiai where Greek and Persian armies confronted each other for days without receiving any encouraging signs, despite the large number of sacrificial animals that were slaughtered.⁵⁰ We should not wonder that in this male-dominated context – war – there is no mention of a female *mantis*. Yet, we do find them in the context of daily life of the ancient Greek poleis, like Alkibia Teisamenou in Sparta, who was associated with a public gremium of *hierothytai*. In the administration of cult in Greek cities, women were traditionally well represented. Priestesses are well documented in the sources since archaic times;⁵¹ they were mainly concerned with the organization of cult and the administration of sanctuaries, hence the key as a symbol and distinctive object mentioned above. This context – the organization of cult activities at a sanctuary – could lead to further specialisation in the examination of entrails as well. A second way of taking up the function as a *mantis* is provided by family tradition: special knowledge passed on exclusively in a family of ritual specialists – like the Iamidai of Elis⁵² and Sparta – could have led to the education of girls in this ‘profession’ also, as demonstrated, again, by Alkibia Teisamenou.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that we can reconstruct not only the social contexts which could lead women to acquiring the role of a *mantis*: the administration of a sanctuary and/or family tradition. It is also possible to describe the specific situation in which they acted; we find this type of *manteis* in the context of bloody sacrifice in sanctuaries, mainly in cities. Therefore it is – with high probability and primarily – not a division of divinatory techniques (rationalizing versus ecstatic) that is reflected by statistics in the large number of males and small, almost negligible number of females. Gender roles divided, of course, the situations in which men and women could act: war on the one hand, daily life in the sanctuaries on the other. It is the perspective of writers like

50. Hdt. 9.33-41.

51. Cf. Kron 1996.

52. Cf. Weniger 1915; Kett 1966, 84-93.

Herodotos, Thucydides, and Xenophon that has led to a distorted picture. Epigraphic sources show a more balanced picture: only five male *manteis* are documented by inscriptions in classical times,⁵³ against two female ones (Larisa, Sparta) plus the relief from Mantinea.⁵⁴ Therefore I would argue that it was not unusual, but actually common in the ancient Greek cities to see a female ritual specialist holding a liver in her hand.

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53. Roth 1982, nos. 13, 15, 31, 42, 44. No. 44, a casualty list, reflects the context of war again.

54. For the moment, there is a problem in acquiring proper statistics. I do not agree with the selection of Roth 1982, 268 in all respects and would include Kett 1966, 63 no. 54 (Onymastos), for example. As there is an obvious need for prosopographical analysis of *manteis* in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times, I am preparing such a list as a basis for further study. Concerning imperial times, there are epigraphical data available in Sparta and Olympia. Sparta, cf. Spawforth 1992, 234; Hupfloher 2000, 141: 11 persons, at least one female. Olympia, cf. Zoubaki 2001, 118-22: exclusively male *manteis* with special duties in a pan-Hellenic sanctuary.

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Fig. 1. Athens, NM inv. no. 226: general view, front. (Photo: H.-R. Goette, DAI Athens.)



Fig. 2. Athens, NM inv. no. 226: general view, diagonal. (Photo: H.-R. Goette, DAI Athens.)



Fig. 3. Athens, NM inv. no. 226: detail, the liver. (Photo: H.-R. Goette, DAI Athens.)

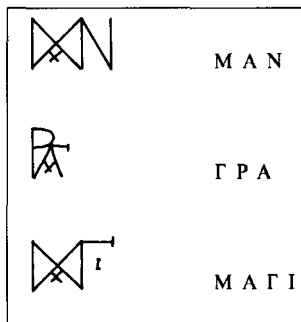


Fig. 5. Sparta museum: ligatures in the inscription *IG V.1*, 141 col. 1, lines 5-7: Μ Α Ν, Γ Ρ Α, Μ Α Γ Ι. (Drawing: author.)

Fig. 4. Larisa museum: the grave-stele *SEG 35*, 1985, no. 626. (Photo: courtesy of Dr. A. Tsiaphalias, Larissa Museum.)

Bêtes, hommes et dieux dans la religion arcadienne

Madeleine Jost

In Arcadia the links between animals, men, and gods are so strong that the boundary between these different worlds can be crossed. The god Pan symbolises the symbiosis between man and beast: he protects shepherds and their animals and his appearance is hybrid, half human and half animal. In myth, the metamorphosis of man into animal is considered as a punishment from the gods (Kallisto, changed into a she-bear for allowing herself to be seduced by Zeus; Lykaon, changed into a wolf for sacrificing a new-born human child to Zeus Lykaios). – On the other hand, the metamorphosis of gods into animals is a normal phenomenon, that implies no notion of regression; at Mantinea, Rhea makes Kronos swallow a young foal, which represents Poseidon; the legends of Thelpousa and Phigaleia tell how Demeter is transformed into a mare to escape the attentions of Poseidon. The god then takes the form of a horse and mates with her. – In ritual the closeness of animals, men, and gods is shown at Lykosoura by a ceremony in which the worshippers put on animal masks and perform dances in honour of the goddess Despoina who protects animals.

Sous ce titre emprunté à P. Vidal Naquet,¹ je veux montrer comment les liens entre les bêtes, les hommes et les dieux sont à ce point essentiels en Arcadie qu'il n'y a pas de frontière étanche entre ces différents mondes : dans les légendes et dans le culte, des hommes et des dieux prennent transitoirement ou définitivement l'apparence animale, entière ou partielle, et le thériomorphisme de certains dieux (leur apparence animale) avait particulièrement frappé Pausanias. La *Périégèse* de celui-ci est la source essentielle, mais l'archéologie fournit aussi une série de témoignages irremplaçables sur les liens entre bêtes, hommes et dieux.

1. Vidal-Naquet 1975.

Pan, symbole de la proximité des animaux, des hommes et des dieux

Toutes sortes d'animaux sont attestés en Arcadie ; certains ont joué un rôle important dans le mythe (les oiseaux du lac Stymphale, la biche cérynite ou le sanglier d'Erymanthe).² Mais, le plus souvent, le contact entre l'homme et l'animal s'illustre dans les modestes *ex-voto* de sanctuaires ruraux : bergers et chasseurs sont largement représentés. Plusieurs statuettes archaïques représentant des bergers coiffés du *pilos* proviennent d'un sanctuaire de Pan voisin de Bérékla; l'un d'eux porte un veau ; trois autres, également trouvés en fouille, sont drapés dans de lourds manteaux où ils se recroquevillent contre le froid.³ A Glanitsa (Fig. 1), une silhouette découpée dans une feuille de bronze figure un chasseur coiffé du *pilos*, qui court avec son chien (fin du VI^e – déb. Ve s. av. J.-C.)⁴

Un dieu protège les bergers et leurs bêtes, ainsi que les chasseurs, et symbolise la symbiose entre l'homme et l'animal, le dieu Pan.⁵ Il est moitié homme et moitié bouc. De l'animal, il a la tête, les pattes, le sexe, la petite queue et le système pileux ; à l'homme il emprunte la station debout, le buste et les mains. C'est ce que montre par exemple, une statuette en bronze de Lousoi datée de la fin du Ve siècle ou du début du IV^e : la tête est celle d'un bouc dont la barbiche pend sur une poitrine humaine ; le sexe et les pattes sont ceux d'un bouc.⁶ (Fig. 2) A côté de cette représentation dans laquelle les formes animales sont accusées, il existe, dès le Ve siècle, un type 'humanisé' où l'animalité ne se manifeste plus que sous la forme de deux petites cornes, comme le montre une statuette de Bérékla de la fin du Ve siècle qui représente un jeune homme imberbe ; ce sont les deux petites cornes qui permettent de l'identifier comme Pan.⁷ Le monnayage de la Confédération arcadienne donne pour le IV^e siècle l'image du dieu la plus idéalisée (Fig. 3) : sur l'un des types, il est représenté assis sur un rocher qu'il a recouvert d'une chlamyde. Son apparence est entièrement humaine, sauf deux petites cornes au front. Il tient dressé le *lagobolon* ; à ses pieds est représentée la syrinx.⁸ Les deux types, bestialisé et humanisé, sont attestés parallèlement du Ve siècle jusqu'à l'époque romaine.

2. Voir Jost 1992.

3. Voir Lamb 1925-26, 138-9, pl. 24. Cf. Übinger 1992. Deux autres bergers à pèlerine proviennent de Lykosoura : voir Jost 1975, 339-45, figs. 1-6 (cf. aussi Felten 1988, 239-40, et Roy 2001, 269-70).

4. Metzger 1940-41, 21-5 et pl. III.2. D'autres feuilles de bronze découpées provenant du sanctuaire du mont Boreion représentent un berger en pèlerine, une chèvre et deux taureaux : Rhomaios 1957 [1961], 114-63, figs. 51, 53 et 55.

5. Borgeaud 1979 ; Jost 1987-88, 219-24 et pls. 27-9 ; Boardman 1997.

6. Neugebauer 1951, 25-7 et pl. 16 ; Jost 1987-88, pl. 29, fig. 4.

7. Brommer 1949-50, 14 et fig. 11, et Jost 1987-88, pl. 30, fig. 7.

8. Jost 1987-88, pl. 30, fig. 11.

Pan, né en Arcadie, appartient au patrimoine arcadien et, sur le monnayage de la Confédération, il est le symbole de l'unité nationale. Or son animalité est considérée comme naturelle ; rares et tardifs sont les auteurs qui, comme Lucien, éprouvent le besoin de justifier cette apparence (Hermès aurait approché Pénélope sous l'apparence d'un bouc).⁹ Aucun *logos* local n'a été jugé nécessaire pour l'expliquer, comme ce fut le cas, on le verra, pour Poséidon, Déméter ou Artémis. Ainsi le dieu Pan impose comme typiquement arcadienne l'image d'un personnage hybride.

Si ce dieu hybride est unique, des métamorphoses en animaux, totales ou partielles, se rencontrent à plusieurs reprises dans le mythe, tant pour les hommes que pour les dieux.

Bêtes et hommes dans le mythe

La métamorphose en animal tient une place importante dans le mythe en Arcadie. Quand elle est prêtée aux hommes, elle est considérée comme un châtimement. On le voit pour la métamorphose en ourse de Kallisto. Selon la version 'panhellénique', rapportée par Pausanias, Kallisto s'unit à Zeus ; Héra, jalouse, transforme Kallisto en ourse (ou bien, le plus souvent, la métamorphose est imputée à Artémis) et Artémis la tue d'une flèche. Zeus en fait alors une constellation, la Grande ourse.¹⁰ Pausanias lui-même note la contradiction qui existe entre cette version et la tradition locale arcadienne qui montrait un tombeau de Kallisto sur la route qui mène de Mégalopolis à Trikolonoi.¹¹ Rien, en Arcadie, ne témoigne en faveur de la métamorphose en ourse (les monnaies d'Orchomène, une cité qui n'est pas très éloignée de Trikolonoi, montrent au droit Artémis qui vient de décocher une flèche et, au revers, une jeune femme assise sur un rocher qui s'effondre en arrière, le sein percé d'une flèche ; près d'elle, le petit Arkas).¹² Faut-il penser, avec J. Larson,¹³ que la tradition de la métamorphose avait cours en Arcadie ailleurs qu'à Trikolonoi? Le nom d'Arkas, fils de Kallisto, évoque celui de l'ours (*arktos*) et l'on peut imaginer qu'une tradition faisant naître Arkas d'une ourse ait existé. Les attestations d'une telle version font cependant défaut¹⁴ et l'on ne saurait donc décider si l'histoire de la

9. Lucian *Dial. D.* 22.2.

10. Paus. 8.3.6. Cf. Lyons 1997, 205.

11. Paus. 8.35.8.

12. Voir Imhoof-Blumer et Gardner 1964, 96 et pl. S.22. (Kallisto est également figurée au revers de monnaies de Méthydrion, *ibid.*, 105). La surface réduite dont dispose le graveur d'une monnaie ne me paraît pas suffire à expliquer l'absence de toute allusion à l'ourse.

13. Larson 1995, 90.

14. Un texte d'Ariaithos de Tégée (*FGrHist* 316 F 1) rattache Mégisto (*i.e.* Kallisto) à No-

métamorphose fut bien élaborée en Arcadie. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'Arcadie était dans l'imaginaire grec une région où la métamorphose en animal paraissait un châtement plausible. Le choix de l'animal, une ourse, pour la métamorphose de Kallisto, peut être au demeurant en relation avec la personnalité d'Artémis.

Le père de Kallisto, Lykaon, faisait l'objet d'un récit de métamorphose bien ancré, quant à lui, dans la tradition arcadienne : il est attaché au sanctuaire du mont Lycée. Lykaon aurait sacrifié sur l'autel de Zeus *Lykaïos* un nouveau-né humain, "et on dit qu'aussitôt après le sacrifice, il devint loup".¹⁵ D'autres versions tenaient la transformation en loup de Lykaon (et/ou de ses fils) comme la conséquence d'un banquet sacrilège : pour éprouver s'ils étaient bien en présence d'un dieu, Lykaon (et/ou ses fils) auraient servi à Zeus de la chair d'un être humain. Zeus, furieux, renversa la table du festin, mettant fin de manière éclatante à la commensalité des hommes et des dieux. Parmi les châtements infligés à Lykaon et à ses fils se retrouve la métamorphose en loup.¹⁶

Pausanias affirme croire au sacrifice d'un enfant offert par Lykaon à Zeus *Lykaïos* et à la métamorphose en loup de Lykaon, "parce que cette histoire est racontée par les Arcadiens depuis les temps anciens" ; elle remonte à une époque où "les hommes étaient vis-à-vis des dieux des hôtes et des commensaux" et où les dieux punissaient immédiatement les hommes. En revanche, il refuse d'ajouter foi au récit selon lequel, depuis Lykaon, un homme continuerait à être changé en loup lors du sacrifice à Zeus et retrouverait sa forme humaine neuf ans après, à condition de s'abstenir de chair humaine, car de son temps, affirme-t-il, les liens entre hommes et dieux se sont distendus et la justice divine est plus lente à frapper les hommes ; cette histoire n'est à ses yeux que "mensonge échafaudé sur des réalités vraies". On le voit, Pausanias prête foi à la tradition relative à Lykaon parce qu'elle est archaïque ; son refus de croire à la lycanthropie se fonde sur sa conception de l'évolution des rapports entre dieux et hommes. Elle s'appuie aussi sur un argument de raison : s'agissant du pugiliste Damarchos, il ne peut pas croire qu'il ait été changé en loup, car l'inscription qu'il a vue à Olympie n'en fait pas mention; elle dit seulement: "Cette statue a été dédiée par Damarchos, fils de Dinytas, originaire de Parrhasie en Arcadie."¹⁷ Le Périégète récuse donc l'idée d'une lycanthropie rituelle sur le mont Lycée, dont Platon et

nakris ; mais il n'est pas certain qu'il faille le prendre au pied de la lettre, car 'Nonacrien' a plusieurs fois dans les sources un sens large : voir Dowden 1989, 235 n. 30. Quant à l'idée qu'Arkas était né ours, elle est attestée dans Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.1, mais ne semble pas avoir eu cours en Arcadie où le petit Arkas est représenté comme un enfant tant sur le monnayage de Phénéos (Imhoof-Blumer et Gardner 1964, pl. T 4) que sur celui d'Orchomène.

15. Paus. 8.2.4-6.

16. Pour ces différentes versions, voir Piccaluga 1968, 31-98, et Jost 1985, 261-2.

17. Paus. 6.8.2.

Pline l'Ancien conservent pourtant le souvenir.¹⁸ Cette attitude critique va de pair avec la répugnance de Pausanias devant les sacrifices humains,¹⁹ car la lycanthropie est liée à la consommation de la chair humaine provenant d'un sacrifice. Il s'inscrit en faux contre une tradition dont Lycophron s'était autorisé pour définir les Arcadiens comme "lykainomorphes".²⁰

Si la métamorphose de Lykaon marque une régression au stade d'animal que perpétuent les lycanthropes, lorsqu'il s'agit des dieux, le thériomorphisme, la forme animale des dieux, ne comporte aucune connotation négative.

Bêtes et dieux dans le mythe et les représentations culturelles

Poséidon est le dieu qui revêt le plus volontiers une forme animale en Arcadie : avec l'épiclèse *Hippios*, il est lié au cheval. Quant à Déméter, c'est lorsqu'elle est associée à ce dieu qu'elle prend à l'occasion l'apparence d'une jument.

Le lien de Poséidon avec le cheval s'affirme à Mantinée, où le dieu est appelé *Hippios*, "Protecteur des chevaux". Après la naissance de Poséidon, "Rhéa dit à Kronos qu'elle avait mis au monde un cheval et lui donna à avaler, au lieu de son enfant, un poulain, comme elle lui donna par la suite, au lieu de Zeus, une pierre enveloppée de linges".²¹ A sa naissance, Poséidon est cheval ; en revanche, le culte ne connaît que Poséidon *Hippios*, "Protecteur des chevaux". Ailleurs en Arcadie, le dieu se *change* en cheval.

Deux *logoi* d'inspiration commune rapportés par Pausanias – l'un se situe à Thelpousa et l'autre à Phigalie – donnent à Poséidon et à Déméter la forme chevaline de manière épisodique. "Alors que Déméter errait à la recherche de sa fille, Poséidon, d'après la légende, se mit à la poursuivre (il désirait s'unir à elle) ; alors, elle se transforma en jument et alla paître parmi d'autres juments. Poséidon, se rendant compte qu'il était joué, prit l'apparence d'un étalon et s'unifia à Déméter-jument."²² La version de l'union de Déméter-jument avec Poséidon-cheval, racontée à propos de Thelpousa, "était entièrement admise par les Phigaliens".²³ A Thelpousa, le thème de la colère de la déesse permettait d'expliquer ses deux épiclèses, *Erinys* et *Lousia* : je laisse cet aspect de côté ici.²⁴ Le fruit de l'union des deux divinités n'était pas le même dans les deux cités. Selon le récit de Thelpousa, "Déméter eut de Poséidon une fille, dont il n'est pas

18. Pl. *Resp.* 8.565 d ; Plin. *HN* 8.82.

19. Paus. 8.38.7.

20. Lycoph. *Alex.* 481 ; voir Jost 1989, 285-93.

21. Paus. 8.8.2.

22. Paus. 8.25.5-7.

23. Paus. 8.42.1.

24. Voir Jost 1985, 303-11.

d'usage de dire le nom à ceux qui ne sont pas initiés, et le cheval Arion. A la suite de quoi, les gens de Thelpousa seraient les premiers des Arcadiens chez qui Poséidon fut dénommé *Hippios*". La naissance du cheval Arion et l'épiclèse du dieu montrent que la métamorphose en cheval n'est pas un simple épisode romanesque ; elle traduit des affinités profondes, voire, comme à Mantinée, une parenté entre Poséidon et le cheval. C'est à lui qu'est lié le cheval, plus qu'à sa parèdre Déméter dont la forme chevaline n'est qu'occasionnelle. A Phigalie, rapporte Pausanias, "l'être mis au monde par Déméter ne fut pas un cheval, mais la divinité que les Arcadiens appellent Despoina". Sur ce site, la transformation de Poséidon en étalon et de Déméter en jument trouvait son écho dans la statue de bois de la déesse dont Pausanias avait obtenu la description : elle avait la tête et la crinière d'un cheval et des représentations de serpents et d'autres bêtes sauvages étaient ajoutées sur la tête. La statue, qui avait péri dans un incendie, avait été refaite à l'identique par Onatas dans la première moitié du Ve siècle ; elle n'existait plus à l'époque de Pausanias, mais le Périégète dit avoir appris du plus âgé des Phigaliens qu'il a rencontrés que trois générations avant lui, des pierres étaient tombées du plafond de la grotte sur la statue et qu'elle avait été détruite.²⁵ Ainsi la forme chevaline revêtue par le dieu et la déesse donnait d'eux une image qui paraissait normale en Arcadie.

Ajoutons que pour la même région de Phigalie, dans le sanctuaire d'Eurynomé, Pausanias mentionne un *xoanon* féminin terminé, à partir des hanches, par l'apparence d'un poisson.²⁶ Il n'a pas pu voir la statue (le sanctuaire n'étant ouvert que le jour de la fête d'Eurynomé), mais les Phigaliens la lui ont décrite. Le commun des Phigaliens pensait qu'Eurynomé était une épiclèse d'Artémis, mais les anciennes traditions gardaient le souvenir d'une Eurynomé, vieille divinité des eaux et de la faune aquatique, fille d'Okéanos, dont le *xoanon* à queue de poisson conservait la mémoire. On a ici une représentation divine à demi-thériomorphique, dont Pausanias souligne l'ancienneté.

Bêtes, hommes et dieux dans le rituel

On a vu comment l'intimité entre les bêtes et les hommes, puis l'intimité entre les bêtes et les dieux avaient donné naissance à des légendes étiologiques associées tantôt à une épiclèse cultuelle (*Hippios*) tantôt à une statue de culte (Déméter *Mélaina* et Eurynomé). Dans le rituel, cette connivence se traduit par des cérémonies dans lesquelles les fidèles revêtaient des masques animaux. Le fait est attesté à Lykosoura où les trouvailles archéologiques sont venues pallier le secret des mystères de Despoina. Les fouilles du Mégaron (où se célébraient

25. Paus. 8.42.3-13.

26. Paus. 8.41.6.

les mystères) ont en effet apporté quelque cent quarante figurines en terre cuite à tête d'animal : elles représentent des personnages debout, hauts d'une quinzaine de centimètres, immobiles, vêtus d'un himation et leur tête est celle d'un bélier ou d'un bovin (Fig. 4) ; généralement ils portent un panier sur la tête.²⁷ On a proposé de voir dans ces figurines des représentations de divinités. C'est peu vraisemblable, et l'on pensera plutôt à des personnages masqués : ce sont sans doute des statuettes de prêtres et de prêtresses masqués ayant participé aux *dromena* des mystères ou des figures de mystes et d'initiés qui, après avoir pris part à la procession en portant le matériel sacrificiel, auraient consacré ces offrandes rappelant la charge qu'ils avaient remplie. Ces personnages portaient des masques zoomorphes. La canéphorie est une charge cultuelle fréquente dans bien des fêtes ; le fait de revêtir des masques d'animaux est plus insolite. Les rares exemples que l'on peut invoquer en Grèce ne sont pas incontestables.²⁸ Seule Chypre offre de vrais parallèles : plusieurs figurines de l'époque archaïque représentent des personnages, fidèles ou prêtres, en train de coiffer ou d'enlever un masque de taureau, ou le tenant des deux mains.²⁹ Mais l'illustration la plus évidente est fournie par le décor sculpté du voile de Despoina dans le groupe cultuel du temple de Lykosoura.

L'un des bandeaux décoratifs de ce voile exécuté sans doute dans la fin du III^e siècle représente le défilé d'une quinzaine de personnages déguisés en animaux. (Fig. 5) En le rapprochant des terres cuites du Mégaron, on est conduit à lui attribuer une signification religieuse liée aux mystères de Despoina. Les têtes et, dans plusieurs cas, les extrémités des membres de ces personnages appartiennent au monde animal, mais ils sont vêtus en humains, ils ont des attitudes et des gestes d'humains (les uns jouent de la musique, tandis que les autres dansent). Plutôt que de démons-animaux costumés à la façon des hommes, il s'agit certainement d'humains déguisés en animaux : ils portent un masque ; leurs bras et leurs jambes sont recouverts ou prolongés par des pattes. Il y a quatre musiciens (un renard (?) et un cheval soufflent dans une double flûte, un équidé joue de la cithare, un cheval jouait peut-être du *trigonon*). Les autres personnages (porcs, béliers et un âne) se déplacent en dansant. Plusieurs d'entre eux ont un mouvement tourbillonnant. La danse animée qu'exécutent les figures masquées nous situe dans une ambiance orgiastique.

27. Voir Kourouniotis 1912, 155-8 et figs. 23-33 ; Jost 2002, 157-9 et figs. 6.4 – 6.5.

28. On peut invoquer les fragments de cratérique de Brauron qui figurent une femme (prêtresse?) et un homme portant des masques d'ours (Kahil 1977), à moins qu'il ne faille préférer une interprétation mythologique des figures masquées : voir Reeder 1995, 327-8. Autres attestations possibles parmi les masques du sanctuaire d'Artémis Orthia à Sparte (Loucas et Durie 1985, 572 n. 5) et parmi les représentations des vases cabiriques de Thèbes (Daumas 1998, 30-1).

29. Laurens et Louka 1987, 23-32.

Les figurines en terre cuite trouvées dans le Mégaron et les représentations du voile de Despoina permettent de supposer qu'au cours de la célébration des mystères avaient lieu une procession de canéphores et des danses exécutées par des mystes et des prêtres portant des masques et des extrémités d'animaux. Ce rite original suggère une divinité des animaux, associée non pas à *un* animal particulier, comme Artémis à Brauron, mais protégeant diverses espèces domestiques. Les taureaux, les béliers et les porcs sont des animaux liés à l'idée de fécondité ; la présence des équidés rappelle que Despoina est née de l'union de Poséidon-cheval avec Déméter-juvent.³⁰

Nous l'avons vu, les dieux punissent parfois les humains en les métamorphosant en bêtes, mais eux-mêmes ne répugnent pas à se transformer en animaux, et, pour rendre manifeste le lien entre les dieux et les animaux, les hommes honorent les divinités par des mascarades animales. Bêtes, hommes et dieux sont intimement liés dans la religion arcadienne.

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30. Paus. 8.42.1 et *supra* pp. 97-8.

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Fig. 1. Chasseur. Feuille de bronze découpée provenant de Glanitsa. Musée de Tégée, inv. 1736. (Cliché École Française d'Athènes A 46 719.)

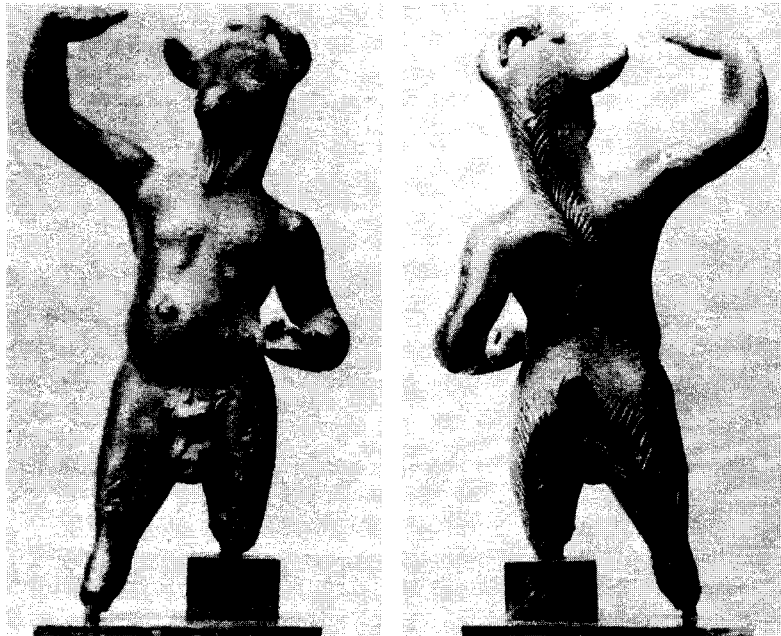


Fig. 2. Pan. Statuette en bronze de Lousoi. (D'après Neugebauer 1951, pl. 16.)



Fig. 3. Pan. Monnaie de la Confédération arcadienne. (D'après Imhoof-Blumer et Gardner 1964, pl. V.3.)

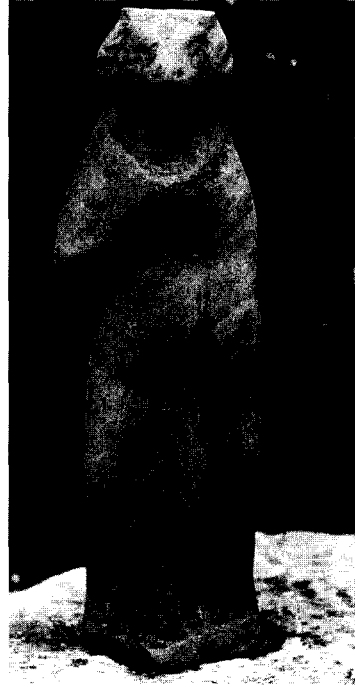


Fig. 4. Personnage à tête de bélier. Statuette en terre-cuite de Lykosoura. (Cliché M. Jost.)



Fig. 5. Personnages masqués. Détail du voile de Despoina. Athènes MN 1737. (Cliché École Française d'Athènes 36 651, E. Séraf.)

The Cult of Zeus Lykaios

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*Gratefully dedicated to my supervisor at the University of Athens,
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The intention of the paper is to characterize the Arcadian cult of Zeus Lykaios as practiced on Mount Lykaion. On the basis of various evidence related to the cult of Zeus Lykaios (etymology, archaeological material, mythical and literary tradition) it is argued that this cult originated from and continued the worship of the Indo-European god of the clear sky, while the concept of him as a storm-deity was added in historical times. The absence of any material evidence for the nature of Zeus Lykaios as a wolf suggests that the stories about lykanthropy, which were associated with Mount Lykaion, should be understood as an indication of a special character of the priesthood of this god as well as of the worship of a wolf-deity by an Arcadian community.

The aim of this paper is to characterize the Arcadian cult of Zeus Lykaios, as practiced on the Mount Lykaion.

There are linguistic difficulties involved in the interpretation of the epithet 'Lykaios': it may either derive from the zero-grade form of the Indo-European root ***leukh-**/***lukh-** 'to shine' attested in a number of words in Greek and other Indo-European languages,¹ or it may be related to the word λύκος 'wolf'. The

1. The Indo-European root ***leukh-** 'to shine', 'to throw light' is known in three forms: ***leukh-** (strong form of the root with e-grade) > Greek λευκός 'white', ***lukh-** (weak form of the root with zero-grade) > Greek λύκη 'morning twilight', λυκάβας 'course of sun = year' or 'new moon', λυκαυγής, -ες 'at the grey twilight', λυκό-φως 'twilight' (both morning and evening), ἀμφι-λύκη 'twilight', Latin lux 'light', 'daylight', epithet of Jupiter *Lucetius* (vocative *Leucesie*) 'shining', Hittite *lukkī-* 'shine', Hittite *lukkatta* 'day breaks', and ***loukh-** (o-grade form, substitute of the zero-grade form) > Greek λούσσον 'pith of fir-tree', Latin *Luna* (***loukhsna-** 'shining body') 'moon', Norse *loggi* 'fire', 'flame', Russian and Old Bulgarian *lurch(a)* (<***loukia**) 'ray of sun', possibly the names of the Celtic god of sun, light and intel-

ancient tradition does not provide the decisive explanation of the epithet, but it gives reasons to interpret Zeus as a god of light, god of rain, god of agriculture, and wolf-god.² The problem of the nature of Zeus Lykaïos is still under discussion.

According to the ancient descriptions, the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaïos on Mount Lykaion consisted of a mound-like, earthen altar set on the top and a *temenos* at some distance from the altar. The two columns with the gilded eagles on top were placed in the direction toward the rising sun from the altar.³ Amazing and mysterious events were ascribed to the sanctuary:⁴ human sacrifices and secret ceremonies on the altar of the god, lycanthropy, the prohibition to enter the *temenos* enforced by the inevitable death of those who had done so one year after, loss of shadow inside the *temenos*, rain magic performed by the priests of the god.

The tradition knows no myth about the foundation of the altar of Zeus on Mount Lykaion. This may indicate that the earliest period of the religious activity on the mountain was obscure for the Arcadian Greeks, but it may also mean that the beginning of worship at the site was connected not with the altar, but with the foundation of the *temenos*. The beginning of regular worship at the site was connected with the son of Pelasgos, Lykaon: he was supposed to have established the sanctuary and introduced the epithet 'Lykaïos' for the Zeus who was previously worshipped there, as may be inferred from Pausanias' phrase.⁵ The earliest mention of the altar of Zeus Lykaïos is in Pindar.⁶

The altar of Zeus Lykaïos has been discovered on the crest now named Hagios Elias. It was circular in shape with a diameter of ca. 30 m and without any architectural character. It consisted of ashes and burnt bones of small animals, birds, pigs and oxen; no human bones have been identified.⁷ It seems correct that the altar originally was a mound of earth and ashes.⁸ The earliest dedications at the altar are dated to the 6th century B.C., although some may possibly date back to the Late Geometric period: they include miniature bronze tripods resembling the miniature Geometric tripods from Olympia, iron knives,

ligence *Lug* and of the Norse deity *Lokki*. Cp. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 148-54, 188, 591, 698, 779; 2, 123; and Pokorny 1959, 687-90.

2. Farnell 1896, 41-2; Cook 1914, 63-89; Piccaluga 1968, 52-64; Jost 1985, 249-69.

3. Paus. 8.38.6-7 and 4.22.7, and Polyb. 4.33, mention that the columns were dedicated by the Arcadians and Messenians.

4. Pl. *Resp.* 565 d-e; Paus. 8.2.3,6, 8.38.4 and 6-7.

5. Paus. 8.2.1: Δία ὠνόμασε Λυκαῖον ...; also *Schol. in Eur. Or.*, v. 1647: Πελασγός ... υἱὸν ἔσχε Λυκάονα, ὅς τὸ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς ἱερόν εἶσατο ἐν Παρρασίᾳ.

6. Pind. *Ol.* 13.108-109: Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσων ... Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἄναξ.

7. Kourouniotis 1904, 178. See the paper by D.G. Romano in this volume for recent archaeological research in the sanctuary.

8. Kourouniotis 1904, 165; Mylonas 1943, 122.

a terracotta figurine of a shapeless bird, and 6th-century Aiginetan coins.⁹ The very type of the altar, which belongs to the group of simple open-air ash altars widely used in early Greek cult practice,¹⁰ may also be seen as evidence for the early date of its foundation.

The *temenos* of Zeus Lykaios has been identified on a large platform on the southern slope of the mountain, about 20 m below the altar. According to the excavator, it was marked out by a line of unworked stones, and has been measured as 55 x 120 m.¹¹ The earliest votive objects found in the *temenos* date back to the 7th century B.C., the majority are of the 6th and 5th centuries: they include bronze figurines representing Zeus and Hermes, and a bronze κνημῖς inscribed with a dedication to Zeus Lykaios and Athena.¹² No traces of any construction have been identified inside the *temenos*.¹³ This circumstance indicates that Zeus Lykaios was worshipped under open sky in very simple forms until the last days of the cult.

Two column bases, of different shape, have been found about 30 m below the altar, southeast of it, and about 10 m east of and below the *temenos*. In fact, the higher level of the *temenos* outlined by a row of stones blocks the passage between the columns. For this reason, the suggestion that the function of the columns in the sanctuary was to frame the sacred way to the altar seems unlikely.¹⁴ Perhaps it may be assumed that the purpose of the columns was to indicate the direction toward the rising sun from the altar, and to establish the conventional line from the altar toward the rising sun. The chronology of the column-bases is still not certain.¹⁵

The position of the altar of Zeus Lykaios on the top of a high mountain may point to a special connection between the worshipped deity and the notions of height and sky.

The mound-like earth-and-ash altar on Mount Lykaion may be compared with the great ash altar of Zeus at Olympia, which resembled the mound¹⁶ and possibly was the earliest cult monument in the Olympian sanctuary. The shape of early Greek altars as mounds might originate from and continue the common

9. Kourouniotis 1904, 163-70, figs. 2-4 and 5.4; Morgan 1999, 407; Maass 1978, 215, nos. 352, 355, 356.

10. Hom. *Il.* 8.238-240; Rupp 1983.

11. Kourouniotis 1904, 161-2 and 179-214.

12. Kourouniotis 1904, 178-211; Alroth 1989, 66-7; Morgan 1999, 407; *JG* V.2, 551. The inscription is dated to the 5th century B.C.

13. Kourouniotis 1904, 178; Jost 1985, 181.

14. Jost 1994, 227.

15. Kourouniotis 1904, 171-6.

16. Paus. 5.13.11.

Indo-European practice of marking the sacred places with mounds, as it is also attested in Greek territory since the beginning of the Early Helladic II period.¹⁷ The sacred mounds, widespread in the areas of different Indo-European cultures, were connected with specifically Indo-European conceptions of the divine and reflected the primitive Indo-European model of the world.¹⁸ In relation to this, the suggestion by G. Mylonas that the altar on Mount Lykaion developed out of a primitive shrine established on that peak in prehistoric times, deserves attention.¹⁹ It is significant that the altar in the form of a mound was continuously used on Mount Lykaion, as also at Olympia, until the final days of pagan cult in the Roman period.

The available archaeological evidence does not support the legends about human sacrifices on the altar of Zeus Lykaios.²⁰ However, the idea of human sacrifice was persistently associated with the worship of this god, and may indicate a very primitive concept underlying his cult and, consequently, a very early origin for it.

The mysterious character of the sacrifice on the altar of Zeus Lykaios, mentioned by Pausanias, might be connected with the fact that his priests formed a specific closed group, whose members continued and carefully preserved the initial traditions of the cult which they practiced.

The two gilded eagles on top of the columns, which were placed in the direction toward the rising sun from the altar, give an important indication for the character of the deity worshipped on the summit of Mount Lykaion. The eagles apparently symbolized the god who was venerated in the sanctuary. The specific connection of Zeus Lykaios with an eagle is confirmed by figurines discovered in the *temenos*²¹ (Fig. 1) and by the representations of the god on the Arcadian coins.²² (Fig. 2) Perhaps the single terracotta figurine of a bird found near the altar²³ was meant to represent an eagle. The eagle may be considered as the most common form of supposed manifestations of Zeus in classical Greek religion and mythology, and it was probably one of his initial shapes in early Greek religion.²⁴

17. Pelon 1976; Gimbutas 1997, 169-70.

18. Rybakov 1981, 234; Mylonas 1943, 132.

19. *ibid.*

20. This problem was specially discussed by Hughes 1991, 96-107.

21. Kourouniotis 1904, figs. 8-10 and 18-9.

22. Gardner 1887, pls. 31.10-32.9 (coins of Arcadia with the image of Zeus and flying eagle, 480-417 B.C.).

23. Kourouniotis 1904, 166.

24. This may be inferred from the direct connection of an eagle with Zeus in the earliest known Greek mythological references: Hom. *Il.* 8.247 and 12.200-210; *Od.* 2.146-147; also Aesch. *Ag.* 110-138, 136. Note also that according to *Naxiaca*, frg. 2, Zeus in the form of eagle

In Indo-European, including Greek, religious and mythological symbolism the eagle was naturally linked with the sky and the solar nature.²⁵ The universal symbolic meaning of the eagle, the presence of an eagle in the cult of Zeus Lykaios, and the position of the eagle-bearing columns in the sanctuary on Mount Lykaion toward the rising sun, all indicate a sort of celestial and solar nature in the concept underlying the cult of this god.

The character of the *temenos* of Zeus Lykaios as *abaton* is not quite clear. The idea of *abaton* is normally connected with the 'holy of holies' of a sacred place, and it is intended to protect the spots considered most sacred. The lack of prehistoric and early historic pottery from the site and the absence of evidence for a settlement²⁶ suggest that this site initially was not intended for ordinary human activity and was always approached with profound piety.²⁷ It is noteworthy that the *temenos* of Zeus Lykaios in Megalopolis did not have an entrance²⁸ and, accordingly, was also not supposed to be entered.

No explanation has been given for the belief that the person who had entered the *temenos* of Zeus Lykaios had inevitably to die one year afterwards, but it might point to a connection between the cult and the annual course of the sun. Plutarch mentioned that the Arcadians stoned those who on purpose entered the *temenos* of Zeus Lykaios,²⁹ and this may mean that those who violated his *abaton* were executed ritually on behalf of the god.

Plutarch also mentioned that anyone who had entered the *temenos* of Zeus Lykaios by ignorance was called ἔλαφος, a 'deer'.³⁰ In many Indo-European religions and mythologies, including those of the Greeks, the deer, stag, and elk were animals with cultic significance directly connected with the sky and the sun, or they were considered the animals of the celestial and solar deities.³¹ The celestial and solar symbolism of the deer goes back to the earliest religious traditions and is sufficiently attested.³² It is assumed that the animal usually

arrived at Naxos: *FGrHist* 4.293. Mylonas 1945-46, 204, argued, however, against a close association between Zeus and the eagle at the initial phase of Greek religion.

25. Ivanov and Toporov 1994b.

26. Morgan 1999, 407.

27. This opinion was expressed by Kourouniotis 1904, 179.

28. Paus. 8.30.2.

29. Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 39.

30. *ibid.*

31. Roes 1933, 107, 109-10; Rybakov 1987, 669, fig. 119; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 408. Note also the ancient Greek months Ἐλάφιος in Elis and Ἐλαφηβολιών in Attica, which included the day of vernal equinox.

32. Golan 1991, 49-62, figs. 62-3. It originates from the function of the deer in the primitive world structure: the antlers of the deer were believed to reach the upper sphere, so that he was supposed to carry the sun on his antlers.

sacrificed to the deity may indicate his or her previous animal shape.³³ It is remarkable that in the Iliad Zeus himself sent from the sky a young deer to be sacrificed to him.³⁴ Late Geometric bronze figurines representing stags were discovered in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.³⁵ Since the person who had entered the *temenos* of Zeus Lykaios, was probably considered to be dedicated to the god, the designation of such a person as ἔλαφος, stag, might recall local ideas about the original nature of the god. The celestial semantics connected with the deer linked it to the eagle,³⁶ and thus, the eagles on the columns in the god's sanctuary and the reference to the deer in connection with his *temenos* might be related to the same idea. The connection of Zeus Lykaios with the deer gives more reasons to recognize solar motives in this concept.

The stories about the loss of shadow inside the *temenos* were variously interpreted and even doubted already in ancient times.³⁷ However, there were also attempts to explain those legends on the basis of phenomena of sun and light: the historian Theopompos from Chios (4th century B.C.) argued that those who enter the *abaton* of Zeus Lykaios are placed in light.³⁸ In relation to this interpretation, it may be noted that because of the location on the southern slope of the mountain, the *temenos* is exposed to the sun throughout the day.

These indications of solar elements in the ideas underlying the cult of Zeus Lykaios admit a derivation of the epithet 'Lykaios' from the Indo-European root **I(e)ukʰ-* 'to shine', 'to be shining white'. This etymology of 'Lykaios' allows a direct relation between Arcadian Zeus Λυκάϊος and Zeus Λευκάϊος, 'white Zeus', in Triphylia,³⁹ with Jupiter *Lucetius* / (vocative) *Leucesie* 'shining Jupiter' of the Romans,⁴⁰ and with the Russian term *belyj den* ('white day', the day-time), where *Ζεύς*, *Jupiter* and *den* ('day) are related forms all derived from the names of the Indo-European god of the clear sky and the sun **t'yeu(s)/*t'eiuo-/*t'iu(n)-*.⁴¹ The etymologically cognate compound divine names and terms attested in different Indo-European languages originate from

33. Cook 1894, 160.

34. Hom. *Il.* 8.247-249.

35. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 87, figs. 721-3.

36. Note a bronze figurine from Asia Minor, ca. 2000 B.C., showing an eagle sitting upon the sprouting horns of a stag: Louvre, inv. no. AM 410; Roes 1933, 113-4, fig. 96; also Golan 1991, 52, fig. 62.4.

37. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 39.

38. Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115, F 343: ... ἐν φωτὶ τεθέμενα.

39. Paus. 5.5.5.

40. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 698.

41. These forms are derived from the Indo-European root **t'y-/*t'ei-/*t'iu-* 'to shine': Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 196 and 693.

the single Proto-Indo-European term. The early, perhaps pre-Greek, origin of the epithet 'Lykaios', as that of the name of Mount Lykaion, corresponds with the pre-Greek origin of the name of the territory Παρρασίη / Παρρασία where the mountain is located.⁴² In this connection the claim of the Arcadians that Zeus was born and reared on Mount Lykaion⁴³ deserves attention: the idea of his local origin might be based on a continuous worship of the god on the mountain from a very remote date.

The finds from the *temenos* include the four bronze figurines (including one fragment) and a bronze statuette of Zeus Lykaios enthroned (Fig. 3); the preserved attributes held by the god are an eagle, a thunderbolt, and an object identified as a *lituus*.⁴⁴ The earliest of the figurines is dated to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century B.C.: it represents a nude, standing Zeus brandishing the thunderbolt in his right hand and supporting an eagle on his outstretched left one. (Fig. 1) The figurine was originally attached to a bigger object, perhaps a tripod.⁴⁵ To date, it is the earliest known votive representation of Zeus with a preserved attribute identifying him as a storm-deity.⁴⁶ The rain-magic performed by the priests of Zeus Lykaios might also be related to the stormy aspect of the god, but it must be emphasized that prayers for rain were not addressed to him, but to the water of the spring Hagno.⁴⁷

Until now, no material evidence (like the figurines, inscriptions, or representations on the Arcadian coins showing Zeus Lykaios) has been found to indicate a wolf-element in his cult as it was actually practiced.

The cult of Zeus Lykaios was the major cult on Mount Lykaion and was probably in some way connected with the festival τὰ Λύκαια. According to the tradition it was established by Lykaon, after the Olympic games, but before the Panathenaean ones.⁴⁸ Some legends said that the human sacrifices to Zeus Lykaios were offered at the Lykaean festival.⁴⁹ The earliest reference to the Lykaean games is in Pindar.⁵⁰ The festival, including the athletic competitions, took place at a remarkable distance from the sanctuary of Zeus, at the northern

42. Haley 1928, 144-5.

43. Paus. 8.28.2; 8.36.3; 8.38.2.

44. Kourouniotis 1904, figs. 8-16.

45. Kourouniotis 1904, 180-4, figs. 8-10; Lamb 1925-26, 140, no. 17.

46. Tiverios 1997, 315-7.

47. Paus. 8.38.4. This circumstance has been emphasized by Morgan 1901, 95.

48. Paus. 8.2.1.

49. Porph. *Abst.* 2.27; Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 4.16.10.

50. Pind. *Nem.* 10.48-49: ... Λύκαιον παρ Διὸς θῆκε δρόμῳ, σὺν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικᾶσαι σθένει.

foot of Mount Lykaion, near the grove which surrounded the sanctuary of Pan.⁵¹ The priests of Lykaean Pan were the eponyms of the games.⁵² The festival was presumably held in April or the beginning of May,⁵³ and thus possibly had a seasonal significance celebrating the flowering of nature. However, the exact time when the games were held, the religious details of the festival, and its precise connection with Zeus Lykaios, are not known. The Romans compared the Arcadian *Λύκαια* with their very ancient festival *Lupercalia*,⁵⁴ which was held on 15th of February and was basically a purification festival for the protection of the flocks and herds, and for the promotion of the fertility in man, beast and crops.⁵⁵

The evidence reviewed so far leads to the conclusion that the god worshipped as Zeus Lykaios originally and basically was a deity of the clear sky and sun. This conclusion allows us to consider this Arcadian Zeus as a direct continuation of the old Indo-European god of the clear sky and the sun **t'yēus*.⁵⁶ The Indo-European, pre-Greek etymology of the epithet *Λυκάϊος* derived from the root **l(e)ukʰ-* 'to shine', and the primitive forms of the cult, help to support the theory that the divinity connected with the shining sky and the sun was linked to Mount Lykaion since the pre-Greek period, perhaps since the first Indo-European presence in Arcadia. The worship of the deity with solar nature may have been carried out on the summit of Mount Lykaion, in a natural environment appropriate for the primitive god of the clear sky, much earlier than attested by the available evidence. There is secure evidence for the association of Zeus Lykaios with the concept of the storm-god⁵⁷ only from the 7th century B.C., thanks to the statuette of the god with the thunderbolt. In fact, this statuette is the earliest material evidence for the worship of Zeus as storm-god in Greek religion. There are no such material indications of the wolf-nature of Zeus Lykaios.

51. Paus. 8.38.5. For the excavation of the stadium, hippodrome and the adjacent buildings, see Kourouniotis 1909, and the paper by D.G. Romano in this volume.

52. Brettos 1999, 465-9.

53. Cook 1914, 76, no. 2; Jost 1985, 268.

54. Ov. *Fast.* 2.423-424.

55. James 1961, 177-80.

56. For the ancient Indo-European god of clear sky and sun **t'yēus* and his development in the individual Indo-European traditions, see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 196 and 692-700.

57. The Indo-European storm-god had the basic name **pher(kho)u-no-*, the derivatives of which are identified in most of the Indo-European languages. This god was originally distinct from the Indo-European god of the clear sky **t'yēus*, as can be traced in many individual Indo-European traditions; see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 694-700.

Rejecting the wolf-etymology of the epithet 'Lykaios' creates the problem how the legends about werewolves were connected with the cult of this Zeus. The classification of various stories describing lycanthropy at Mount Lykaion suggests two major reasons for the supposed wolf-transformations there: the execution of sacral duties to the god (human sacrifice, eating of a sacrificed human, perhaps ordinary sacrifice)⁵⁸ and the performance of a special ritual by a member of a certain Arcadian community who was chosen by lot.⁵⁹ The ancient tradition about lycanthropy at the site may be explained on the basis of Indo-European parallels.

The connection of the supposed transformation of a man to a wolf with the execution of the sacral duties to Zeus Lykaios suggests that the priesthood of this god had a specific character. It must be noted that beside the wolf-transformation, these priests were also known as successful rain-charmers, and their miraculous rain-magic was probably based on a deep knowledge of local natural phenomena. Parallels in Indo-European linguistics, religions, myths, and folklore point to ancient Indo-European belief in a connection between primitive religious skills and sacral knowledge and the nature of the wolf. Traces of this belief are especially apparent in some Indo-European words for wolf derived from the Indo-European root **weīt-/*weid-* 'to know', 'to see'.⁶⁰ This belief may be recognized in many Indo-European traditions concerned with humans with deep knowledge, exercising supernatural powers and capable of transforming themselves into wolves.⁶¹ Various attested forms of Indo-European priesthoods, which comprised the wolf-element,⁶² and various Indo-European

58. Pl. *Resp.* 565 d-e; Paus. 6.8.2 and 8.2.3,6.

59. The details of the rituals are described in Plin. *HN* 8.81-82.

60. Like Hittite *wetna-*, Old Icelandic *vitnir*, Ukrainian *vishtchun*, Slovene *vedanec*, *vedomec*, *vedavec*. See Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 413-4.

61. This subject has been discussed in many studies (see the recent survey in Raïos 2001, 62-78 and 88-106), but it still requires detailed investigation and clearer conclusions. In brief, it may be noted that the old Indo-European conception of wise humans as werewolves may be recognized in the common Indo-European motif of a wizard-wolf who appears positive as well as negative: Smith 1894; Eisler 1951; Eliade 1959, 23, 28, 29, no. 81; Ivanov and Toporov 1994a. The folk image of the crafty wolf who may appear in human form, especially popular in Slavic and French tales, also derives from this conception.

62. For example, Roman *augures* – the collegium established, according to the tradition, by Romulus, who supposedly was son of the wolf-god Mars and was reared by a she-wolf. The Etruscan priests *lucumones* were possibly linked to the wolf-nature: popular tradition interpreted their name as *lupus + homo*. Cp. Forcellini 1965, 120. Apparently the pagan Russian priests *volkodlaki*, 'wolf-men', also belong in this context; see Rybakov 1987, 730-4. In German-Scandinavian mythology the god *Odin-Vodan* accompanied by two wolves was originally a divine shaman and werewolf: Gerstein 1974, 140-5.

cultic organizations whose members associated with wolves, also go back to that belief.⁶³ These parallels reveal that the earliest and the most primitive categories of Indo-European priests (tribal magicians, wizards, seers) were connected with the wolf-nature. In some Indo-European traditions ritual transformations from men into wolves took place during the periods of winter and summer solstice.⁶⁴ This circumstance indicates that the worship of the Indo-European solar deity initially included the lycanthropic element. These parallels and the features attested in the cult of Zeus Lykaios give reasons to connect the priests of this god with the primitive category of Indo-European priest-magicians, who could act as werewolves devoted to the worship of a solar deity. Perhaps the mythic figure of Lykaon, known in Greek mythology since the time of Hesiod,⁶⁵ has conveyed the original character and traditions of Zeus Lykaios' priests: according to the tradition, he was the first priest of the god to be turned into a wolf,⁶⁶ and the name Λυκάων < Λυκ- + - ὄων might be a contracted form of the compound λύκος + ἄνθρωπος.⁶⁷ The forms of the priesthood of Zeus Lykaios might go back to pre-Greek or to the earliest Greek religious traditions in the territory of Arcadia.

An interesting parallel to the priests of Zeus Lykaios may be found in Russian pagan religion. The priests of a special category known as the 'water-charmers' and 'cloud-gatherers' also appeared as werewolves, *volkodlaki*.⁶⁸ Their basic functions were to control the rain-clouds by means of water magic, to stimulate the fertility of crops and vegetation by performing the fertilizing rituals, and to influence the sun and the moon. They also practiced divination by inspecting the entrails of sacrificed victims, including humans. A necessary element of their priestly activity was the ritual transformation into wolves for the performance of special ceremonies, like charming the crops and celebrating the winter and summer solstice. To 'become a wolf', a priest had to put on a wolf-skin and a magic belt, which was also a guarantee that he would return back to human form. (Figs. 4, 5)

The ritual transformation into a wolf performed by a member of a certain community, as it is described by Pliny, was subject to a decision by lot and appears to have been caused by communal needs. After the performance of a ritual, the selected person 'became' (or was considered) a wolf and had to associate with the wolves for at least 9 years. After that period he might again return to his

63. Przulski 1940; Gerstein 1974, 155.

64. Rybakov 1987, 730-1.

65. Hesiod, *Fr.* 163.

66. Paus. 8.2.1,3.

67. Ruijgh 1968, 113 and 123.

68. Rybakov 1987, 730-4.

human form and rejoin his community. In fact, his temporary status as a wolf was a temporary excommunication. There is no indication that this practice was connected with the worship of Zeus Lykaios. Such details as the throwing of a lot and the choice of only one person every year for the supposed wolf-transformation do not permit this particular case to be interpreted as an initiation ritual,⁶⁹ since in this case the participation would not depend on chance and would not be limited to only one person. All these circumstances give reasons to believe that a certain community living in the vicinity of Mount Lykaion worshipped a wolf-deity, possibly totemic,⁷⁰ to whom it every year devoted one of its members chosen by lot. This practice goes back to a very ancient, common Indo-European custom inferred from Hittite, medieval German, English and Icelandic formulae ritually pronounced against an outlaw with a special legal status: “You have become a wolf” or “Let him be a wolf”, and the like.⁷¹ It has been observed that the Greek expression λύκον γενέσθαι, used in the descriptions of the wolf-transformation at Mount Lykaion,⁷² represents a parallel to these Hittite, German, English and Icelandic formulae.⁷³ It is relevant to note that the wolf was associated with the image of exile in Roman tradition.⁷⁴ Compulsory and temporary association with wolves was practiced among the earliest Slavic tribes,⁷⁵ and an echo of this practice may be recognized in the popular Russian expression: “When you live with the wolves, you should talk like the wolves”.

On the base of these discussions, the nature of Zeus Lykaios should not be confused with the lycanthropic aspect of his priesthood, and he should be distinguished from the wolf-deity specially worshiped by a certain Arcadian community.

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Greece

69. This interpretation was suggested by Burkert 1983, 84-93, and has been supported by some other scholars; see Wathelet 1986.

70. For the Indo-European totemic cult of the wolf, see Altheim 1938, 66-7; Eliade 1959; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 414-7.

71. Watkins 1970, 345; Gerstein 1974, 131.

72. Pl. *Resp.* 565 d-e; Paus. 8.2.3.

73. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.1, 414.

74. Altheim 1938, 210.

75. The Proto-Slavic tribe Neuri, Milogradskaya Archaeological Culture, 7th to 3rd century B.C.: Hdt. 4.105; Rybakov 1987, 148.

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Fig. 1. Bronze figurine of Zeus from the precinct on Mount Lykaion, end of 7th - early 6th century B.C. Athens National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 12306.



Fig. 2. Representation of Zeus Lykaeos on a hemidrachm from Mantinea, 477-465 B.C. (After Jenkins 1972, 48, no. 83.)



Fig. 3. Bronze statue of Zeus from the precinct on Mount Lykaion, middle 6th century B.C. Athens National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 13209.



Fig. 4. Engraved representations on a silver bracelet from Gorodishche (Western Russia), 12th-13th century A.D.: a pagan werewolf-priest executing a ritual to stimulate the fertility of the fields. (After Rybakov 1987, 725, no. 2.)



Fig. 5. A drawing of the representations on the silver bracelet from Gorodishche. (After Rybakov 1987, 725, no. 3.)

III. ANCIENT TEGEA

Pottery from the Norwegian Arcadia Survey: A Preliminary Report

Vincenzo Cracolici

This paper presents initial impressions of the pottery finds from the Norwegian Arcadia Survey. Material from the survey dates from the Bronze Age and through the medieval period. The project provided evidence of extensive local production of pottery in the classical and Hellenistic periods, and only limited importation of Laconian, Corinthian and perhaps Argive ceramics. It provides a basic description of the local ceramics and describes the possible discovery of a workshop or potter's quarter as well as the identification of what appears to be a local Tegean amphora shape.

The aim of this paper is to give a preliminary description of the pottery that has been collected during three seasons of survey undertaken by the University of Oslo, within the project named Norwegian Arcadia Survey in the years 1999-2001.¹ In this perspective, I shall try to give a general overview of the whole collection of materials and to point out some lines of research that are going to be developed in further studies.

The main target of the Norwegian Arcadia Survey project is the description of the urban area of Tegea and its neighbours. This means that the expected range of findings, in terms of chronology, was very wide, since the area of the

1. I would like to thank all the people who helped me in my work and gave me the possibility to take part in a beautiful experience both from the human and professional point of view. I shall start, of course, from Professors Erik Østby and Knut Ødegård, who invited me to join their project, but I want to thank also the team leaders and members and all the students coming from different countries and universities who took part to the Norwegian Arcadia Survey: their help and kindness made everything easy and efficient. I need to thank also Prof. Mary Voyatzis, who explained me in a rapid and efficient way the main features of the local pottery productions of Arcadia: without her knowledge, liberality and skills, my work would have been really difficult. Last but not least, I need to thank Prof. Berit Wells and her team, who visited us both in 2000 and 2001 and with whom we discussed the features of Argive local pottery production. Of course, what I shall say is completely my own responsibility.

ancient *polis* has been occupied from prehistory to modern times. In fact, the chronology of the findings confirmed this supposed situation: the most ancient pieces collected are a few flint objects, the latest are medieval and Turkish sherds; and this wide time span is completely covered, although for some periods by very little material.

Before going *in medias res*, it is necessary to focus our attention on some preliminary remarks.

In the town area, as the geomorphological analysis has shown,² the shape of the landscape in ancient times was characterized by the presence of low hills with small rivers and channels running between them, while now the modern villages are located on a quite regular, horizontal plain. This situation has obvious consequences for the way in which sherds can be collected and gives an explanation for the high frequency of fields where the chronology of the findings is recent, although they can be close to others where more ancient traces are found. For instance, in the supposed urban area of ancient Tegea one or more small fields with pottery datable in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. could be found that were surrounded by fields with material of the medieval or Turkish period; this could mean that the area with the earliest material was in classical times on the top of a small hill, protected from erosion and floodings by channels and riverbeds that could contain the waters from rainfall. Then the abandon or, simply, a lack of maintenance of the channels could have caused them during the centuries to be filled up to (or next to) the top level of the hill.³ So, when the results of the survey are to be evaluated, we must consider all these features, both in terms of chronology and interpretation.

Although the impressions received from pottery collected on the surface may involve some distortion, the picture that emerges from a rapid look at the whole collection shows the presence of a great amount of local pottery, while the imports are very few, especially in the time-span from the classical times to the Roman conquest. So Tegea seems to have been an area counting mainly on local production, and this seems to be naturally connected to the abundance of available natural resources, like clay beds, water and fuel.

This picture is true for all the surveyed areas, although there is an important exception represented by the great and famous sanctuary of Athena Alea, where imports are well known from the excavations; they are justified by the presence of the sanctuary itself. However, this situation is similar to what is described

2. See the paper by K. Ødegård in this volume.

3. This is the case of the temple of Athena Alea, as K. Ødegård points out in his contribution to this volume.

elsewhere in the neighbourhood by previous researches, such as the well published excavation in the temple area at Pallantion.⁴

Tegean pottery fabric can be described as follows: the colour of the clay varies from pinkish yellow to brown, and the presence of two main types of fabric is evident. The first is pink/orange inside and yellow on surface, the second is homogeneously light brown/beige/brown.

The fabric of black-glazed vessels is often fine, with few inclusions consisting of rare, small, white dots, probably calcium-carbonate based rocks, and very thin pieces of gilded and silvered mica. Very rare, thicker grains of sand also occur. A precise qualitative and quantitative analysis has been promoted by M. Voyatzis on a considerable number of samples datable in the Geometric period, while it has yet to be made on the material from the survey, so this description is obviously imprecise and rough. The feel of the fabric is smooth in some circumstances, but very often powdery, while it is hard in yet a few cases. These differences would seem to depend on the temperature and atmospheric conditions in the kiln during the firing process more than any other circumstances. As for the glaze, one can say that it is normally not very shiny, sometimes it is definitively matt. The colour of the glaze could often turn to brown or dark grey, and this is surely due to an imperfect reduction phase during firing.

In this survey, apart from prehistorical material, the most ancient pieces of pottery collected are a few fragments of Mycenaean cups, very badly preserved, of very poor quality and most probably locally made. (Fig. 1)

In the archaic period the imported vases come from Laconia, Corinth and perhaps the Argolis, but these are always only a few pieces among many of local production. In the classical and Hellenistic periods, no imported vases have been recognized yet, but further studies could give more precise indications. In the Roman times some fragments of sigillata and trade amphoras show a situation that can be considered normal for that age. (Fig. 2)

Back to the classical period, of some interest are the many clues which indicate the existence of ceramic workshops in certain fields that have been surveyed in the urban area of Tegea. A considerable number of slag pieces come from different fields and cover a period which surely extends, at least, from the classical period to the Middle Ages. (Fig. 3)

Some sherds belonging to stacking rings and kiln firing supports would seem to be decisive for the identification of a production site in field 332. (Fig. 4)

In the Greek world, the use of tools to separate stacked vases in the kiln begins in the 5th century B.C. and it lasts through the Hellenistic and Roman

4. M. Iozzo and M. Pagano, "Scavi di Pallantion: Catalogo degli oggetti," *ASAtene* 68-69, 1990-91, 121-283.

times.⁵ Its diffusion in the Mediterranean area seems to be connected with the deep change in the methods of pottery production that took place when the massive production of red figured and black glazed pottery developed outside of Attica.

The best parallels for the supports found in Tegea are, in my knowledge, from the Achaean colony of Metaponto, in Southern Italy.⁶ (Fig. 5) The presence of both supports and slags suggests that at least one workshop, if not a potter's quarter, was located in that field. The chronology of these objects, and their shape, seems to suggest that this (or these) workshop(s) were connected with the production of Arcadian red figure vases, although the hypothesis needs necessarily to be confirmed by an excavation.

The last argument that I would like to point out is the possibility that a local shape of amphora existed in Tegea. The best examples are two fragments of rim, neck and handle of a small amphora, both from field no. 246. (Fig. 6)

The clay features are typically local: both sherds are powdery at touch, and the colour is pink inside and yellowish outside in one case, light brown in the other.

I must say that I have not found any comparison for the shape, but this could be only due to a personal lack of knowledge.

At this stage of the research, some features like the rim or the clay seem to recall, from the technical point of view, the Late Roman amphoras like the Almagro 50 or Keay XVI/XXII, but I have no clue for the chronology, since the field where they have been found has been occupied since the classical period. So, any suggestion by scholars and experts will be well received.

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5. The function of this kind of tools is twofold: the first is to improve the stability of the stack, the second to avoid fusion of different vases in the same stack. Another kind of support, leaf-shaped, was used also in the archaic period, but the function was simply to improve the stability of big vases with flat bases in the kiln. For such objects in Athens, see J.K. Papadopoulos, "ΛΑΣΑΝΑ, Tuyères and Kiln Firing Supports," *Hesperia* 61, 1992, 203-21; M.C. Monaco, *Ergasteria. Impianti artigianali ceramici ad Atene ed in Attica dal protogeometrico alle soglie dell'ellenismo*, Rome 2000.

6. In this picture, taken from my Ph.D. thesis, are shown some examples found by F. D'Andria in the potter's quarter of that polis, in a pit that has been connected with the early Lucanian workshop of the Creusa and Dolon Painters (waste deposit no. 1), which activity dates from the end of the 5th century to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. To my knowledge, the use of this cylindrical shape begins in the 5th and lasts until the first half of the 4th century B.C. For further information see: F. D'Andria, "Scavi nella zona del Kerameikos, in Metaponto I," *NSc Suppl.* 1975, 355-452; V. Cracolici, *I sostegni di fornace dal Kerameikos di Metaponto*, Bari 2003.



Fig. 1. Fragments of Mycenaean cups from the neighbourhood of the urban area. (Photo: author.)

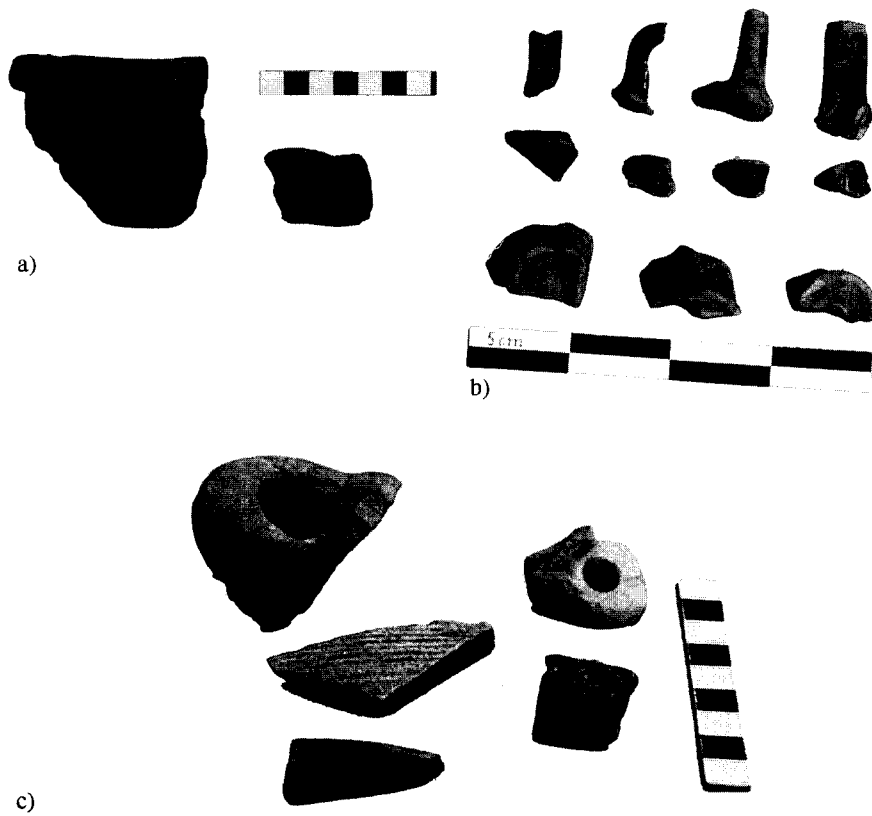


Fig. 2. Some fragments of Late Roman amphoras. a) Laconian fragments; b) pottery of the 5th and 4th century B.C.; c) late Roman sherds. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 3. Ceramic slags. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 4. Kiln firing supports and slags from field 332. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 5. Amphora fragments of local production. (Photo: author.)

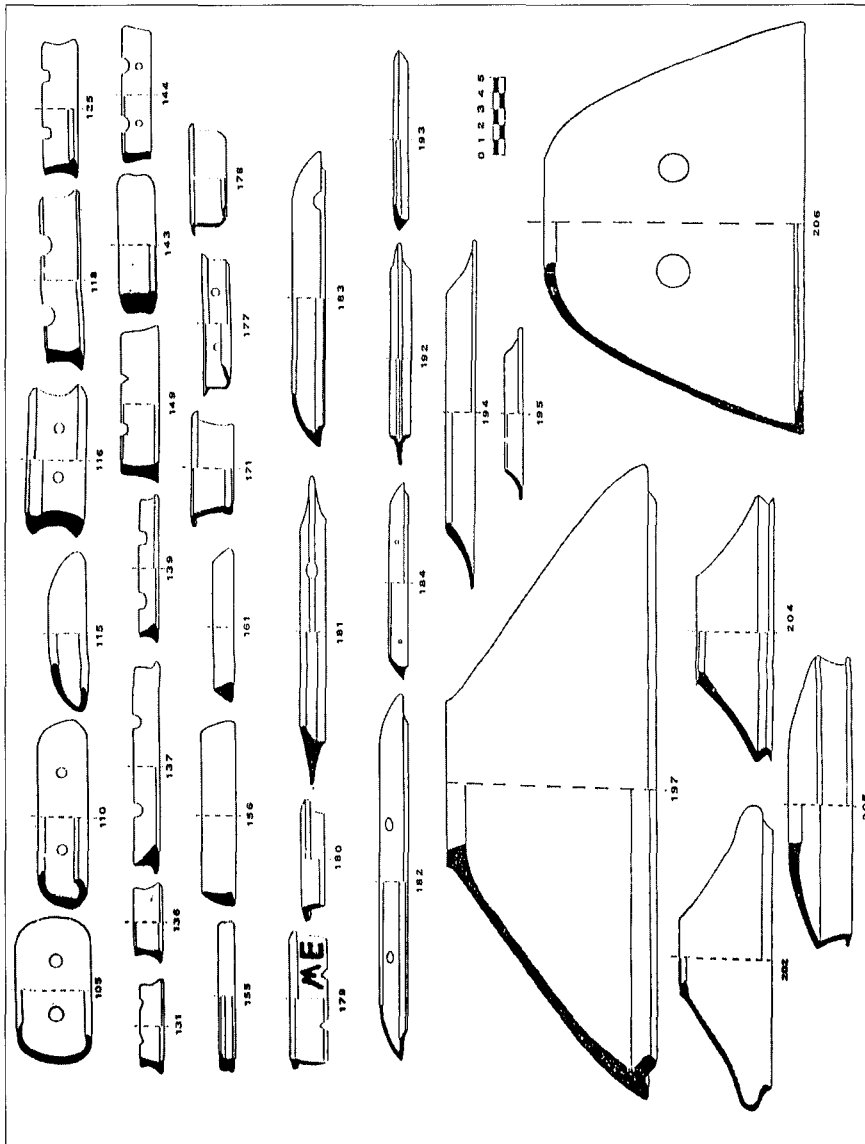


Fig. 6. Kiln firing supports from Metaponto. (Drawing: author.)

Τα επίκρανα της Τεγέας

Θεοδώρα Καράγιωργα-Σταθακοπούλου

Στη μνήμη της Αλκμήνης Ντάτσουλη-Σταυρίδη

A group of well known, but disregarded, architectural pieces from Tegea leads to a new suggestion of the Peloponnesian origin of the so-called sofa-capital. It is argued that the Greek pilaster-capital with the upright volutes a) had been definitely formed about 530 B.C. in the region between Amyklai and Tegea, under possible influence from the Ionian architecture of the Amyklaian 'throne', and b) had been constantly developed within the region of Peloponnese into the advanced Hellenistic period.

Εκτός από την εξέχουσα, από γενικής απόψεως, θέση που κατέχει στην ιστορία της ελληνικής αρχιτεκτονικής, χάρη στον νεότερο ναό της Αθηνάς Αλέας, η Τεγέα έχει και μιαν άλλη, ειδικότερη συμβολή σε αυτόν τον τομέα, διόλου ασήμαντη: εννοώ τη συμβολή της στη διαμόρφωση του ιδιαίτερου εκείνου τύπου επικράνου παραστάδος με όρθιες έλικες, που έχει επικρατήσει να αποκαλούμε με την ατυχή ονομασία sofa-capital, Sofakapitell, chapiteau en sofa, ανακλιντροειδές επίκρανο και, το χειρότερο, 'επίκρανο τύπου σοφά'. Γνωρίζουμε κυρίως τη νεότερη, την ελληνιστική φάση της ιστορίας του, με πάμπολλα παραδείγματα από όλον τον ελληνικό χώρο, αλλά λησμονούμε, ή σπάνια μόνο θυμόμαστε, την πελοποννησιακή καταγωγή του και, κυρίως, τα πρώτα στάδια της εξελικτικής πορείας του στην Τεγέα.¹

Τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά αυτού του τύπου επικράνου στην ολοκληρωμένη καλλιτεχνική μορφή του είναι, πρώτον, ένας κατασκευαστικός πυρήνας με κατακόρυφη διατομή τραπεζίου, το οποίο έχει τη στενή από τις παράλληλες πλευρές κάτω και τις πλάγιες κοίλες, και δεύτερον, δύο διακοσμητικές ταινίες που παρακολουθούν και τονίζουν το περίγραμμα του πυρήνα: μία εσωτερική, υπογραμμισμένη με ραβδία κυρτή ταινία με όρθιες και γυριστές προς τα έξω αιχμηρές άκρες, και μία εξωτερική κοίλη, της οποίας οι ανορθωμένες άκρες τυλίγονται σε έλικες· αυτές υποβαστάζουν έναν πλατύ, απλόν ή κυματιοφό-

1. Καράγιωργα-Σταθακοπούλου 1999, 124-7, 146-52, με τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

ρον άβακα, και στις πλάγιες όψεις σχηματίζουν προσκεφάλαια όπως του ιωνικού κιονοκράνου. Αυτός είναι ο βασικός, λιτός τύπος· ο επικρατέστερος στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους πλούσιος τύπος έχει καλυμμένη την επιφάνεια του τυμπάνου της κύριας όψεως με ποικίλες διακοσμητικές παραστάσεις.

Πριν από σαράντα χρόνια ο Georges Roux αναγνώρισε τον πρόγονο αυτού του κοίλου-με έλικες-επικράνου στο κοίλο-με κυλίνδρους-επίκρανο από το Άργος, περί το 570 π.Χ., και μίλησε πρώτος για την πελοποννησιακή καταγωγή του τύπου.² Όμως είναι φανερό ότι η διακοσμητική λογική αυτών των αιωρούμενων κάτω από τον άβακα κυλίνδρων είναι εντελώς διαφορετική από τη δομική, την τεκτονική λογική που υπηρετούν οι υποστηρίζουσες τον άβακα όρθιες έλικες του ελικωτού επικράνου. Το κοίλο ελικωτό επίκρανο παραστάδος είναι όντως πελοποννησιακό, αλλά δεν κατάγεται από το επίκρανο του Άργους. Η Τεγέα μας αποκαλύπτει ποία είναι η πραγματική καταγωγή του.

Το 1881 ο Wilhelm Dörpfeld περισυνέλεξε από τα χωριά της Τεγέας, μαζί με μερικά δωρικά κιονόκρανα του 6ου και του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ., έντεκα συνολικά επίκρανα παραστάδων της ίδιας εποχής, τα οποία και απέδωσε σε λίθινες παραστάδες, που ενίσχυναν τις γωνίες πλινθόκτιστων κατά τα άλλα μέρη οικημάτων της αρχαϊκής και κλασικής Τεγέας.³ Από τα έντεκα εκείνα επίκρανα σώζεται, όσο μπορώ να γνωρίζω, μόνο ένα στο Μουσείο της Τεγέας, με αριθ. ευρ. 2963.⁴ (Εικ. 1) Εδώ δεν υπάρχουν παρά μόνο τα στοιχειώδη: ένας πλατύς ορθογωνικός άβακας και ένα βαθύ κοίλο κυμάτιο (cavetto) στην κατατομή του κύριου σώματος – δηλαδή, το κατασκευαστικό αρχέτυπο του καθαυτό επικράνου ως ενδιάμεσου αρχιτεκτονικού μέλους μεταξύ της δοκού και του τετράπλευρου στύλου. Με άλλα λόγια, είναι το ίδιο αρχετυπικό επίκρανο που συναντάμε ακόμη και σήμερα στα όσα ξύλινα χαγιάτια της λαϊκής αρχιτεκτονικής έχουν απομείνει στην ορεινή ύπαιθρο της χώρας, και βέβαια στις ποικίλες απομιμήσεις τους, παντού και όχι μόνο στην Αρκαδία.

Την ίδια εποχή με τα στοιχειώδη κοίλα επίκρανα των πηλοπλινθόκτιστων οικοδομημάτων της Τεγέας, και συγκεκριμένα λίγο μετά τα μέσα του 6ου αιώνα π.Χ., εμφανίζεται για πρώτη φορά σε κάποιο επισημότερο κτήριο της πόλεως και ο τύπος με τις όρθιες έλικες, στην πλήρη καλλιτεχνική μορφή του και με αποκρυσταλλωμένα τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά του: την παραπέμπουσα στο αρχετυπικό σχήμα, υπογραμμισμένη με ραβδία εσωτερική κυρτή γλυφή, και την κοίλη ταινία του εξωτερικού πλαισίου με τα αναδιπλωμένα σε σπείρα άκρα. Πρόκειται για το μαρμάρινο επίκρανο με αριθ. ευρ. 2962 του Μουσείου της Τεγέας,⁵ ένα εξαιρετι-

2. Roux 1961, 383-5, εικ. 104.

3. Dörpfeld 1883, 284, πίν. 14.

4. Καράγιωργα 1999, 124, πίν. 20 α.

5. Καράγιωργα 1999, 124, 146-8, σχεδ. 4 α, πίν. 20 β-γ και 21 α-γ.

κό από πλευράς ποιότητας εργασίας δείγμα αρχαϊκού επιπεδογλύφου. (Εικ. 2)

Όμως, την ίδια εποχή εμφανίζεται και ένα δεύτερο, όμοιο επίκρανο, στη Λακωνία, στην περιοχή των Αμυκλών, το υπ' αριθ. 763 του Μουσείου της Σπάρτης.⁶ Αυτό είναι ένα πολύ σημαντικό τεμήριο, διότι μας επιτρέπει να υποθέσουμε ότι η καλλιτεχνική διαμόρφωση του τυπικού ελικωτού πελοποννησιακού επικράνου ολοκληρώθηκε λίγο μετά τα μέσα του 6ου αιώνα π.Χ. στην περιοχή του Αμυκλαίου και με συγκεκριμένα ερεθίσματα από την αρχιτεκτονική του Θρόνου του Αμυκλαίου Απόλλωνος,⁷ εν προκειμένω τα ιδιότυπα μικτά κιονόκρανα – ιδίως σε ό, τι αφορά τη θέση και τη λειτουργία της όρθιας έλικος. Η πιθανότητα να επέδρασε καθοριστικά στη γέννηση του ελικωτού επικράνου το ιδιόρρυθμο έργο του Βαθυκλέους και των ιώνων συνεργατών του στη Λακωνία, ενισχύεται και από τη μαρτυρία του όμοια διακοσμημένου, όπως οι σίμες του Θρόνου του Αμυκλαίου, με αλυσίδα λωτών-ανθεμίων, ελικωτού επικράνου που είδε και σχεδίασε ο Fiechter το 1918 εντοιχισμένο σε ένα σπίτι στον Μυστρά⁸ και που σήμερα αγνοείται η τύχη του. Το ίδιο ενδεχόμενο άλλωστε θα στήριζε και η μαρτυρία του γνωστού αναγλύφου του Μουσείου της Σπάρτης, με την παράσταση του κυνηγού στο μέτωπο και την όρθια έλικα στο πλάι, επίσης από την περιοχή των Αμυκλών.⁹

Συγχρόνως με τα πρώιμα αυτά λακωνικά παραδείγματα εμφανίζεται και στην Τεγέα ο διακοσμητικός τύπος ελικωτού επικράνου – και μάλιστα σε δύο θαυμάσια παραδείγματα. Το υπ' αριθ. 283 του Μουσείου της Τεγέας (Εικ. 3) – ένα από τα επίκρανα που είδε και σχεδίασε ο Mendel το 1901 στο μικρό Μουσείο του Τεγεατικού Συνδέσμου κοντά στην εκκλησία της Παλαιάς Επισκοπής – παρουσιάζει στην παράσταση του πεδίου της κύριας όψης ένα στρογγυλό πυκνόφυλλο ανθέμιο, πλαισιωμένο από δύο όρθιους μίσχους με ένα μισάνοιχτο μπουμπούκι ο καθένας στην κορυφή του.¹⁰ Θυμίζει τα ιωνικής εμπνεύσεως ριπιδιόσχημα ανθέμια των πλήλινων ζωγραφιστών γείσων και των ακροκεράμων της αθηναϊκής Ακροπόλεως, του τέλους του 6ου και των αρχών του 5ου αιώνα, ώστε εύκολα μπορεί και αυτό με τη σειρά του να συνδεθεί με το γνωστό και από άλλες κατηγορίες έργων τέχνης φαινόμενο των πελοποννησιακών, και ειδικότερα λακωνικών, ιωνισμών. Χρονολογείται ασφαλώς στη δεκαετία 510-500 π.Χ.

Στους χρόνους 510-500 π.Χ. χρονολογείται επίσης και το δεύτερο τεγεατικό επίκρανο με παράσταση, αριθ. ευρ. 284.¹¹ (Εικ. 4) Βρέθηκε το 1906 κοντά στην εκκλησία του Αϊ-Γιάννη, 350 μ. περίπου ανατολικά του ναού της Αθηνάς

6. Fiechter 1918, 209, 217, εικ. 56 και 56 a.

7. Faustoferri 1996, 297-358.

8. Fiechter 1918, 211, 217, εικ. 57 και 57 a.

9. Schröder 1904, 32-42, πίν. 2· Fiechter 1918, 209, 217, εικ. 54, 55.

10. Καράγιωργα 1999, 126, 148-9, σχεδ. 4 β, πίν. 22 α-γ.

11. Καράγιωργα 1999, 126, 149-51, σχεδ. 4 γ, πίν. 23 α-γ.

Αλέας, στο δρόμο προς το σημερινό χωριό Στάδιο. Η επιφάνεια του πεδίου καλύπτεται αρμονικά από τη ρωμαλέα κυματοειδή μορφή ενός νεαρού Τρίτωνος που κολυμπάει προς τα αριστερά βλέποντας αντιστρόφως. Ο τρόπος της κίνησης, ο τύπος της κόμμωσης, ο σωματικός τύπος, έχουν τα αντίστοιχά τους στα αττικά ανάγλυφα και στην αττική αγγειογραφία των χρόνων 520-510 π.Χ., ενώ η πλαστική, με τις μεγάλες, απαλά-κυρτές επιφάνειες και τις ανοιχτές, μαλακές καμπύλες του περιγράμματος, μαρτυρεί ιωνική αίσθηση της φόρμας. Την ίδια αίσθηση μαρτυρούν και στην αρχιτεκτονική του επίκρανου το ογκώδες ιωνικό κυμάτιο που επιστέφει τον άβακα, η ανορθόδοξη εσωτερική γλυφή, που εδώ είναι κοίλη προκειμένου να προβληθεί το ανάγλυφο της παράστασης, τα ογκώδη κυρτά ραβδία που τονίζουν το περίγραμμα των ταινιών, και η ανάδειξη της διακοσμητικής εικόνας εις βάρος της καθαρότητας των αρχιτεκτονικών στοιχείων. Όλα αυτά σημαίνουν ότι έχουμε να κάνουμε με έναν τεχνίτη που, ή είχε ο ίδιος ιωνική καταγωγή, ή είχε μαθητεύσει σε κάποιο λακωνικό εργαστήριο την εποχή της κατασκευής του Θρόνου του Αμυκλαίου. Όμως, ας μην ξεχνάμε και τούτο: ότι ο κατ' εξοχήν εκπρόσωπος της αττικής-ιωνικής παράδοσης στην αρχαϊκή πλαστική, ο Ένδοιος, είχε τα ίδια αυτά χρόνια, 530-500 π.Χ., εργασθεί και στην Τεγέα, για την κατασκευή του ελεφάντινου αγάλματος της Αθηνάς Αλέας. Τα αρχαϊκά τεγεατικά επίκρανα υπάγονται λοιπόν στην ίδια ενότητα με τα λακωνικά αντίστοιχα – άλλωστε η διακίνηση ιδεών και μορφών της τέχνης μεταξύ Τεγεάτιδος και Λακωνικής έγινε πολύ πιο εύκολη μετά τα μέσα του 6ου αιώνα, με το τέλος της διαμάχης και την υποταγή της Τεγέας στην πανίσχυρη γείτονά της.

Κατά τον 5ο αιώνα το πελοποννησιακό ελικωτό επίκρανο διαδόθηκε και στην υπόλοιπη Ελλάδα – οι μαρτυρίες όμως είναι ελάχιστες, με δύο όλα και όλα παραδείγματα, ένα μετά τα μέσα του 5ου αιώνα από την Όλυνθο¹² και ένα περί τα μέσα του 4ου από τον Ωρωπό.¹³ Στην ίδια την Πελοπόννησο τώρα, αφ' ενός συντηρείται η αρχαϊκή παράδοση, όπως δείχνει ένα εντυπωσιακό παράδειγμα από την Κόρινθο,¹⁴ που επαναλαμβάνει το διακοσμητικό θέμα του επίκρανου του Μυστρά, και αφ' ετέρου εγκαινιάζεται η δεύτερη σπουδαία φάση της ιστορίας αυτού του τύπου, η ελληνιστική, και πάλι στην Τεγέα, με τα επίκρανα των παραστάδων ενός μοναδικού από πολλές απόψεις επιτάφιου ναΐσκου.¹⁵ Το ανάγλυφο βρέθηκε 200 μ. νοτίως του ναού της Αθηνάς Αλέας, είναι εκτεθειμένο στο Μουσείο της Τεγέας (αριθ. ευρ. 2295) και χρονολογείται γύρω στο 310 π.Χ. Είναι από τα τρία ή τέσσερα όλα και όλα μνημεία όπου έ-

12. Robinson 1930, 92-3, εικ. 214-6.

13. Coulton 1968, 164, εικ. 12, πίν. 49 c.

14. Broneer 1935, 66 εικ. 9.

15. Καράγιωργα 1999, 122-4, σχεδ. 3, πίν. 15-7.

χουμε επίκρανα παραστάδων αυτού του τύπου στη θέση τους – όλα τα άλλα παραδείγματα που γνωρίζουμε είναι λυτά μέλη. Είναι επίσης ο μοναδικός επιτάφιος ναΐσκος με επίκρανα αυτού του τύπου. Το επίκρανο (Εικ. 5) έχει τον χαρακτηριστικό για την εποχή του υψηλό κυματοφόρον άβακα και ο ρόδακας κατέχει εδώ τη θέση του πυκνόφυλλου ανθεμίου με τους μίσχους του υστεροαρχαϊκού επικράνου του ίδιου Μουσείου. (Εικ. 3) Μεταπλασμένο κατά το πνεύμα της εποχής του, εμφανίζεται επίσης το θέμα της αλυσίδας λωτού-ανθεμίου, των επικράνων του Μυστρά και της Κορίνθου, σε ένα ακόμη επίκρανο του Μουσείου της Τεγέας, των αρχών του 3ου αιώνα π.Χ.¹⁶ (Εικ. 6)

Αλλά τώρα πλέον ελικωτά επίκρανα με πλαστική διακόσμηση απαντούν και στην υπόλοιπη Αρκαδία: στο παράδειγμα από τη Φιγάλεια, σήμερα στο Μουσείο της Ολυμπίας,¹⁷ υπάρχουν εναλλασσόμενα άνθη λωτού και ανθέμια, όπως στο τελευταίο της Τεγέας (Εικ. 6), ενώ σε ένα άλλο, από τις ‘Πηγές του Αλφειού’ στο Κεφαλόβρυσο του Αϊ-Γιάννη (Ραφιομάτι),¹⁸ ένα ελισσόμενο φίδι γεμίζει το διακοσμητικό πεδίο της κύριας όψης όπως ο κολυμβητής Τρίτων στο υστεροαρχαϊκό της Τεγέας. (Εικ. 4)

Με τα τελευταία αυτά αρκαδικά παραδείγματα θα μπορούσε να πει κανείς ότι κλείνει ο κύκλος του βίου του ελικωτού επικράνου στην Πελοπόννησο. Δεν συμβαίνει όμως ακριβώς έτσι· διότι την ίδια αυτή εποχή, μεταξύ του τέλους του 3ου και των αρχών του 2ου αιώνα π.Χ., θα συντελεσθεί στον γεωγραφικό χώρο μεταξύ ΒΔ Αρκαδίας, Ηλείας και Αχαΐας μια πολύ ενδιαφέρουσα μεταμόρφωση του συγκεκριμένου τύπου: η χαρακτηριστική αρχιτεκτονική μορφή του θα μεταφερθεί από τα επίκρανα των παραστάδων στις ιδιότυπες επιτύμβιες στήλες αυτής της περιοχής, μεταπλασμένη σε πλαίσιο μιας στενόμακρης ζώνης κάτω από το αέτωμα, άλλοτε απλής και άλλοτε διακοσμημένης με βλαστούς ακάνθου.¹⁹

Αυτή είναι σε γενικές γραμμές η εν πολλοίς άγνωστη ιστορία του πελοποννησιακού επικράνου παραστάδος με όρθιες έλικες – μια ιστορία στην οποία η Τεγέα έπαιξε, όπως είδαμε, πρωταγωνιστικό ρόλο. Δυστυχώς δεν γνωρίζουμε τίποτε για τα κτήρια στα οποία ανήκαν τα υπέροχα αρχαϊκά παραδείγματα του Μουσείου της Τεγέας. Έστω και έτσι όμως, δεν παύουν να αποτελούν πολύτιμα τεκμήρια και θα πρέπει κάποτε να πάρουν τη θέση που τους ανήκει στα εγχειρίδια της ιστορίας της αρχαίας ελληνικής αρχιτεκτονικής.

Θεοδώρα Καράγιωργα-Σταθακοπούλου
28 Οκτωβρίου 4
GR – 15 451 Νέο Ψυχικό, Αθήνα
Greece

16. Καράγιωργα 1999, 151-2, πίν. 24 α-β.

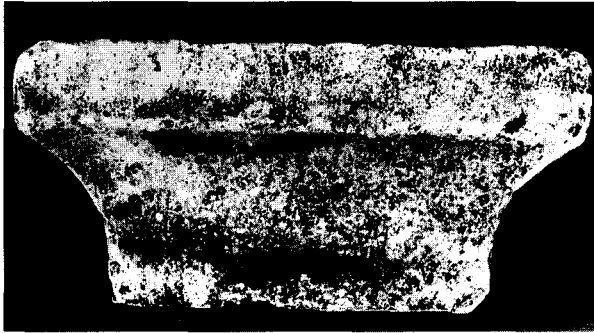
17. Καράγιωργα 1999, 127, 152.

18. Πίκουλας 1988, 96 αριθ. 51, εικ. 41.

19. Papapostolou 1993, 48-58, 69-73.

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Εικ. 1. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Επίκρανο παραστάδος αριθ. 2963. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



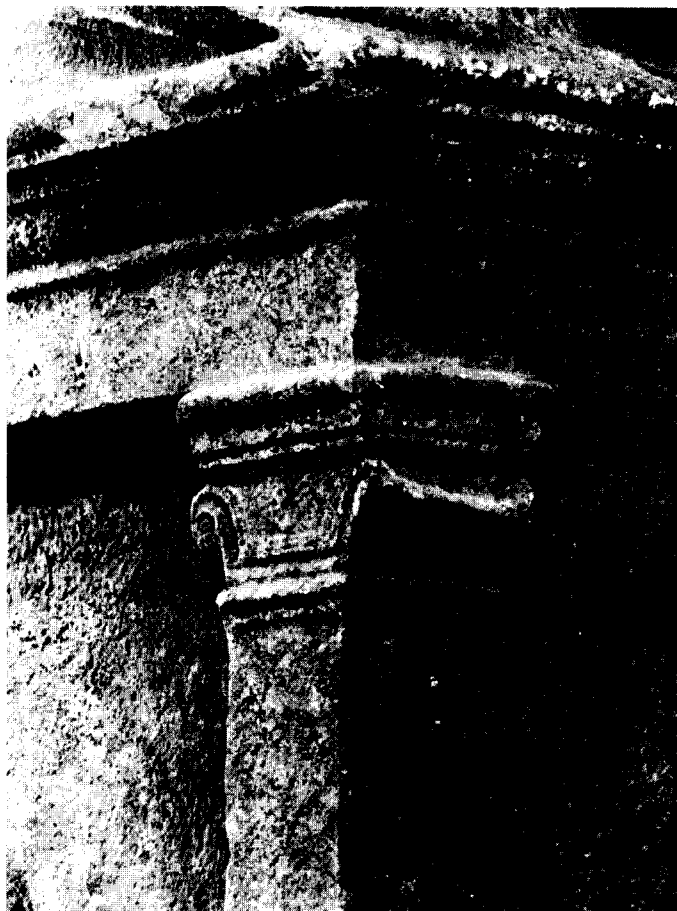
Εικ. 2. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Επίκρανο παραστάδος αριθ. 2962. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



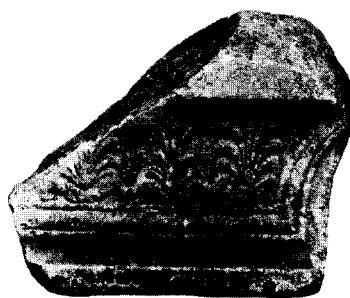
Εικ. 3. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Επίκρανο παραστάδος αριθ. 283. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 4. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Επίκρανο παραστάδος αριθ. 284. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 5. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Επιτύμβιο ανάγλυφο αριθ. 2295 (λεπτομέρεια). (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 6. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Ελληνιστικό επίκρανο παραστάδος. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)

Marpessa detta Choira e Ares Gynaikothoinas

Mauro Moggi

Pausanias' account which links the epiklesis *Gynaikothoinas*, assigned to Ares in Tegea, with a Tegean victory over the Spartans, obtained thanks to the essential contribution of the women lead by Marpessa, called Choira, is clearly of aetiological nature. What is represented here is a situation of inversion, the female element having exceptionally taken possession of a war god (Ares), specific functions (war and celebration of sacrifice) and also a site (the *agorà*) usually reserved for males. Recent interpretations are inclined to explain Ares as a god of fecundity, or suggest for women a role they never played in warfare. Far more plausible and convincing, however, is the idea that Pausanias' account implies a reversal of the ordinary, in which Ares still maintains his characteristics of a war god.

Fra i numerosi contributi originali e interessanti forniti da Pausania sono da annoverare senz'altro anche le informazioni concernenti l'impresa militare attribuita a Marpessa e il culto di Ares Gynaikothoinas a Tegea.¹ La narrazione della *Periegesi*, che prende lo spunto da alcuni dati autoptici (ὄπλον di Marpessa, ἄγαλμα di Ares scolpito ἐπὶ στήλῃ, πέδαι dei prigionieri spartani), merita di essere analizzata accuratamente nei singoli dettagli, nell'intento di rivedere alcune recenti letture, che, oltre ad aver introdotto nel dibattito qualche riflessione difficilmente condivisibile, hanno avuto come conseguenza più rilevante il sostanziale accantonamento della interpretazione complessiva proposta qualche tempo fa da F. Graf,² una interpretazione le cui linee essenziali sono da considerare, a mio avviso, tuttora valide.

La storia narrata da Pausania può essere così sintetizzata: in occasione di una spedizione effettuata dagli Spartani al comando del re Carillo, le donne di Tegea, guidate da Marpessa, intervennero in maniera decisiva nel combat-

1. Si tratta di un tema oggetto di diversi interventi, peraltro coordinati e integrati fra loro, come avviene di norma in casi simili nella *Periegesi*: Paus. 8.5.9; 47.2; 48.4-5; cfr. 3.7.3.

2. Graf 1984.

timento, ponendosi prima in agguato presso la collina detta Phylaktrix³ e presentandosi poi ai nemici, quando questi si erano già scontrati con i loro uomini. La battaglia si concluse con la sconfitta e la cattura degli Spartani, che furono costretti a lavorare, in catene, la pianura dei Tegeati. Per celebrare la vittoria, le donne offrirono un sacrificio ad Ares, escludendo i maschi dalla partecipazione al rito e dalla distribuzione delle carni. Di qui l'epiteto Gynaikothoinas conferito al dio.

L'*hoplon* visto da Pausania può essere, ma non necessariamente è, uno scudo (oplitico), come di solito viene inteso:⁴ il termine, infatti, nella *Periegesi* indica o una singola arma, la cui natura viene precisata di volta in volta, o l'armatura come insieme composito di vari elementi.⁵ L'appostamento in agguato (ἐλόχων ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον)⁶ e l'intervento sul campo di battaglia a scontro già iniziato non sono in linea con i criteri del codice comportamentale oplitico,⁷ che, come è noto, prevede il preliminare schieramento dei combattenti ed esclude l'attacco di sorpresa. Un regolare combattimento fra forze opliti che è più facilmente individuabile, anche se non affermato esplicitamente, nella storia di Telesilla, una storia che è bene tenere sullo sfondo perché rivela analogie di fondo con la nostra e può averne costituito il modello:⁸ infatti in questo episodio le donne argive, debitamente armate e schierate in campo, prima attesero e poi sostennero vigorosamente l'attacco degli Spartani, senza lasciarsi spaventare dal loro grido di guerra.⁹

3. Per l'identificazione con la collina di Mertsousi, attualmente Akra, cfr. Jost 1985, 156.

4. Cfr., tra le altre, le seguenti traduzioni: Dindorf 1882: "scutum"; Jones 1935: "the shield"; ved. anche Pretzler 1999, 95-6, 107; *contra*, Jost 1998, 275.

5. Per il significato generico di 'arma' offensiva e difensiva cfr. 6.13.2; 8.11.4; 10.21.2; per quello di 'armatura oplitica' – nel linguaggio agonistico, in riferimento alla 'corsa in armi' – cfr. 6.13.2: τοῦ ὅπλου ὁ δρόμος (ved. anche 15.2 e 9; 16.4 e 8; 17.1) e 5.8.10: τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος.

6. Sulla simmetria fra *lochos*/parto e *lochos*/agguato, che permette di vedere in quest'ultimo un modo di combattere tipicamente femminile, cfr. Loraux 1991, 8-11, 256.

7. Moggi 2002, con ampia bibliografia sul problema.

8. In questo senso cfr. soprattutto Leahy 1958, 151-2. Come analogie con la storia di Marpessa, in quella di Telesilla (cfr. anche Stadter 1965, 45-53) sono da rilevare, in particolare, il carattere eziologico nei confronti degli *Hybristikà*, una festa basata sulla inversione, e la notizia sulla erezione di una statua di Enyalios da parte delle donne.

9. Cfr. soprattutto Paus. 2.20.9 (in particolare: τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικία τῶν γυναικῶν ὠπλιζεν, ὀπλίσασα δὲ ἔτασσε ... ὡς δὲ <ἐγγύς> ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες οὕτε τῷ ἀλαλαγμῷ κατεπλάγησαν δεξάμενάι τε ἐμάχοντο ἔρρωμένως): le donne in età (come di norma avveniva per gli elementi maschili), furono utilizzate, dunque, come truppe operative sul campo di battaglia, mentre gli uomini più giovani e più anziani (nel caso specifico insieme ai servi), secondo una prassi largamente diffusa in epoca classica, vennero disposti sulle mura a difesa della città. Rappresentazione completamente diversa dello scontro

Comunque, al di là delle incertezze sulla tipologia dello scontro e della sua compatibilità o meno con i ben noti schemi del combattimento oplitico, due fatti sono da sottolineare: le donne di Marpessa sono accomunate agli uomini nell'indossare le armi e nel conseguimento della vittoria in battaglia;¹⁰ diversamente da quanto testimoniato per alcuni eventi storici – nei quali l'intervento femminile si concretizza in gesti poco più che simbolici di solidarietà e di sostegno agli uomini (grida e lancio di tegole e pietre)¹¹ o in attività collaterali (cura dei feriti, approntamento e trasporto delle armi, realizzazione delle fortificazioni)¹² – nei due episodi leggendari le donne sono presentate come veri e propri elementi combattenti, senza che niente le distingua dai soldati di sesso maschile. In effetti, nel caso di Marpessa esse si affiancano (e in quello di Telesilla addirittura si sostituiscono) agli uomini, usando le loro stesse armi e combattendo sostanzialmente alla loro stessa maniera.

Ho insistito su questo aspetto della vicenda, perché mi sembra importante sottolineare che, se nel mondo greco la norma prevedeva che la guerra fosse prerogativa esclusiva degli uomini,¹³ ne consegue che Marpessa e le sue donne si sono appropriate di uno statuto e di un ruolo dai quali avrebbero dovuto essere escluse e che tale appropriazione si configura come un rovesciamento della normalità.

Le donne-soldato, d'altra parte, rappresentano solo il primo elemento di un quadro generale basato sul rovesciamento dei ruoli tradizionali: infatti, il sacrificio in onore di Ares, divinità guerriera e oggetto di culti prettamente maschili, costituisce il secondo di una serie di elementi che puntano concordemente nella stessa direzione.¹⁴

in Plut. *De mul. vir.* 4 (*Mor.* 245 e-f), che parla di pesanti perdite inflitte a Cleomene dalle donne schierate sulle mura e della cacciata di Demarato, che era riuscito a penetrare all'interno della città.

10. Paus. 8.5.9: αὐτοί τε οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ γυναῖκες ὄπλα ἐνδύσαι μάχῃ νικῶσι.

11. La partecipazione ai conflitti, anche in questa forma sussidiaria e ridotta, è considerata contraria alla natura femminile in Thuc. 3.74.1.

12. Si segnalano, tra gli altri, i significativi casi di Platea, Corcira e Sparta: Thuc. 2.4.2; 3.74.1; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 27.4-9; 29.5 e 12; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.49. Sulla questione cfr. Schaps 1982 e soprattutto Loraux 1991, 249-75.

13. L'affermazione non richiede di essere dimostrata; cfr. comunque, fra le fonti antiche, Hom. *Il.* 6. 490-493; Ar. *Lys.* 520, 538; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 29.12. Fra gli studi moderni, oltre a quelli citati alla nota precedente, cfr. Arrigoni 1984 (ovviamente per il mondo romano, che comunque, da questo punto di vista, non sembra presentare sostanziali differenze rispetto a quello greco); Lefkowitz 1983; Moggi 2002, 200-1.

14. Per rimanere in ambito pausaniano, si pensi al divieto di ingresso per le donne nel bosco sacro di Ares in occasione della sua festa a Geronthrai (3.22.6-7); cfr. inoltre Teles, p. 24.11 Hense. Sul dio e sul suo ruolo nella sfera bellica, di recente, Deacy 2000.

Quanto all'epiteto *Gynaikothoinas*, che costituisce un *hapax*, le interpretazioni che ne vengono date sono due e differiscono per il ruolo attivo o passivo attribuito al dio, visto sia come "colui che invita (o festeggia) le donne a banchetto", sia come "colui che è invitato (o festeggiato) dalle donne a banchetto".¹⁵ A questo proposito, dal contesto emergono indicazioni contrastanti. Trattandosi della rappresentazione di un mondo alla rovescia, possiamo spingere fino al limite estremo il grado di inversione e ipotizzare che Ares accetti non solo di diventare oggetto di culto da parte delle donne, ma anche di riconoscere loro il ruolo di protagoniste nel rituale, 'lasciandosi' invitare al banchetto. D'altra parte, è anche verosimile – e forse più probabile – ritenere che Ares, se può essere oggetto di culto da parte dell'elemento femminile solo in una situazione di inversione, venga rappresentato come il dio che – eccezionalmente e per sua scelta – 'si concede' alle donne, prendendo l'iniziativa di invitarle a una festa conviviale, e non come il dio che le donne possono invitare a loro discrezione.¹⁶

Se dall'analisi del contesto passiamo a quella del termine, è forse possibile pervenire a risultati più soddisfacenti e più sicuri. Nei composti che hanno come primo membro *γυναικο-* le donne possono svolgere un ruolo sia attivo che passivo rispetto al derivato verbale che costituisce il secondo membro:¹⁷ dal punto di vista strettamente linguistico, pertanto, entrambe le interpretazioni risultano legittime. E tuttavia, il confronto con termini come *βουθοίνας* e *ἀρνεοθόινας*,¹⁸ strutturati in maniera identica al nostro epiteto divino, non sembra lasciare dubbi in proposito: il soggetto¹⁹ cui l'aggettivo è riferito compie l'azione espressa dal verbo da cui deriva il secondo elemento del composto e la compie nei confronti del soggetto identificato dal primo elemento. Di conseguenza, mi sembra che una

15. Cfr. LSJ s.v. *Γυναικοθόινας*; Graf 1984, 248; Burelli Bergese 1995, 51 n. 41.

16. Per apprezzare l'eccezionalità del ruolo femminile nel sacrificio di Tegea si tenga presente, in generale, Detienne 1982, il quale, tra l'altro, afferma (134): "Rispetto al sacrificio, soprattutto cruento, la donna greca è minorene, perché il regime delle carni alimentari è uno specchio fedele della prassi politica ... [in riferimento ai casi di Erchia e di Tegea] si tratta, ad ogni modo, di eccezioni che confermano il monopolio maschile nella sfera del sacrificio cruento e dell'alimentazione carnea."

17. Si tengano presenti, da una parte, termini quali *γυναικόβουλος* (Aesch. *Cho.* 626) e *γυναικογήρυτος* (Aesch. *Ag.* 487); dall'altra, *γυναικομανής* (Chrysippus, fr. 480 e 667 [*Stoic. Vet. Fragm.* 3, pp. 130.26 e 167.8 von Arnim = pp. 1229 e 1303 Radice]); Galen. 5.396 Kühn) e *γυναικόποιος* (Aesch. *Ag.* 225).

18. *Schol. Ar. Ran.* 105, 107; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 4.77.103 e 122; *Anth. Lyr. Graec.* XVI 123 e 235; Suida s.v. *Βούθος* περιφοιτᾶ e ὕλλος; Eust. *Il.* III, p. 270.14; p. 559.24; IV, p. 687.9 van der Valk; Eust. *Od.* I, p. 198.33; Hesych. s.v. *βουθοίνης* con Aesch. *Suppl.* 540. Su *bouthoinas* cfr. Giangiulio 1983, 819-21.

19. Nel caso di *bouthoinas* si tratta di Eracle, in quello di *arneothoinas* di Pan.

interpretazione di questo genere si imponga in maniera abbastanza netta sulla interpretazione alternativa, anche se è quest'ultima che si avvia a diventare la più corrente e diffusa.²⁰

Non è il caso di dilungarsi sugli altri aspetti della vicenda che si inseriscono perfettamente in un quadro generale di inversione rispetto alla norma (occupazione dell'*agorà* e gestione del sacrificio da parte delle donne, con esclusione degli uomini): in pratica, ci troviamo di fronte a una situazione nella quale l'elemento femminile si è appropriato, eccezionalmente, di una divinità, di alcune funzioni e di un luogo prettamente pertinenti all'elemento maschile.²¹ Pertanto è assai probabile, come ho dato per scontato finora, che si tratti non tanto della registrazione di un accadimento reale, quanto, a prescindere dalla attendibilità storica della spedizione di Carillo e dalla sua cronologia,²² di un racconto eziologico destinato a spiegare un'epiclesi divina, nonché un rito e un culto che probabilmente non venivano più celebrati ai tempi di Pausania.²³

Mette conto, invece, ritornare un momento alla divinità coinvolta, cui di recente sono state attribuite prerogative pertinenti alla sfera della fecondità, che sarebbero state ignorate da Pausania:²⁴ in realtà, le testimonianze a sostegno di un Ares dio della fecondità, prima ancora che della guerra, il quale avrebbe mantenuto questa caratterizzazione solo in Arcadia, sono del tutto inadeguate.²⁵ Inoltre, i numerosi e collegati elementi di inversione, che caratterizzano l'articolata struttura dell'*aition*, dimostrano che nella fattispecie dobbiamo aspettarci un culto improprio, anomalo ed eccezionale, come può esserlo un culto celebrato in onore del dio della guerra da parte di soggetti, quali erano le donne, categoricamente e completamente esclusi dalla guerra stessa.

Se queste affermazioni hanno un fondamento, cadono anche le ragioni per vedere nella vicenda tegeate una prova del ruolo giocato dalle donne nella sfera

20. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 270; Jost 1998, 278; Montanari s.v. Γυναικοθύνας: "Festeggiato dalle donne (in conviti)"; sembra orientato diversamente, invece, Detienne 1982, 134: "Ares, detto Gynaikothoinas perché presiede ... il banchetto delle donne."

21. A questo proposito cfr. Graf 1984, 248, 251-2.

22. Cfr. Paus. 3.7.3 con il commento di Musti e Torelli 1991, 181.

23. Si sono imposte giustamente, a questo proposito, le conclusioni raggiunte da Jacoby 1969, 27-31.

24. In questo senso Prieto Prieto 1989, 263-8, su cui cfr. anche Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 270 n. 115.

25. La prima testimonianza addotta (Hom. *Od.* 8.266-366) concerne semplicemente gli amori fra Ares e Afrodite, considerati un'offesa per Efesto, in quanto avvenuti nella sua casa; le altre (Ap. Rhod. 3.1176-1187, 1354-1358; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.1) riguardano soprattutto la nascita degli Sparti dai denti del drago, messo a guardia della sorgente (e forse figlio) di Ares, e non sembrano presupporre particolari prerogative del dio nell'ambito della fecondità; cfr. Vian 1963, 21-31, 106-9, 145-6, 158-9, 162-3.

bellica e dei loro legami con Ares.²⁶ In effetti, l'elemento femminile e l'attività militare, con le divinità a essa preposte, si collocano su versanti lontani e contrapposti; nel nostro caso un contatto fra queste due realtà si verifica, ma si tratta di un contatto (peraltro solo temporaneo) che è reso possibile da una situazione di totale rovesciamento dei ruoli tradizionali giocati dalle donne e dagli uomini.²⁷ Del resto, è proprio questo il significato delle situazioni di inversione: attribuire eccezionalmente funzioni e ruoli che sono esclusi in situazioni di normalità.

* * *

Racconto in qualche misura parallelo al testo pausiano è considerato quello di Dinea di Argo,²⁸ nel quale tuttavia non mancano rilevanti elementi di differenziazione: la protagonista, considerata signora di Tegea (ἐν Τεγέᾳ δυναστευούσης), è chiamata Perimeda e accomunata a Marpessa dallo stesso soprannome (Χοίρα), che tuttavia sembra esserle attribuito non da tutti, ma da οἱ πλείστοι; non si accenna a una azione militare effettuata dalle donne né alla spedizione di Carillo; la connessione con la guerra e con gli Spartani consiste nel fatto che questi, ridotti in ceppi, lavoravano la terra tegeate, quando Perimeda, appunto, era signora della città.

Per quanto concerne i nomi delle due donne, basterà dire che essi sono presenti nella leggenda eroica e hanno alle spalle una lunga tradizione.²⁹ Più significativo dovrebbe essere il soprannome comune, il quale talvolta è stato messo in rapporto con il derivato Χοιρίλη, che secondo Filocoro veniva attribuito a Ecabe, madre di numerosi figli, dal momento che ἡ ... χοῖρος πολλὰ τίκτει.³⁰ La prolificità, evidentemente, si addice a una donna e in generale è senz'altro da considerare una qualità positiva, ma nella fattispecie non si vede perché e in qual modo una donna guerriera, al centro di un culto di Ares sul

26. In questo senso Jost 1985, 516-7; *ead.* 1998, 278.

27. Graf 1984, 251: "For a certain time, the usual order of things was reversed at Tegea, the agora was occupied by the womenfolk, and among them Ares reigned." In generale, Loraux 1991, 249-50.

28. *FGrHist* 306 F 4. Versione completamente diversa – che non contempla alcun ruolo per le donne e che sembra riferirsi sia alla tradizione sulla sconfitta di Carillo, sia a un'altra notizia pausiana (8.53.9-10) avente come protagonista il fuoco – in Polyenus, *Strat.* 1.8.

29. Per Marpessa, di cui si è sostenuta anche un'origine micenea (Witczak 1991 e 1996) cfr. soprattutto Hom. *Il.* 9.556-560; *Schol.* Hom. *Il.* 9.556-560; Jones Rocco 1992; le fonti attestano la sua discendenza da Ares, padre di suo padre Eveno secondo Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.7-8; per Perimeda cfr. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.3; 2.4.6; *Schol.* Pind. *Ol.* 3.28.

30. Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 90; in questo senso cfr. anche Aesop. 223 Perry [251 Hausrath², 342 Chambry³]; Arist. *Hist. An.* 6.18 (573 a 32-36); Ael. *NA* 12.16.

quale le donne detengono l'esclusiva in quanto guerriere, debba essere qualificata come Choira in quanto molto prolifica.

A un personaggio del tipo di Marpessa si adatterebbero molto meglio i termini $\upsilon\varsigma$ / $\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$, attraverso i quali la femmina del cinghiale e del maiale viene assunta talvolta come emblema di doti quali la combattività e la aggressività.³¹ Una valenza di questo genere, tuttavia, non è attestata per i termini $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($\acute{\eta}$, \acute{o}) e $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\alpha$, il cui uso, peraltro, è circoscritto al maiale domestico e non si estende al cinghiale. Pertanto, relativamente al problema della esatta valenza dell'epiteto presente sia in Pausania che in Dinia, si possono proporre soltanto soluzioni largamente ipotetiche.

Il maiale, in genere sotto la designazione $\upsilon\varsigma$ / $\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$, risulta talvolta assunto come simbolo di stupidità, di ignoranza, di rozzezza e di sporcizia,³² ma gli aspetti negativi che lo caratterizzano non sembrano investire la famiglia lessicale di $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$: basterà sottolineare, a questo proposito, la rilevante diffusione di nomi personali come $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\iota\omega\nu$, $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\iota\omega\nu$, $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\iota\lambda\eta$, $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\iota\nu\eta$ ecc., una diffusione che non pare facilmente conciliabile con una valenza esclusivamente spregiativa della terminologia relativa a questo animale.³³ Se teniamo presente, inoltre, che $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ presenta di norma il significato primario, a mezzo fra il diminutivo e il vezzeggiativo, di "porcellino" e "maialino", siamo autorizzati, anche da questo punto di vista, a non attribuire alla antroponomastica che ha alla base questo termine e i suoi derivati valenze non propriamente positive.³⁴

Se le cose stanno così, diventa ancor più difficile interpretare l'epiteto dell'eroina tegeate nel senso metaforico, del resto non altrimenti attestato, che possono assumere in italiano termini quali 'maiala' e 'troia'. Un'interpretazione di questo genere, del resto, è fortemente sconsigliata da altri due dati forniti dalla tradizione: il ruolo di rilievo e del tutto positivo giocato dalla protagonista nell'ambito dell'*aition*, che si propone di spiegare la genesi del culto con sacrificio e che, verosimilmente, presuppone un ruolo altrettanto importante della stessa nel rituale; la conservazione dell'*hoplon* della Choira nel tempio

31. Alc. fr. 393 Voigt; Z 70 Lobel-Page; Ar. *Lys.* 683-684 (cfr. Taillardat 1962, 191, 207-8; Henderson 1991, 161; Sommerstein 1990, 192); *Paroemiogr.* 2, pp. 705.74 e 765.46 Leutsch-Schneidewin.

32. De Martino 1986.

33. Cfr., ex. gr., Hdt. 7.170; Paus. 5.26.5; 6.17.5; Jacoby 1954, 377-8. Particolarmente interessante il caso di $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\iota\nu\eta$ da Eleusi (*IG* 2/32, 13062, su cui ved. Dillon 2002, 80 e 318 n. 56); ma soprattutto, per avere un'idea della frequenza e della diffusione degli antroponimi basati su $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in ogni area del mondo greco, cfr. Fraser e Matthews 1987.1, 486; 1994.2, 479; 1997.3A, 477; 2000.3B, 444.

34. Diversamente Jacoby 1969, 30; Leahy 1958, 151.

della divinità poliade, insieme ad altre reliquie preziose per la identità della *polis* e per il suo passato mitico e storico. È ragionevole escludere, in conclusione, che possa trattarsi di un *nomen foedans*.

In effetti, se ammettiamo, come abbiamo fatto, di trovarci di fronte a un racconto eziologico, l'ipotesi più probabile, per quanto non dimostrabile, è che quello che viene dato come epiteto di un personaggio legato a un evento storico costituisca in realtà la designazione della donna che di volta in volta guidava l'esercito delle donne nella occupazione dell'*agorà* e presiedeva al sacrificio dal quale erano esclusi gli uomini. In questo caso, i nomi mutuati dal patrimonio mitico (Marpessa, Perimeda) potrebbero essere stati introdotti solo nei diversi stadi in cui si è formato l'*aition* che collegava l'anomalo rituale a un evento che doveva apparire storicamente credibile e facilmente accettabile dai Tegeati: una vittoria militare contro Sparta, tradizionale nemica della città arcadica.³⁵ Questa soluzione permetterebbe di rendere conto della diversità delle denominazioni dell'eroina che coesiste, e nello stesso tempo risulta in contrasto, con la persistenza dello stesso epiteto sia in Diania che in Pausania. Quanto alla interpretazione, si potrebbe ipotizzare per $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\alpha$ il significato di "sesso femminile",³⁶ attestato almeno per $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$:³⁷ in questo modo, in una situazione di inversione dei valori e degli usi tradizionali, uno dei poli della opposizione risulterebbe designato con il termine che faceva riferimento all'elemento fisico capace di individuare l'essenza stessa della femminilità, rendendo ancor più evidente il grado estremo di rovesciamento della realtà e sottolineando il carattere paradossale di un rituale che contemplava l'appropriazione di prerogative peculiari ed esclusive dei maschi da parte delle donne.

* * *

Dal punto di vista storiografico, in genere si dà per scontato che la formazione delle tradizioni di cui disponiamo sia posteriore a Erodoto, il quale, in effetti, mostra di conoscere l'episodio degli Spartani fatti prigionieri e costretti a lavorare la terra dei Tegeati, nonché l'oracolo ingannevole e i ceppi (già al suo tempo appesi all'interno del tempio di Atena Alea)³⁸ collegati all'episodio

35. Tra gli altri, cfr. Hdt. 1.65-8; 9.26.7; Paus. 8.1.6; 53.9-10; cfr., da ultimo, Pretzler 1999, 109-11, 114-7.

36. Questo significato è dato per certo da Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 270 n. 115. Più prudenti Graf 1984 (248 n. 25: "The name Choïro has sexual connotations ..., but their relevance here is difficult to assess") e Loraux 1991 (257 e n. 37), che richiama a questo proposito l'ostentazione del corpo denudato.

37. Ar. *Ach.* 763 ss.; cfr. Henderson 1975, 131-2.

38. Secondo Jacoby (1969, 29) il dato è da considerare attendibile come quello relativo all'*anathema* ateniese in memoria della vittoria sui Beoti e sui Calcidesi (Hdt. 5.77).

stesso, ma non fa il minimo cenno a un intervento femminile nello scontro.³⁹ Se, come si ritiene, lo storico di Alicarnasso ha utilizzato fonti tegeati, è possibile che si tratti effettivamente di tradizioni più tarde, perché in caso contrario è verosimile che l'eccezionalità delle notizie avrebbe probabilmente sollecitato il suo interesse. Al tempo di Erodoto, dunque, l'episodio centrato sulla sconfitta e la cattura degli Spartani, come non era stato collocato nel tempo con un preciso riferimento a un re spartano,⁴⁰ così, molto probabilmente, non era ancora stato messo in relazione nemmeno con l'impresa di Marpessa né con il regno di Perimeda.

Il fatto che la versione di Pausania sia in grado di dare risposta a tutta una serie di istanze eziologiche relative a divinità e a culti di Tegea⁴¹ induce a pensare che il laboratorio in cui nel tempo essa è stata redatta sia da individuare proprio in questa città, alla quale si intona perfettamente anche la forte carica antispartana del racconto.⁴²

Quanto alla versione di Dinia, è difficile dire se abbia alla base una variante tegeate/arcadica, riconoscibile per esempio nel diverso nome e ruolo della protagonista,⁴³ o se gli elementi di differenziazione siano da ricondurre esclusivamente alla assunzione e alla rielaborazione di una tradizione locale, pertinente a una città dell'Arcadia, in una storia dedicata all'Argolide. Un fatto, comunque, sembra certo: la versione di Dinia si rivela particolarmente funzionale agli interessi di uno storico argivo, che trascura tutti gli elementi eziologici presenti nella tradizione articolata e ricca di Pausania e specificamente relativi a Tegea, limitandosi a registrare e a sottolineare l'umiliazione degli Spartani, sconfitti e costretti a lavorare in ceppi per i Tegeati, in un momento in cui su questi ultimi regnava una donna.⁴⁴ L'antilaconismo degli Argivi,⁴⁵ evidentemente, era così forte da indurre la storiografia locale a riservare spazio alle tradizioni sfavorevoli a Sparta, anche quando queste avevano avuto come protagonisti altri popoli peloponnesiaci. A questo proposito, tuttavia, è difficile dire se, al di là dell'avversione per Sparta, lo spazio riservato

39. Hdt. 1.66; cfr. Jacoby 1969, 29-30; Leahy 1958, 151-2.

40. Erodoto (1.66) si limita a considerarlo posteriore all'attività legislativa di Licurgo.

41. A completare il quadro eziologico, anche l'origine del termine Ἀλώτια (Paus. 8.47.4) è messo in rapporto con i prigionieri spartani: su questa festa cfr. Nilsson 1906, 88; Pretzler 1999, 95.

42. Leahy 1958, 152.

43. A una variante arcade pensa Jacoby 1969, 30 n. 58.

44. L'attribuzione del soprannome Choira a οἱ πλείστοι potrebbe far pensare che la fonte argiva non abbia percepito il carattere, per così dire, formale e ufficiale della denominazione e che forse le abbia attribuito, a torto, anche una valenza con qualche sfumatura negativa.

45. Carillo, cui veniva attribuita anche una spedizione contro Argo (Paus. 3.7.3), doveva apparire come nemico comune.

alle guerre che videro impegnate altre *poleis* dell'area contro questa città abbia implicato la consapevolezza che si trattava effettivamente di episodi di conflittualità distinti, ma anche legati fra loro, in quanto riconducibili tutti alla resistenza contro le aspirazioni egemoniche degli Spartani sul Peloponneso; e ancor più difficile ipotizzare azioni coordinate degli Argivi e degli Arcadi contro Sparta.⁴⁶ La versione argiva, comunque, risulta abbastanza interessante come esempio di ricezione di una tradizione locale estranea all'Argolide in un'opera a carattere locale dedicata a questa regione.

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46. In questo senso Jacoby 1969, 29 n. 46, sulla base di un passo piuttosto vago di Diodoro (7.13.2).

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A House for Athena Alea? On Two Fragments of House Models from the Sanctuary at Tegea

Gullög C. Nordquist

During the recent excavations below the Skopadian temple for Athena Alea at Tegea two fragments of building models were found, both in disturbed layers. It is suggested that they date to the early archaic period, presenting parallels with models from Perachora and the Argive Heraion as well as the Heraion on Samos. The models are suggested to be an expression of *oikos* identity of the élite families during the transition from the Late Geometric period.

During the excavations below the Skopadian temple in the sanctuary of Athena Alea were found a number of terracotta fragments, some of which may have had an architectural function, but which are difficult to both to identify and date with certainty.¹ Among these fragments were also two of terracotta house models, both unfortunately from layers disturbed during the excavations of the early 1900s in the eastern part of the temple trench.

The first fragment, registered in the field as D1/4-19 (Tex no. 288 in the preliminary inventory protocol), consisted of the solid part of a pitched roof with incised decoration marking the roof beam. It measured 7.7 cm in length and 5.6 cm in preserved height. (Figs. 1 and 2) It is made of semi-coarse and well fired, reddish clay. The roof beam of the steeply pitched roof is marked as a ridge, added as a rolled band of clay, with cuttings. Shallow incisions from the roof beam downwards seem to mark some kind of structural detail, such as the rushes and straw forming the roof cover.

A close parallel is provided by a fragment from Perachora of Payne's type B, dated by him to the first half of the 8th century, and now in the National

1. *E.g.* a fragment of a flat object with painted decoration (field registration D1/4-32 = Tex no. 313 in the preliminary inventory) and a tile with a slashed edge (D1/4-20 = Tex no. 289).

Museum, Athens.² (Fig. 3) As in our fragment, the roof beam of the Perachora piece is marked as a ridge, but more rounded in cross section. This beam consisted of two strands of clay, twisted together to form the ridge. The fragment is also said to have traces of an attachment for the long side wall, as well as a prostyle support.

In contrast to this, our fragment is smaller and represents only the very top of the roof. Not enough of it remains to allow for any reconstruction of the lower part of the building.

The second fragment, registered as D1/11-3 (Tex no. 359), also came from a mixed layer, to the east of the 8th century building, but still beneath the classical temple. It is part of a straight-sided, pitched roof, with parts of the substructure attached. It consists of four joining fragments. This is a larger object, measuring 10.4 cm in length and 9.8 cm in preserved height. The surface is smoothly finished, and this model was made of paler and finer clay than the previous one, light yellowish grey in colour. (Fig. 4a-c) On the underside of the fragment some details of the modelling of the building can be distinguished in the form of small lumps, and tool marks indicate that clay lumps had been added to the wet clay model. (Figs. 4b and 5) In the wall are two small, round holes, perhaps used for interior supports or cross beams supporting the model (see Figs. 4b and 5). It seems less likely that they are vent holes to prevent the model from cracking during firing, but that cannot be excluded.

A cutting and a wall turned in right angles suggest either a door opening or a window in the long side wall,³ as in the case of some similar models from Samos.⁴ They may also be understood as traces of a porch, limited by a wall, over which the roof extends, as in the model from the Heraion at Argos.

The Tegea fragment has a straight-sided, saddled roof, as the Heraion model. This fact may tentatively be taken to suggest that the model was rectangular in plan, since the apsidal models tend to have rounded roof profiles, for example the well known Perachora A model, Fig. 6.⁵ Neither fragment has any traces of painted decoration preserved.

In his important study of these building models, Schattner lists about 45 house models from Hera sanctuaries.⁶ In the Heraion on Samos remains were

2. Payne 1940, 35, pls. 117.2 and 118; Schattner 1990, 35-6, Kat. 7, Abb. 9, 10. The fragment, 17.9 cm long, was found in the so-called Hera Akraia sanctuary in the votive deposit by the triglyph altar.

3. For comparanda, see Schattner 1990, 106-8, and *id.* 1997.

4. Schattner 1990, 78, Abb. 47, Kat. 38.

5. Schattner 1990, 33-5, Abb. 6, Taf. 4, with further references.

6. Schattner 1990, 40-88, nos. 10-45, and 97, no. 52, Abb. 45, Taf. 29.2, with further references. For Bronze Age models, see Schoep 1994 and 1997, with further references.

found of at least 35 models, of clay, limestone or poros, dating from the 8th to the 6th century.⁷ Four more from the end of the 9th and early 8th century appeared in the Heraion at Perachora⁸ and one in the Argive Heraion.

To these may be added fragments from sanctuaries where the venerated divinity was not Hera, such as the two examples from the Acropolis of Athens.⁹ In other cases the deity is unknown. Roof fragments, dated by stylistic reasons to the end of the 8th or early 7th century, were found at the Aetos sanctuary on Ithaca.¹⁰

Other models are later than these. Three fragments from Skillous in Elis dating to 550-525 B.C.¹¹ are stray finds. A limestone model from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta has a *terminus ante quem* at 570-560 B.C.,¹² and yet another archaic stone model comes from the Parthenos sanctuary at Kavalla.¹³ Further models are reported from Asia Minor¹⁴ and the islands.¹⁵ To these can be added models found in graves at Chaniala Tekke on Crete from the third quarter of the 9th century B.C.¹⁶ and at Sellada on Thera,¹⁷ from ca. 550-525 B.C.

The majority of the models are thus found in sanctuaries, but the exact find circumstances are in most cases unknown. The four pieces from Perachora

7. Drerup 1969, 72; Schattner 1990, *passim*.

8. Payne 1940, 34-51; Drerup 1969, 72-4; Schattner 1990, 33-9, Kat. 6-9, Abb. 6-10, Taf. 4, with further references. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 64, suggests that they reflect contemporary buildings in the Corinthia, since their decoration suggests that they are of Corinthian manufacture.

9. Schattner 1990, 26, no. 2, and *id.* 1997. He also (1990, 94-6, no. 51) lists the famous 'olive three pediment', found to the E. of Parthenon (Wiegand 1904, 197-204).

10. Robertson 1948, 101, pl. 45; Schattner 1990, 28-31, Abb. 4, Taf. 2.5.

11. Now in the Museum at Olympia, inv. nos. BE 803 (2553) and BE 1167 (2554), and the National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 11120. Yalouris 1972, 92-3, Taf. 42-3. Schattner 1990, 91-2, nos. 47-9, Taf. 25, 26, 27.1,2, with further references; Centre de cultura contemporània de Barcelona 1997, 207-9, nos. 52-4.

12. Drerup 1969, 72; Schattner 1990, 92-4; Catling 1994. Drerup, 1969, 69, also mentions further models from Magna Graecia, e.g. from Sala Consilina and Lucania.

13. Centre de cultura contemporània de Barcelona 1997, 212, no. 59, cf. Bakalakis 1936, 28, no. 16, fig. 38, now in the Kavalla Museum, inv. no. A12. Similar models are found at Thasos; Picard 1913, 48 n. 1, fig. 4.

14. Marble fragment from Sardes: Schattner 1990, 31-2, no. 5, Abb. 5, Taf. 3.1,2, for further references, as well as for an andesite fragment from Larisa at the Hermos, now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, inv. no. 72.4.

15. A probably prehistoric model said to come from the Agiasmata region, NE of Zefiri on Melos, is in the Archaeological Museum of Melos, inv. no. 39: Centre de cultura contemporània de Barcelona 1997, 210, no. 56. Cf. Zaphiropoulou 1969.

16. Drerup 1969, 71-2; Schattner 1990, 27-8, no. 3: Protogeometric.

17. Schattner 1990, 89-91, no. 46, Taf. 24.

appeared in the votive deposit in the so-called Hera Akraia sanctuary, close to the triglyph altar.¹⁸ The preferred placing of the models in the Heraion on Samos seems to be two rather limited areas:¹⁹ one group comprising 11 models was concentrated in the north-eastern corner of the sanctuary, close to the altar at Naikos 1,²⁰ while a second group consisted of models that were probably once placed in the South Hall.²¹ Three more fragments were found in an area in the southeast that seemed to serve mainly for storage of equipment.²²

Our fragments from Tegea appeared in disturbed layers underneath the classical temple that contained a majority of Late Geometric material, but also material of later date, such as archaic and classical. (Fig. 7) The area had been cut by a trench (possibly a foundation trench) some time during the 7th century, and had also been further disturbed by the early excavators of the sanctuary. The fragments of house models most likely belong to the little known early archaic phase of the sanctuary, of which relatively few traces remains, but their original location is unknown.

The models in the sanctuaries represent various house types, from gabled and straight-sided to apsidal or flat-roofed houses. They are usually taken to reflect actual buildings of the same period. The features of the models, such as the rather small size, the painted clay walls, saddled roofs, the entrance placed usually in the short side with a porch or courtyard in front, are such as we can observe or postulate at for example Nichoria and in the case of our two early Tegean temples. Indeed, the models have often been used in studies of building typology. Schattner, for example, sees in them a chance to establish a typology of buildings: *oikoi*,²³ *oikoi* with a door in the side wall,²⁴ with short antae,²⁵ antae houses,²⁶ tower houses,²⁷ apsidal²⁸ and oval houses.²⁹ Their arrangements of

18. Payne 1940, 30-2.

19. Schattner 1990, 192-4.

20. Schattner 1990, 192-3: Deposits A, B and K.

21. Schattner 1990, 194 n. 400. Deposits C and D appeared in the northern end of the sanctuary (5-7 models), and E and F to the west of the stream along the western side of the sanctuary (6 models).

22. Deposits J, G, and H, which contained one model each: Schattner 1990, 194. Cf. Kopcke 1968.

23. Schattner 1990, 100-6.

24. Schattner 1990, 106-8.

25. Schattner 1990, 109-10.

26. Schattner 1990, 110-3.

27. Schattner 1990, 113-5.

28. Schattner 1990, 116-9; apsidal house with short antae, 118-9.

29. Schattner 1990, 119-23; Drerup 1969; Kalpaxis 1976.

columns, doors, roofs and windows have been studied in order to illuminate contemporary architectural practices.³⁰

The function of the building models is more difficult to analyse, since any typology of the buildings gives little information as to how they were used and for what purpose. The type of long buildings with an entrance at one of the short sides and sometimes an apsidal end, was perhaps established as *one* of the norms for early cult buildings of temple type during the Late Geometric period, whether we call it 'megaron' or not.³¹ It is true that several apsidal houses from the Geometric period have been ascribed a cultic function, for example Unit IV-1, phase 2, at Nichoria, the successor to a rectilinear phase 1 of the same building. Here should also be mentioned the Daphnephoreion and other buildings at Eretria,³² and the so-called temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora, as well as the remains of the two temples at Tegea.³³ But apsidal houses were evidently also used for other purposes.³⁴

However, if Mazarakis Ainian³⁵ is right in seeing the development of the temple as starting from the cult in connection with and in the chieftains' houses, it is meaningless to try to establish an absolute distinction of cultic and secular building types at this early period.

It can therefore be suggested that the variety of types in these models indicate diversity, not of function, but of house types that were used for the same or similar function.³⁶ This is probably the underlying reason why no consensus has been reached whether these models symbolised temples or private houses³⁷ – the functional difference between buildings was not expressed through their architectural shape until the later phases of the archaic period.

Of the many interpretations as to what the buildings represent that have been

30. Schattner 1990, 99-190. See also Kalpaxis 1976 and Drerup 1969.

31. Drerup 1969, 126; Hiller 1996.

32. In the so-called Aphrodite sanctuary and the remains of Building 1 in the northern part of the town: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 10 and 14-5, fig. 9.

33. Payne 1940, 1; Drerup 1969, 28; Salmon 1972, 163; Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 20; Fagerström 1988, 39; Sinn 1990, 100-1. Another example is the room at Lathouresa in Attica, lined with benches and with a hearth in front of it, rooms I-IV: Lauter 1985, 17-8; Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 112; Fagerström 1988, 48. Mazarakis Ainian, 1985, 39, ascribed a cultic function to an apsidal house (about 15 m long) beneath the Artemis temple at Eleusis, because of the large dimensions of the building and its position beneath the later temple. No finds are, however, reported from it. Cf. Drerup 1969, 27.

34. Lang 1996, 82.

35. Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 39, and *id.* 1988 and 1997.

36. The fragment from Tegea does not allow any specific determination as to house type.

37. Schattner 1990, 210-2: "Obwohl die Bedeutung der meisten Hausmodelle unbestimmt bleiben muss, ... einige vermutlich Tempel, andere Wohnhäuser" (212).

put forward, some are less likely, for example that they are the models or maquettes made for building projects, toys or doll's houses.³⁸ Against the latter functions argues the fact that no finds can be placed in settlement contexts. House models found in the sanctuaries are, as Schattner has shown, most likely votives – but what is their symbolic content?³⁹ Fagerström⁴⁰ suggested, *à propos* the Perachora models, that they were the dedications of colonists setting out on their journey to the new country. This hypothesis, as Mazarakis Ainian⁴¹ rightly points out, is weakened by the fact that most of the models belong to a period before the peak of the colonisation movement, and now also by the finds at an inland site as Tegea – hardly a suitable “Cape Farewell” for the early colonists.

I believe that the models should be considered in a wider context and that their contextual content relates to expressions of symbolic behaviour in élite circles in a changing society, reflecting developments that may be distinguished in many ways during the Late Geometric and Early Archaic period. The emerging sanctuaries and the physical manifestations of cults connected with them became more and more important as an arena for symbolic behaviour during this phase, when various social and ethnic groups wanted to express their identities. The space, the rituals and symbolic contexts that the sanctuaries offered would have been efficient vehicles for such functions. The manifestations may have taken the shape of cult buildings or temples, or as other monuments or votive objects in the sanctuaries; in whatever form they would have filled an important role in the interaction within and between the local élite families and the emerging *polis* states.⁴²

It must in this context be remembered that the term *oikos* designates both dwelling and household, the building as well as the social group of family members and family property that centred on it.⁴³ Expressed in a different way, the *oikos*, the building, can be seen as a physical expression of the *oikos*, the family. The building, especially the monumentalized building, can thus be seen as an expression of a family's social, political and ideological ambitions and identity, the focal

38. For a discussion of these theories, see Schattner 1990, 195-7 (maquettes), 197 (toys). He also discusses the scanty literary evidence for building models (194-5). No certain depictions of house models are known: *ibid.* 197.

39. Schattner 1990, 210-2.

40. Fagerström 1988, 157, n. 188. Cf. Kyrieleis 1980, 92-3, with a discussion of ship models.

41. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 64. The placing and role of early sanctuaries has been much discussed, see e.g. de Polignac 1984 and 1994; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993; Morgan 1990, 1994 and 1997. Cf. Simon 1997.

42. Morgan 1990; Langdon 1997; Morris 1997. For a discussion of the role of the Dark Age leader/*basileus* and his relation to the *oikoi*, see also Donlan 1997.

43. For a discussion of the term *oikos* in Hesiod, see Edwards 2004, 35 and 83-9.

point of the *oikos*, the basic social unit that, least from the classical period on, came into being through a marriage.⁴⁴ Seen in this context, the models found in the graves, as well as those usually identified with grain silos, fall into place, the latter as repositories for the households produce and property, as expressions of the *oikia*, as well as of the *oikonomia*.⁴⁵ The models are the result of one manifestation, among many, of the ambitions of the aristocratic families in the Late Geometric and Early Archaic period.

When these manifestations became important on a human level, the *oikos* of the deity would have become equally important, as a reflection of the human life and society. Within the cult context, the monumentalization of the *oikos*, now as the cult building or temple, belongs to the same general context of social symbolism: a physical expression of the homes of the deities in a human sphere, and at the same time a visual expression of the process of shaping an identity for the men and women participating in the cult in the sanctuary.

The house models are mostly found in connection with female deities,⁴⁶ with Hera as the predominating recipient. Other goddesses may also receive house models, e.g. Artemis, in the shape of a limestone model from the Orthia sanctuary. Also the finds from Ithaka derive from a sanctuary that has been ascribed to a goddess.⁴⁷ Another limestone model comes from the sanctuary of Parthenos in ancient Neapolis, modern Kavalla⁴⁸ and, similarly, the finds at Tegea suggest a female deity, who we know was later identified with Athena.⁴⁹

How does this history of female recipients fit into our understanding of the social developments of the time? The period is usually perceived as one where members of the élite *oikoi* compete within their local aristocratic group and between the groups through behaviour such as conspicuous consumption, display of wealth and athletic prowess. But within this society the sexes had separate roles to fulfil. Much of the competition seems to have been within the male sphere: the male athletic displays during the games are the best example,⁵⁰ as

44. Pomeroy 1997, 21-2; Lacey 1968, 127-9. See also Foxhall 1980.

45. In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 30-32, he strongly associated the *oikos* as a building with the storage of grain for the family: the good farmer should have a year's supply of grain stored within the *oikos*. See the discussion by Edwards 2004, 86-9.

46. Schattner 1990, 205-7.

47. Robertson 1948, 123.

48. Centre de cultura contemporània de Barcelona 1997, 212 no. 59, dated to the archaic period; cf. Bakalakis 1936, 28, no. 16, fig. 38. Now in the Kavalla Museum, inv. no. A12.

49. Athena seems also to have received house models at Athens at a later date, at least Schattner 1990, 94-6, suggests that the building on the famous 'Ölbaumgiebel' should be seen as a house model. For further classical models see also Haselberger 1997.

50. For this development, see e.g. Morgan 1990.

well as military displays during cult ceremonies such as later can be seen in the Panathenaia procession. The men's fields of activities and network of contacts extended far beyond the dwelling house, and it is those that have been most studied by modern scholars.

But also the women would by necessity have played a role in the *oikos*, in the élite formation and in the building of aristocratic ideology. Both men and women worked for the *oikos*, even if their spheres were different; they were complementary to each other.⁵¹ Within the élite families, the married woman's sphere would have been the home and the family, her role to identify herself with the ambitions of the *oikos*, the family and the building, and to support the family. As Penelope, her role was to keep her house and stores in order and take care of those, as well as her husband and children and other people belonging to it. Such a model wife is later the chief administrator of the *oikos* in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and it is a role that became especially evident in Spartan society.⁵² A woman's authority, as far as it existed, was connected with and focused on the house.⁵³

Female deities are the supreme, divine, women, the female representatives in the divine house, *oikos*; and it is no surprise, then, that it is Hera, the married woman *par excellence* and the protectress of married women, who during the early archaic period receives so many houses dedicated to her, both in form of models and temples.

The importance of the house of the deity was also expressed in other ways. The epithet *kleidouchos*, key bearer, used as a symbol for power, may go back to the Bronze Age.⁵⁴ The epithet is in the ancient textual evidence connected with several deities, especially Hekate⁵⁵ and Persephone⁵⁶ as guardians of the door to House of Hades, but also Hera and Athena are associated with the term.⁵⁷ It is also used symbolically: Dike carries the keys as guardian between night and day according to Parmenides (1.14). Likewise, the temple of Athena at Troy has a door with a lock and a key that is in the hand of the priestess Theano (Hom. *Il.*

51. Naerebout 1987, esp. 117-8; Pomeroy 1997, esp. 22.

52. Pomeroy 1994; 1997, 39-62; Morris 1997.

53. Naerebout 1987.

54. The Linear B sequence *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* has been identified with *kleidouchos*: Hooker 1980, 111. See further Schattner 1990, 205-6; Roscher 1218 s.v. *Kleidouchos*; DarSag 4.2, 1241-8 s.v. *sera*. Cf. Schattner 205 n. 205.

55. For deities as *kleidouchoi*, see Mantis 1990, 32-9. For Hekate, Kraus 1960, 48-50; Johnston 1990, 39-48.

56. Mantis 1990, 35-6; *Orph. Fr.* 316.

57. For Hera, see Mantis 1990, 32-4; for Athena, *ibid.* 36-8 and 74-5; as Pallas, Ar. *Thesm.* 1139-1142. Cf. Roscher s.v. *Kleidouchos*, 1217-8; cf. Plin. *HN* 34.54.

6.89), and Iphigenia, in her role as priestess of Artemis at Tauris, is often depicted carrying the temple key.⁵⁸ It is significant that the key to the temple door is an element also in the titles of priestesses of goddesses such as Hera and Athena.⁵⁹ Temple keys have also been found: e.g. an early key, 50 cm long, is reported from the temple of Artemis at Luso in Arcadia.⁶⁰ The key-bearer becomes the most frequent types for depiction of priestesses on grave monuments and appears also in other media in the classical period, as shown by Mantis.⁶¹ The key to the house became in this way a powerful symbol for a female authority, that is, a priestess's right and duty to take care of the house of the deity.

Early keys are also said to appear in women's tombs in Sicily from the 10th century B.C.,⁶² and can in such contexts be seen as a symbol of the married woman's right and duty to take care of the household, and, as Penelope, guard the keys (Hom. *Od.* 21.5-7, 46-49). The term may also have had more everyday connotations; in later periods it was used also for key bearers in the private life, to judge from the definition in Hesychius.⁶³ Against this argument can be cited the famous text in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae* (422f.) where the women complain over their horrible husbands who locked the storage rooms with Laconian keys. But this text can hardly be taken as typical for daily life. Instead it brings up the gluttony and insobriety of the women's orgies during the Thesmophoria, as perceived by the men. It is also possible that the woman's role as guardian of the family stores may have been lost in the notoriously sexist classical Athens. It may also be argued that, as the women's authority generally became more limited, the priestess's right to carry the key to the divine *oikos* would have had an increased symbolic significance.

The Geometric and Early Archaic finds at Tegea suggest that a female deity was venerated. It seems likely that she had the task of representing some form of female authority and power as *despoina* over her house. The finds of house

58. Mantis 1990, 52-6; Kahil 1990, no. 14, 19-25. nos. 14 and 19-25. For Iphigenia as *kleidouchos* of Artemis, Eur. *IT*, 131.

59. Priestesses depicted as *kleidouchoi* are discussed by Mantis 1990, 40-65. He also discusses the origin of the title, *ibid.* 29. For Io as *kleidouchos*, priestess of Hera, Aesch. *Suppl.* 291, cf. Phoronis 4, *IG* II², 974.23 and *IG* III, 172.7; cf. Schattner 1990, 205, n. 454. For Athena, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 291.

60. Wilsdorf 1985, cf. Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 435, cat. no. 638. An iron chain identified as a part of a locking device was also found at the "Thorgebäude": Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 19 and 59. For further finds of keys, see Mantis 1990, 114-5, with further references.

61. Mantis 1990. Male *kleidouchoi* are known only from the Hellenistic period on: *ibid.* 83.

62. James and Thorpe 1994, 469. Keys were also found in female Egyptian tombs: *ibid.*

63. *s.v.* *kleidouchos*. For further discussion, see Schattner 1990, 205-6.

models favour identification of this divinity with goddesses such as Hera or Athena. She had also other aspects: military, as suggested by finds of miniature weapons, and fertility aspects, as Mary Voyatzis⁶⁴ has shown. The building models also indicate that she had the role as protector of the house or *oikos*. Later she was identified with Athena.

Are then these building models to be seen as the models of the divine house, that is, the temple, or its human equivalent? Perhaps the best way of looking at them is both or neither. They should be seen as expressions of the increasing concern for family and group identification or identities, the *oikos* both in its physical and symbolic form, and as identification with the divine house and the goddess who holds the power over both.

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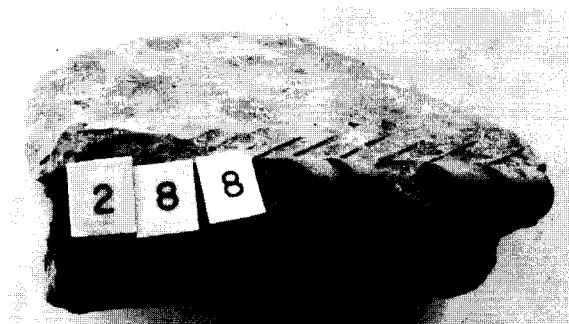


Fig. 1. Fragment of a house model, D1/4-19. (Photo: M. Mauzy.)

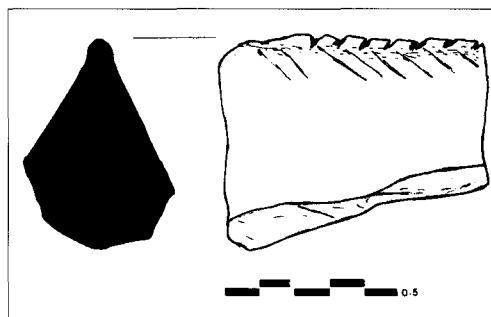


Fig. 2. Fragment of a house model, D1/4-19. (Drawing: author.)

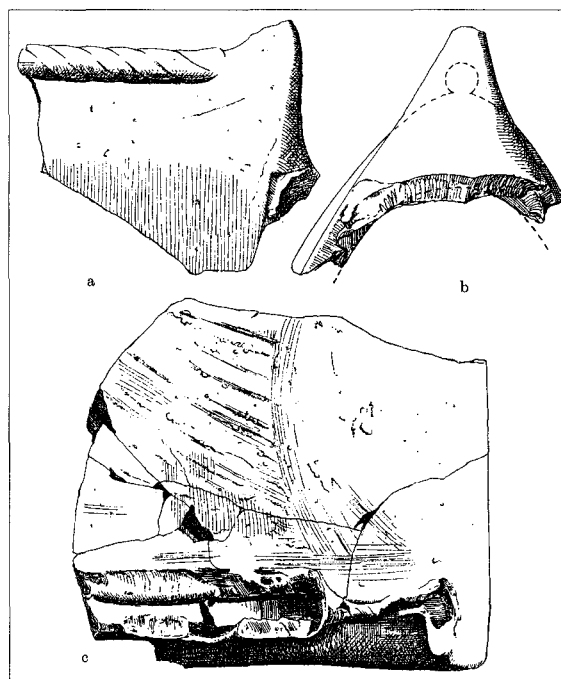


Fig. 3. Fragment of a house model from Perachora. (After Payne 1940, pl. 117.2.)



Fig. 4a-c. Fragments of house model D1/11-3. (Photos: M. Mauzy.)

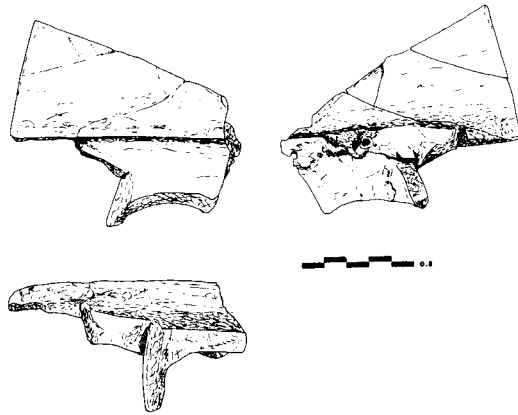


Fig. 5. Fragment of house model, D1/11-3. (Drawing: author.)

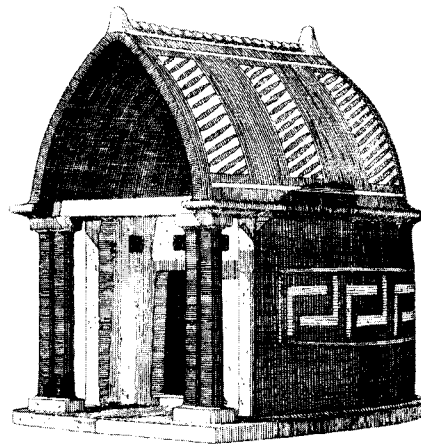


Fig. 6. The Perachora A model. (After Payne 1940, pl. 9 b.)

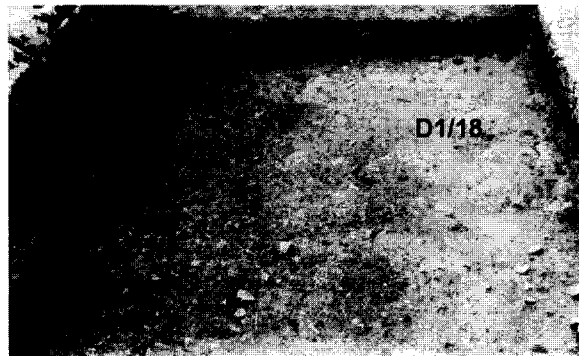


Fig. 7. The mixed layers, stratigraphical units D1/4 and D1/5. The cutting made by the early excavators is located to the left, the surface D1/18 to the right. (Photo: author.)

The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea: Revisiting Design-Unit Derivation from Building Measurements

Jari Pakkanen

Deriving the length of a possibly used design-unit from architectural measurements is a complex statistical problem. The method used in the paper is based on cosine quantogram analysis, and the relevance of the obtained results is calculated by computer simulations: it can be used to criticise previous attempts of defining the foot-unit of the late classical temple of Athena Alea at Tegea and to show how a statistically valid result can be obtained. The Parthenon is used as an example to demonstrate that it is feasible to use small building detail dimensions as the analysed data set, even though this does not produce a significant result at Tegea. One alternative is to use full block dimensions, and the statistical analysis strongly supports that a design-unit of ca. 99 mm (corresponding to one third of a foot of 297-8 mm) was used at Tegea.

1. Introduction

The discussion of ancient Greek foot-units and architectural modules has been going on almost as long as scholarly work on the buildings has been conducted. One conclusion was apparently reached in 1961, when W.B. Dinsmoor argued that only two foot-units were generally used in Greek architecture: the 'Ionic foot' of ca. 294 mm and the 'Doric foot' of ca. 326 mm.¹ This is not, however, generally accepted by all scholars. The scepticism is perhaps best worded by J.J. Coulton: "As far as measurement is concerned, the assumption that only two foot-standards were used throughout the Greek world needs to be proved, not just accepted, and the chaotic situation in other branches of Greek metrology suggests that this is unfounded."² In this paper the only preliminary assumption on the lengths of possibly used Greek design-units is that they should fall within

1. Dinsmoor 1961.

2. Coulton 1974, 62.

the range 50 – 400 mm for full building blocks and 4 – 25 mm for detailed mouldings.³ I have chosen to use the term “design-unit” in the title of this paper rather than foot-unit since methodologically it makes no difference whether the possibly used basic units in Greek architecture are related to a foot-unit or some other conceivable module, such as the column spacing or the triglyph width.

Traditional studies on Greek metrology make very little use of statistical methods, even though their advantages are quite easy to see. They make analysis of large sets of measurement data feasible and assessment of the probability of the reached conclusions possible. I think we can make an even stronger statement: deriving design-units from building dimensions is a statistical problem, and studies which do not employ proper methodology are in serious danger of reaching false conclusions. A statistical method called cosine quantogram analysis is used in this study: it can demonstrably be used to determine the size of unknown unit-lengths in measurement data.⁴

The most important single ancient source on Greek classical foot-standards is Herodotos: from this fifth-century historian we learn that different foot lengths were in use, and something about the relationships between different units.⁵ The Greek foot was divided into four palms and a palm into four dactyls or finger-widths. Contrary to the well documented Roman foot,⁶ the lengths of suggested Greek units are usually derived from analyses of building dimensions. Some indications on the lengths of the used standards may possibly be derived from two preserved metrological reliefs⁷ and by combining the information of a length given in an ancient inscription with the actual measurement of the dimension.⁸

H. Bankel has proposed a system for defining the length of the Greek foot-standards which he calls the “metrological scale”.⁹ Interestingly, one of his case studies was based on the analysis of the late classical temple of Athena Alea at Tegea.¹⁰ We shall have a closer look at this method and use cosine quantogram analysis to show why Bankel’s analysis does not succeed in finding a possibly used foot-unit at Tegea. Alternative approaches to the question are based on a large set of moulding measurements and the full dimensions of a set of building

3. On why these limits are chosen, see Section 2 on the method.

4. Pakkanen 2002.

5. Hdt. 1.60, 1.178, 2.149, 2.168, 6.127.

6. See *e.g.* Rottländer 1993.

7. Michaelis 1883; Dekoulakou-Sideris 1990; Slapšak 1993; Wilson Jones 2000.

8. See *e.g.* Haselberger 1983, 115-21, and Pakkanen 2002.

9. Bankel 1983.

10. Bankel 1984.

blocks. In order to demonstrate that studying the measurements of architectural details can be a statistically valid metrological approach, I will make use of the Parthenon as a parallel case study.

2. Cosine quantogram analysis and computer simulations

Data selection is perhaps the basic question behind ancient metrology: which building elements can be used in the study of metrological units?¹¹ One possibility is using dimensions of individual blocks, and there is also inscriptional evidence to support this.¹² The building blocks had to be ordered to size from the quarries, but they were always left with an extra layer of stone in order to protect them during transport and to allow for final fitting of the blocks on the building site. It is therefore possible that the dimensions do not exactly reflect the length of a design-unit. Another possible option is to study small building details: carving of the mouldings in classical marble buildings is very precise, and *if* the mouldings were designed and executed using fractions of dactyls, we could reasonably expect to derive the length of the design-unit from these details.

The exploratory statistical method used in this paper is based on cosine quantogram analysis; after this initial analysis, Monte Carlo computer simulations must be used to test the probability of the obtained results.¹³ The analysis is based on the hypothesis that a building dimension X can be expressed in terms of an integral multiple M times a design-unit, or quantum, q plus a small error component e :

$$X = Mq + e.$$

From a statistical point of view it is irrelevant whether the error e is the result of ancient Greek design methods and execution or modern measurement, but it is significant that e should be notably smaller than q . By computer simulations it can be shown that an error of ± 10 mm – quite usual in Greek architecture¹⁴ – does not prevent detecting a design-unit of the size of ca. 80 mm, or a quarter of a ‘Doric’ foot.¹⁵ If smaller units were employed in building design and execution, it is quite unlikely that they could be discovered in a metrological

11. Cf. Fieller 1993, 286.

12. *E.g.* the Erechtheion building block inventory of 409/08 B.C. (*IG I³ 474*).

13. On the method more in detail, see Kendall 1974 and Pakkanen 2002. Cosine quantogram analysis has been employed in connection with ancient architecture *e.g.* by Rottländer 1996, but he does not use Monte Carlo simulations to validate the results.

14. Coulton 1975, 94.

15. Pakkanen 2002, 502-3.

analysis of relatively large building dimensions: in order to give some scope for a smaller error than ± 10 mm, I have used the range 50 – 400 mm for the unit-length in the final section of this study. Since the discrepancies in the sizes of mouldings are much smaller, due to the size of the elements themselves, a range of 4 – 25 mm is used in Section 4 for detailed mouldings.

In order to analyse how accurately dimension X can be expressed in terms of unit q , X is divided by q and the remainder e is studied: the closer to 0 or q it is, the better unit q fits the dimension. The amount of clustering around any q within the tested unit range can be calculated by using the formula

$$f(q) = \sqrt{2/N \sum_{i=1}^n \cos(2\pi e_i / q)},$$

where N is the number of building dimensions. The cosine gives a value of 1 for the exactly fitting measurements and -1 for those least fitting; therefore, the largest value of the score $f(q)$ gives the most probable candidate q for the unit. Computer simulations still have to be used to determine if the function score $f(q)$ is high enough to indicate a statistically significant ‘true’ unit. In the Monte Carlo simulations random data sets are created from non-quantal distributions; these are analysed in the same way as the original data to determine whether peaks as high as or higher than the original arise from the distributions.¹⁶

3. Bankel’s analysis of the unit-length at Tegea

Bankel’s metrological scale is a graphic method where the length of the possibly used foot-unit is in centimetres on the left and the length of the various building elements in corresponding dactyls on the right (Fig. 1): for example, the lower column diameter at Tegea, 1.555 m, expressed as dactyls of a foot-unit of 300 mm, is very close to 83. If all the elements were designed and executed as multiples of the dactyl in question, the dimensions would fall neatly on the same line. This is not the case, and the closest candidate is, according to Bankel, the ‘Ionic foot’ of 294 mm. One drawback of the method is immediately apparent: as a graphical method it is time-consuming to construct the complicated tables, the number of analysed elements is necessarily limited, and the analysis of the results

16. I have implemented the computer programs used in the cosine quantogram analyses, Monte Carlo simulations, and kernel density estimations on top of Survo MM, the Windows version of the statistical program; very warm thanks are due to S. Mustonen for providing a copy of the program. C.C. Beardah’s MATLAB routines were used for calculating the optimal window widths of the kernel density estimates.

can be quite subjective. These problems involved in the metrological scale can be avoided by using a numerical method instead of a graphical one.

The results of the cosine quantogram analysis of Bankel's data can be presented as a single curve (Fig. 2): the quantum score $f(q)$ calculated from the measurements (see Column 2 in Table 1) is here plotted against q . The higher the peak, the more likely it is that q is a 'true design-unit'. The studied range for q is very large, 9 – 400 mm; as stated above, we cannot expect to discover a quantum in the lower part of the range, but the range below 50 mm is included in this initial analysis in order to take into account the small dimensions regarded as relevant by Bankel: 9.2 mm is half a dactyl of Bankel's foot-unit of 294 mm. The sub-division scores of this unit are marked with small circles in Fig. 2, and the fit to the measurements is by no means convincing: the first three correspond to a half-dactyl, a dactyl and 1/8 foot, all with a score of 1.5 or less; the next three, at quarter-, half- and full foot mark, are at local maximum points of the curve, but their scores are not any better. There is an impressive local maximum of 4.0 at 29.4 mm, exactly one tenth of Bankel's foot-unit, but it is to the left of our unit detection limit of 50 mm and could therefore be a result of trying to fit a too small unit to the data. The highest peak to the right of 50 mm is at 60.1 mm with a quantum score of 2.9. However, Monte Carlo computer simulations of non-quantal replica data sets indicate that only a peak with a height of 3.4 or greater is significant at 5% significance level,¹⁷ so no 'true quantum' can be detected in the data.

The analysis can be taken one step further by substituting some new measurements for the ones given by Bankel: the five slightly different dimensions in Column 3 of Table 1 are the result of recent fieldwork at the temple site.¹⁸ The cosine quantogram curve of the partially new set is plotted in Fig. 3. As we see, changes of a few millimetres in only a part of the measurements are enough to make the height of the original peak at 29.4 mm collapse, and to the right of the 50 mm limit the curve follows very closely the shape of the curve in Fig. 2.

Statistical analysis indicates that no single design-unit can be derived from Bankel's small selection of building measurements, and, in the case of Tegea, the validity of the metrological scale method can be shown to be questionable.

17. Two non-quantal data models based on Bankel's data were created using kernel density estimation using normal-scale and dpi-3 window-widths ($h = 346.4$ and 386.1), and for each distribution 1000 Monte Carlo simulations were run: the 5% significance level for the first data model was determined as 3.37 and the second as 3.35. On kernel density estimation and data modelling, see Pakkanen 2002, 502.

18. On the recent study of the temple, see Pakkanen 1998.

4. Deriving unit-lengths from moulding dimensions

Recently, M. Korres has suggested that the length of the Parthenon foot-standard could be obtained from small building details. (Fig. 4) He re-measured the mouldings of the building and suggests that they were designed and executed using quarter-dactyls of a foot-unit of 294 mm.¹⁹ Korres' first suggestion is strongly supported by a quantogram analysis of 35 measurements.²⁰ (Fig. 5) The first peak at 4.61 mm is exceptionally prominent with a height of 6.5, and it corresponds to a quarter-dactyl of a 295 mm foot; the second peak with a score of 4.3 at 9.24 mm is a half-dactyl of a 296 mm long foot-unit. It is extremely unlikely that either one of these peaks could be a result of a coincidence: in the 2000 computer simulations based on corresponding non-quantal data sets there was only one single simulation which produced a peak higher than the lower quantogram peak of 4.3.²¹ The length of the unit derived from the Parthenon mouldings, 295.6 mm, is a millimetre or two longer than the 'standard Ionic foot' of 294 mm. More significantly, Korres' observation confirms that smaller subdivisions than half a dactyl were also employed in Greek building, even though there is no indication in inscriptions or other literary sources that any fractions of a dactyl less than a half were actually used.²²

The 71 moulding measurements used in the analysis of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea are listed in Table 2, and the resulting quantogram curve is plotted in Fig. 6. The method does not produce a clear result at Tegea, since the highest peak at ca. 6.0 mm reaches only 2.2: statistically significant scores at the 5% level should have a value of at least 3.4.²³ There are several possible explanations why no clear pattern emerges:

- 1) the mouldings were not designed using any particular unit,
- 2) they were designed using a certain unit but in the subsequent execution the original design was not followed meticulously, or

19. Korres 1994, 62-5.

20. The data used in the metrological analysis are given in Fig. 5 (the measurements are given in centimetres).

21. The maximum peak scores of the two simulation runs of 1000 each were 4.2 and 4.5. The kernel density distributions were created using Korres' moulding data (normal-scale and dpi -3 window-widths $h = 14.31$ and 10.74): the 5% significance level for the first model was 3.30 and the second 3.25.

22. Coulton 1975, 92-3.

23. Two kernel density distributions used in the Monte Carlo simulations were based on the data in Table 2 with window-widths $h = 15.44$ and 8.05 : the 5% significance levels were 3.39 and 3.35.

3) the French block detail measurements of the early 20th century are not precise enough for deriving a design-unit.

None of the above alternatives can definitively be ruled out, but I will return to the question in Section 6.

5. Deriving a unit-length from block dimensions

In a previous study I have used the Erechtheion measurements and the inventory of 409/08 B.C. (*IG I³ 474*) to demonstrate that cosine quantogram analysis can produce statistically significant results based even on a relatively small sample of 19 dimensions.²⁴ For the temple of Athena Alea I have chosen to use a larger set of block dimensions and to include reliably recorded full widths, depths and heights of different types of krepis, capital, entablature and cella wall blocks (see Table 3). I have not repeated duplicate dimensions for the same type of blocks: for example, in the case of stylobate blocks the height and depth of two blocks are identical, so I have included all the relevant dimensions of the first block but only the length of the second block in the data set. Repetition of the same dimensions would very likely increase the peak heights in the quantogram plot, so there could be a danger of accepting results of the analysis as statistically significant even when they are not.

The 55 block dimensions used in the analysis are listed in Table 3. The cosine quantogram curve based on the data is quite interesting (Fig. 7): there is a single notable peak with a height of 3.72 at ca. 99 mm. A peak of this height is statistically very significant: in the 2000 computer simulations there were only 28 random peaks higher than this, so the quantogram score is not quite significant at 1% level, but nearly so.²⁵ One probable interpretation of this peak is that the architectural design-unit at Tegea was one third of a foot ca. 297.8 mm long.²⁶ Metrologically the result is very important since it is the first statistically valid indication that a foot-unit in the region of the traditional 'Ionic' foot could have actually been employed at Tegea, as has been suggested by several scholars.²⁷

24. See Pakkanen 2002, 502.

25. The kernel density distributions used in two simulation runs of 1000 each were based on the data of Table 3 (window-widths $h = 236.0$ and 173.3); the 5% significance levels were 3.36 and 3.40.

26. The precise location of the peak is 99.16 mm: $3 \times 99.16 = 297.48$ mm.

27. See Bankel 1984, 413–5.

6. Building design, execution and unit derivation

In light of the statistically significant result derived from block data it is worthwhile to return to analysis of moulding dimensions. Even though the highest peak in Fig. 6 cannot be easily explained in terms of the detected design-unit, the local maximum at 9.3 mm clearly corresponds to half a dactyl of the defined foot-standard. A closer study of the dimensions in Table 2 indicates that 41 out of the 71 measurements fit this half-dactyl with a discrepancy of ± 2 mm or less, and they suffice to give the weak signal visible in Fig. 6. Thus it is quite likely that a subdivision of the same measure-unit was used in the design of the major block dimensions as well as of the details in the mouldings.

The reason why no statistically significant dimension is detected in the latter data set is at least partially due to the execution and nature of craftsmanship of the temple. The capability of the masons is perhaps best illustrated by the arris repair on one of the column drums where two of the three carved pieces are still in their original places: no lead or dowels were used, only the perfect carving of the surfaces keeps the pieces together.²⁸ The masons did not, however, use their skills to slavishly copy Skopas' architectural designs. For example, no two capitals are exactly similar: visually they are unmistakably from the same building, but a study of their dimensions and proportions demonstrates the slight variations between them.²⁹ These variations were not only tolerated but even encouraged. This is most clearly manifest in the refinements, the slight variations from true horizontals and verticals.³⁰ One unintended result of the irregularity observable in Greek buildings in general is that it makes the work of architectural archaeologists a challenge, but it is also a factor behind the persistent modern fascination with these buildings.

7. Conclusions

Cosine quantogram analysis is a useful tool in the study of Greek architectural design and metrology. It can be used to analyse the shortcomings of non-statistical methods such as the metrological scale, but more importantly, when combined with Monte Carlo computer simulations, it can reveal how significant the results of various design-unit derivations are. In this paper it was demonstrated that even though the moulding measurements of the temple of Athena Alea

28. Pakkanen 1998, 28-30.

29. Pakkanen 1998, 31-40.

30. Pakkanen 1998, 41-7, 62-7.

at Tegea do not produce a statistically significant result, the method can be used to verify that a unit of ca. 295-6 mm was used in the design of Parthenon mouldings. However, analysis of a relatively large set of full block dimensions gives strong statistical support that a unit of ca. 99 mm was used in the architectural design of the Tegea temple. In general, I do not think that the importance of using proper quantitative methods in the study of Greek architectural design-units can be over-emphasized.

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Table 1. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Building dimensions.

1.	2. Bankel's dimensions (in mm)	3. New measurements (in mm)
Lower column diameter	1555	1550
Upper column diameter	1209	1205
Abacus width	1616	1613
Capital height	589	596
Drum height	1470	
Metope width	1088	
Triglyph width	710	
Corner triglyph width	726	
Regula width	185	
Architrave depth	1436	1430
Architrave height	968	
Triglyph height	1088	
Geison height	295	
Distance of column centre from stylobate edge	821	
Entablature height	2351	

Table 2. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Moulding dimensions used in plotting Fig. 5. Source: Ch. Dugas *et al.*, *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IV^e siècle*, Paris 1924 (numbers of plates and illustrations refer to this publication).

1.	2. Dimensions (in mm)
Fig. 13	78, 32, 61
Fig. 15	71, 73
Fig. 16A	37, 42, 18, 85, 62
Fig. 16B	23, 28, 34
Pl. 52B	83, 26, 57
Pl. 53	110, 67
Pl. 54A	72, 26, 59
Pl. 55	18, 138, 28, 90, 24, 27, 65, 25
Pl. 56	18, 122, 27, 75, 21, 155, 39, 66, 20, 57.5, 83
Pl. 58	18, 23, 37, 149, 143, 88, 18, 35
Pl. 64	85, 50, 76, 33, 55, 29, 68, 23, 38, 42
Pl. 78B	54, 21, 83, 43
Pl. 79	54, 85, 86, 36, 114, 46, 23, 70, 36

Table 3. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Full block dimensions used in plotting Fig. 7. Source: Ch. Dugas *et al.*, *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IVe siècle*, Paris 1924 (numbers of plates and illustrations refer to this publication).

1.	2.	3. Dimensions (in mm)
Euthynteria blocks	Pl. 29	1676 x 902 x 297; 1202 (length)
First step block	Pl. 30	1803 x 1465 x 348
Foundation block	Pl. 31	1392 x 1400 x 366
Stylobate blocks	Pls. 32-33	1642 x 1642 x 380; 1814 (length)
Capital	Pl. 35	1616 x 589
Architrave block	Pl. 38	788 x 968
Architrave backer	Pl. 40	718 (depth)
Frieze block	Pl. 41	1848 x 1023 x 1088
Geison block	Pl. 44	1790 x 482; 672 (distance between roof-beam cuttings)
Sima block	Pl. 46	1346 x 288
Roof tile	Pl. 48	671 (width)
Epikranitis blocks	Pls. 52 & 54	402 (height); 534 (height); 766 x 520
Pteron beam	Pl. 53	1002 x 400
Ceiling coffer block	Pl. 55	795 (width)
Pronaos capital	Pl. 57	1402 x 509
Pronaos architrave block	Pl. 58	884 x 677
Pronaos frieze block	Pl. 59	993 x 768
Toichobate blocks	Pls. 62 & 64	1728 x 1490 x 372; 938 x 295
Orthostate block	Pl. 66	1791 x 683 x 1278
Wall block	Pl. 70	897 x 893 x 385
Wall epikranitis block	Pl. 79	1187 x 480 x 375

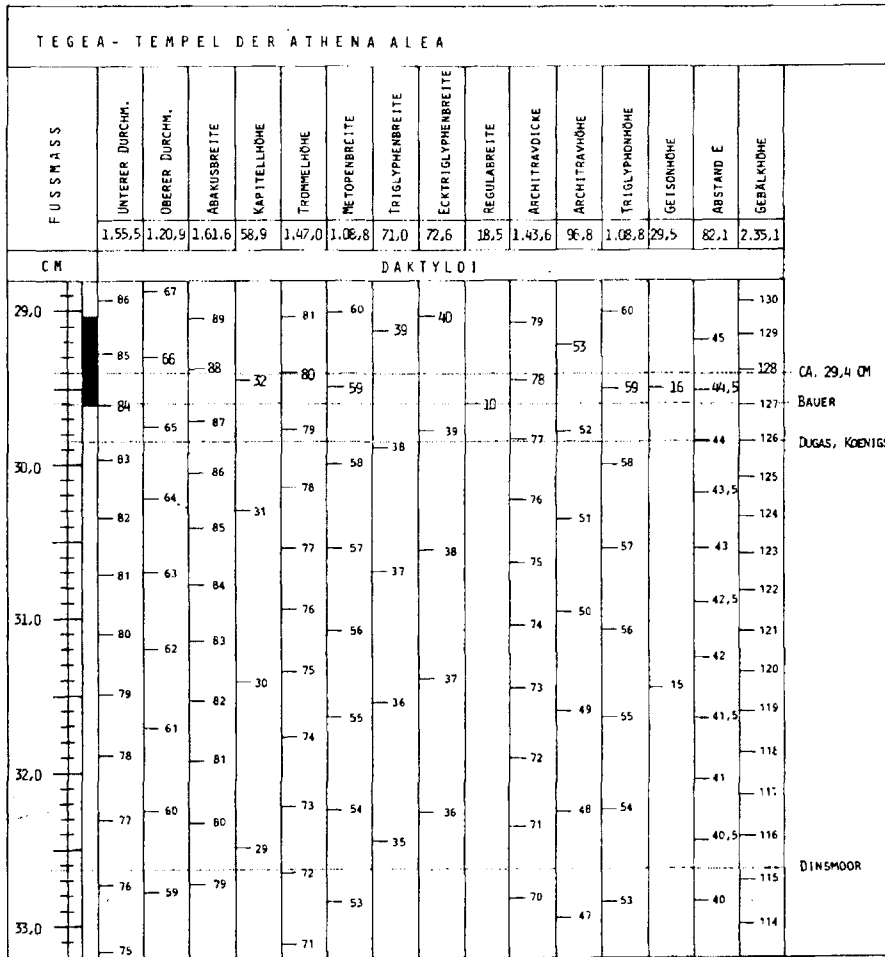


Fig. 1. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. "Metrological scale". (After Bankel 1984, fig. 1)

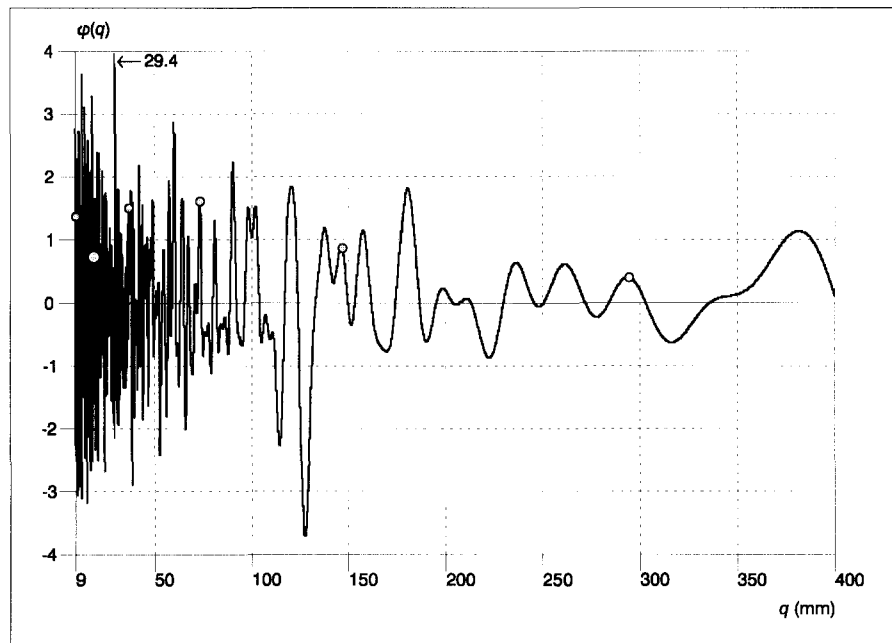


Fig. 2. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis of Bankel's data. The small, grey circles mark Bankel's foot-unit of 294 mm and its sub-divisions.

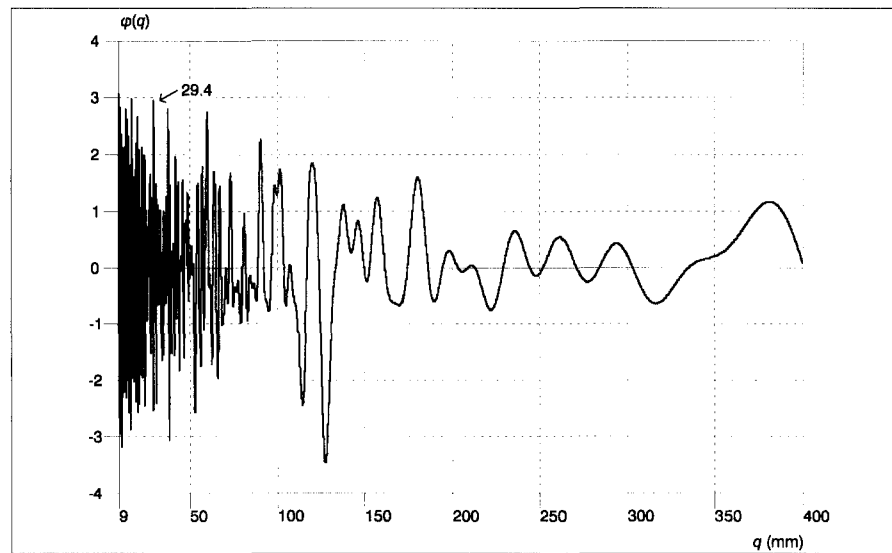


Fig. 3. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis with five new measurements.

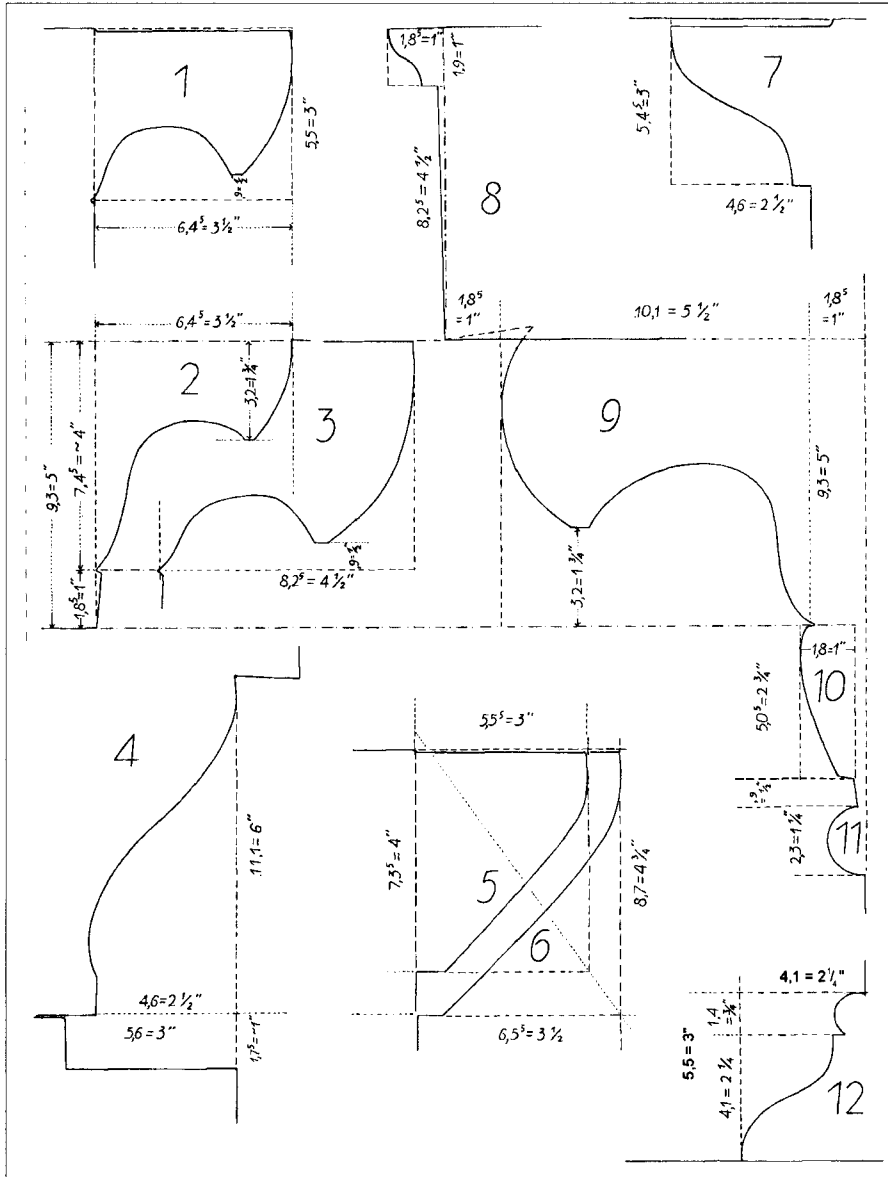


Fig. 4. Parthenon, Athens. Moulding profiles with dimensions used in cosine quantogram analysis. (After Korres 1994, fig. 4; two dimensions of profile 12 are corrected in the figure.)

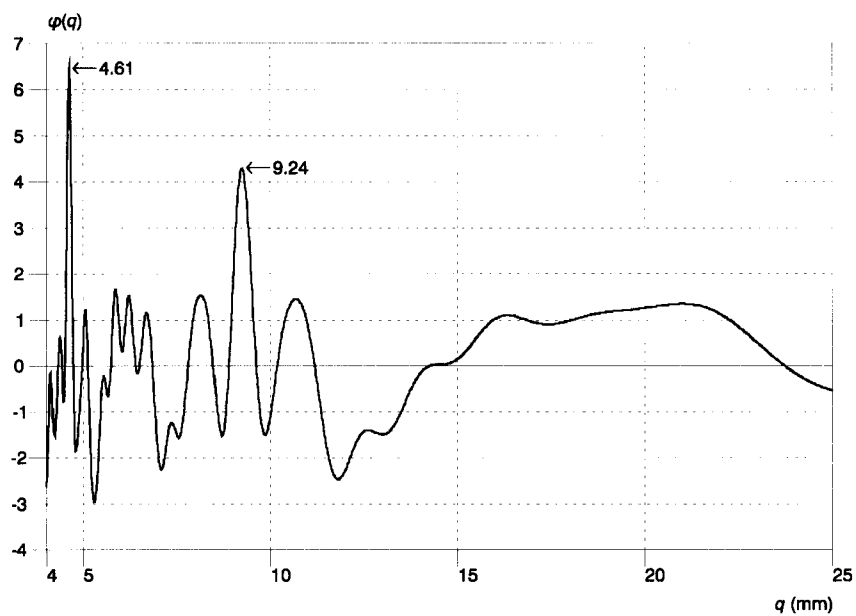


Fig. 5. Parthenon, Athens. Cosine quantogram analysis of moulding dimensions.

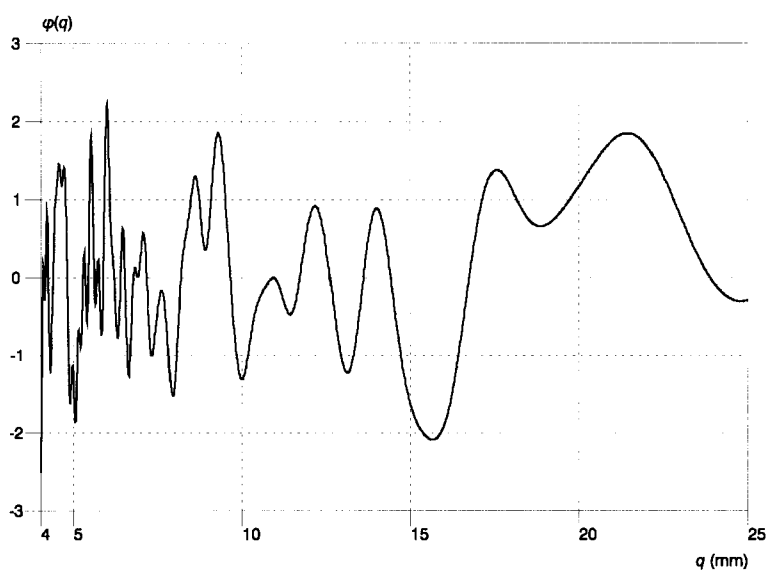


Fig. 6. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis of moulding dimensions.

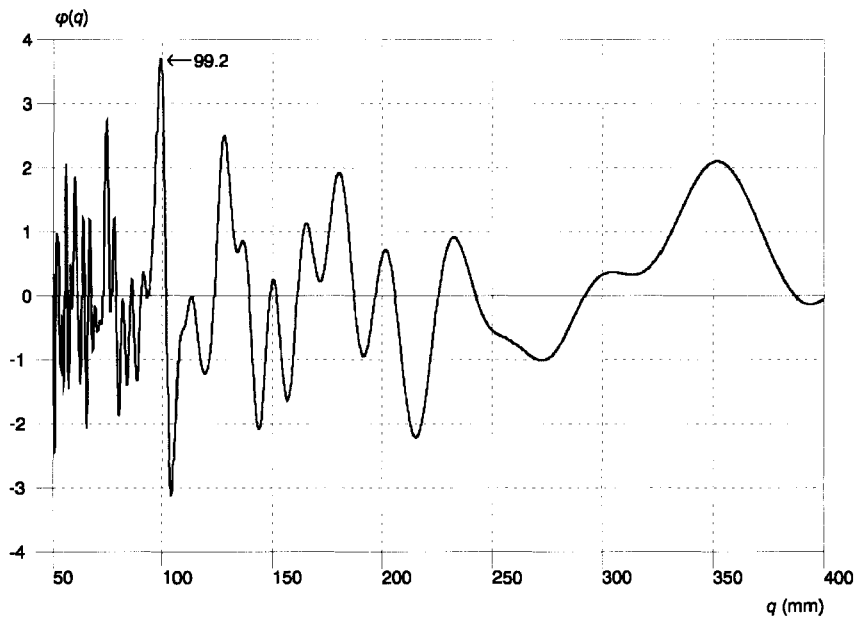


Fig. 7. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis of building block dimensions.

**Ἡ τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος (Pausanias 8.54.5)
in Arkadia**

Argyres Petronotis

Ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐκ Τεγέας ὁχήματι ἐπιτηδειοτάτη
καὶ τὰ μάλιστά ἐστι λεωφόρος.
(The road from Tegea to Argos is very well-suited for carriages,
in fact a first-rate highway. [Loeb])

There are three main passages between Tegea and the valley of Achladokambos, the ancient Hysiai: a) the northern, around the hill of Mouchli, called unanimously *Gyros*; b) one south of Mouchli, formerly known by locals as *Skala tou (Halil) Bey* and in foreign literature usually as *Kaki Skala*, and c) the southernmost, which crosses the Mount Parthenion, called indeed *Partheni*, which non-Greek scholars wrongly identify as *Skala tou Bey*. This ‘Partheni’ pass is the shortest route, but very steep; many ancient wheel-ruts are preserved there, but not in its entire length. On the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ route it has not been possible to find evidence for an ancient road. The ‘Gyros’ route is not recent, it has an interesting history as a ‘route carrossière’, and it is ancient. Two travellers of the 19th century observed and recorded ancient wheel-marks there, and similar marks have recently been identified by the author at a third location on this ancient road. The ancient ‘Gyros’ road is the longest route, but it is the easiest one and suitable for carriages, and should be identified as the *λεωφόρος* from Tegea to Argos mentioned by Pausanias (8.54.5).

Between Tegea and the Achladokambos valley – that is, at the ancient site of Hysiai – there were three connecting roads. A fourth one partly coincides with a route leading to Kynouria, more specifically to the ancient site of Thyrea.

Of the three roads from Tegea to the Achladokambos valley, the northernmost – also the longest and easiest to travel – runs around and to the north of the isolated stronghold Mouchli. (Fig. 1, no. 4) Thence the second road starts going downhill and to the south. (Fig. 1, no. 5) The third – the shortest and southernmost one – crosses Mount Parthenion, exploiting its major gorge. (Fig. 1, no. 6)

Here, the common misnaming of the two latter roads by foreign writers and researchers deserves special mention. The confusion and oversight of the original names of these roads are so deeply embedded in non-Greek literature that it makes any effort for correction rather hopeless. There is a consensus on the name of the first road only, the one which runs around and to the north of Mouchli; that is, *Gyros*. The majority of foreign researchers call the road that passes to the south of Mouchli *Kaki Skala* and the next, the southernmost and shortest one, *Skala tou Bey*.¹ However, native Greeks have always called the ‘Skala tou Bey’ by the name *Partheni*. It is noteworthy that the ancient name of the nearby mountain is Παρθένιον, later known to the locals as ‘Roïno’. Therefore, the toponym ‘Partheni’ is a justified linguistic remain of the ancient term, originally used for the mountain. The earliest text quoting this name that I have come across dates back in the 17th century: the Ottoman traveller-writer Evliya Çelebi (ca. 1611 – 1679 to 1682) referred to this road by the name “Partani” during his journey from Argos to Tripolitza in 1670.² This is, moreover, the name which W.M. Leake quoted the villagers using in 1805: “This *derveni*, or pass, is still known by the ancient name Partheni”.³ Interestingly, native Greeks attributed Leake’s toponym to some church dedicated to ‘Parthena’ (Virgin Mary) which must have existed there in the old days. In Leake’s times a *hani* with a fountain was located where the supposed church had been. The still standing church ‘τῆς Ἁγίας Παρθένας’ was built in 1905. Another informative reference to the ill-fated story of the toponymic confusion is offered by W.K. Pritchett: “No native we questioned recognized the term Skala tou Bey.”⁴ It

1. Cf. C.M. MacKay, *The Road Networks and Postal Service of the Eastern Roman and Byzantine Empires (First – Fifteenth Centuries A.D.): Social Effects on the Provincial Population* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Michigan 1999), p. 109, n. 39 and *passim*. N.D. Moraites, *Ἱστορία τῆς Τεγέας*, Athens 1932, p. 25: διὰ τῆς εὐθείας καὶ συντόμου ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης σήμερον τοῦ Παρθενίου (“by the straight and short road called today ‘of Parthenion’”). See the related reference to the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ on p. 199. K. Diamantopoulos or Diamantakos (ca. 1797 – 1892), *Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἢ ἀληθῆ Ἱστορικὰ γεγονότα τοῦ 1821 μὴ ἀναφερόμενα ἐν ταῖς ἑλληνικαῖς Ἱστορίαις*, 2nd ed. 1883, repr. Athens 1971. He often mentions “Παρθένι” as a place where Greek revolutionaries concentrated during the War of Independence of 1821. Cf. pp. 21, 22, 43 and 44.

2. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahatnamesi*, 2nd ed., Istanbul 1971, vol. 12, p. 281: “Buradan beş saat lodos ile gidip Partani derbendini ve Moholi küyünü geçtik. Bir saat daha gidip Trablucse-i ma’mûr Kasabaşına geldik.” (“From here, continuing to the south for five hours, we came to the Partani pass and the village Mouchli. Travelling one more hour we came to Tripolis, residence of the authorities.”) In the same passage there is also a reference to “Moholi”, i.e. Mouchli.

3. W.M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* vol. II, London 1830, p. 329.

4. W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* vol. III, *Roads*, Berkeley 1980, p. 87, n. 13.

is pitiful that even more recent researchers, although they use the writings of native scholars, fail to quote the exact toponyms from them.⁵

The renowned war leader Theodoros K. Kolokotronis (1770 – 1843), who had a full knowledge of Arkadia's topography, offers a very illuminating account of the area. In 1825, while battling against the Ottoman forces of the Albanian-Egyptian Ibrahim (1789 – 1848) – who advanced with his troops from Argos to Tripolitza – Kolokotronis specified the locations of Greek resistance as follows: “Γύρος” (Gyros), “Σκάλα του Μπέη” (Skala tou Bey – the original), and “Παρθένι” (Partheni); that is, the three access routes to Tegea through the Achladokambos valley.⁶

Consequently, the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ is the intermediate passageway, right to the south of Mouchli. It is to this exact location that Fr.-C.-H.-L. Pouqueville (1770 – 1838) referred by the more specialized term “Skala tou Halil Bey” in his eye-witness account of the area in 1799.⁷ This name – which I, myself, heard still being used several years ago – slowly goes out of use and is replaced by ‘Perikopō’ (short-cut – that is, in comparison with the long detour of the ‘Gyros’), most common among the younger locals.⁸

Today, the steep, stone-paved road of the original ‘Skala tou Bey’ is not much different from the one that Pouqueville described, despite the fact that two centuries have passed since then. On this way I did not find any evidence of an ancient road.

I discerned tracks of ancient carriage wheels along the ‘Partheni’ road only during my second trip. The fact that previous researchers either paid no attention to them (e.g., Leake),⁹ or noticed only some (e.g., Pritchett),¹⁰ or misinterpreted them completely (e.g. Loring),¹¹ proves how difficult that discovery was.

One should bear in mind that more than one road may be detected along this

5. For example, C.M. MacKay, in her notable work drawing on a report by the local high-school principal Moraites from Tegea, overlooks the original toponym ‘Παρθένι’ as quoted by the author. See C.M. Mackay and N.D. Moraites, *opp. citt.* (n. 1).

6. Th. Kolokotronis, *Διήγησις τῶν συμβάντων τῆς ἐλληνικῆς φυλῆς ἀπὸ τὰ 1770 ἕως τὰ 1836*, ed. A. Daskalakis, Athens n.d., p. 131.

7. Fr.-C.-H.-L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce ...*, 2nd ed., vol. V, Paris 1827, pp. 290-3.

8. V.G. Diamantopoulos, *Τὸ Μουχλί τῆς Ἀρκαδίας (Βυζαντινὴ πόλη-φρούριο)*, Athens 1973, p. 8: he terms the passageway through Mouchli “Χαράδρα τῆς Κάτω βρύσης” (Gorge of the Lower Fountain). On the same page, however, he relates the term “Ποταμιά” (river-basin) to the expression “Χαράδρα τοῦ Γύρου” (“Gorge of Gyros”).

9. Even though he paid special attention to ancient wheels-ruts (see Leake, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 51: “Quitting Tripolitza ... tracks of charriot wheels in the rocks”), he did not notice any such marks.

'Partheni' pass. The common route leads smoothly uphill from the fields of the villages Haghiorghitika and Parthenion toward the saddle of 'Partheni', the so-called 'Simio'. This location is also known as 'Νταιλά Στέρνα'¹² from the adjacent remains of a cistern. Next to it there are the ruins of an old building, which, together with the water reservoir, must certainly date from the period of the Turkish occupation. These structures must have been used as a control post (*derveni*).¹³ The ascending route, before the saddle of 'Simio', splits in two parallel branches, one of which definitely belongs to the Ottoman period. There is a third branch, too, which bears clear marks of ancient carriage wheels. W.K. Pritchett was the first author to mention them.¹⁴

After the saddle of 'Simio' and for a certain distance, there is level ground on which the aforementioned roads run on a common route. Further on, a weedy paved path (καλυτηρύμι, *kaldirim*)¹⁵ can be traced and is followed by the ancient road. After 100 m the road splits definitively on both sides of the gradually descending gorge. The southern, right branch runs downhill and alongside the foot of the main volume of Mount Parthenion, passing by the church of Hagia Parthena. As mentioned earlier, the church stands on the site of the old *hani* which Leake saw and recorded. Thus the southern road should be identified with the one which the same author described and called "Beylik" and "Dimosia".¹⁶

10. The pioneer W.K. Pritchett, despite his persistent explorations, noted: "We saw no wheel-ruts anywhere". (See *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 97.) Only much later Pritchett mentioned tracks of ancient chariot wheels after they were pointed out to him. However, these tracks are not related to the main south route of 'Parthéni'. (See his *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* vol. IV, Berkeley 1982, pp. 83-4.)

11. Near the end of the 19th century W. Loring noticed some ruts in the area of an "έκτροπή" (a kind of branch) which he, however, misdated: "Though in parts so steep that one would naturally regard it as impassable to anything on wheels, yet I have seen on it what I took for wheel-ruts; and, if they were wheel-ruts, the road must have been used by carts of some kind in Turkish times." (See W. Loring, "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese," *JHS* 15, 1895, p. 79.)

12. Y.A. Pikoulas, "The Road-network of Arkadia," in Th.H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6, Copenhagen 1999, p. 259.

13. Leake writes that he had to pay toll in order to pass this road (*op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 363). Also, that the people of Achladokambos were charged with the task of guarding this road (*ibid.*, p. 335). On the other hand, W. Gell mentions that around that time he had to pay a toll of 5 paras in order to pass the *derveni* at "Caloiero Bouni" (between Tripolis and Asea): *Itinerary of the Morea*, London 1817, p. 136.

14. Pritchett, *op. cit.* (n. 10), and also *id.*, *Studies* vol. VI, Berkeley 1989, p. 108.

15. This Turkish word means stone-paved path. According to an unpublished paper by the Turkish professor Dr. Ekrem Akurgal it comes from the Greek καλή ρύμη (= good road). See C.M. MacKay, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 7, n. 6.

16. Leake, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 328-9.

Between the site of Hagia Parthena and a secondary ravine (going downhill from Mount Parthenion), we encounter a branching. The road to the right – the less frequented one – continues and crosses the river bed without a bridge; at first, it goes slightly upward – where black-painted potsherds were found – and then downward somewhere near the Achladokambos valley. The other branch swerves to the left and after many turns descends all the way to the main bed of the gorge. Its course changes twice, due to various natural forces over the years. This branch crosses over to the other side without a bridge and, after moving upward for a while, merges with the northern road that runs downhill on the opposite bank.

As already mentioned, this northern road starts at an earlier point of the route, approximately 100 m after the saddle of 'Simio'. It goes downhill on the left slope of the gorge which belongs to the sides of the long, low, and narrow location known as 'ή Βουβάλα'. Some call this road 'το Λιπάτι' drawing on an adjacent location with red rocks. Certain parts of this road appear meticulously paved with stone. This is the shortest route through the gorge of 'Partheni'. This road appears more straight than the rest. It is only after a walk of half an hour that it turns to the right. Then it goes downhill with four small twists and approaches the bed of the gorge where it turns left and continues alongside it. At that fourth twist something important happens: the road meets with another branch which descends from the right side following the gorge bed. The latter is a stone-paved road of fine construction, with steps and a retaining wall. After having separated from the southern, right branch leading to Hagia Parthena, this road went downhill for about 150 m and crossed the gorge bed. Its extension – that is, the part beyond the fourth twist just mentioned – also exhibits a very neat construction, much superior to that of the paved road of Hagia Parthena. On its way down this well-made northern road meets a small ravine, descending on its left side, and crosses it over a single-arch stone bridge. This bridge, which is called 'το Τουρκογέφυρο' ("the Turkish bridge"), carries a semicircular (not an Islamic, horseshoe-shaped) arch. The name indicates that the bridge existed during the late Turkish occupation in the Peloponnese (1715 – 1821) at the latest, but it is possible that the construction of the bridge dates to the Venetian occupation (1685 – 1715) since a popular name would never have cared about such tedious historical distinctions. Further on, the road passes by a ruined building on the left, evidently the guardhouse of the entrance to the gorge during the Ottoman period. Then it leaves behind and on its right side a small well with abundant water. This well is called 'το Καμαράκι' and stands beside the gorge bed in a densely green area. There a pathway starts which rises up to the south side and quite soon reaches the edge of a plateau where a long and narrow pile of rocks stretches on the left side. To the east of this pile the apse of a church comes into

view; the site is dedicated to 'Αγιο-Βλάσης'. On the west side of the rock pile there is a number of big, carved stones in secondary use. This must be the spot where the Byzantine tower was reported to be standing until around 1900 at least.¹⁷ The well-worked stones were first used in the ancient tower which still exists, but seriously decayed, in a nearby location. In the open area of the plateau one comes across scarce traces of an old settlement and Byzantine potsherds. Could there at some time have been a settlement here charged with the task of guarding the pass?

At a short distance from the well 'Kamaraki', between the northern road where we are descending and the bed of the gorge, there is a small, dry-arched fountain with few damages. After 10-15 minutes the stone-paved road ends in the bed where the grand railroad trestle rises (dating ca. 1890). The road becomes confused with the bed for a while and then it continues through the Achladokambos valley as a country road without any ancient traces. It is noteworthy that on this northern road, particularly where the pavement has been destroyed uncovering the limestone bed underneath, no traces of an ancient road were detected. Yet, Y.A. Pikoulas writes: "a wheel-track is extant below 'Αητόβιγλα before Καμαράκι."¹⁸

Plenty of ancient wheel-ruts exist on the southern road, particularly where it follows a common course with the stone-paved path. At one point two pairs of tracks meet. (Fig. 2) This might have been either an *ἐκτροπή*, a kind of branch¹⁹ to allow carriages coming from the opposite direction to pass, or a place where new tracks were made after the older pair had been destroyed by the sunken ground. It is worth noting that not a single mark of ancient wheels was found on the road past Hagia Parthena. Yet, that an ancient road – not necessarily for vehicles – did exist along this route is certain and further sustained by the decayed ancient tower mentioned above at the ruined site of Hagios Vlassis. The precise location of this tower is near and to the south-east of the church at the top of a rise. Something remains of its ruined base, measuring ca. 6.25 x 6.30 m.²⁰ This ancient tower must also have been also a guardhouse of Tegea at its borders with Argolis.

17. Guide-Joanne, *Grèce 2*, Paris 1903, p. 236. Another square, medieval tower, in the vicinity and to the east of the gorge of Mouchli, is also worth researching. It is mentioned by Pritchett, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 87, pl. 37.

18. Pikoulas, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 259.

19. LSJ translate the ancient Greek word *ἐκτροπή* as "a fork, branch on a road", p. 524. Cf. the verbal expressions in Hdt. 2.80 and Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.22. – Y.A. Pikoulas, *Ὀδικὸ δίκτυο καὶ ἄμυνα. Ἀπὸ τὴν Κόρινθο στὸ Ἄργος καὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν*, Athens 1995, p. 18, § β. Evidently, these were the two pairs of tracks which W. Loring saw and misinterpreted (see n. 11).

20. Pritchett, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pls. 183 and 184, pp. 110-1.

The third route, that is, the ‘Gyros’ (Fig. 1, no. 4), has not received enough scrutiny by recent researchers as opposed to older ones. For example, Dr. Y.A. Pikoulas, an expert scholar of road networks, misdates this road as “more recent”.²¹ Yet, this is a road with a long history. The signs of an old, abandoned road are still evident: water-fountains on its way, its bedding between retaining walls on both sides, that is, going uphill and downhill, the remains of a guard-house (*derveni*) next to it on a prominent spot with a view, and a neighbouring notable well with a big basin (*gourna*). Although the details of how it was used through the ages escape us, we still have sporadic, yet accurate pieces of information, for its documentation.

After the conquest of the Ottoman Tripolitzá by the Greek revolutionaries in the fall of 1821, the chieftain Nikolaos K. Kassomoulis (1795 – 1872) ordered and supervised the transport of cannons from the fortress to the coast of Argolis Bay. In his memoirs Kassomoulis writes: “They made handy *carriages* which they loaded with 4 cannons and which they had 150 Turk-prisoners carry all the way to the ‘Myloi’ with great difficulty.”²² This testimony is somewhat disputable if it is compared with the one provided by the French officer Maxime Raybaud who accompanied the mission. Specifically, Raybaud mentions the toponyms “Kaki Skala” and “Strata tou Halil Bey”,²³ which he probably picked from the travel account by his countryman, Fr. Pouqueville.²⁴ I find it most unlikely that the transportation of the cannons took place by the narrow, steep, and winding ‘Skala tou Bey’ (the original) with its many sharp turns south of Mouchli. The carriages must have followed the ‘Gyros’ with the sporadic ruts of an earlier road for vehicles which was opened 106 years earlier for a similar purpose. The existence of this road is confirmed through testimonies of the year 1715, the year when the Peloponnese was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. According to contemporary diaries, an infantry regiment coming from Kiveri and through the Achladokambos valley followed an ascending narrow road, one and a half hour long, to Tripolitzá where they arrived on August 5th, 1715.²⁵ It is fairly certain that the road the infantry took was the pass of ‘Partheni’, whereas for the artillery a special road was opened around the Mouchli (*i.e.*, the ‘Gyros’)

21. Pikoulas, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 260.

22. N.K. Kassomoulis, *Ενθυμήματα στρατιωτικά τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων, 1821-23*, Athens 1939-41, vol. A, p. 162. The emphasis is mine.

23. M. Raybaud, *Mémoires sur la Grèce pour servir à l'histoire de la guerre de l'Indépendance accompagnés de plans topographiques*, 2 vols., Paris 1824, vol. 1, pp. 7-9.

24. Pouqueville, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

25. B. Brue, *Journal de la campagne que le Grand Vesir Ali Pacha a faite en 1715 pour la conquête de la Morée*, Paris 1870, pp. 37-8. The date Aug. 5, 1715 follows the Gregorian calendar.

which could be used by vehicles (“une route carrossière”). There is a double testimony on that: a factual by Constantinos Dioikétès,²⁶ and a poetic by the captive Manthos Joannou.²⁷

It is known, however, that the ‘Gyros’ route had been exploited since antiquity for the opening of a carriage road. Two mid-19th century travellers noticed and recorded marks of such a road between Achladokambos and the ‘Gyros’. Unfortunately, their testimony has not received proper attention. F.G. Welcker first, on his way from Achladokambos to the ‘Gyros’ on April 6th, 1842, states clearly: “Im Aufstieg alte Wagenleise in Felsen. Nach zwei Stunden hat man links die ... Festung Palaomuchli.”²⁸ Ten years later E. Curtius published a similar account: “Ein Fusspfad führt geradeaus [toward Tegea] über das steile Joch [evidently “Partheni”] ..., während die Fahrstrasse nach alten Geleisen folgend um den nördlichen Fuss von Parthenion und den schroffen Burgfelsen von Paläomuchli herum führt.”²⁹

The existence of the ancient ‘Gyros’ road is also confirmed by a pair of ancient wheel-ruts which I have personally observed. Specifically, they are located on a route parallel to the old national road Argos – Tripolis (between the 40 and 41 km distance markers), on a spot overlooking the sheep-cote of Yannis Alepis.³⁰ (Fig. 3)

It is known that W. Loring,³¹ J.G. Frazer³² and E. Meyer³³ identified the ‘Gyros’ route with Pausanias’ “τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος”. I hold that the new evidence brought to light by this paper endorses this theory. Furthermore, regarding

26. N. Iorga, *Chronique de l'expédition des Turcs en Morée attribuée à Constantin Dioikétès et publiée par Nicolas Iorga*, Bucarest 1913, pp. 184-5. The date is here given by the Julian calendar.

27. M. Joannou, *Βιβλίον περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ σκλαβίας τοῦ Μορέως*, in E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. III, Paris 1881, p. 315: “... τὴν στράτα, ἀμάξια τὴν περάσανε ...” (“this road, vehicles passed”).

28. F.G. Welcker, *Tagebuch einer Griechischen Reise* Bd. I, Berlin 1865, pp. 196-7.

29. E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos: Eine historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* Bd. II, Gotha 1851-52, p. 367. His certainty about the existence of an ancient road at this spot Curtius reported thus: “die grosse Curve [im arkadischen Parthenion] der alten Kunststrasse wahrscheinlich nach hellenischen Tradition noch heute Γῦρος genannt wird.” *Id.*, “Zur Geschichte des Wegebau bei den Griechen”, in *Abhandlungen der K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1854, pp. 211-303 (= *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Berlin 1894, I, 1-116, p. 171).

30. First-hand information based on field research by P. Vemmos and A. Petronotis on 19–20 November 1999.

31. Loring, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 25, n. 79.

32. J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* vol. IV, London 1898, p. 495.

33. E. Meyer, s.v. “Parthenion”, *RE* 36.3, 1949, coll. 1887-90.

the identification of the shrines alongside the road mentioned by Pausanias (8.54.5-6), E. Meyer provides a reasonable interpretation.³⁴

As explained above, Tegea and the Achladokambos valley are connected by a fourth road, too. This partly coincides with the railroad tracks on the south side of Mount Parthenion and the pass through the village Elaiochori (former Masklena). This road has two exits from the plain of Tegea: one, at the village Parthenion (former Bertzova) where the railroad passes; the other, at the pass of ‘Άγιος Δέκα’, used by the asphalt road Tripolis – Astros (to the Thyreatis). (Fig. 4) Before the last saddle and to the right of today’s road, we detected ancient wheel-ruts in six different spots, measuring a gauge of 1.40 m.³⁵ These are certainly the marks of the road which Pausanias describes as “... ἡ δὲ εὐθεῖα ἡ ἐπὶ Θυρέαν τε καὶ κώμας τὰς ἐν τῇ Θυρεάτιδι ἐκ Τεγέας ...”.³⁶ The ancient road started at some southern gate of Tegea and passed by the modern villages of Magoula and Rizes.³⁷ We were certain that an ancient watch-tower existed above the former village; recently, evidence of a second one above the latter village has been provided to my hearsay knowledge.

After the saddle of ‘Hagios Deka’ we have not found any signs of ancient wheel-ruts.³⁸ Yet, such signs do exist in this location, at the place called ‘το Μακρυπλάγι’.³⁹ At the exact spot ‘στή Στέρνα’, 2.5 km distant from ‘Hagios Deka’, we passed by a bottle-shaped cistern; that is, an indication of ancient Lakonian road-construction.⁴⁰ Further, the road goes first downhill to the winter-stream ‘ὁ Ξεριάς’, and then uphill to the south side of Mount Parthenion directed toward the saddle of the village Elaiochori. Before this village, it goes by a crossroads so-called ‘ὁ Ἄρμακάς’.⁴¹ This is a multi-branch cross-roads which has always been important.⁴² One

34. *ibid.*

35. Field research by P. Vemmos and A. Petronotis, Sunday 15 July 2001. The toponym ‘Άγιος Δέκα’ is the popular version of ‘τῶν Ἁγίων Δέκα’ (in plural), that is, of 10 Cretan saints. The professor of archaeology K.A. Rhomaios had made an early mention of these ancient marks. See his: “Τὰ Δολιανὰ στὴν ἀρχαιότητα,” in *Χρονικά Δολιανῶν Κυνουρίας*, vol. A, 1959, repr. 2000, pp. 9-16 (esp. pp. 12-3). The author wrote this article in 1950.

36. Paus. 8.54.4: “The straight road from Tegea to Thyrea and to the villages its territory contains...” (Loeb). Cf. Rhomaios, *op. cit.* (n. 35).

37. N.D. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις, Ἀρχαϊκὰ Ἀρκαδικά*, 1st ed. Volos 1967, p. 425, n. 4.

38. Field research on 25 March 2002, by P. Vemmos, L. Antonakos and A. Petronotis.

39. P.B. Faklaris, *Ἀρχαία Κυνουρία. Ἀνθρώπινη δραστηριότητα καὶ περιβάλλον*, Athens 1990, p. 214, n. 3.

40. Pikoulas, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 286-7 and 352; cf. also pp. 77 and 237. He prefers the expression “ἀπιόσχημη ὀμβροδεξαμένη” (“pear-shaped rainwater cistern”).

41. Ἄρμακάς (= heap of stone). Cf. the ancient *έρμαξ* = cairn.

42. Faklaris, *op. cit.* (n. 39), pp. 209-16, esp. p. 212; plan on p. 210.

of its branches is the fourth road to the Achladokambos valley with a route branching off to Andritsa.⁴³ Its major branch, however, is the one leading to Thyrea.⁴⁴

Appendix

Research based on Pausanias' text has claimed that there were only a few roads for vehicles in ancient Greece.⁴⁵ More recent accounts, including this study, dispute this claim. In fact, they argue that the exact opposite is the case in Arkadia (and in the rest of the Peloponnese).⁴⁶ Many of its roads were not mentioned by Pausanias, others have been destroyed, and quite a few have not yet been identified. Current research is bringing to light new ones. An unknown road which used to lead from Mantinea to Tegea has been discovered recently.⁴⁷ From Tegea it headed for the modern village Neochori. It ascended toward 'στο Διασελάκι' of Timios Stavros, that is, the saddle which today lies between the Byzantine monastery of Varses⁴⁸ and the fort of Hagia Kyriaki on the height of the 'Ψηλή Ράχη'. On the latter, Early Christian potsherds were found.⁴⁹ To the right passing the saddle downhill, at the spot named 'το Καρτερούλι', the wheel-ruts of the ancient road are located. The latter used to pass through the spot named 'το Κάθισμα' and the small field of the village Louka, where the small border fort of St. George stands.⁵⁰ This road ended in Mantinea. This entire route was normally used during winter when the road across the plains was buried in mud.

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43. M.E.P. Boblay, *Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée*, Paris 1835, p. 66. Cf. Faklaris, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 209, n. 663.

44. Faklaris, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 212, and Rhomaios, *op. cit.* (n. 35).

45. MacKay, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 63.

46. See related literature by Y.A. Pikoulas.

47. A. Petronotis and P. Vemmos, "Νεότερες οικιστικές έρευνες," in the Tripolis newspaper *Kathimerinά Néa*, no. 3453 (30 May 2000), p. 7.

48. N.K. Moutsopoulos, "Αί παρά τήν Τρίπολιν μοναί Γοργοεπικούου, Βαρσών και Έπάνω Χρέπας από αρχιτεκτονικής ιδίως απόψεως," *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 29, 1959, pp. 416-35.

49. See the paper by E. Eleutheriou in this volume.

50. N.D. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Έλλάδος περιήγησις, 'Αρχαϊκά 'Αρκαδικά*, 2nd ed., Athens 1980, pp. 212-3, figs. 172ff. Cf. G. Fougères, *Mantinee (BÉFAR 78)*, Paris 1898, pl. X: "Carte du territoire de Mantinee"; by village Louka "Tour R.H."

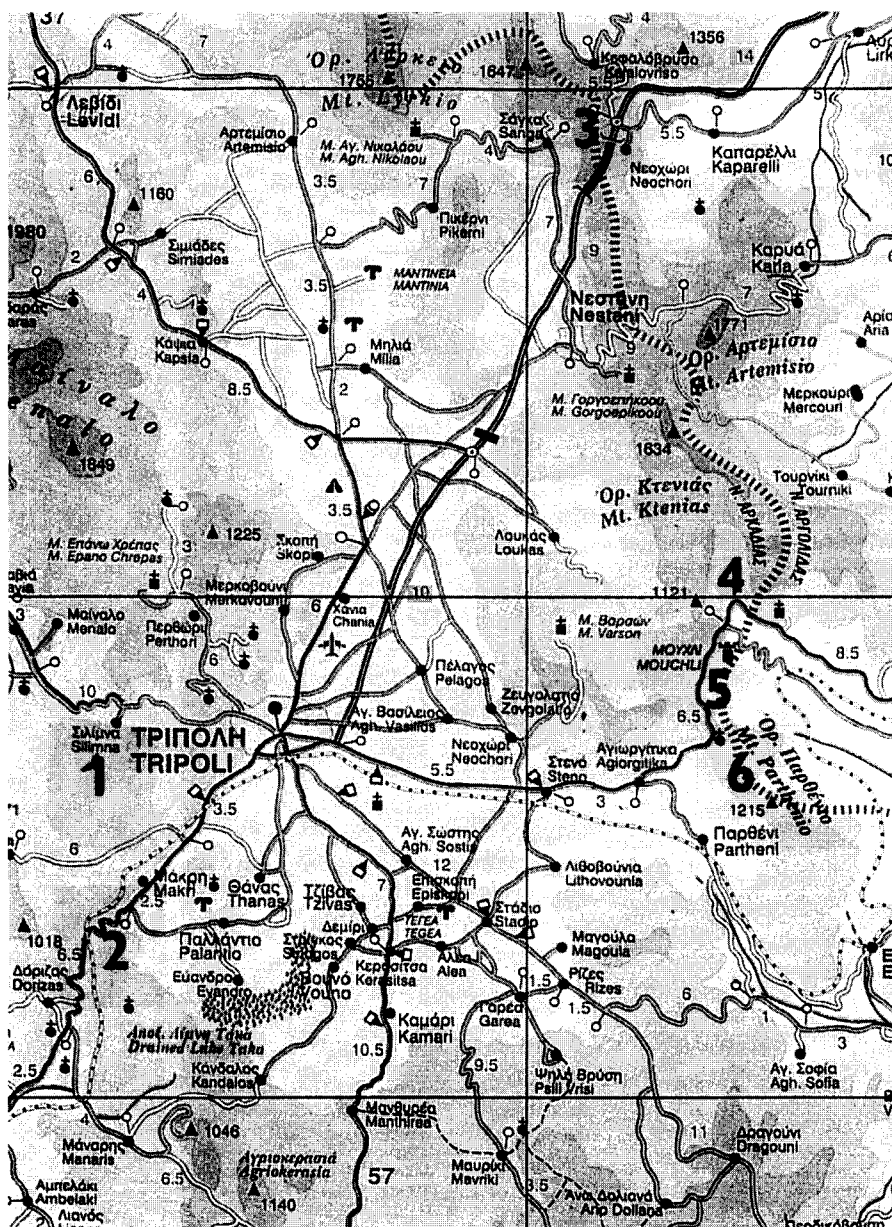


Fig. 1. Map of the central Arkadian plateau with diachronic passages. (From the *Map of the Peloponnese*, Road Edition, Athens n.d.)

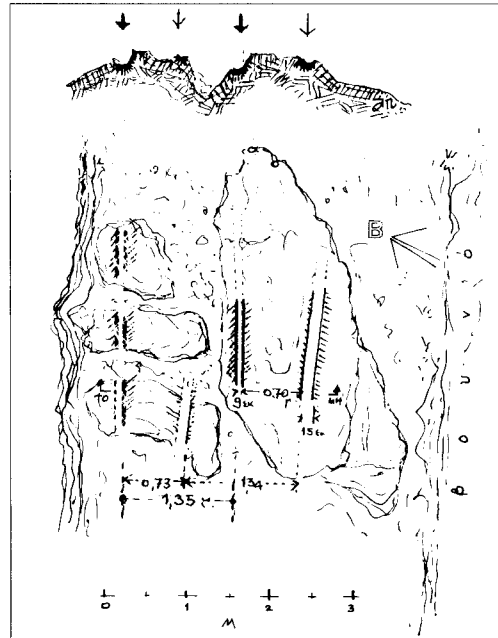


Fig. 2. Double tracks of ancient carriage wheels on the south road of the pass 'Partheni', commonly misnamed 'Skala tou Bey'. Top: section; bottom, plan; left, the gorge; right, the mountain. (Drawing: author.)



Fig. 3. Pair of ancient wheel-ruts on the road of 'Gyros', by Y. Alepis' sheep-cote. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 4. Ancient wheel-ruts at the spot 'Hagios Deka' on the road from Tegea to Thyrea. (Photo: author.)

The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: Recent Excavations in the Northern Area. Results and Problems

Chiara Tarditi

The excavations in the northern area of the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, organized by the Norwegian Institute at Athens during the period 1990-94, investigated the area directly in front of the 'ramp' emerging from the northern flank of the classical temple and identified a long stratigraphical sequence, from the modern occupation back to the early archaic period. This area was probably always used as an open courtyard, with few and small structures with the only exception of a big mud-brick wall in east-west direction, probably the northern limit of the sanctuary area in the 6th century B.C. The evidence recovered gives indications about the presence of early archaic and Geometric layers, which should be investigated by future excavations.

The discovery of the sanctuary and the first excavations

The site of ancient Tegea was identified at the beginning of the 19th century,¹ and during the second half of the same century the first excavations were started by German archaeologists, followed by French and Greek archaeologists. All focused in particular on the recovery of the classical temple and its surroundings; in the northern area the only excavations were related to a monumental fountain and two monument bases, identified and excavated at the beginning of the 20th century.²

In 1976-77 the Greek ephorate of antiquities, under the direction of G.

1. E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, vol. II, London 1819, 418.

2. G. Mendel, "Fouilles de Tégée," *BCH* 25, 1910, 241-81; K.A. Rhomaios, "Ἐργασίαι ἐν Τεγέῃ," *Prakt* 1909, 300-23; Ch. Dugas, "Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée avant le IVE siècle," *BCH* 45, 1921, 335-435; Ch. Dugas *et al.*, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Alea à Tégée au IVE siècle*, Paris 1924.

Steinhauer, conducted excavations in the northern area in a few square trenches of 5 x 5 m., one of these (in square D6) down to virgin soil.

Finally, we have the research program organized from 1990 to 1994 by the Norwegian Institute at Athens and directed by professor Erik Østby. (Fig. 1) I am glad to present here, before the final publication,³ some results of that work.

The purpose of these excavations was to investigate the stratigraphical situation preserved inside the cella of the classical temple⁴ and in the area north of the temple, considered to be particularly important in the life of the sanctuary because of the presence of the fountain, the two bases, and the ramp or platform, not easily interpreted, projecting from the middle of the northern flank of the temple peristasis.

The northern area is included between the northern flank of the temple and the modern road that crosses the northern area of the sanctuary. The limits of the excavation area are to the north the modern road, to the south and east the earth banks from the old excavations, and to the west a line approximately corresponding to the foundation projecting from the northern flank of the temple.

In this area the excavation was carried out in the sectors identified as C6, C7, C9, C10, D5, D7, D8, D9, D10, E5, E6 and E7. Here I present the general results from the sectors C6 and C7, directed by dr. J.-M. Luce from the university of Toulouse, and from the sectors D5, D7, E6 and E7, where the excavation was directed by myself. (Fig. 2)

After an initial clearing of the area with an earth-mover, the excavation was at first focused on the sectors D6, where the sections of the trench from dr. Steinhauer's excavations were cleaned to the bottom, and D7. Later, it was extended to the other sectors mentioned above.

A stratigraphical sequence could be established at least back to the Geometric period, the most ancient phase that was identified during the excavation.

Geometric and orientalizing periods

In the sector D7, where we decided to carry the excavation deeper, it was possible to identify and partially excavate a layer formed by debris carrying clear traces of fire. (Fig. 3) This debris includes a lot of chunks of burnt clay, many of

3. In preparation for the series "Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens". I publish there the excavation of the ancient layers in the northern sector, and some bronze objects.

4. Excavations directed by Prof. G.C. Nordquist of the Uppsala university. See for a preliminary account *ead.*, "Evidence for Iron Age Cult Activity below Athena Alea's Temple at Tegea," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults, SkrAth 4°*, Stockholm 2002, 149-58.

them with impressions of organic material and some with plaster coating, much charcoal, and many fragments of small votive objects: bronze and iron pins, bronze rings, small bronze votive sheets, fragments of bronze bowl rims, bone objects, one fragment of gold sheet, and many fragments of fine pottery.

All the material from this layer can be dated back to the 7th century B.C., but the surface was used as an open area between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century.

The rubble that constitutes this layer can be connected with a building made of light material, like mud-brick or wattle-and-daub, but carefully constructed, as indicated by the plaster preserved on several clay fragments.

The fragments found mixed with the rubble may suggest that this building was intended for sheltering precious objects, possibly votives. Based on the results of the excavations inside the classical temple, we may suggest, as a hypothesis, that this site was used to discard the debris of a building, probably a cult building, which had been used during the 7th century, was then destroyed by a fire, and was replaced at the end of the 7th century by the more impressive archaic temple.

The excavation was not carried beyond this layer, which was excavated only in part. In the section visible from a late, Byzantine large pit and from the Steinhauer trench in D6 it was possible to recognize some structures under this layer, probably parts of small walls. Only a small sondage was made, and for the moment a date for these structures in the Geometric period, between the 9th and 8th centuries, may only be suggested.

Late archaic period

In the late archaic period, corresponding to the life of the archaic temple, the northern area was certainly used continuously, as shown by elements like some walking surfaces, an important mud brick wall, at least one small round structure, and a more compact pebble floor.

On one of this surfaces we found a great quantity of stone and rough pieces of marble, resting directly on the surface without any foundation trench. We can interpret it as remains of a wall.

On a clayey, compact soil (datable, by scarce diagnostic fragments, to the middle of the 6th century) a mud brick wall was built. It is approximately 60 cm wide and was certainly longer than 5 m, since it crosses the entire E6 sector and is interrupted to the east by a modern trench and to the west by dr. Steinhauer's trench. (Fig. 4) This wall was built with mud-bricks posed directly on the soil, without any stone foundation, and it is preserved only in the lowest course of mud-bricks, of yellow clay and approximately rectangular shape.

The surface which the wall was built upon is also the floor connected with its life: after a short time the wall was dismantled and its destroyed surface was englobed in the later walking surface, to be dated in the second half or the end of the 6th century. Because of its position and the certainly important dimensions it is possible that this wall had a function as a *temenos* wall or some kind of monumental fence for the sanctuary.

Above the mud-brick wall there is a sequence of two floors, both datable to the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century. They are made of compact soil rich in clay, with fragments of bone, some charcoal, and fragments of fine and common pottery. The great quantity of clay and the fast rise of the surface in the area (about 20 cm in less than 50 years) can be explained by the occurrence of perhaps two different floodings that might have interested the area, probably connected with the Sarandapotamos river. After each flooding a new walking surface was created.

Very important is also the presence of many small post holes, preserved only in their lowest part, as the posts were probably intentionally moved after a short time. Some of them, with the same stratigraphical position and placed at the same level (no more than 5 cm difference), join to an oval shape that may represent the outline of a small structure, 2.5 m in diameter – very light, perhaps temporary, built perhaps for some special situation in the life of the sanctuary, such as a festival. (Fig. 5) We can compare it with the small 'stands' that are today every year made in front of the Episkopì church at Tegea for the Panaghia festival, in mid-August.

A pebble floor that we found all over the area, is also datable to the end of the archaic or the beginning of the classical period. It is a regular floor, made with small pebbles and stones. The area was open, and two regular, rectangular cavities (with straight walls and flat bottom) dug in the eastern part (sectors E6 and E7) might have held small structures like bases for statues or similar. In this open area, perhaps at some special occasion, at least one small structure like the one fitting the post holes of the layer underneath was built.

Above this pebble floor we found the layers related to the construction of the classical temple.

The construction of the classical temple

On top of the pebble floor there is a layer very rich in archaic votive objects, especially small bronze sheets and pins, but also many fine fragments of archaic pottery and some fragments of small female lead figurines of orientaling style. They are all mixed with late classical materials, especially black-glazed pottery fragments of the second half of the 4th century.

This layer is present in all sectors and can be explained as a layer created with the soil removed during the excavation of the trenches for the classical temple foundations. These trenches were cut through ancient layers and also early deposits of votive objects, and all this material was discarded in the northern area for filling and levelling purposes, together with pottery contemporary with these works.

On top of this layer there is another one characterized by a great quantity of marble chips, of the same white Dolianà marble used for the classical temple; we found this layer too all over the excavation area and under the two monument bases in the southern part of the area, with small changes in thickness. All the sherds from this layer are datable no further back than the end of the 4th century, and it is thus possible to explain the marble material as coming from the final work on the marble blocks used for the construction of the classical temple, for example from the carving of the column flutes. It is supposed that all the chips and marble fragments were discarded in the northern area in order to level and reduce the natural, quite steep slope that was originally descending from south to north and from west to east.

After this filling, the only structures placed in this open area were the two monument bases found by Dugas.⁵ The double-T shape of the metal dowels dates them to the classical period, and their position on top of the marble chips layer indicates that they were set up at the end of the construction. The evidence we found in our excavations does not help to explain the platform projecting from the classical temple as a structure in any way related with other elements of the northern area.

The use of the sanctuary after the construction of the classical temple

The surface of this marble chips layer does not appear as a clear and solid floor; it is always very irregular and not compact. Some of the rare fragments from this surface are of late Hellenistic and Roman periods, suggesting a prolonged use of this area until the Roman period, but during this long time no real floor was built and no traces of activity were left.

It is difficult to explain this situation. It is possible that this open area was periodically cleaned up, involving the removal of any trace related to its use; more simply, it may have been a part of the sanctuary that was not normally used, as the absence of any structure, with the only exception of the two monument bases, seems to indicate.

The following layer, also recognizable all over the excavated area, is chara-

5. Dugas *et al.*, *supra* n. 2, 71-2.

cterized, as the previous one, by a great quantity of marble chips; but they are not quite as many, and create an irregular, not a compact surface. This layer was created some time between the end of the Hellenistic period and the Roman imperial time: the scarceness of available material does not allow a more exact dating.

We know that Pausanias visited the sanctuary in the 2nd century A.D. and that it was then still used.⁶ But for this long time span we have not found clearly defined surfaces that can be related with such a long and intensive use of the sanctuary.

The destruction of the classical temple

After these layers connected with the life of the sanctuary the northern area shows evidence of some activity that made use of the blocks of the temple, that had by this moment certainly collapsed. Some blocks were used for quarrying smaller pieces, more easily utilized for construction purposes: still today, many old houses in the village of Tegea include pieces of marble blocks from the temple. The layer connected with this activity is also characterized by a great quantity of small marble chips, but it contains only a few diagnostic pottery fragments: these seem to suggest a period between the 3rd and 6th century A.D.

Alluvion layers

The layers from the late antique and early Byzantine periods were 'sealed' by a sequence of alluvion layers: in all sectors we found up to five layers of alternate silt and sand, almost sterile. They represent evidence of several floodings of the area, perhaps very close in time, and probably connected with the Sarandapotos river. The number of layers that have been preserved depends on the natural slope of the area, decreasing from west to east. In the sector C6 it was possible to recognize some footprints of people and cattle impressed in the silt.

The Late Byzantine period

We have evidence for later use of the area datable approximately between the 11th and the 14th century A.D. We found part of a floor of compact soil, preserved only in a small piece in sector E6, and some wall segments made with stone and rough marble pieces bound with earth. In one such segment a statue of the Hellenistic period had been re-used as building material. Only small and rare sherds come from these structures, so their exact dating is uncertain.

After this period, when there was probably a residential usage, the area was

6. Paus. 8.45.4-47.4.

used as a cemetery, perhaps to be connected with a monastic complex of the Byzantine period that was found between the temple and the classical altar but destroyed without any documentation during the first archaeological excavations.⁷ We excavated nine simple graves; in all of them the skeletons were only partially preserved, since they had been disturbed by later agricultural use of the area. (Fig. 6) Personal objects are very rare; in two cases one iron nail provides evidence for a wooden coffin. At least one tomb (C7.02) seems to have been reused, with secondary deposition of the bones of the first body and later deposition of another one in the same grave. Awaiting the results of the skeleton analysis, we do not have exact elements for dating these graves, but they seem datable between the late Byzantine time and the Turkish domination.

Modern occupation

Finally, at the time of the first excavations of the classical temple, the entire area of the sanctuary was covered by the houses of the modern village. The structures and the surfaces we dug at the beginning of our excavations, are connected with this situation: walls in rough stone material including marble pieces, probably dividing courtyards, in some cases built reusing also big blocks from the temple; a small pit; some wells. The walking surface is related with agricultural use of the courtyards; and this use is responsible for the partial mixing of the lower stratigraphy at different levels.

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7. A. Milchhöfer, "Untersuchungsausgrabungen in Tegea," *AM* 5, 1880, 56, Taf. II; Mendel, *supra* n. 2, 244; Rhomaïos, *supra* n. 2, 307.

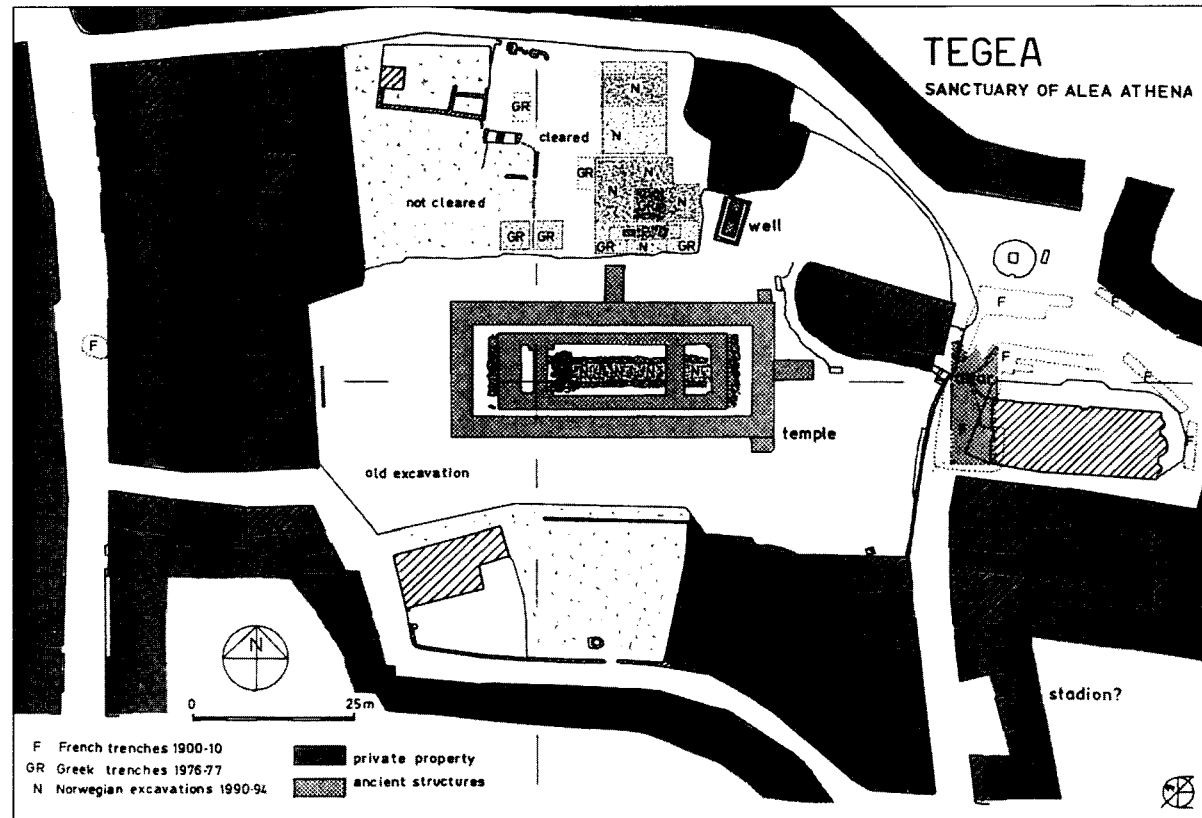


Fig. 1. The area of the sanctuary with the indications of the excavation area. (Drawing: E. Østby.)

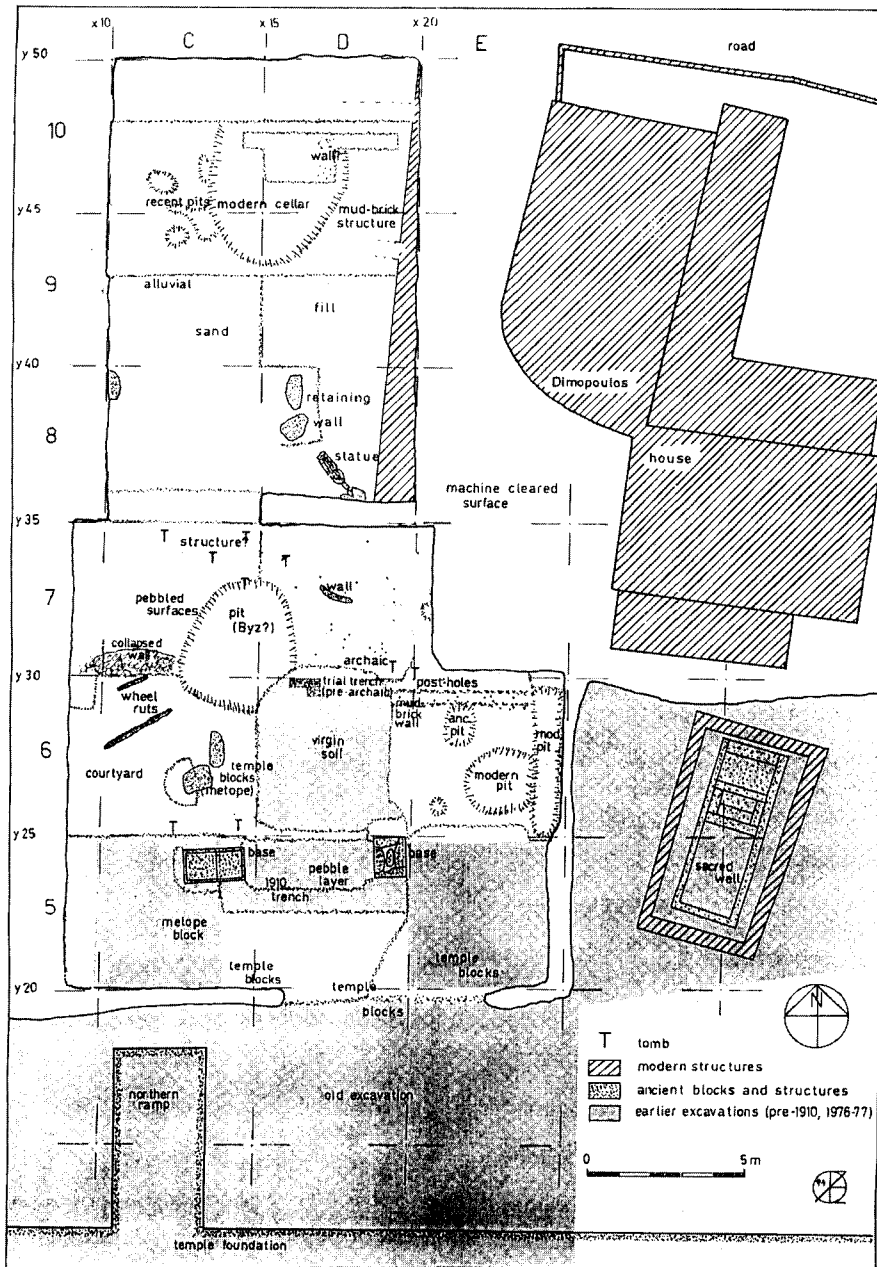


Fig. 2. Plan of the excavations in the northern area. (Drawing: E. Østby.)

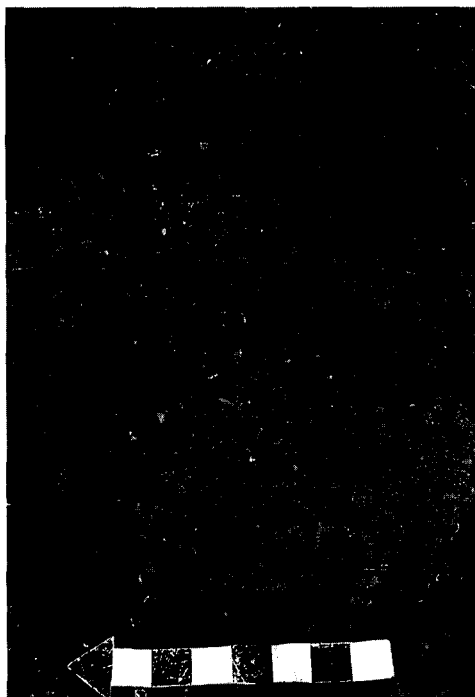


Fig. 3. Surface of the early archaic layer in sector D7. (Photo: author.)

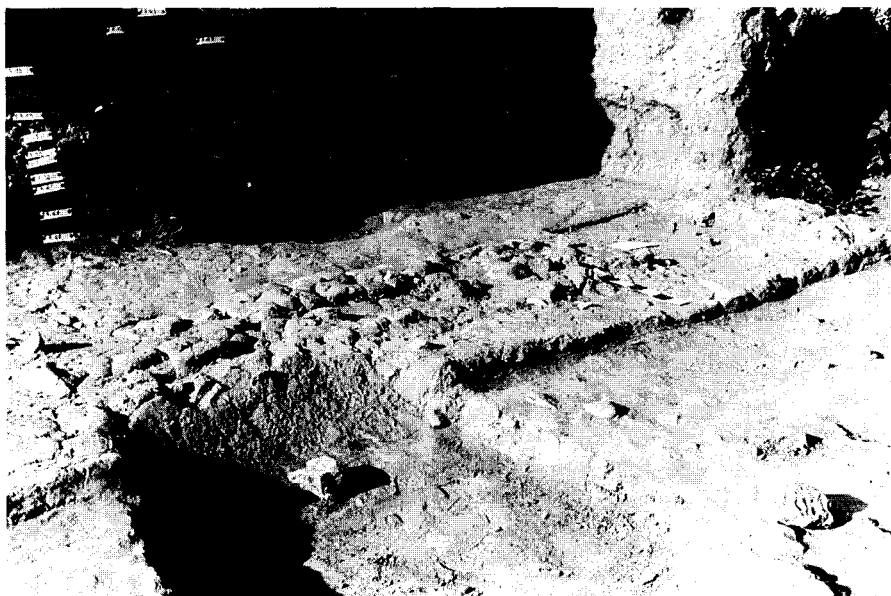


Fig. 4. Mud-brick wall in sector E6. (Photo: author.)

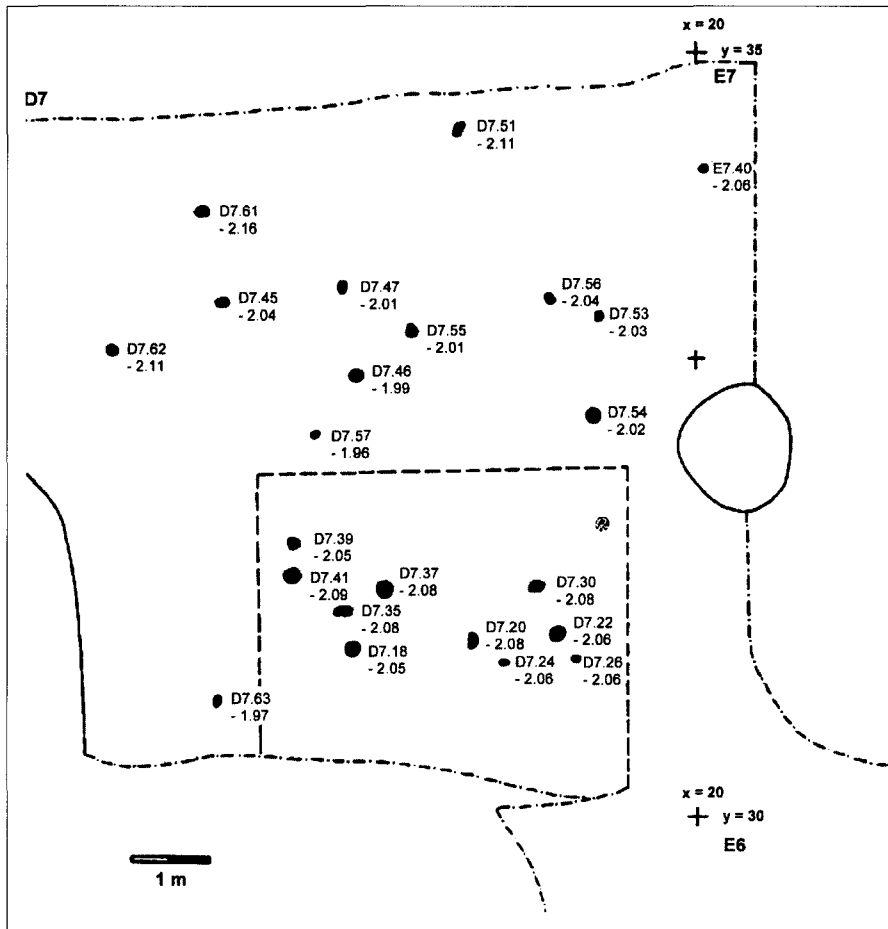


Fig. 5. Some of the post-holes in sector D7. (Drawing: author.)

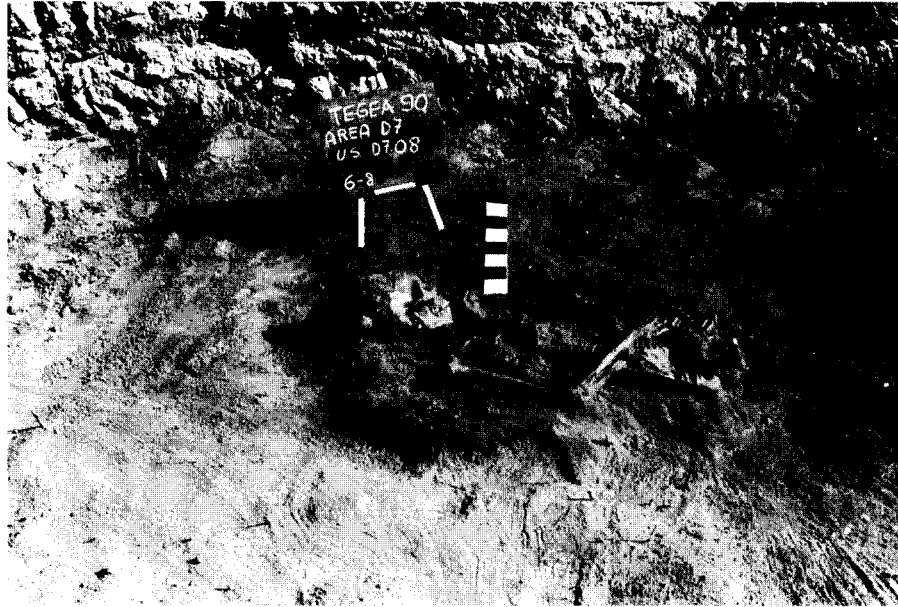


Fig. 6. Skeleton in sector D7. (Photo: author.)

The Topography of Ancient Tegea: New Discoveries and Old Problems

Knut Ødegård

The city of Tegea was one of the most important cities on the Peloponnese in antiquity, but it has until now remained strangely unknown in archaeological research. The Norwegian Arcadia Survey (1998 – 2001) focused its fieldwork mainly on the area of the ancient city and we are now beginning to understand some important aspects of the topography of the city. The sanctuary of Athena Alea was located outside the main area of urban settlement, although it evidently predates the urbanization of the area, which seems to have occurred in the second half of the 6th century B.C.

When the Norwegian excavations in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea came to a halt in 1994, important new information had been collected not only on the archaic temple foundations, but also on earlier, simpler, cult buildings on the site, as well as the layout of the *temenos* to the north of the late classical temple.¹ But even though we were in a position to follow cult-practice at the site well back into the 8th century and perhaps beyond, we were also in a position typical of traditional classical archaeology in Greece, with detailed information on a single, monumental sanctuary and virtually no information on the surrounding landscape. For this reason, it was in 1994 clear that to be able to comprehend the development of the sanctuary in a wider context we needed more archaeological information of a regional kind. Archaeological survey seemed best adapted for answering these questions and from 1998 an interdisciplinary group of Norwegian scholars has been working in the area to fill this gap. (For the survey area, see Fig. 1.)

The present article will present some of the main aims of the project and preliminary results, particularly regarding the difficult topic of the historical topography of the city of Tegea in antiquity.

1. Preliminary reports on these works: Østby *et al.* 1994; Nordquist, 2002; Voyatzis 2002; Østby 2002. See also the papers by Ch. Tarditi, M.E. Voyatzis and E. Østby in this volume.

The topography of the Tegean area and the Norwegian Arcadia Survey

The ancient *polis* of Tegea controlled the larger, southern part of a highland plain in Central Eastern Arcadia. The plain is composed of undulating low hills and the altitude is descending towards southwest, where even today a small lake, the Lake Takka, is situated. Further north, the plain is at its narrowest just north of modern Tripolis, before widening up in an almost completely level plain, which in antiquity formed the territory of Mantinea. The karstic nature of the plain and the poor and precarious drainage system through *katavothra* (or sink-holes) have had important consequences for human settlement in the area. Fluctuating river courses and repeated floodings must until recent times have been an important factor in the location of settlements and in resource management. Today, artificial irrigation and increased private and public consumption of water is constantly lowering the ground water table, and unruly rivers and flooding do not present problems any more. As we will show later, these dynamic landscape features have changed the topography considerably since antiquity.

Since Norwegian excavations had been carried out in the sanctuary of Athena Alea, this locality was a natural point of departure for the survey project. A project area of ca. 50 km² was chosen with the sanctuary in the centre. (Fig. 1) The area was also chosen so as to include different topographical features, from the foothills surrounding the plain in the south, across the central part of the plain and into low ridges to the north, where the suburbs of modern Tripolis formed obvious obstacles to investigation. In this way, the survey area represents a cross-section of the plain, with the sanctuary and the site of the ancient city of Tegea in the centre.

The archaeological survey primarily aimed at documenting find-density patterns. For practical purposes, this entailed that all levels of distribution have been recorded, also what is evidently very low 'off-site' distribution of artefacts. (Fig. 2) Since an ancient urban site, Tegea, was included in the survey area, this approach also seemed a convenient way of documenting different levels of densities inside what may still be termed a single site. All information has been stored in a GIS database that allows interdisciplinary collaboration and statistical analysis.

The extension of the city of Tegea

Compared to the sanctuary of Athena Alea, the city of Tegea has so far not received much scholarly interest from archaeologists. In fact, one of the main contributions was made by V. Bérard as far back as in 1892,² and then in the context of French interest in the archaeology of Mantinea and at the sanctuary

2. Bérard 1892.

of Athena Alea, where large-scale excavations were initiated by G. Mendel and concluded by Ch. Dugas.³ Bérard's work at Tegea followed closely his earlier investigations at Mantinea and one of the main objects was to locate and date the city-walls. Although no traces of these were then, or now, visible on the surface, Bérard succeeded in identifying three certain stretches of the walls through trial trenches. His three points were located in the northern, western and eastern part of the circuit, while another structure of more uncertain function was found to the south of the sanctuary of Athena Alea. This last stretch was by Bérard only hypothetically claimed as belonging to the city-walls. Bérard dated all these structures to the early 4th century, mainly on the evidence of analogy with the better documented walls of Mantinea.

From these four points Bérard assumed that one could follow the course of the walls in the modern road network. This assumption was to a large extent built on the example of Mantinea, where it was quite evident that later road-building had exploited the firm foundation of the walls. This analogy led Bérard to assume a similar elliptic shape for the wall circuit at Tegea, an assumption that has since been accepted by most scholars. It has also been assumed that the sanctuary was located inside the walls, an assumption of far-reaching importance for the interpretation both of the character of the sanctuary and of its relationship with the urbanistic pattern of the region.

The centre of the city has since the late 19th century been located in the area of Palaia Episkopí, where the remains of a theatre from the Hellenistic period have been partially visible. This structure can be linked to Pausanias' description of the city, where it appears that the theatre was situated "not far from the *agorá*".⁴ Excavations conducted in the 1980s by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia and Laconia, directed by Dr. Th. Spyropoulos, found the remains of buildings clearly connected with the *agorá*, such as a Hellenistic stoa, although later rebuilding obscures the original layout.

To the north of the city-area, as defined by Bérard, are the two low hills of Akra and Hagios Sostis. Building fragments and figurines have been found near the top of the latter, which has been interpreted as a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, mentioned by Pausanias.⁵ It is not at all clear from Pausanias' account whether the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was situated at "the high place" he mentions later and associates with Zeus Klarios; nor is it clear where this akropolis was located: at Hagios Sostis, Akra or somewhere within the city area, where no significant hill can be observed today.

One aim in our archaeological survey of the city area was to delimit the

3. Mendel 1901; Dugas 1921; Dugas *et al.* 1924.

4. Paus. 8.49.1.

5. Jost 1985, 154-6; Paus. 8.53.7.

urban site and to obtain statistical indications on the development of the city (see below). This aim also included a reappraisal of Bérard's study of the city-walls. Recently, Bérard's maps have been digitized and georeferenced by Mr. Thomas Risan, which has made it possible to locate with reasonable certainty his three trial trenches.⁶ It is not difficult to follow Bérard's hypothetical course of the walls on a general level, since many of the local roads held by him to follow the walls are still in existence. At one point a huge block could still be seen in the ditch running alongside one of the roads indicated by Bérard, so his case may indeed come out strengthened by our research.

The distribution pattern of artefacts in the surface also confirms the general validity of Bérard's argument, with some, but very significant, corrections. (Fig. 3) There was, generally speaking, a significant drop in density of artefacts more or less on Bérard's hypothetical line of walls, with the notable exception of the southern half of his elliptical city area. In this latter area, only insignificant amounts of material on the surface were documented. Since this was both unexpected and difficult to reconcile with the vast amounts of material from the excavations in the sanctuary, situated in exactly the southern part of Bérard's urban area, we had to take into account the possibility of recent sedimentation, covering earlier cultural layers.

Even in the sanctuary area, the French and later the Norwegian excavators had encountered deposits of sterile silt above the foundations of the temple and the ancient layers, so there seemed to be strong arguments in favour of massive flooding in the post-classical period. For this reason, it was imperative to gather more information on the stratigraphy in this part of the urban area.

The Norwegian excavations 1990-94 had included an area to the north of the late classical temple, reaching ca. 35 m northwards, where the present archaeological area is limited by a modern country road. During the excavations, it became clear that the late classical ground level had been sloping towards north. It is also likely that the area had been levelled with marble debris from the temple-construction in the late classical period and that the slope had been more pronounced in earlier times. The marble debris tapered off and ended in the northernmost part of the Norwegian excavation trenches. Below this layer, a large structure in mud-brick, perhaps oriented east-west, was partially excavated in 1993.⁷ For stratigraphical reasons this structure had to be earlier than the late classical

6. Bérard's trial trenches to the east and west have been disturbed by modern building activity, while there might still exist some traces of his trial trench to the north.

7. I am grateful to the director of the Norwegian excavations, Dr. Erik Østby, for permission to study and publish parts of the excavation results. The northern sector of the excavations will be published in *Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens*. The excavations of the mud-brick structure in 1993 was supervised by this writer.

construction of the temple, and possibly to be dated to the late archaic or early classical periods. The excavation of this interesting structure could for practical reasons not be continued in the final excavation season in 1994, and consequently any interpretation can only be based on an incomplete understanding of the extent and function of the structure. What was certain, however, was that this partially collapsed mud-brick structure could be observed in a rectangular trench 10 m wide (east-west direction) and 5 m long (north-south). Furthermore, to gain a better understanding, it was decided to excavate through the structure in the northernmost part of the trench. The mud-brick structure proved to be about 1.20 m deep, but no stone foundation could be discerned underneath it. Since the full extension of the structure is not known, it is, of course, possible that stone foundations existed under other parts of the structure. Because of the large extension and considerable depth of the mud-brick, the only reasonable interpretation for it was as a massive wall, bordering the northern part of the *temenos*. Since such massive *temenos* walls are, to my knowledge, highly unusual, other explanations might see it as part of the city walls, or perhaps more probable, of some other large structure, such as the stadion.⁸ But since it was clear that only further investigation could clarify the function of this structure, it was natural for the survey project to start a more extensive investigation from the northern end of the Norwegian excavation trenches. The terrain was well adapted for investigation, being completely level, agricultural land without any buildings or other obstructions.

Since the project did not have permission for extensive trial-trenching, the possibilities for study were restricted to core-augering and GPR. The combination of these methods proved to be efficient, since GPR profiles could be checked by core columns 10 cm in diameter that were also collected for pollen-analysis.

The results were as follows: Only about 2 m north of the limit of the Norwegian excavations, the GPR profiles show a steep ca. 30 m wide ditch, about 15 m deep at its lowest point. It is not clear in which direction this ditch was running, since the GPR-profiles were two-dimensional. Core samples confirmed this impression and added some important further information. Small fragments of pottery and tile were present in the samples, and from a depth of ca. 11 m towards the southern part of the ditch a fragment of tile with a *terminus ante quem* in the Roman period was found. From about 9 m depth at the same location came a fragment of a tile, probably of medieval date. This evidence suf-

8. The stadion is mentioned by Pausanias, 8.47.4. It was evidently connected with the sanctuary of Athena Alea and should be located in the vicinity, as is also indicated by Pausanias' phrasing in the passage cited above (Τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω στάδιον χῶμα γῆς ἔστι). A fragmentary block from the starting threshold, not *in situ*, was identified right east of the late classical temple by Dr. Jari Pakkanen during the Norwegian excavations at the site, thus confirming the probability that the stadion was located nearby.

fices to show that this ditch had gradually silted up since the medieval period. There are no indications that this ditch was artificial. It may perhaps more plausibly be interpreted as a meander-lake left by a river. There was, however, no clear evidence for river banks consisting of water-borne gravel.

Although sufficient information has been collected to show that the topography in this area north of the sanctuary has been considerably altered since antiquity, it has proved extremely difficult to map this situation in detail. The most important agent in changing the landscape in this part of the plain is probably the changing courses of the major river in the area, the Sarandapotamos.⁹ Today, this river follows a deeply eroded river-bed from the foothills to the south of ancient Tegea towards the north, where it drains into sink-holes east of modern Tripolis. Several scholars have already supposed that the river earlier flowed westwards, towards the Lake Takka, a course implied already by Pausanias.¹⁰ Such a course would imply that the river once ran very close to the sanctuary of Athena Alea. From the previously mentioned core samples and GPR sections, combined with geological interpretation of surface sediments and maps, we can now tentatively posit the existence of several earlier courses of the Sarandapotamos.

We can therefore conclude that the southern half of the urban area, as defined by Bérard, was in antiquity characterized by wetlands, ponds, and probably also riverine activity. This explains why there are no archaeological finds on the surface: not primarily because of recent sedimentation, but rather because this area was not suited for dense habitation, and certainly not for urban development. There are, furthermore, no certain indications that the sanctuary was included within the walls. It is far more probable that the walls were situated further to the north, perhaps exploiting the deep ditch north of the sanctuary as a defensive asset.

Pottery production

The extension of the ancient city of Tegea has thus been reasonably well established. It is now the time to turn to the more specific information that can be gathered on the function of different parts of the city and, last but not least, the chronology of the urban settlement.

The *agorà* forms one fixed point in the topography of the city. In what we now know to be the extension of the city, the *agorà* forms almost the exact centre. But apart from the *agorà*, where presumably the main political buildings were located, the surface finds of the survey do indicate other areas where

9. The modern name of the river, "The forty rivers", is of course also highly indicative in this respect. In antiquity, the river was identified as the upper course of the Alpheios; see Paus. 8.54.1-4.

10. Pritchett 1965, 122-5.

specific activities took place. So far, the most compelling evidence is for pottery workshops and at least one newly identified urban sanctuary.

In an area approximately 250 m to the west of the *agorà* certain evidence for pottery production has turned up on the surface in several adjacent fields (see the paper by V. Cracolici in this volume). This is actually the first certain evidence for pottery production at Tegea, although local pottery production has been assumed also earlier, mainly on stylistic grounds.¹¹

A new urban sanctuary

The sanctuary of Athena Alea has so far received by far most attention among the sanctuaries in or near Tegea documented by written sources. Apart from Athena Alea, only the sanctuary probably dedicated to Demeter on the hill of Hagios Sostis has been archaeologically documented before the survey project (see above, p. 211 with n. 5). Huge amounts of votive terracottas, particularly figurines have been found at Hagios Sostis since the 19th century, and our survey was no exception.¹²

The sanctuary of Athena Alea has been considered of particular importance for understanding the urbanization and the political organisation of the area. It is by now likely that the city did not grow directly up around the sanctuary, but rather at a distance of about 1 km to the north. The Norwegian Arcadia Survey has, however, also collected evidence for other sanctuaries, one of them certainly within the urban perimeter.

Evidence for this sanctuary was first found in several building blocks, many of them reused in the modern village of Nea Episkopi. Few were clearly diagnostic, but one of them was a fragment of a ramp.¹³ Since the area in question was flat and accessible, we decided to employ GPR to investigate the subsurface. The GPR-profiles were highly successful, with clear reflections of substructures of about 16 x 26 meters. That this is a temple is highly likely, not only because of the building blocks on the surface, but also by the character of the substructures. In the profile across the structure, it was in fact evident that the building had two rows of foundations, very similar in distance and size to what is usually found underneath external colonnades and cella walls. So far we have no clear evidence for the date of this structure. There

11. Courbin 1966, 501-2, 549, mentions local traits in the LG pottery from Tegea: Voyatzis 1990, 72-74.

12. Jost, 1985, 154-6. During our survey about 20 fragments of figurines and numerous fragments of painted pottery were found in a small area to the north of Hagios Sostis. The material probably came from a votive deposit and dates to the 6th century B.C.

13. I am grateful to Dr. Jari Pakkanen, University of London, for a preliminary analysis of these building blocks.

were few datable finds in the surface, mainly because of high grasses.

Other architectural fragments were, however, also found during the survey of the ancient city. From two different localities fragments of Doric capitals of the second half of the 6th century were found.¹⁴ None of these have, however, been found in the vicinity of our probable temple, and although capitals of this size can be transported easily,¹⁵ they do seem to cluster in the area around the *agorà* at Palaia Episkopì.

During fieldwork in the summer of 2001, another Doric capital was discovered among rubble and reused building material in a small chapel between the two modern villages Alea and Stadio. This was substantially larger than the other capitals discovered so far, and also typologically different. This had a wide, flattish echinus and the typical early feature of a hollow groove where the echinus tapers off to the column shaft. This capital should probably be dated to the late 7th or to the early decades of the 6th century. This is in fact the earliest Doric capital known from Tegea, and it must have belonged to a large building. One obvious candidate is the archaic temple of Athena Alea, which was constructed exactly around this time.¹⁶

The date of the urbanization of Tegea

The history of the city of Tegea has been difficult to follow further back than the early 4th and late 5th century,¹⁷ when writers such as Thucydides and Xenophon testify to an urban centre surrounded by fortifications. Although some sort of political organization must have existed from the archaic period onwards, it may have been a loose confederation of villages that only at a late stage was fused into one centre by synoecism.¹⁸ This would conform better to the traditional view of Arcadia as a backwards region, more dominated by the *ethnos* than the *polis*. This traditional view has, however, been seriously questioned during the last decades. The survey in the area of the ancient city provides new material relevant for this crucial historical question. As described above, the area of dense urban settlement must have been more restricted than previously thought. Within this area, a consistent pattern has emerged, where the earliest material can be dated to the second half of the 6th century B.C. This observation is confirmed by the Greek excavations in the *agorà*, where the earliest material

14. I am grateful to Dr. Erik Østby, University of Bergen, for a preliminary analysis of the capitals.

15. One of the capitals found by the survey had been reused as a basin.

16. Østby *et al.* 1994, 94 and 99.

17. "There seems to be no evidence for the dating of the συνοικισμός of Tegea" (Andrewes 1952, 3, n. 11.)

18. This view is largely built on the evidence of Strabo, 8.3.2.

could also be dated to the late 6th century B.C.¹⁹ As we have seen, this is also the date of the earliest architectural fragments from the city, as well as the votive objects from the sanctuary probably dedicated to Demeter on Hagios Sostis.

The new evidence from the survey in the area of the ancient city therefore points to drastic changes in the pattern of settlement and in the political organization of Tegea around the middle of the 6th century. It is difficult to avoid connecting this with the hostilities with Sparta and more precisely with the establishment of the Peloponnesian League, usually dated to this period. In some way the relations with Sparta are likely to have influenced the development at Tegea, but it is far more difficult to establish with any certainty or even probability whether the urbanization was a response against the Spartan threat or whether it was precisely the opposite, caused by the establishment in power of a pro-Spartan faction among the Tegean aristocracy.

It is also possible to exclude all Spartan influence on the urbanization of Tegea and instead focus on internal factors. We are unfortunately not yet in a position to evaluate changes in the settlement pattern in a long chronological perspective, simply because we still lack vital information on, for instance, the Geometric period, which is still virtually a blank page in the settlement record of the territory of Tegea. There are, however, some interesting points that should be made. First of all, one should expect that the construction of the large and expensive monumental temple for Athena Alea undertaken by the Tegeans in the late 7th century (the first monumental stone temple dedicated to the goddess) depended on an organization of some complexity. When the construction was brought to conclusion, one would also expect that the sanctuary, although of importance also previously, would become an even more important common symbol and focus for the Tegeans. In this perspective it is hardly a coincidence that the fiercest hostilities with Sparta probably took place exactly in the first half of the 6th century. These hostilities may in turn have created the stimulus for a more centralised pattern of political organization. Whatever the details and the driving forces in the process, we can now with reasonable certainty establish that Tegea became a city around the mid-6th century. The sanctuary of Athena Alea must have played its part in the process towards urbanization, but the city did not grow up around the sanctuary, but rather in the more salutary environment about one km further north.

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19. I am grateful to Dr. Th. Spyropoulos for information regarding his excavations in the *agorà*.

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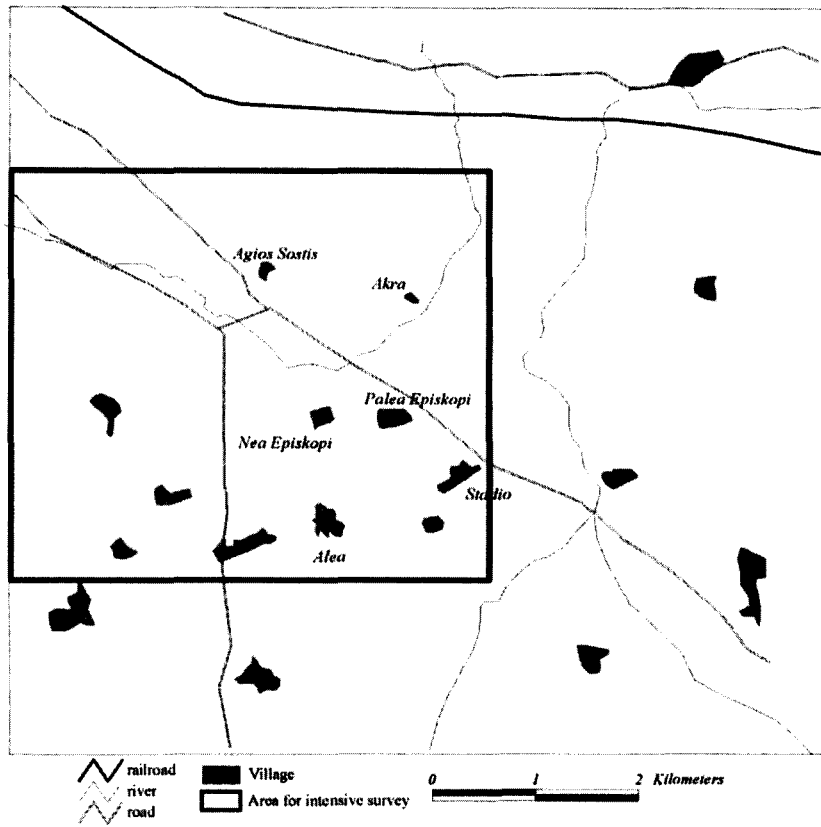


Fig. 1. The survey area of The Norwegian Arcadia Survey 1998 – 2001, including modern villages and infrastructure. (Map: NIKU – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Research.)

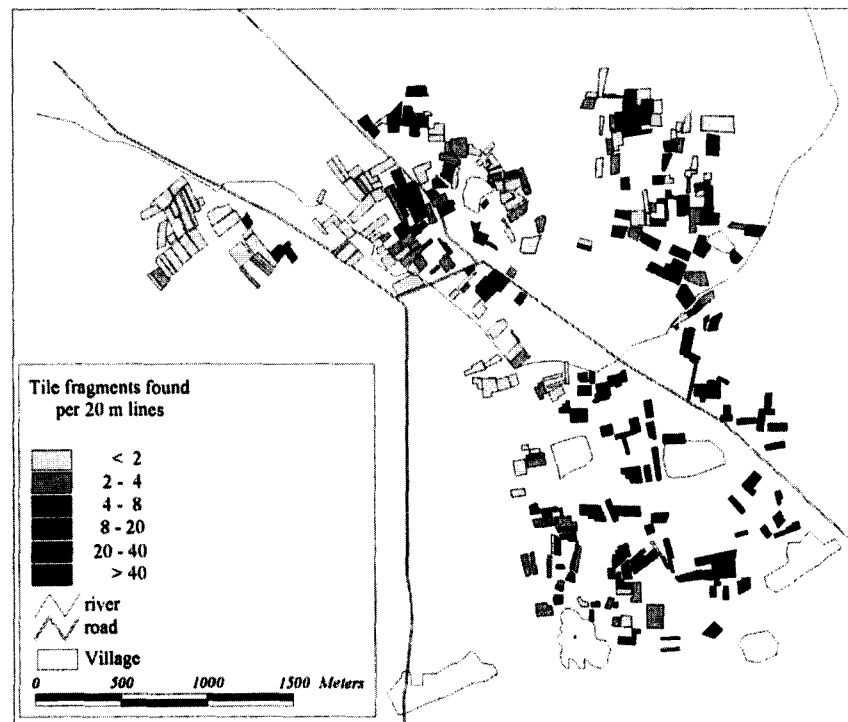


Fig. 2. The Norwegian Arcadia Survey. Density of tiles in surveyed fields. (Map: NIKU – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Research.)

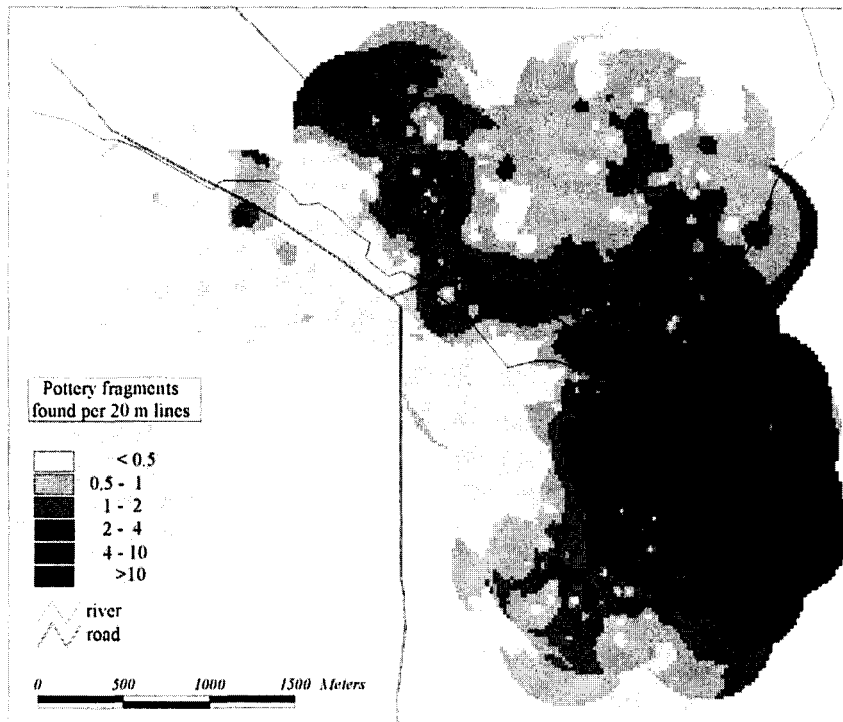


Fig. 3. Statistical interpolation of density of pottery fragments from surveyed fields, showing probable extension of the city of Tegea. (Map: NIKU – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Research.)

IV. ANCIENT MEGALOPOLIS

The Triad of Zeus Soter, Artemis Soteira and Megalopolis at Megalopolis

Antonio Corso

The sanctuary of Zeus the Saviour at Megalopolis was probably established in 371 B.C. The three cult statues, depicting Zeus Soter, Artemis Soteira and Megalopolis, are described by Pausanias, who attributes them to the sculptors Kephisodotos and Xenophon. This Kephisodotos must have been the elder one. The configurations of these three statues seem to be represented on Megalopolitan coinage. Zeus was seated frontally on a throne, holding a sceptre in his raised right hand with a himation over his left shoulder. Artemis was standing to the left, dressed in a short chiton, with a spear in her raised right hand and the hem of her mantle in her left. The head of Artemis at Pavia may derive from this Artemis. The figure of Megalopolis was draped, her right arm brought down and her forearm brought forward, in order to extend an attribute, perhaps a phiale. She wore a mural crown.

The sanctuary of Zeus the Saviour at Megalopolis was probably established in 371 B.C.,¹ the probable date for the foundation of the Great City itself. As one of the city's key sanctuaries, the establishment of cult and altar must have played an important role in the city's foundation, even if the final monumentalization of the shrine took place in the 340s B.C.²

The three cult statues, depicting Zeus Soter, Artemis Soteira and Megalopolis, must have been commissioned very soon after the foundation of the city. Pausanias gives a clear description of the images: Zeus was seated on a throne with Megalopolis on his right hand and Artemis on his left. Pausanias also notes that the images were carved of Pentelic marble and that they were the work of two Athenians: Kephisodotos and Xenophon.³

This must have been the elder Kephisodotos, rather than the younger

1. Hornblower 1990.

2. Spyropoulos, Lauter and Lauter-Bufe 1995, 121-2.

3. Paus. 8.30.10.

sculptor of this name. To start, Pausanias mentions Kephisodotos the Elder as Kephisodotos *sic et simpliciter*, without further specification, as the master of the Peace with Ploutos.⁴ When Pausanias refers to Kephisodotos the Younger, along with his brother Timarchos, he always uses the expression “the sons of Praxiteles”.⁵ It is also worth noting that Xenophon, together with Kallistonikos, a native sculptor, made an image of Fortune (Tyche) carrying the child Wealth (Ploutos) for Thebes. This is clearly an imitation of Kephisodotos’ Peace with Ploutos.⁶ (Fig. 1) This statue suggests that Xenophon collaborated with the master of the Eirene, *i.e.* with Kephisodotos the Elder, and that he repeated the composition of the Athenian masterpiece for his piece in Thebes.

Given the historical circumstances that surrounded the foundation of Megalopolis, it is quite likely that the Megalopolitans were attracted by Athens as a model of urban life and that Kephisodotos’ art, after the Eirene, as well as the Pentelic marble were seen as important reflections of Athenian culture. This, together with the observations that the probable teacher of Kephisodotos, Strongylion, had already made a statue of Artemis Soteira (Saviour) for Megara,⁷ and that Kephisodotos, after setting up the Eirene,⁸ probably specialized in personifications, helps to understand why the Megalopolitans charged Kephisodotos with this triad.

Strongylion must also have worked together with Kephisodotos the Elder and Olympiosthenes for his group of Muses set up on Mount Helicon, when he was old and needed help from pupils. In the same way Kephisodotos the Elder, at the end of his career, might have associated with a younger pupil such as Xenophon.

Kephisodotos had already carved two marble groups of Muses set up in the sanctuary on Mount Helicon, *i.e.* the group made by him together with Strongylion and Olympiosthenes, and the one made entirely by himself,⁹ and this workshop seems to have specialized in marble sculpture: only a few years earlier, in 375, Praxiteles, probably the son of Kephisodotos the Elder, had signed a monument in Pentelic marble set up in Delphi.¹⁰

4. Paus. 9.16.2.

5. Paus. 1.8.4 and 9.12.4.

6. See *supra* n. 4.

7. Paus. 1.40.2 and 44.4. On this statue: Corso 2000a, 134. That Kephisodotos the Elder had studied under Strongylion is argued by Pausanias 9.30.1, who reports on a group of Muses on Mount Helicon made by Strongylion, Kephisodotos and a certain Olympiosthenes. This group may have been made only when Strongylion was old and Kephisodotos the Elder was still young. This collaboration makes it likely that Kephisodotos the Elder, when he was young, had worked under the direction of Strongylion.

8. On the Eirene carrying Ploutos: Weber 2001.

9. Paus. 9.30.1 and Zos. 5.24.6.

10. This monument is the acanthus column at Delphi: see for the inscriptions *SEG* 33,

It is also worth noting that the triad at Megalopolis, which symbolized the foundation of this key city, probably coincides with the peak of Kephisodotos' career, dated by Pliny (*HN* 34.50) in the 102. Olympiad, *i.e.* 372-369 B.C. That the peak of Kephisodotos' activity falls exactly in the years of foundation of Megalopolis is probably no simple coincidence.

The configurations of the three statues seem to be known, in general terms, from their representations on Megalopolitan coinage. (Fig. 2)

Zeus was seated frontally on a throne, holding a sceptre in his raised right hand with a himation over his left shoulder.¹¹ The statue was a variation of the Zeus at Olympia.¹² Clearly, the Megalopolitans wanted a Zeus similar to the most famous statue of this god, a statue that was, in fact, to be seen not far from their city.

Artemis was standing to the left, dressed in a short chiton, with a spear in her raised right hand and the hem of her mantle in her left.¹³ The representation of the Saviour Artemis in a short chiton seems to coincide with the analogous representation of the Saviour Artemis at Megara by Strongylion (Fig. 3),¹⁴ and suggests that probably Kephisodotos' Artemis might also be represented as a fresh and gracious teenager. This goddess, derived from Strongylion's model, foreshadows the definition of the sister of Apollo suggested by Praxiteles.¹⁵

1983, 131-2 no. 440 (440 B, the signature); Corso 1988, 15-7 and 43-6. Only the faintest traces of the inscriptions on the base of this monument survive. I could detect them only with difficulty and after long examination during the days 25-27 September, 1988. Nevertheless, the inscriptions exist, as I have ascertained on that occasion. The general scepticism concerning their existence is thus groundless. The acanthus stem of this monument is characterized by long leaves, still in the tradition of acanthus decoration of the early 4th century B.C. and before the vogue for short acanthus leaves was established with the Corinthian capitals of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which dates in my opinion around 360-340 B.C. The statues of dancing girls placed each between two legs of the tripod located upon the acanthus stem, are consistent with the Eirene made by Kephisodotos the Elder in the same years, as well as with other carved young, draped females created by Praxiteles during his youth, such as the Victories of the choregic monument at Athens, National Museum, no. 1463, for general conception of the figures, for the style, for the rendering of female anatomy and for the drapery; see Corso 1998, in particular 393-401. On the acanthus column monument, see Martinez 1997.

11. Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner and Oikonomides 1964, 103-4; Leventi 1997, 343, no. 235; and Kremnydi-Sikilianou 1997, 367, no. 527.

12. On the influence of the Zeus of Olympia on late classical statues of Zeus, see Vlivos 1999.

13. See Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner and Oikonomides 1964, 104, and Kahil 1984, 702, no. 1049.

14. See *supra* n. 7.

15. Especially the Artemis of Dresden (Rolley 1999, 255-6), whose iconography seems to coincide with the figure of Artemis in the triad with Apollo and Leto made by Praxiteles for

Moreover, the slightly incurved style of this figure suggests that it has been conceived in the workshop where experiments were made with sinuous configurations of figures, such as those made by Kephisodotos the Elder and Praxiteles.

The sceptre in her raised right arm links the Eirene, the Saviour Zeus and the Saviour Artemis; it is a recurring feature of Kephisodotos' art. The reasons for this pattern are two-fold. First, the sceptre closes the composition laterally; and second, the sceptre indicates the status of the deities as rulers and protectors of the city, an iconographic concern that reflects the growing need of security, protection and salvation in late classical societies.

The end of the mantle falling from the left arm also appears on the Mantinean Muses, which derive probably from the Muses by Kephisodotos the Elder.¹⁶ This pattern had been used already by Myron, especially in his Zeus on Samos.¹⁷ This vertical element also serves to close the composition laterally.

The head of Artemis at Pavia (Fig. 4)¹⁸ may derive from Kephisodotos' Artemis, because of the general conception of the face and the anatomical features. These features are very close, as Macchioro has demonstrated, to the heads of Eirene and 'Sardanapallus',¹⁹ and they suggest an attribution of the original statue to the same master who had created these two works.

This suggestion is tentatively confirmed by the vibrant surfaces which can be traced back to the Artemis by Strongylion and point forward to the Artemis-figures by Praxiteles. The teen-age appearance of the goddess also seems in keeping with the Artemis on the Megalopolitan coin, as well as the small chignon on her nape, and her head suggest the same caring, protective and sweet expression which characterizes the Eirene and the 'Sardanapallus'. It seems at least possible that the Pavia head was derived from the Artemis at Megalopolis.

The figure of Megalopolis²⁰ has also been recognized on coins of the Great City.²¹ She was draped and characterized by a sinuous configuration: her right

Megara (Paus. 1.44.2) and is represented on Megarian coins (Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner and Oikonomides 1964, 6-7). Moreover, Artemis in the Dodektheon made by Praxiteles at Megara (Paus. 1.40.3), recognized in the Dodektheon of Ostia (Corso 1998, 404-5 and 429, pl. 11, fig. 31), and Praxiteles' Artemis Brauronia (Paus. 1. 23. 7), recognized in the Gabii type (Corso 2000b). Finally, Praxiteles' Artemis set up at Anticyra, seen by Paus. 10.37.1 and recognized on coins of this town (Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner and Oikonomides 1964, 124-5).

16. Corso 1998, 392; 411-2; 435, pl. 17, figs. 53 a, b and c; and 446.

17. Strabo 14.637 b, and Berger 1969, 66-92.

18. Macchioro 1909, and Schifone 1992, 50-2, fig. 24.

19. Corso 2000c, especially 29-30.

20. Svoronos 1909-10, 274-8, and *id.* 1912.

21. On the iconography of Megalopolis: Machaira 1992, 402, no. 1.

arm was brought down and her forearm brought forward in order to extend an attribute, perhaps a phiale. Her left arm was also brought down, but with her left forearm brought further forward more than her right, in order to hold a cornucopia disposed vertically, in analogy with the corresponding position of the cornucopia on the left side of the Eirene. This flank corresponded to the opposite side of the entire composition as outlined by the sceptre of Artemis; the vertical elements thus provided a rhythmical frame for the triad as a whole. The end of the mantle falls from her left arm, similar to the analogous pattern adopted for Artemis. The diagonal line of the drapery, which divides the figure in two parts vertically, also seems similar to the one adopted for the Eirene. A similar comparison could be made with the vertical folds on the lower part of the drapery. The lower border of the mantle disposed on a diagonal line, just above the lowest part of the chiton, characterizes the mourning ladies of the sarcophagus from Sidon, created about 360 B.C.,²² the Dionysos and the two Nike-figures on the tripod base in the National Museum of Athens, no. 1463, produced in the workshop of Praxiteles,²³ as well as the Mantinean Muses²⁴ and the so-called 'Urania'.²⁵

This feature is thus typical of the Attic sculpture of the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. and, in particular, of the production from the workshop which was inherited by Praxiteles.

The appearance of the head of the city-goddess can be suggested by the Theban coins representing the head of Tyche made for Thebes by the same Xenophon, if Xenophon imitated the city personification made by him and his prestigious master.²⁶ (Fig. 5) The general configuration of the face as well as the anatomical features are typical of the Kephisodotan creations noted above. This statement applies also to the wavy hair combed backwards and held together with a small chignon, in analogy with the Artemis of this triad. Megalopolis was crowned by a *corona muralis*. Mural crowns characterize protectresses of the state from the 13th century B.C. on in the Hittite imagery, then in the Assyrian world, and later in the Persian empire.²⁷ During the first decades of the 4th century B.C., Tychai of various cities in the eastern part of the Greek world begin to be characterized by mural crowns.²⁸

The growing importance of Asia Minor in late classical Greek imagery, as

22. Fleischer 1983, pls. 1-7.

23. Corso 2000c, 33.

24. See *supra* n. 16.

25. Baumer 1997, 31-43, 96-105, and pls. 8-14; and Filges 1997, 13-288, figs. 1-222.

26. Svoronos 1909-10, 276, figs. 41-3.

27. Metzler 1994.

28. Papageorgiou 1997, 65-110.

well as the political preeminence of the Great King of Persia in Greece after the Antalkidas peace of 387 B.C., may have suggested the adoption of this attribute typical of an Asia Minor tradition also for protectresses of states in the Greek mainland.

Kephisodotos the Elder, given his role in creating personifications of the welfare of communities, as revealed by his Eirene with Ploutos, may have had a similar pioneering function in the diffusion of mural crowns on the heads of city personifications in mainland Greece.

Needless to say, such personifications as the Eirene and Megalopolis must be considered as parts of the same intellectual atmosphere which promoted the investigation of ideal constitutions of cities in contemporary philosophy, particularly in Plato's school. Such concerns are to be seen as parts of those ties which probably connected Kephisodotos with the world of the Academy.

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Fig. 1. Kephisodotos the Elder's Eirene with Ploutos: reconstruction at Dresden, Staatliche Skulpturensammlung. (Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.)



Fig. 2. Zeus, Artemis and Megalopolis on coins struck at Megalopolis during the reign of Septimius Severus. (Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.)



Fig. 3. Strongylion's Saviour Artemis at Megara represented on a coin struck at Pagae, in the territory of Megara, during the empire of Commodus. (Photo: Münzkabinett und Antikensammlung der Stadt, Winterthur.)



Fig. 4. Head of Artemis, in the Archaeological Museum, Pavia. (Photo: Musei Civici del Castello Visconteo, Museo Archeologico. Pavia.)



Fig. 5. Head of Tyche of Thebes, on coins struck by this city in the early imperial period. (Photo: National Museum, Copenhagen.)

Megalopolis: Ausgrabungen auf der Agora 1991 – 2002

Hans Lauter

Excavations in the agora of Megalopolis were resumed by the author in 1991. The work concentrated on the late classical and Hellenistic building remains with the scope of a better understanding of their original appearance, and of resolving the problems of their chronology which have been under discussion since they were first discovered. Thus, the dates of the stoa of Philip and the sanctuary of Zeus Soter can now, finally, be established to the third and fourth quarters, respectively, of the 4th century B.C. by stratigraphical, epigraphical and additional stylistic evidence. Large part of the stoa of Aristodamos (built 262 to 252 B.C. and completely restored about 200 B.C., apparently by Philopoimen) was uncovered for the first time, showing a two-room basement in its southern wing. On the west side of the square there came to light a previously unknown, tripartite building complex consisting *i.a.* of a large council hall and a long and narrow pillar-court with rows of offices. It is identified as the 'Government's Palace' of the city-state, housing the different boards of the *boule*, the *damiorgoi* and perhaps the *polemarchos*. Built shortly after the foundation of the town, it underwent an extensive rebuilding after the destruction by Kleomenes III in 222 B.C. Adjoining it was an annex-sanctuary of Zeus (Homarios?) including the state hearth of Megalopolis where a donation of the historian Polybios is testified by tile-stamps.

Von 1991 bis zu ihrem einstweiligen Abschluss im Jahre 2002 fanden auf der antiken Agora von Megalopolis Ausgrabungen statt, die als deutsch-griechische Synergasia unter der Leitung von Th. Spyropoulos und H. Lauter standen; 2002 vertrat A. Panagiotopoulou die griechische Seite. Die Finanzierung erfolgte durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Das Deutsche Archäologische Institut ermöglichte durch Bereitstellung namhafter Mittel Maßnahmen zur Konservierung und denkmalsgerechten Präsentation der Ruinen einschließlich einer Teilanastylose; für diese Unterstützung sei K. Fittschen und H. Kyrieleis gedankt.

Ziel der Ausgrabung war die Re-evaluation der spätclassischen und hellenistischen Architekturen des Platzes. Dabei bezogen sich die Fragestellungen von Anfang an gleichmäßig sowohl auf den formalen Aspekt der Bauten, also auf ihre (verbesserte) Wiedergewinnung in Grund- und Aufriss, als insbesondere auch auf das Problem ihrer Datierung; gerade hierbei hatte die Forschung der letzten Jahrzehnte in Ermangelung neuen oder auch nur zuverlässigen alten Materials zunehmend den Boden unter den Füßen verloren. Schließlich stellte sich als Drittes schon bald im Verlauf des Projekts ein speziell topografisches Interesse ein, das für die Erweiterung der Grabungsflächen z.B. am Westrand der Agora, aber auch im südöstlichen Vorfeld der Stoa des Aristodamos bestimmend wurde.

Einer ersten flüchtigen Sondage, die L. Ross 1839 im Bereich der jetzt 'Roman Stoa' genannten Spolienkonstruktion durchführte,¹ folgte 1890-91 die großräumige Exploration der Agora durch ein englisches Forscherteam mit R.W. Schultz als Architekt und W. Loring als Topograph.² Die überaus schnelle und relativ pompöse Veröffentlichung dieser Kampagnen wirkt eindrucksvoll, was aber nicht darüber hinweg täuschen darf, das die Raschheit mit einer ziemlich lückenhaften, im Detail manchmal unzuverlässigen Dokumentation erkaufte wurde. Die fachwissenschaftliche Auswertung der Befunde war unausgereift – auch nach den Maßstäben ihrer Zeit.³ So hat die Publikation für mehr als hundert Jahre den Blick auf die Bauwerke von Megalopolis tatsächlich eher verstellt als ihn geöffnet; diese spielen in der Literatur denn auch nur eine ganz marginale Rolle, die ihrer architekturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung gar nicht gerecht wird. 1940 begann P. Knoblauch mit einer steingerechten Aufmessung des Zeus-Soter-Heiligtums, die wohl zu einer gründlichen Neuveröffentlichung des Monuments führen sollte. Wegen der Kriegereignisse kamen die Arbeiten aber nicht über das Anfangsstadium hinaus;⁴ indirekt wurden sie jedoch zum Anlass für die Wiederaufnahme der Untersuchungen auf der Agora 1991.⁵

Zu diesem Zeitpunkt befand sich die Agora von Megalopolis in einem Zustand jahrzehntelanger fortgeschrittener Verwahrlosung. Die einst von den Engländern ganz oder teilweise freigelegten Architekturen waren entweder bis zur Unkenntlichkeit überwachsen oder sogar wieder völlig eingeschwemmt und

1. Ross 1841, 81-2.

2. Gardner *et al.* 1892.

3. Deutliche Kritik etwa Martin 1951, 384 A. 2. Dabei muss hinzugefügt werden, dass überhaupt nur die Philipps-Halle und das Zeus-Heiligtum mit einigem Detail besprochen wurden; zu den anderen, ebenfalls angegrabenen Bauten (Stoa des Aristodamos, Archeia, Bouleuterion) finden sich bestenfalls wenige dürftige Sätze.

4. Vgl. AA 1942, 148.

5. Hierzu Lauter 2002a, 36.

verschüttet. Ihre 'Reinigung' bedeutete in der Regel, sie *de facto* neu auszugraben. Dabei wurde im Gegensatz zur alten Grabung diesmal womöglich eine vollständige und nachhaltige Freilegung der Ruine beabsichtigt: so etwa bei der Philippeios Stoa, die damals bloß durch Sondagegräben und Suchlöcher exploriert worden war – anscheinend maximal bis auf Euthynterieniveau hinunter und nicht weiter. Inzwischen ist nicht nur die räumliche Ausdehnung dieses bemerkenswerten Gebäudes ein real erfassbarer ästhetischer Wert; auch alle seine erhaltenen Überreste liegen heute frei vor Augen.

Die neuen Grabungen haben bald die Grenzen hinter sich gelassen, die unseren Vorgängern gesetzt waren. Sie gingen weiter in die Fläche, aber auch weiter in die Tiefe, um – unter anderem – stratigrafische Informationen zu gewinnen. Gänzlich neu ins Blickfeld getreten sind die vorher unbekanntesten Staatsgebäude, die den Westrand der Agora säumen und aus der Gründungsphase der Stadt im 3. Viertel des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. stammen. Als einschneidende Eckdaten für die spätere Baugeschichte des Platzes heben sich zwei archäologisch deutlich fassbare Katastrophen heraus. Bei der ersten handelt es sich um die auch literarisch überlieferte Brandschatzung der Stadt durch den spartanischen König Kleomenes III. im Jahre 222 v. Chr. (Polyb. 2.55; Plut. *Cleom.* 23-25); besonders die eigentlich 'politischen' Gebäude und Denkmäler der Agora wurden damals offenbar gründlich zerstört, während sich die Schäden etwa am Heiligtum des Zeus Soter und an der Philippeios Stoa in Grenzen gehalten haben dürften. Der Wiederaufbau, der sich über mehr als eine Generation hingezogen zu haben scheint, folgte nicht unbedingt den alten Vorgaben (Bouleuterion!). Die zweite Katastrophe muss ein verheerendes Erdbeben gewesen sein, das die Stadt in severischer Zeit um 200 n. Chr. und also nicht sehr lange nach dem Besuch des Pausanias betraf. Damals stürzten praktisch alle die von Pausanias genannten griechischen Bauten ein und wurden als solche auch nicht wiederhergestellt. Im 4. oder 5. Jh. erhob sich auf der Ostseite der Agora eine relativ ausgedehnte Kirchenanlage, von der bei den neuen Grabungen allerdings nur Annexräume im Atriumbereich randlich angeschnitten wurden.⁶ Bereits im 6. Jh. scheint das städtische Leben in Megalopolis erloschen gewesen zu sein.⁷

Im Folgenden sollen einige Angaben zu einzelnen Gebäuden gemacht werden,⁸ die aber schon aus Platzgründen nur unvollständig sind und die Fülle der Grabungsergebnisse nicht repräsentieren können; ihre Auswahl ist im Detail not-

6. Sonst nur schemenhaft aus der geophysikalischen Prospektion H. Stümpel 1998 bekannt.

7. Chronologisch gesicherte Artefakte des 6. Jhs. (justinianisch oder später) fehlen nach wie vor (nicht zwingend Gans 1998).

8. Vgl. von den bisherigen Vorberichten besonders Lauter 1997; Lauter und Spyropoulos 1998; Lauter 2002b.

wendig arbiträr. Die Bauten werden in chronologischer, nicht topografischer Reihenfolge angesprochen.

‘Demosia Oikia’: der Bouleuterion-Prytaneion-Komplex am Westrand der Agora und zugehörige öffentliche Gebäude⁹

17 m südlich von der Philippeios bzw. 12,30 m vor den Fundamenten ihres Westrisalits liegt das von Pausanias 8.30.9 erwähnte und an seiner Grundrissgestalt identifizierbare Bouleuterion – ein etwa quadratischer tetrastylter Saal mit einer säulengeöffneten Prosta im Osten. Im Jahr 2000 gelang zunächst der Nachweis, dass das Rathaus zwei Bauphasen besitzt. Sein südliches Drittel samt den vier Innensäulen stellt eine Erweiterung anlässlich eines radikalen Neubaus dar, der auf eine Brandkatastrophe gefolgt war. Vom Vorgänger wurde der polygonale Mauersockel im Norden und Westen sowie die Prostasfundamente in den Neubau übernommen, die alte Südmauer mit Ausnahme der Bruchstein-Kieselunterfütterung abgetragen; diese fand sich direkt neben den späteren südlichen Innensäulen. (Abb. 1, 2) Demnach hatte das Alte Bouleuterion, das bereits aus Saal und geöffneter Vorhalle bestand, eine langrechteckige Gestalt. Die lichte Breite des Sitzungssaales betrug 13,30 m bei einer Länge von knapp 24 m; tragende Stützen für seine Decke konnten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ausgeschlossen werden. Typologisch wird er zu den Vorläufern römischer Curiae zu rechnen sein, woraus sich u.U. eine Höhe von weit über 10 m ergibt (vgl. Vitruv. 108.5).

An das Alte Bouleuterion schloss ein langer Gebäudetrakt an, dessen Kern ein Pfeilerperistyl bildete. Auch dieser Trakt war einem großen Schadfeuer zum Opfer gefallen; sein Nordende verschwand später unter der Süderweiterung des Rathauses. Auf Abb. 2 sieht man die Zone, in der sich die Phasen überlappen. Über dem Brunnen, der zur ersten Phase gehört und von dessen Plattform wenig mehr als der spinnenförmige Fundamentrost geblieben ist, legte sich die Südmauer des Neuen Bouleuterions (Spolien!). Dahinter die nördliche Schmalseite des Pfeilerhofes mit den vier Stützenbasen. Der Kanal geht von der alten Südmauer aus. Wir vermuten in diesem Gebäudeabschnitt das Prytaneion (Damiorgeion) der Stadt. Es verfügte zusätzlich zum Pfeilerhof über zwei Fluchten von ‘Büro-Appartements’ sowie über eine Pfeilerhalle nach Osten zur Agora hin. Ein kurzer, aber durch ein betont repräsentatives Portal zugänglicher Gebäudetrakt mit Innenhof rundete nach Süden die Gesamtanlage ab. Der ganze, dreiteilige Komplex war einheitlich konzipiert und ausgeführt worden, wie u.a. die identische Arbeit an den Mauersockeln, den Fassadenfundamente etc. im

9. Vorläufiger Plan Lauter 2002b, 379.

Norden und Süden beweisen. Die Gesamtanlage maß bei einer Breite von 28,05-10 m eine Nord-Süd-Länge von 67,70 m.

Das Bauwerk vereinigte sozusagen unter einem Dach die Amtsräume der (drei?) entscheidenden Regierungsorgane Boule, Damiorngengremium und vielleicht Polemarch; weitere Verwaltungsbehörden hatten wahrscheinlich eigene Lokale (siehe *Archeia!*). Insofern kann dieses 'Staats- oder Regierungsgebäude' zukünftig als eine Art Paradebeispiel für die in Theorie und Praxis ausgereifte 'politische Urbanistik' der jüngeren Klassik gelten. Die Datierung der ersten Phase ist durch stratifizierte Keramik und Münzfunde auf die Jahrzehnte 360-340 v. Chr. festgelegt.

Die zarte, in ihrer fragilen Feinheit geradezu quattrocentesk wirkende Architektur des spätclassischen Regierungspalastes ist (wenigstens in Resten) wesentlich durch die Katastrophe erhalten geblieben, die man nach dem Fundmaterial mit Kleomenes III. und dem Jahr 222 v. Chr. zusammenbringen muss. Der anscheinend bald erfolgte Wiederaufbau hat mit dem vergrößerten Bouleuterion selbst noch einmal eine respektable, zeitgemäße Architektur verwirklicht. Auf die eher dürftigen Neubauten im Süden des Sitzungssaales soll an dieser Stelle nicht eingegangen werden, noch auf eine letzte Restauration desselben Saales wohl nach dem Erdbeben im frühen 3. Jahrhundert.

Unmittelbar im Süden an die Demosia Oikia angebaut war das Temenos des Zeus (Homarios?), das mit seinem (2002 aufgefundenen) Staatsherd den Regierungsorganen sozusagen als besonderes Staatsheiligtum diente. Seine Gründung steht im Zusammenhang mit dem Bouleuterion-Prytaneion-Komplex; aus dieser Zeit stammen Reste eines Peristyls und ein ebenerdiger Altar von feiner Arbeit. Aus seiner späteren Baugeschichte ist die durch Ziegelstempel bezeugte Munifizenz des Philopoimen und dann des Polybios hervorzuheben.¹⁰

Einer Erwähnung wert ist die Tatsache, dass zumindest im Nordwesten der Regierungskomplex von einem weiteren öffentlichen Großbau gerahmt wurde, der sich jenseits der schmalen 'Rathausgasse' im Norden und der Weststraße über Eck erstreckte. Er wurde 1999 mit wenigen Schnitten sondiert, die folgende Feststellungen erlaubten: Der Bau stammt aus der Gründungsphase der Stadt; sein Dach wurde nach der kleomenischen Katastrophe erneuert (Ziegelstempel: *δαμοσιοι!*); es handelt sich um einen Zweckbau mit großen Langräumen, in dem man etwa ein Magazin, einen Speicher vermuten könnte. Der daran im Süden, nach einer schmalen (und verschließbaren) Brandgasse anschließende Bau zeigt zur Weststraße hin auf die ganze Länge des Regierungsgebäudes eine türlose

10. Die in Lauter 2002b gemachten Angaben konnten 2002 besonders hinsichtlich des Anteils beider Stifter präzisiert werden. Demnach hat Polybios vor allem den Raum mit dem Staatsherd nachträglich nochmals restaurieren lassen.

Front. Seine Bestimmung ist unbekannt, wahrscheinlich aber auch öffentlicher Natur.

Wie es aussieht, dehnte sich demnach an der Westseite der Agora ein ganzes Quartier städtisch-staatlicher Bauten unterschiedlicher Funktion aus. Zu Pausanias' Zeit mögen viele davon wüst gelegen haben (wie schon das Damiorgeion) oder zweckentfremdet gewesen sein. Pausanias kennt als Behörden im Wesentlichen nur noch die Archeia im Nordosten des Staatsmarktes.¹¹ Dieses Gebäude, das uns bekanntlich nur in einer Erneuerung der mittleren oder späten Kaiserzeit vorliegt, wird wohl auch in seiner ursprünglichen Fassung ein öffentlicher Bau gewesen sein; in ihm mögen einige der Ämter niedrigeren Ranges ihre Büros gehabt haben, die Aristoteles, *Pol.* 1321 b1-1322 a29, aufzählt.

Philippeios Stoa und Heiligtum des Zeus Soter

Diese beiden architektonischen Meisterwerke stehen sich formal nahe: Material, Größenmaße und Typenrepertoire der Bauglieder, stilistische Ausführung sind ähnlich, oft fast identisch. Sie gehören auch zeitlich eng zusammen.

Das Zeusheiligtum wurde von der dichten *Macchia* gesäubert, seine Ostfront samt Ostpropylon und Rampe erstmals ausgegraben und das Ganze konserviert. Die vollständige Freilegung der Philippeios kam 1998 zum Abschluss; im gleichen Jahr besorgte der Steinmetz und Restaurator Frank Beuthan die hauptsächliche Wiederaufstellung der in Sturzlage angetroffenen Säulen im Ostteil der Halle.¹² (Abb. 3)

Das dringendste Problem, die Datierungskontroverse, dürfte für beide Bauten inzwischen gelöst sein. Die stratifizierte, mit den Fundamenten verbundene Keramik weist in die Zeit nach der Mitte des 4. Jhs. und wirkt im Zeusheiligtum einen Hauch später als in der Philippeios. Zusammen mit der Überlieferung Pausanias, 8.30.6, die durch die 1996 gefundene Statuenbasis für Philipp II. glänzend bestätigt wurde,¹³ steht damit als Fertigstellungszeit für die Stoa 338-336 v. Chr. fest.¹⁴ Für einen durchgreifenden Neubau nach der kleomenischen Katastrophe, von den Säulen an aufwärts – was Coulton erwägt¹⁵ – fehlen jegliche sachliche Anhaltspunkte im Baubefund. Das auch bautechnisch etwas

11. Zu ihnen unverändert Lauter und Spyropoulos 1998, 438-44.

12. Kleinere Ergänzungen wurden bis 2001 vorgenommen. Die Säulenelemente sind weitestgehend in ihrer ursprünglichen Position zusammengefügt. Das jetzt auf der Säule F sitzende ionische Kapitell ist ein Zementabguss der Ephorie nach dem in Orestio geborgenen Original.

13. Lauter und Spyropoulos 1998, 445.

14. Der Bezug auf Philipp V. (seit Dinsmoor 1950, 292) erweist sich schon von daher als bloße Spekulation.

15. Coulton 1976, 51, 256.

jüngere Zeusheiligtum muss ins letzte Jahrhundertviertel (320-310?) datieren, wobei die Nachricht über die Künstler der Kultbildgruppe schon mit veranschlagt ist. Die hier tätige Bauhütte, die aus der der Philippeios hervorgegangen sein dürfte, scheint übrigens auch am Theater (Koilon, Skanothek) beschäftigt gewesen zu sein.

Als Beispiel für die Resultate, die sich auf dem Sektor der Bauforschung im engeren Sinn erzielen lassen, sei hier der rekonstruierte Grundriss des Zeusheiligtums in seiner aktuellen Fassung abgebildet. (Abb. 4) Gegenüber dem alten englischen Plan (Gardner *et al.* 1892, 58 Fig. 55) sind nicht nur Fehler wie die Maßvertauschung bei Nord- und Osthalle korrigiert; wichtigere Verbesserungen betreffen Hauptzüge der Propyla, der Tempelvorhalle, der Hofsäulenstellung, des als eigenen Trakt konzipierten Nordwestflügels etc. Sie basieren auf bisher übersehenen oder vernachlässigten Indizien (z.B. Setzlinien, Falze) oder neu aufgetauchten Baugliedern u.ä., z.T. aus Erweiterungsgrabungen.

Stoa des Aristodamos (Myropolis)

Die ersten Ausgräber haben die einst wohl ungefähr 130 m lange Säulenhalle auf der Ostseite der Agora bereits richtig als Stoa des Aristodamos identifiziert, die dieser aus der Beute einer Schlacht gegen Akrotatos von Sparta 262 v. Chr. gestiftet hatte. Zu Pausanias' Zeiten trug sie den Namen Myropolis (Paus. 8.30.7). Eine nähere Beschreibung der englischen Sondagen existiert nicht.¹⁶

Inzwischen ist das südliche Fünftel der Stoa weitgehend ausgegraben und ihr Plan im Prinzip festgestellt. Demnach handelt es sich um eine zweischiffige Halle, an die sich hinten zwei Reihen Kammern anschlossen.¹⁷ Am Südeingang sprang ein Risalit nach Westen vor; ein symmetrischer Risalit am Nordende, das unter und hinter der modernen Staatsstraße unzugänglich verschüttet ist, darf analog zur Philippeios vermutet werden. Die aufgehende Säulenarchitektur bestand am Bau des Aristodamos aus Travertin. Es gibt Anzeichen, dass die Stoa doppelgeschossig war.

Ihre südliche Schmalseite war mit Ausnahme des Risalits selbst viereinhalb Meter weit nach innen von einem Souterrain/Basement unterkellert; seine zwei Räume öffneten sich mit je zwei Türen auf den davor liegenden Platz, dessen Westrand übrigens von der Fassade des Zeusheiligtums gebildet wurde. Rück- und Seitenwände des Souterrains aus raffiniertem, kleinpolygonalem Opus mixtum sind stellenweise 2 m hoch erhalten. (Abb. 5) Östlich hinter der Stoa wurde eine 1,80 m breite, gepflasterte Gasse freigelegt, die am Austritt in

16. Entsprechend auch keine substantielle Information bei Coulton 1976, 255.

17. Oder genauer: eine Reihe, der Länge nach noch einmal unterteilte Kammern.

vorerwähnten Platz einen eigenartig gestalteten 'Kanalkopf' besitzt,¹⁸ der freilich erst hochhellenistisch ist.

Die Bedeutung der Aristodameios liegt nicht zuletzt darin, dass sie mehrere Phasen aufweist, die sich überraschend genau datieren lassen. Über sich selbst hinaus liefern sie einen Schlüssel für die urbanistische Geschichte des megalopolitanischen Stadtzentrums. Darauf kann hier nur noch stichwortartig eingegangen werden.

1. Keramik aus dem Fundamentgraben der Gebäuderückwand: Sie reicht bis etwa in die Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. und sichert nochmals die Zuweisung des Gebäudes. Seine Erbauung wird damit eng auf das Jahrzehnt 262-252 v. Chr. eingegrenzt, indem nunmehr die literarische Überlieferung voll zum Zuge kommt. Alles Zugehörige (z.B. Dachterrakotten!) erhält damit ein absolutes Datum.

2. Die Architekturglieder des Erstbaus aus Travertinit wurden oft verstümmelt und immer wiederverwendet angetroffen, was auf mutwillige Zerstörung weist. Andererseits konnten wir eine große Anzahl Säulentrommeln aus Kalkstein (besonders aus dem südlichen Vorfeld) bergen, die zum Gebäude gehören müssen und einen Wiederaufbau – der einem Neubau gleichkam – bezeugen.¹⁹ Sie lassen sich hochhellenistisch datieren.²⁰

Demnach wurde die Halle von Kleomenes III. zerstört, der dafür auch gute 'persönliche' Gründe hatte.²¹ Der Wiederaufbau muss mit Livius 38.39 verbunden werden, wonach Philopoimen eine von den Lacedaemoniern zerstörte Porticus ab 189 v. Chr. (wiederum aus Spartanerbeute!) neu errichten ließ.²²

3. Die von Philopoimen neuerbaute Aristodameios wurde durch ein Erdbeben niedergeworfen, das so heftig war, dass sich einstürzende Mauerpartien der Souterrainfront noch in den Boden des Vorplatzes hineinbohrten. (Abb. 5, linke Bildmitte) Über dem Einsturz wurde später und als allerletzte Baumaßnahme eine aus Spolien bestehende Freitreppe (3. Jh., oder zusammen mit der frühchristlichen Basilica?) angelegt. Bei dem Erdbeben wurden die Souterrainräume durch einfließende, erdrutschartige Füllungen verschüttet, die besonders in einem begrenzten Bereich des östlichen Basements das reiche Inventar einer Kultstätte – oder eines Devotionaliengeschäftes? – aus dem Erdgeschoss der Myropolis

18. Brückenförmiger Steinriegel, rechts in Abb. 5, wohl als Absicherungsmaßnahme gegen Hineinfallen.

19. Von Loring in Gardner *et al.* 1892 auf dem Plan Taf. I unter Nr. 31 verzeichnet.

20. Vergleich mit Neubau des Thersilions und dem hochhellenistischen Theaterproskenion aus den Jahren kurz vor 190 v. Chr. Dazu befindet sich eine eigene Untersuchung in Arbeit.

21. Akrotatos war nicht nur ein Amtsvorgänger des Kleomenes, sondern auch sein Onkel 2. Grades.

22. Indem damit für die Livius-Stelle ein passender Bezug gefunden ist, hat sich der Versuch, sie mit der Philippeios Stoa zu verbinden (vgl. *supra* Anm. 14) m.E. endgültig erledigt.

transportierten. Vorbehaltlich einer endgültigen Aufarbeitung dieses datierenden Materials lässt sich der Zeitpunkt der Katastrophe vorläufig auf ± 200 n. Chr. bestimmen.

Das Beben, das offenbar sogar zu einer kleinräumigen tektonischen Verkipfung der Platte unter der südlichen Agora geführt hat, muss auch den Absturz des Südteils der Terrasse des Zeusheiligtums in den Helisson, ebenso wie den Einsturz der Philippeios und des Neuen Bouleuterions verursacht haben. Trotz einiger Wiederbelebungsversuche (Roman Stoa Archeia?) ist damit urbanistisch die Geschichte des antiken Megalopolis am Ende, soweit sie Anspruch auf allgemeineres geistiges Interesse erhebt. Dieses konzentriert sich naturgemäß auf die jüngerklassischen und hellenistischen Perioden – gibt es doch kaum eine zweite Stadt in Altgriechenland, wo eine vergleichbar große Zahl genau datierter oder datierbarer Bauten hoher Qualität das Studium der griechischen Architektur dieser Zeit so wie hier befördern können.

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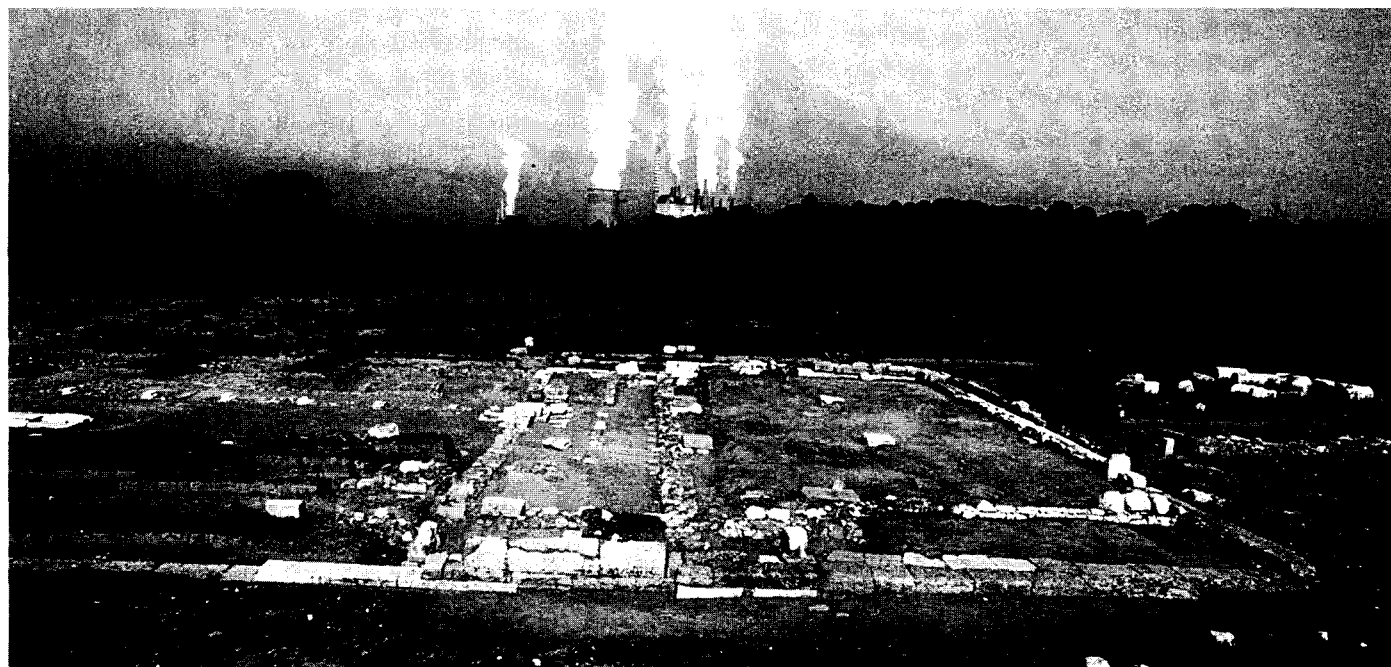


Abb. 1. Altes und Neues Bouleuterion von Osten; in der linken Bildhälfte das Pfeilerperistyl des Prytaneions. (Photo: Verf.)



Abb. 2. Altes und Neues Bouleuterion von Süden. Im Vordergrund das überbaute Nordende des Alten Prytaneions (Pfeilerperistyl mit integriertem Brunnen). (Photo: Verf.)

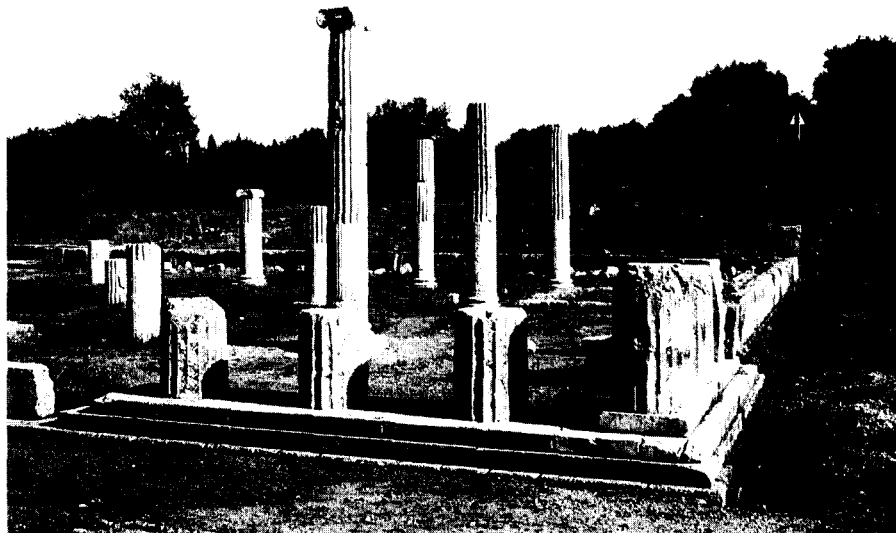


Abb. 3. Philippeios Stoa, Ostrisalis von Süd (Zustand 2001). (Photo: Verf.)

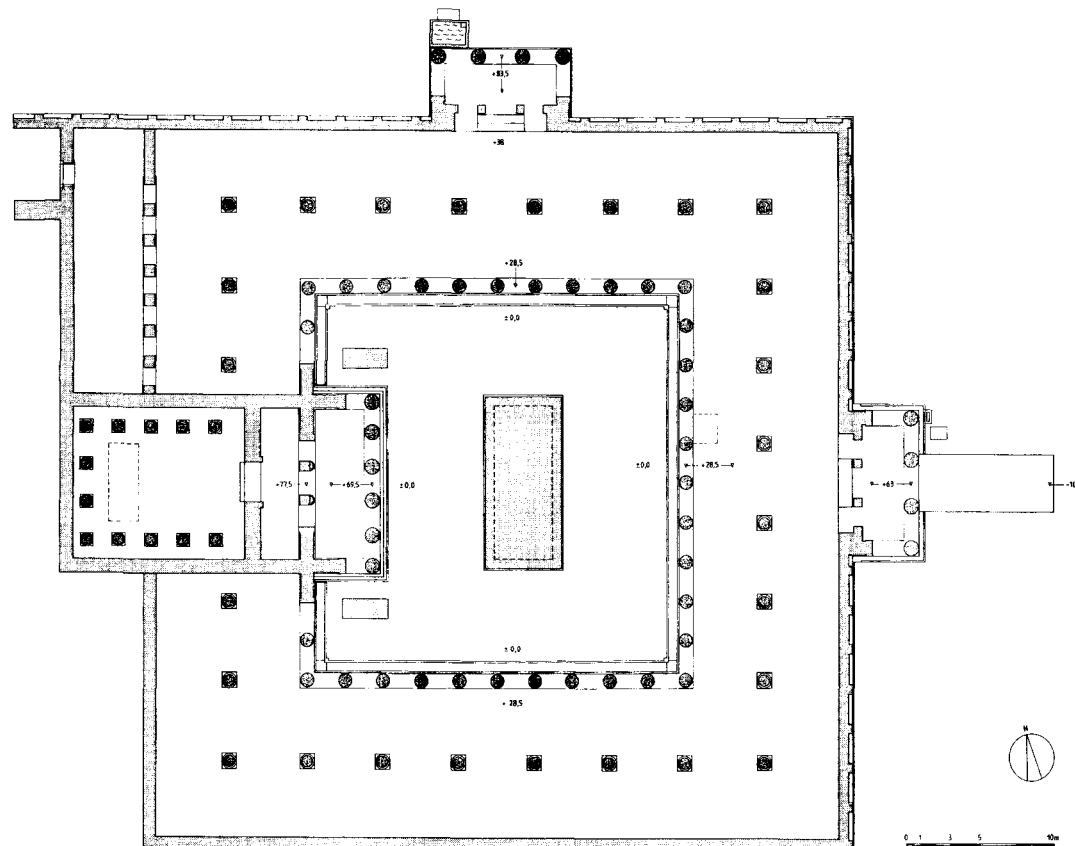


Abb. 4. Heiligtum des Zeus Soter. Wiederhergestellter Plan. (Zeichnung: Heide Lauter Bufe).

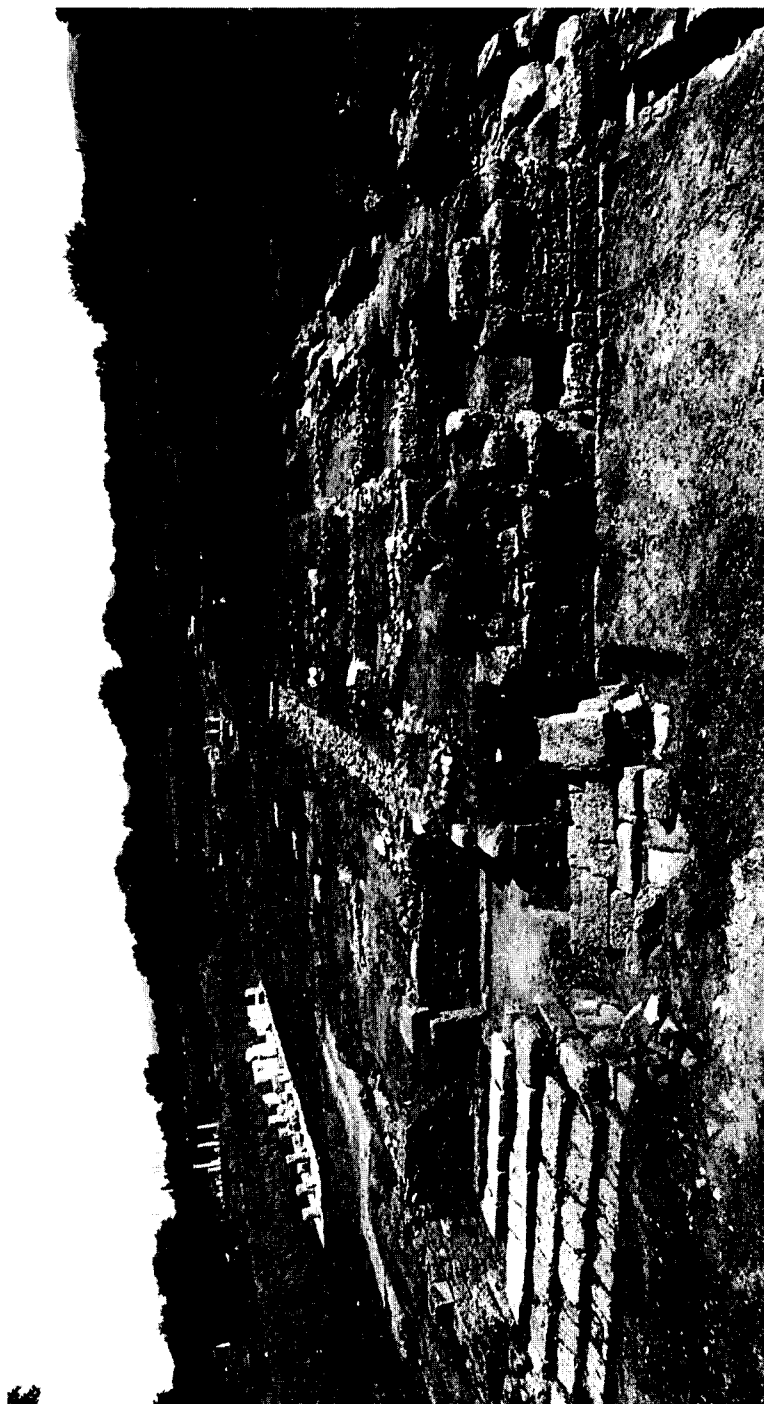


Abb. 5. Stoa des Aristodamos, Südflanke von Süd. (Photo: Verf.)

L'agorà di Megalopoli vista da Pausania: alla ricerca del tempo perduto in una città sinecizzata

Massimo Osanna

In his organization of the material, Pausanias is interested in a coherent recomposition of the literary evidence rather than in the precise topographical reconstruction of the different sites. The case of the *agorà* of Megalopolis is particularly emblematic: his itinerary does not move along the perimeter of the square, but switches, in a symmetrical and specular way, from the north and east sides to the west and south sides. In this way, the attention focuses on the sanctuary of Zeus – the beginning of the itinerary and constant reference point – and on the other major structure, the sanctuary of the *Megalai Theai*. Pausanias' intention is not to act as a 'guide' to a coherent topographical context, but mainly to offer a general picture, where the aim is to rescue everything which belongs to the past, generating an ideologically 'reorganized' urban landscape.

La descrizione del polo urbano di Megalopoli nella *Periegesi* di Pausania comincia con un breve quadro geografico, cui segue immediatamente e senza cesure la descrizione dell'*agorà*.¹ Si tratta di un metodo noto, applicato in diversi importanti contesti urbani, il "Markt-Typus" di C. Robert:² entrato in città il *Periegeta* raggiunge senza indugio l'*agorà* alla ricerca di luoghi sacri e preziosi *agalmata*. A Corinto, ad esempio, l'itinerario prescelto viene esplicitamente giustificato con le parole: "... nell'*agorà dunque* – *qui infatti c'è la maggior parte dei santuari* – *ci sono ...*"³

La presentazione delle coordinate geografiche significa a Megalopoli, come altrove, la menzione degli assi fluviali, che incidono il territorio della *polis*: all'Elisone, citato direttamente ad inizio capitolo, viene riservata un' enfasi particolare, trattandosi di un asse fluviale che svolge un ruolo fondamentale

1. Paus. 8.30.1-2.

2. Robert 1909, 123-5.

3. Paus. 2.2.6.

nell'organizzazione dello spazio urbano.⁴ A differenza di altri contesti, alla menzione dei fiumi, funzionale a definire una identità cittadina, non segue la trattazione di tradizioni locali: la vicenda storica particolare di Megalopoli si riflette nell'assenza di un prologo mitistorico; la fondazione recente della *polis* non ha consentito lo stratificarsi di un palinsesto leggendario.⁵ L'identità cittadina si trasforma qui in identità arcade, la assenza di tradizioni locali è compensata dal confluire in città di segni e *logoï* di una pluralità di centri che hanno contribuito alla formazione urbana.

Anche a Corinto, del resto, la scomparsa della città antica e la nuova fioritura di età romana si riflette nella organizzazione del testo con l'assenza di un prologo mitistorico e con la presentazione immediata della realtà geografica (i due porti) e l'accento al santuario suburbano del Kraneion.⁶

Il percorso all'interno di Megalopoli si può dividere in due grandi sezioni: la prima riguarda il settore a nord dell'Elissone, con l'*agorà*, la seconda il settore a sud, con il teatro, il Thersilion e i quartieri vicini.⁷ L'itinerario è chiuso dalle amare riflessioni sul destino umano che prendono spunto dallo stato di desolazione in cui versa la città, la quale "*si trova oggi spogliata di tutto il suo apparato decorativo e della sua antica prosperità ... per la maggior parte non è che rovine ...*"⁸

Scopo del presente intervento è quello di analizzare il metodo applicato da Pausania nell'organizzare il materiale raccolto, i dati reperiti autopicamente e

4. Frazer 1898, 317-20; Bury 1898.

5. Cfr. Paus. 8.27.1: "Megalopoli è la più recente città non solo dell'Arcadia, ma anche della Grecia, ad eccezione di quelle i cui abitanti vi si trasferirono durante la dominazione romana."

6. A Corinto la distruzione della città antica ha obliterato quasi completamente i segni del passato, circostanza che spinge il Periegeta a dirigersi immediatamente nell'*agorà*, dove si concentrano i più rilevanti santuari nonché le memorie dei *sacra* più antichi: vedi al riguardo Osanna 2001.

7. Percorso di Pausania all'interno del settore settentrionale della città: 8.30.1-31.8; all'interno del settore meridionale: 32.1-5.

8. 8.33.4: la traduzione, di questo come degli altri passi citati del libro VIII della Periegesi, è di M. Moggi e fatta per l'edizione nella collana Lorenzo Valla: Moggi e Osanna 2003. Pausania, pur affermando l'esistenza di Megalopoli ai suoi tempi (9.14.4), ne sottolinea enfaticamente lo stato di grande decadenza prendendo spunto dalla sua situazione per una digressione sulla fragilità delle cose umane, evidente nelle alterne fortune di alcune città famose. Sulla decadenza di Megalopoli vedi già quanto riportato da Strabone (8.388: "un grande deserto è la Grande città"), che con la citazione da un anonimo poeta comico, testimonia una situazione assai precaria e di grande abbandono. Sul quadro negativo presentato dalle fonti letterarie in questo come in altri casi della Grecia romana vedi anche l'articolo di V. Di Napoli nel presente volume.

quelli recuperati da altre fonti o informazioni locali; cercando di cogliere il modo in cui questi vengono fusi all'interno di un testo che vuole essere essenzialmente un'opera letteraria e non una 'guida' per viaggiatori *ante litteram* di un *Grand Tour* attraverso le memorie della Grecia *capta*.⁹

Estremamente complesso risulta, infatti, discernere nella sequenza di monumenti e *mirabilia* di Pausania quanto sia dovuto alla ricostruzione erudita di un paesaggio urbano e quanto derivi da una reale articolazione dei monumenti nello spazio considerato. Se si considera come, solitamente, le aree indagate sistematicamente dall'archeologia siano solo una minima parte di quanto considerato da Pausania, si può ben immaginare quanto difficile risulti sovrapporre immediatamente un monumento citato nella *Periegesi* ad un monumento rinvenuto nell'indagine archeologica. Inoltre, va tenuta sempre nella giusta considerazione la difficoltà ermeneutica insita in qualunque tentativo di far collimare in maniera puntuale dati provenienti da differenti canali informativi. La documentazione letteraria offre un sistema di elementi stratificati e ideologicamente elaborati che necessita una autonoma sfera di indagine, mentre l'archeologia restituisce dati 'reali' solo qualora i contesti vengano indagati e decrittati in maniera scientificamente appropriata. Dunque, quello che è necessario evitare in ogni caso è l'extrapolazione di dati – da qualunque sfera provengano – dal proprio contesto e la meccanica sovrapposizione combinatoria fonte/dato archeologico: decontestualizzati dal contesto di base i dati di Pausania diventano elementi incomprensibili di un discorso frammentato, dove la coerenza del testo si sgretola in favore di una facile operazione attribuzionistica.

Qualunque approccio alla topografia di luoghi interessati dalla descrizione di Pausania va risolto innanzitutto partendo da una analisi attenta ed autonoma del testo, alla ricerca dei criteri e dei metodi che presiedono alla sistematizzazione dei dati raccolti. Perché è evidente che non esiste nella *Periegesi* un metodo univoco ma una pluralità di metodi, scelti di volta in volta dall'autore per presentare, in maniera rinnovata e non monotona, le varie realtà incontrate.¹⁰

Spesso più che il desiderio di comprensione topografica del contesto si avverte in Pausania un desiderio di proporre gerarchicamente *logoi* e *theoremata* in modo da far emergere quello che agli occhi di un greco dei suoi tempi risulti più rilevante ai fini della ricomposizione normativa di una identità urbana. La domanda che viene spontanea è dunque: il monumento è citato in un dato passo secondo i suoi rapporti topografici reali con altri edifici, o esistono altre pos-

9. De Angelis 1998.

10. Su Pausania, la organizzazione e le finalità dell'opera, nonché sui metodi utilizzati, il dibattito si è fatto di recente molto proficuo. Sono apparsi al riguardo una serie di contributi di notevole spessore, di cui si segnalano qui alcuni tra i più significativi: Musti 1981, IX-LV; Habicht 1985; Elsner 1992 e 1994; Pirenne-Delforge 1998; Alcock *et al.* 2001; Knoepfler e Piérart 2001.

sibilità di accostare e inquadrare monumenti in un contesto coerente?¹¹

Ritornando al percorso nell'*agorà* di Megalopoli, il punto di partenza prescelto è il santuario di Zeus Lykaios: scelta certamente non casuale considerata la valenza panarcadica del culto, che rendeva il santuario particolarmente appropriato ad introdurre un percorso nella piazza pubblica di una città che costituiva la summa dell'identità arcade.¹² La breve descrizione del recinto riguarda gli elementi essenziali dal punto di vista culturale, i quali richiamano immediatamente il santuario del monte Lykaion:¹³ la valenza pan-arcadica del culto è esplicitata, infatti, dall'articolazione dell'area sacra, che sembra costituire una 'copia' del venerando e arcaicissimo santuario montano, e che vede significativamente associati Zeus e Pan.¹⁴

Se il santuario di Zeus Lykaios viene scelto come punto di partenza perché, oltre a costituire un monumento enfaticamente posizionato all'interno della piazza, era quello che meglio definiva l'identità cittadina come identità pan-arcadica, non mi sembra casuale che l'unico santuario presentato prima di entrare in città sia proprio quello di Poseidone:¹⁵ questo insieme a Zeus e Pan era funzionale a riassumere in maniera esplicita l'antichità della regione, la percezione della quale non si era perduta neanche nella nuova forma urbana della città sinecizzata.

Megalopoli già nei primi paragrafi della *Periegesi* viene rappresentata, dunque, per quello che effettivamente doveva rappresentare all'epoca del sinecismo:¹⁶ la sintesi unitaria degli insediamenti plurimi che avevano concorso alla sua creazione e questo ovviamente sotto l'egida di Zeus Lykaios e Pan, divinità arcadi per eccellenza, e Poseidone che, insieme a Demetra (presente ovviamente nell'*agorà*, come vedremo) concorreva a definire la arcaicità della terra arcade. Procedendo insieme a Pausania all'interno della piazza, "davanti" al peribolo di Zeus si incontra una statua colossale di Apollo Epikourios, proveniente da Bassai;¹⁷ sembra verosimile interpretare l'indicazione topografica

11. Vedi al riguardo Osanna 1998.

12. 8.30.2-3.

13. 8.38.2-7.

14. Interessante al riguardo è tanto la presenza delle aquile, che ricordano quelle che fiancheggiavano la via sacra sul monte Lykaion, quanto della statua di Pan, che allude alla presenza di un tempio del dio in quel contesto: Jost 1985, 221-2.

15. 8.30.1.

16. Sul sinecismo di Megalopoli: Moggi 1974; Lanzillotta 1975; Moggi 1976, 293-325; Jones 1987, 135-9; Moggi 1991; Jost 1999.

17. Sul culto di Bassai il *Periegeta* ritornerà più avanti con maggiori dettagli (8.41.7-8), qui accenna solo alla sua provenienza, per definirne il contesto originario e caricarla di significato, in quanto tassello importante per la individuazione di una identità locale. Interessa al riguardo

come riferita alla fronte del tempio, dunque evidentemente ad est. L'itinerario procede, dunque, con la visita di un tempio in rovina della Madre degli dei, posto "a destra" della statua di Apollo. In base all'analisi del percorso del Periegeta, M. Jost invita a cercare il tempio presso il settore nord-est dell'agorà, nell'area antistante la *stoà* Philippeios, considerando come plausibile una direttrice di visita ovest-est.¹⁸ Probabilmente nell'organizzazione del percorso non va cercata una direttrice univoca e lineare, ma piuttosto una articolazione complessiva e speculare che parte dal centro e si dirige prima verso est (recinto del Lykaios – l'antistante statua di Apollo, posta dunque ad est – il tempio della Meter a destra, dunque probabilmente presso l'angolo nord-est, in connessione con gli *archeia*), e poi verso nord (*stoà* Philippeios, citata subito dopo).

Davanti al tempio in rovina della Meter sono basamenti ormai privi di statue, tra cui Pausania segnala quello di Diophanes, stratega della Lega Achea.¹⁹ L'indicazione sembra aver trovato riscontro nel corso delle più recenti ricerche, che hanno mostrato come il settore nord-orientale della piazza, tra l'avancorpo orientale della *stoà* Philippeios e l'edificio degli *archeia*, fosse stato destinato alla collocazione di statue onorarie di personaggi benemeriti.²⁰

L'itinerario procede, dunque, toccando la *stoà* Philippeios, la cui ubicazione, non esplicitata nel testo, è nota grazie alle indagini inglesi della fine del XIX secolo:²¹ il lunghissimo porticato dorico che risale sicuramente alla seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. e va messo in relazione a Filippo II,²² costituisce così un punto di riferimento topografico essenziale per ricostruire il percorso di Pausania, il quale lo utilizza come punto di riferimento per ordinare in maniera coerente la visita di questo settore dell'agorà: "vicino" è il tempio in rovina di Hermes Akakesios, un'altro impianto culturale importato dal territorio, la cui epiclesi rimanda al santuario di Akakesios, ricordato più avanti;²³ "contiguo" un edificio

constatare che la statua non costituisce un semplice donario trapiantato al momento del sinecismo, quanto piuttosto la statua di culto connessa ad una ritualità periodica, cui fa allusione altrove lo stesso Periegeta (8.38.8: "sull'agorà [di Megalopoli] si sacrifica un cinghiale a Apollo Epikourios").

18. Jost 1985, 231.

19. Per la discussione prosopografica: Lauter e Spyropoulos 1998, 448 n. 82.

20. Le indagini hanno portato alla luce finora sedici basi di statue allineate, pertinenti a statue databili tra tardo III sec. e metà del II sec. a.C., le quali sarebbero state distrutte già in epoca antica: Lauter e Spyropoulos 1998, 444-51.

21. R.W. Schultz in Gardner *et al.* 1892, 59-66.

22. Il portico non sembra essere stato oggetto di un rifacimento nel corso del II sec. a.C., come era stato proposto: Coulton 1976, 51-2; *contra* Lauter-Bufe in Spyropoulos *et al.* 1996, 278-82.

23. 8.36.10. Del tempio – come lo restituisce l'indagine autoptica di Pausania – non rimane che una tartaruga marmorea, evidentemente l'attributo che accompagnava il dio nell'icono-

porticato con gli *archeia*, considerato degno di menzione per la presenza degli *agalmata* di Artemide Efesia e Pan Skoleitas. L'edificio, riconosciuto già nel corso degli scavi del XIX secolo in una struttura parzialmente indagata ad est della *stoà Philippeios*, è stato oggetto di nuove indagini, che ne hanno chiarito la planimetria: una fronte colonnata aperta a sud permette l'accesso ad una serie di ambienti rettangolari allineati.²⁴ Non è escluso che tale edificio fosse connesso topograficamente al tempio della Meter, citato poco prima da Pausania: in tal modo si riproporrebbe il modello ateniese, dove lungo il lato ovest dell'*agorà* si ritrova il Metroon inglobato negli edifici politici più significativi. Non è chiaro dal testo se le due statue di divinità ospitate in due locali (una dea 'straniera', sulla cui introduzione nulla è noto, accanto al dio 'locale', trapiantato da una collina vicina) fossero ubicate in sacelli specificatamente destinati al culto (come avviene nel caso del Metroon ateniese) oppure se queste facessero parte dell'"arredo" di ambienti destinati anche ad altre funzioni, come avviene di frequente in edifici connessi con attività politiche.²⁵ La menzione della statua di Pan apre una breve digressione che porta il lettore lontano dalla piazza, presso la collina di Skoleitas dove il culto del dio doveva essersi impiantato in epoca precedente il sinecismo.²⁶ Prima di rientrare nella piazza si ricorda rapidamente il tempio di Fortuna, ubicato "alle spalle degli *archeia*", e dunque all'interno la *stoà Myropolis*, costruita col bottino della vittoria su Akrotatos (avvenuta nel 265 a.C.). Dell'edificio, come del resto già per il Philippeios, non si restituisce l'esatta collocazione, mentre si puntualizza, per sottolineare uno stacco tra il

grafia dell'*agalma* cultuale. La menzione della tartaruga non va considerata certamente casuale, considerato come la tartaruga ritorni frequentemente in associazione con il dio, ed in particolare nel mito epicorico, che attribuiva ad Hermes l'invenzione della lira, realizzata appunto dal guscio di una tartaruga (*Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 40-54). Interessa notare come la presenza dell'animale nel contesto vada letta parallelamente a quanto noto sul culto di Akakesios, dove la tradizione locale ambientava le prime fasi di vita del dio, in contrasto con la versione di risonanza panellenica che conosceva il monte Kyllene come suo luogo natale (Paus. 8.36.10). La versione parrasia, cui evidentemente fa riferimento in maniera sottile e non esplicita il periegeta, rivendicava evidentemente l'ubicazione delle prime gesta del dio, compresa l'invenzione della lira. Siamo di fronte, dunque, non ad un trapianto cultuale che priva l'antico centro dei pilastri su cui si fonda l'identità civica, ma piuttosto di una valorizzazione dell'importanza religiosa dell'antico sito e delle proprie tradizioni.

24. Lauter e Spyropoulos 1998, 438-44. Vedi anche il contributo di H. Lauter al presente volume.

25. Si pensi al caso del *Prytanikon* e del *Bouleuterion* ateniesi: Camp 1986, 179-80.

26. Il culto di Pan Skoleitas, proveniente dall'antica realtà insediativa precedente il sinecismo, costituisce il contributo locale all'unità, alludendo alla continuità tra le due vicende insediative, di carattere essenzialmente diverso, sovappostesi nello stesso luogo. Cfr. Jost 1985, 224.

fuori (tempio di Tyche) e il dentro (la piazza), che “*il portico chiamato Myropolis fa parte dell’agorà ...*”. Di questa è stata con buona verosimiglianza proposta una collocazione lungo il lato orientale, dove le vecchie indagini hanno individuato parte dello stilobate permettendo la ricostruzione di pianta e estensione.²⁷

A questo punto Pausania non prosegue il percorso in senso orario, ma torna “indietro” al punto di partenza, il recinto di Zeus Lykaios, per posizionare con precisione la stele di Polibio posta “alle spalle” del santuario, dunque presso il lato ovest, ipotizzando un orientamento canonico del tempio. “A sinistra” rispetto alla stele si ricorda infine il *Bouleuterion*. Segue uno stacco preciso prima di riprendere con un altro settore della piazza: “*questo è quanto si trova qui ...*”²⁸

In base a tali indicazioni, se il recinto di Zeus era effettivamente ubicato *grosso modo* al centro della piazza, è possibile ipotizzare che la stele di Polibio gravitasse tra il settore centrale e il lato occidentale; alla “sinistra” della stele, il *Bouleuterion*, evidentemente posto lungo il lato ovest, considerando come ‘punto di vista’ del Periegeta un punto ipotetico all’interno della metà occidentale del grande spazio pubblico, dove la stele doveva affacciarsi a sud. Le indagini più recenti hanno richiamato l’attenzione su una struttura rettangolare rinvenuta presso l’estremità settentrionale di questo lato della piazza, articolata in un vestibolo stretto e lungo con cinque colonne in facciata e in una grande sala a tre navate.²⁹

Il monumento successivo è un altro portico, chiamato Aristandreos, del quale ancora una volta non si restituisce la posizione, ma diventa punto di riferimento per ubicare le realtà cultuali, ben più interessanti agli occhi del Periegeta, alle estremità dell’edificio: in base alla ricostruzione dell’itinerario di Pausania nell’*agorà* è quanto mai verosimile che la *stoà* si sviluppasse in senso est-ovest lungo il lato meridionale della piazza, area fortemente compromessa dall’erosione provocata dall’Elisone.³⁰ Procedendo verso est, “vicinissimo” alla *stoà*, è il santuario di Zeus Soter, il quale, noto anche da documenti epigrafici, è stato identificato con certezza presso l’estremità orientale del lato sud della piazza:³¹ si tratta di un recinto rettangolare con piccolo propilo ad est, il quale racchiudeva all’interno una corte quadrata con l’altare, chiusa da portici, che nel lato

27. Gardner *et al.* 1892, 13-4, 104; Coulton 1976, 255.

28. 8.30.10.

29. Lauter e Spyropoulos 1998, 426-38. Vedi anche il contributo di H. Lauter al presente volume.

30. Gardner *et al.* 1892, 116-7.

31. Documentazione epigrafica: *IG V.2*, 432, 437; documentazione archeologica: Gardner *et al.* 1892, 52-9; indagini più recenti: Spyropoulos *et al.* 1995, 121-2; Lauter e Spyropoulos 1998, 417-9; e il contributo di H. Lauter al presente volume.

ovest inglobavano il tempio con *prostoon* colonnato aggettante. L'interesse del periegeta viene attratto, come di solito, dal gruppo cultuale: Zeus in trono, affiancato dalle statue stanti di Megalopoli e Artemide Soteira. Ultimo edificio è il recinto sacro delle Grandi Dee, il quale in base alla puntuale indicazione del Periegeta che lo ricorda presso l'estremità occidentale dell'Aristandreas, va ubicato nell'area ormai scomparsa a sud-ovest della piazza. Il *temenos*, incredibilmente ricco di statue e monumenti, attrae particolarmente l'attenzione del periegeta, che si sofferma in una descrizione dettagliata, presentando note su identità divine e culti.

La venerazione delle Dee risulta estranea all'originario *pantheon* arcadico: come precisa il periegeta si tratta di una emanazione diretta del famosissimo culto eleusino.³² Anche se il culto non è epicorio, agli occhi del Periegeta sono molteplici gli elementi di interesse riscontrati nella visita: dalla presenza di una statua di Eracle accanto alle Grandi Dee, come un riferimento all'Eracle Dattilo Ideo, alla complessa articolazione cultuale comprendente tra l'altro un santuario di Afrodite Machanitis con una statua lignea di Hermes e un'acrolito di Afrodite, opere di Damofonte, alla presenza davanti all'ingresso di questo tempio di antichi *xoana* rappresentanti Hera, Apollo e le Muse, trasportati da Trapezunte. L'attenzione si concentra così sul significato dell'epiclesi, nonché sui gruppi culturali, dove si riconoscono tra l'altro statue acrolitiche, dal corpo coperto da drappi che dovevano dare vita a impressionanti apparizioni divine, dall'aura estremamente veneranda e arcaica. Prima di chiudere la sezione Pausania, a mo' di chiusura, restituisce una serie di indicazioni rilevanti sulla organizzazione dello spazio sacro, di cui non restituisce indicazioni topografiche puntuali. Parte rilevante occupano, come di solito, *agalmata* e rituali, tra cui spicca un gruppo di statue di divinità, le quali sembrano qui raggruppate non tanto per una effettiva contiguità, quanto per l'affinità tipologica: si tratta di statue "che presentano una forma quadrata" e che rappresentano Hermes, Apollo, Athena, Poseidone, Helios ed Eracle. Dopo la parentesi sulle statue ermaiche si ricorda un grande edificio destinato ai misteri, dunque un *telesterion* forse sul modello eleusino, ed infine un tempio indipendente di Kore, ubicato alla destra del tempio delle Grandi Dee.

32. Sul problema riguardante il carattere eleusino dei misteri delle Grandi Dee megalopolitane, al centro di un dibattito scientifico che ha conosciuto posizioni radicalmente diverse, teso a spiegare l'insolita mescolanza di elementi canonici propri del culto eleusino (dalla presenza della coppia di Demetra e Kore venerate con un culto che prevede misteri di carattere eleusino, all'esistenza di statue di due canefore poste davanti al gruppo cultuale) accanto ad aspetti del tutto epicori (dal nome stesso di Grandi Dee che avvicina il culto all'altro culto arcadico di Batto menzionato in 8.29.1 – e dall'associazione di Eracle Dattilo, alle scene figurate che decoravano la *trapeza* posta davanti al gruppo cultuale e alla stessa esistenza di un tempio indipendente di Kore), vedi da ultimo Tsiolis 2002.

L'itinerario attraverso la piazza si chiude con la rapidissima menzione di un ginnasio ubicato "di seguito all'*agorà*, a occidente", funzionale a graduare il trapasso topografico verso nuove realtà dell'articolata topografia urbana.³³

Per ricostruire il percorso di Pausania nella piazza sarebbe fondamentale ubicare con precisione il luogo sacro di Zeus Lykaios che, purtroppo, non è stato ancora identificato dall'indagine archeologica. Non risulta basata su elementi probanti la proposta di Richards che propendeva per una ubicazione presso l'angolo nord-orientale della piazza:³⁴ come sottolineato da M. Jost che ipotizza un accesso di Pausania all'area urbana da nord, in base alla menzione successiva del Philippeios, il santuario andrebbe piuttosto cercato presso il settore nord-occidentale della piazza.³⁵ Se si considera attentamente tutto il percorso sviluppato da Pausania emerge, comunque, quale unico dato certo che il santuario, preso come punto di riferimento per indicare monumenti che occupavano o si affacciavano sulla piazza, doveva essere all'interno della piazza, in posizione forse enfaticamente centrale; in ogni caso non era allineato lungo uno dei lati della stessa.³⁶

Se si considerano nel complesso le direttrici dell'itinerario seguito da Pausania, il percorso può essere brevemente ricostruito nel modo seguente. Si parte, dunque, dal santuario che è in effetti ἐν ταύτῃ, dunque nella piazza; davanti (evidentemente ad est), è la statua di Apollo Epikourios; a destra della statua è il tempio della Meter; segue il portico Philippeios, unico edificio identificato nella topografia della piazza tra quelli fin qui citati, e disposto a chiudere il lato settentrionale della piazza. "Vicino" è un tempio in rovina di Hermes, "contiguo" un altro portico contenente i locali per i magistrati. Segue la menzione di un portico chiamato Myropolis, che evidentemente chiude un altro lato della piazza, verosimilmente quello est. Dopo la descrizione di questo primo settore, Pausania ritorna "nell'*agorà*", di nuovo presso il recinto del Lykeios, e menziona, questa volta "dietro" (dunque ad ovest), una stele celebrativa di Polibio, alla sinistra della quale si trovava il *bouleuterion*. Qui l'itinerario prevede una cesura descrittiva, per ricominciare prendendo in considerazione un altro settore della piazza, a partire da un altro portico, chiamato Aristandreas, ad oriente del quale si trovava il recinto di Zeus Soter, altro punto fisso saldamente ancorato nella topografia della piazza presso l'angolo sud-orientale. Ad occidente del portico è infine il santuario delle Grandi Dee. La sequenza ritorna dunque in maniera simmetrica per descrivere diversi settori della piazza, partendo da uno stesso punto di riferimento centrale, il recinto di Zeus. L'itinerario prende le mosse dal centro per spingersi

33. 8.31.8.

34. Gardner *et al.* 1892, 105; cfr. anche Frazer 1898, 326.

35. Jost 1985, 222.

36. Si veda al riguardo la ricostruzione del Curtius proposta prima dell'inizio delle indagini inglesi: Frazer 1898, 321, fig. 34.

prima verso i lati settentrionale e orientale, poi lungo quello occidentale e meridionale: 1) tempio di Zeus – statua di Apollo (davanti) – tempio della Meter (a destra) – *stoà Philippeios* – tempio di Hermes – Archeia – *stoà Myropolis*; 2) tempio di Zeus – stele di Polibio (dietro) – *bouleuterion* (a sinistra) – *stoà Aristandros* – recinto di Zeus Soter – santuario delle Grandi Dee.

Le scelte organizzative di Pausania mostrano bene come l'uso di indicazioni topografiche sia funzionale più che ad una puntuale ricostruzione topografica dello spazio ad una coerente ricomposizione letteraria: significativo al riguardo che le realtà più monumentali – ma meno interessanti, diremmo noi – cioè i lunghi porticati che chiudono la piazza, non risultino mai corredati di indicazioni topografiche, mentre diventano punti di riferimento per collocare puntualmente realtà fondamentali della piazza all'interno di una composizione coerente. L'itinerario non procede, dunque, coerentemente lungo i vari lati dell'*agorà*, ma ridefinendo il materiale raccolto in maniera speculare e simmetrica, in modo da restituire la dovuta centralità al santuario di Zeus, non solo topografica, ma soprattutto ideologica, e in modo da terminare il percorso con l'altro impianto culturale più rilevante, quello delle *Megalai Theai*, al cui interno si affollano segni, monumenti e reliquie di altre epoche, che affascinano altamente il viaggiatore alla ricerca di cose rare e suggestive ma pur sempre significative di una specificità cittadina – o meglio, in questo caso, regionale.

L'intenzione dell'autore non è quella di 'guidare' lungo un percorso topograficamente coerente, nella visita di luoghi celebri e meno celebri, quanto quella di proporre un ampio affresco, in cui confluisca tutto quanto sia necessario salvare dall'oblio del tempo che cancella, trasforma, ricrea. E' la Fortuna infatti che trasforma tutto "*reggendo il mondo a suo piacere con una implacabile necessità*". Ed ecco che agli occhi di Pausania diventa impellente fermare un mondo in perpetua trasformazione, facendo confluire nel discorso tutte le cose più significative della regione: parafrasando Pausania si potrebbe dire πάντα τὰ Ἀρκαδικά.³⁷

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37. Si fa riferimento al noto passo di 1.26.4 dove nel corso della visita dell'Acropoli ateniese, la sequenza di statue selezionate lungo l'asse che dal Partenone raggiunge l'Eretteo è interrotta, dopo la menzione di una Artemide Leukophriene, per ribadire in maniera categorica scopi e finalità dell'opera: "Debbo però procedere nella mia esposizione, perché intendo toccare in egual misura tutti gli aspetti del mondo greco".

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Synoikizing Megalopolis: The Scope of the Synoikism and the Interests of Local Arkadian Communities*

James Roy

This paper examines what can be deduced about the political interplay among Arkadian communities over the planning of the synoikism of Megalopolis, despite the divergence of Diodorus 15.72.4 and Pausanias 8.27.3-4 on the extent of the synoikism. Mantinea renounced any ambition to expand into and beyond northern Mainalia (except possibly for Helisson), but Tegea was still free to extend its influence over some southern Mainalians. If Methydrion, Thisoa, and Teuthis were detached from Orchomenos as part of the synoikism, that would favour Kleitor and Mantinea. The failure to include Kynuria in the synoikism, as seen from *IG V.2, 1*, is surprising, but may be because Elis and Triphylia to the west were friendly at the time. These considerations do not determine whether Diodorus or Pausanias offers the better account of the synoikism, but do show some of the interests at stake.

Megalopolis was synoikized some time between the battle of Leuktra in 371 and 367 B.C.; the precise date is not critical for the present study.¹ The synoikism was managed by a board of ten oikists appointed by the Arkadian Confederacy, and was clearly a matter of federal policy. One major purpose of the synoikism must have been to unite what became the Megalopolis basin under the control of a single *polis*, thus making easier the strategic control of the several major routes through the basin.² At the time of the synoikism a particular concern was to

* I am grateful to Dr. Th.H. Nielsen for comments which have improved this text, but responsibility for remaining faults is of course mine.

1. See Hornblower 1990; Roy 1994, 193.

2. On the routes in the area see Pikoulas 1988, 198-227 and 1999b: see also Jost 1973, with a very useful map (Planche IV). Both Diod. Sic. 15.72.4 and Paus. 8.27.1 suggest that the synoikism was carried out for strategic reasons (see Nielsen 2002, 415 and 419), and Demand 1990, 111-8, lays stress on this aspect of the synoikism.

hinder the Spartan army from marching from the Eurotas valley over the comparatively low watershed into the southern Megalopolis basin and from there southwest to Messenia, west to Elis and Triphylia, north to central Arkadia and beyond, or east, to Asea, Tegea, and beyond. To achieve this purpose the new community must have been intended from the outset to have a large territory. How large the territory needed to be, or in other words which earlier Arkadian communities needed to be incorporated in the new Great City, must have been a federal decision. The decision would affect both the communities to be incorporated and the larger Arkadian *poleis* which had on occasion extended their influence into the area now given to Megalopolis. It is this paper's purpose to consider both some of the strategic issues at stake in planning the synoikism and the interests which some of the more powerful Arkadian communities had in the area.

Modern historians debate exactly how much territory Megalopolis received, especially because the two main ancient literary sources, Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias, give very different accounts, or perhaps accounts with very different emphasis. Diodorus 15.72.4 says that 20 villages of the Mainalians and Parthians were incorporated in Megalopolis, while Pausanias 8.27.3-4 lists 39 or so communities which it was planned to include in the new foundation.³ Pausanias also knew, however, that not all the communities in his list did actually join Megalopolis. Some historians, including the present writer, have argued that Pausanias' list is derived from a federal decree, but others dispute that view. The problems involved have been set out with admirable clarity in the very recent book on Arkadia by Nielsen, and it is sufficient here to refer to his account.⁴ Nielsen also gives good reasons for believing, as most modern scholars do, that Pausanias' list, whether or not derived from an authentic federal decree, is a reliable guide to the topography of the area.⁵

Another important text is the inscription *IG V.2, 1*, an Arkadian federal decree honouring an Athenian. To the decree are appended the names of federal *damiorgoi* listed according to their home communities. Of the fifty, ten were from Megalopolis; five each from Tegea, Mantinea, Kynuria, Orchomenos, Kleitor, Heraia, and Thelpusa; three from Mainalia; and two from Lepreon. Though a puzzling number of communities, particularly of northern Arkadia, are missing, it is at any rate clear that those states which do appear in the list were members of the Confederacy at the time of the decree. Since Megalopolis is mentioned the decree is certainly later than the synoikism, and so clearly the

3. At least one name appears to have been lost in a lacuna in the text.

4. Nielsen 2002, 414-55.

5. Nielsen 2002, 280-1.

Mainalians and the Kynurians continued to exist as political entities after Megalopolis was founded. Since the decree is for an Athenian, and since an image of Fortune touching a trophy on the stone suggests some connection with a military victory, the decree is probably later than the Arkadian-Athenian mutual defence pact of 366. Since both Mantinea and Tegea are represented, the decree must have been passed either before they took opposite sides when the Confederacy split ca. 363 or after a reunification, if any such ever occurred.⁶ Thus, even if not datable with certainty, the decree was most likely passed between 366 and ca. 363.

In order to unite the Megalopolis basin it was necessary to give Megalopolis a territory including the Eutresians, in the northern and north-west part of the basin, and the Parrhasians, in the west and south-west parts. It was also necessary to incorporate in the synoikism the territory farther south recently taken from the Spartans.⁷ It is generally agreed that these areas were included in Megalopolis, even though Diodorus' report of the synoikism does not mention Eutresian territory.⁸

Pausanias and Diodorus agree that Mainalian territory was also incorporated in Megalopolis, but Mainalian *damiorgoi* appear on *IG V.2, 1*, and it is clear from Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.5.5, that at least some southern Mainalian communities were separate from Megalopolis in 362. According to *IG V.2, 1* the Mainalians had only three *damiorgoi*, although we know of ten or more Mainalian communities; since the Kynurians, for whom only four communities are known, had five *damiorgoi*, the three Mainalian *damiorgoi* probably did not represent all Mainalians.⁹ The obvious explanation is that the Mainalians were divided at the time of the synoikism, some southern Mainalians remaining separate while other Mainalians joined Megalopolis.¹⁰ Oresthasion at least of the southern Megalopolitan communities probably joined Megalopolis, since it controls a major route eastwards out of the southern Megalopolitan basin.¹¹ Other southern Mainalian communities – Asea, Pallantion, Eutaia, Iasaia, and Peraitheis¹² – while of strate-

6. Roy 2000, 312; Nielsen 2002, 305, 310, 435 and 477.

7. On Arkadia's fluctuating frontier with Lakonia see Shipley 2000, 369-76.

8. The excellent map of Arkadia originally published in Jost 1985 is reprinted on a smaller scale in Nielsen 2002, 640-1, and also in Jost 1998.

9. On the membership of Arkadian 'tribal' groups like the Mainalians and Kynurians see Nielsen 2002, 537-9.

10. Moggi 1974, 76.

11. On Oresthasion, situated at modern Anemodouri, see Pikoulas 1988, 102-12. It is odd that later in the 4th century an Oresthasian appears in *SEG* 20, 1964, no. 716.23 apparently separately from Megalopolis: this may be because the man was evidently resident at Tegea.

12. On the locations of these communities see Jost 1998 on Pausanias 8.27.3 (Eutaia and Iasaia), 8.36.7 (Peraitheis), 8.44.3 (Asea), and 8.44.5-6 (Pallantion).

gic importance for control of the area west and southwest of Tegea, lay outside the Megalopolitan basin and well to the east of the territory which had to be under Megalopolis' immediate command.

Whether or not Mainalian communities joined Megalopolis was important for both Mantinea and Tegea. During the Peloponnesian War Mantinea had extended its power through northern Mainalia into Parrhasia, building up a network of subordinate allies. This extended Mantinean influence was lost when Sparta defeated Mantinea and its allies in 418.¹³ At the same time Tegea also led a group of allies, and it is very hard to see where Tegea could have found such subordinate allies except in southern Mainalia. How long this Tegean alliance lasted is unknown.¹⁴ Despite its setback in 418 Mantinea kept an interest in northern Mainalia, as the inscribed *sympoliteia* agreement between Mantinea and Helisson shows.¹⁵

Mantineia, which was prominent in the Arkadian Confederacy and provided two of Megalopolis' ten oikists, must at the very least have acquiesced in the decision to give northern Mainalia to Megalopolis, and so renounced any ambition to expand through the area again. In return Mantinea may have got *sympoliteia* with Helisson, if that actually coincided with the synoikism, for which there is no evidence.¹⁶ Another Mantinean gain may have been a curtailment of Orchomenos' influence (see below). If it was originally planned to incorporate the southern Mainalians in Megalopolis, Tegea must also have initially renounced the possibility of expansion; but, as events turned out, Tegea could still extend its interests among the southern Mainalians. In fact Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.5.5, says that in 362 those Arkadians who sided with Thebes were "the Tegeans and the Megalopolitans and the Aseans and the Pallantians and any *poleis* which, because of being small and being located in the midst of these, were compelled." The Aseans and the Pallantians were themselves southern Mainalians, and other small communities in the area will also have been either Mainalian or within Megalopolitan territory. Nielsen suggests that the phrase "ἐν μέσσοις ταύταις", translated above as "in the midst of these", should if taken strictly mean that the smaller *poleis* were actually located within the territory of one or other larger *polis*, and therefore dependent *poleis*.¹⁷ Nielsen may well be right but, whatever

13. On this Mantinean expansion see Nielsen 2002, 367-72, citing Thuc. 4.134.1-2; 5.28.3-29.2; 5.33.1-3; 5.47; 5.67.2; 5.81.1; and also Pikoulas 1990. On the topography of northern Mainalia see Pikoulas 1999a.

14. On the Tegean alliance see Nielsen 2002, 366-7.

15. *SEG* 37, 1987, no. 340. On the date see Nielsen 2002, 359-63, 447-9: several scholars have suggested the earlier 4th century, but 350-40 has also been proposed recently.

16. Nielsen 2002, 359 notes that the *sympoliteia* inscription "could very well date to ca. 370."

17. Nielsen 2002, 349-50.

the precise interpretation of the phrase, Xenophon's reference to compulsion suggests that the larger *poleis* exercised considerable influence over these smaller neighbours, and Megalopolis and Tegea presumably had the strength to claim more influence than Asea and Pallantion. Yet the situation in southern Mainalia was accepted by the Confederacy, as the presence of Mainalian *damiorgoi* on *IG* V.2, 1 shows. It thus appears that, while Mantinea had given up any possibility of dominating northern Mainalia (except perhaps Helisson) and beyond it Parthasia, the Confederacy allowed Tegea scope to exercise influence over southern Mainalian neighbours.

To the north of the Megalopolis basin lay three communities, Methydrion, Thisoa, and Teuthis, according to Pausanias 8.27.4 in *synteleia* with Orchomenos. His meaning is not clear, but his term suggests that the three communities were somehow subordinate to Orchomenos.¹⁸ Also in this general area were three other communities, Kallia, Dipoina, and Nonakris, described as the Tripolis (Paus. 8.27.4): their locations are not certain, but may lie north of Methydrion, Thisoa, and Teuthis.¹⁹ According to Pausanias all six communities were to be incorporated in Megalopolis. Some indirect support for his account may be provided by an inscription showing the Arkadian Confederacy demarcating a frontier from the point where Orchomenos, Torthyneion, and Methydrion met.²⁰ If the frontier between Orchomenos and Methydrion was being defined, and if the inscription is of the 360s as has often been supposed, then the occasion may well have been the separation of Methydrion from Orchomenos and its incorporation in Megalopolis.²¹ Teuthis and Thisoa lay west of Methydrion, and must also have been detached from Orchomenos if Methydrion was. Megalopolis did not need to possess these six communities in order to control the Megalopolis basin, though they would provide manpower, resources, and control of routes north from the basin. There may however have been another reason for giving these communities to Megalopolis.

According to Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.4.36-37, Kleitor and Orchomenos were at war in 378, though he mentions the war only incidentally and does not say why or where it was fought. Since Kleitor and Orchomenos had no common frontier, the war must therefore also have concerned other communities in north-central Arkadia, possibly including Methydrion, Thisoa, Teuthis, and the Tripolis. At any rate Kleitor and Orchomenos were clearly hostile in the decade before the synoikism of Megalopolis. Kleitor evidently gained some prominence

18. Nielsen 2002, 352-7.

19. Nielsen 2002, 314; note the cautious comments of Jost 1998, 220.

20. Thür and Täuber 1994, no. 14.

21. See Nielsen 2002, 352.

in the early years of the Arkadian Confederacy, since it provided two of the ten oikists of Megalopolis.²² Orchomenos on the other hand opposed the formation of the Arkadian Confederacy and remained loyal to Sparta as long as it could (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11-17 and 29). According to Xenophon Orchomenos acted in this way out of enmity towards Mantinea, another prominent member of the Confederacy. It would therefore be entirely understandable if the Confederacy chose to weaken Orchomenos by depriving it of the three communities associated with it, and giving them and also the Tripolis to Megalopolis, which would be strong enough to ensure that Orchomenos did not recover its influence in the area.²³ In that case Kleitor and Mantinea, while making no direct gain, would have seen the influence of a hostile rival curtailed.

Finally the Kynurians, west of the Megalopolitan basin, must be considered. Their territory controlled important routes from Megalopolis to Elis and Triphylia, and it might have seemed prudent to include Kynuria in Megalopolis in order to strengthen Megalopolis' western frontier. According to Pausanias 8.27.4 the Kynurians were indeed to be synoikized, but Kynurian *damiorgoi* appear in *IG V.2*, 1. Since the Kynurians had five *damiorgoi*, while we know of only four Kynurian communities, it seems very unlikely that the Kynurians had been divided as were the Mainalians. Thus, at least in an early phase of Megalopolis' existence, the Kynurians were not part of it. It is impossible to tell whether Pausanias is wrong and it was not originally intended to include the Kynurians in the synoikism, or whether they successfully resisted an attempt to incorporate them; but clearly the Confederacy, by allowing the Kynurians to have *damiorgoi*, recognized that they were not part of Megalopolis. The fact that they were not included considerably weakened Megalopolis' control of the routes which led into the basin from the west. However, that may not have seemed to be a problem at the time of the synoikism. Beyond Kynuria lay Elis and Triphylia, friendly territory in the early years of the Confederacy.²⁴ The Triphylians in fact adopted Arkadian nationality and became part of the Confederacy, thus removing any concern about routes from Megalopolis to Triphylia.²⁵ It had however been a main objective of the Eleans to regain control over Triphylia (Xen.

22. Paus. 8.27.2. It is not necessary to suppose, as does Jost 1998, 217, that the list of oikists shows that the Confederacy was originally conceived in modest terms: a board of ten oikists would be sufficient to carry out the synoikism, and a membership made up of two men each from the two major eastern Arkadian *poleis* (Mantinea and Tegea), a major north-Arkadian *polis* (Kleitor), and two of the communities included in the synoikismos (Mainalia and Parrhasia) would allow a reasonable range of interests to be represented.

23. See Roy 1972.

24. On Peloponnesian politics of these years see Roy 1994.

25. On Triphylia see Nielsen 2002, 248-69.

Hell. 6.5.2), and they must have been extremely displeased to see the Triphylians becoming Arkadian. By 368 the Eleans were sufficiently disenchanted with the Arkadians to be gratified when the Spartans defeated the Arkadians and their allies in the ‘Tearless Battle’ (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.32), and by 365 the Eleans and the Arkadians were at war (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.12-13). However, despite this later deterioration in Elean-Arkadian relations, it may well have seemed unnecessary at the time of the synoikism to make Kynuria a western bulwark of Megalopolitan territory, since the Kynurians were themselves members of the Arkadian Confederacy.

These various considerations do not allow a choice in favour of either Diodorus’s relatively limited version of the Megalopolitan synoikism or Pausanias’ larger version. It is entirely plausible, though not certain, that Megalopolis was given at its creation territory north of the Megalopolitan basin comprising Methydrion, Thisoa, Teuthis, and the Tripolis, which would favour Pausanias’ account rather than Diodorus’. On the other hand the *damiorgoi* listed in *IG* V.2, 1 show that some Mainalian and Kynurian communities listed by Pausanias among those to be incorporated in the synoikism did not in fact join Megalopolis on its creation, and that the Arkadian Confederacy recognized their status as communities separate from Megalopolis. At the time of the synoikism these Mainalian and Kynurian communities may well not have seemed necessary for the control of access to the Megalopolitan basin. Though both Pausanias and Diodorus report that some communities which were meant to be synoikized resisted incorporation, their reports do not explain why those particular Mainalian and Kynurian communities, if part of the planned Megalopolitan territory, were able to extract themselves from the synoikism. Diodorus (15.94.1) reports a widespread and violent reaction against the synoikism by constituent communities, but his report clearly refers to communities actually incorporated in Megalopolis, and is dated to 361, probably too late to explain any community’s appearance in *IG* V.2, 1. Pausanias’ report of resistance (8.27.5-6) is not clearly dated but seems to refer to the time when Megalopolis was being created. He suggests that most of those who were to join Megalopolis did so without complaint, but that four communities opposed the synoikism: Lykoa (Mainalian, or possibly Kynurian), Trikolonoi (Eutresian), Lykosoura, and Trapezous (both Parrhasian). It is difficult to see in his account a process which would explain how four Kynurian communities and some five southern Mainalian ones, if expected to participate in the synoikism, succeeded in extricating themselves. Pausanias also, after listing communities that in one way or another suffered from the synoikism, says (8.27.7) that Pallantion alone “even then” enjoyed a milder fate: the words “even then” may refer to the time of the synoikism²⁶ and so explain why a plan to include Pallantion in the

26. So Jost 1998; *contra* Nielsen 2002, 426-7.

synoikism was not carried out, but Pausanias explicitly refers only to Pallantion and not to a group of several southern Mainalian communities. In fact there is much that we do not know about the internal politics of the Arkadian Confederacy in the 360s, and it is conceivable that two groups of communities which did not seem essential to the strategic needs of Megalopolis were able to negotiate with the Confederacy their withdrawal from the synoikism and their representation among the *damiorgoi*. We are therefore left with a choice between believing that, as Pausanias says, it was originally planned to include in the synoikism of Megalopolis the Kynurians and all the Mainalians, but that, as Pausanias does not say, the Kynurians and some southern Mainalians then succeeded in extricating themselves and persuading the Arkadian Confederacy to recognize their continuing independence; or believing that Pausanias is simply wrong in including the Kynurians and all the Mainalians among the communities to be synoikized. Diodorus' report of the synoikism is very brief and almost certainly incomplete, omitting as it does any mention of the Eutresians, and it would not be surprising if his figure of 20 for the communities incorporated in Megalopolis were inexact.

It is however clear that there was an interplay of interests within the Arkadian Confederacy when decisions were taken about what to include in Megalopolis. A similar interplay, and even a willingness to make concessions, is evident in other decisions of the Confederacy. In the distribution of *damiorgoi* seen in *IG V.2, 1* Megalopolis had ten while no other Arkadian community had more than five, and the communities which had been powerful within Arkadia like Mantinea and Tegea had no more *damiorgoi* than less prominent federal members. It seems that the *damiorgoi* were assigned in such a way as to ensure that none of the older Arkadian communities enjoyed a dominant position, and that these major communities accepted such a distribution. Likewise when decisions were made about which communities to include in Megalopolis there was some willingness to make concessions. The Mantineans accepted that territory over which they had extended their influence in the later 5th century should be Megalopolitan and therefore unavailable to them, though they may have received some compensation. Moreover they, like other Arkadians, apparently acquiesced when most of the southern Mainalians were left outside Megalopolis, even though as a result the Tegeans could reestablish some of their earlier influence in southern Mainalia. If, as seems likely, Megalopolitan territory was extended in the synoikism well north of the Megalopolitan basin in order to deprive Orchomenos, at first an opponent of the Confederacy, of influence in central Arkadia, then yet other interests affected the scope of Megalopolis. And finally, if, as is possible but not certain, Pausanias is right that it was originally planned to include in Megalopolis both Kynuria and the southern Mainalians, then yet more political manoeuvring must have taken place in order to allow these communities

to remain outside the new *polis*. Thus, despite our limited evidence, we can see some of the political interplay which determined the scope of Megalopolis, and we have grounds for suspecting more.

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V. OTHER SITES IN ANCIENT ARCADIA

New Archaeological and Topographical Observations on the Sanctuary of Asklepios in Alipheira (Arcadia)*

Sofoklis Alevridis and Milena Melfi

The aim of the paper is to propose a new reading of the sanctuary of Asklepios in Alipheira, based principally on an extensive survey of the monuments still *in situ* following the excavations of the 1960s. Our observations pertain to the functions and dates of the individual buildings and their relations to one another, and within the larger context of the *polis*. In conclusion, the Asklepieion at Alipheira might be inserted into a group of other sanctuaries which demonstrate the existence and the success of the cult in Arcadia from a relatively early date, at the very beginning of the general diffusion of the cult from Epidauros to the rest of the Peloponnese.

The ancient site of Alipheira is located in the south-western district of ancient Arcadia, and is nowadays included in the *nomos* of Ilia. The site, already known from the ancient sources and from the accounts of travellers,¹ was excavated in the years 1932-35 and published by Orlandos in 1968.² The *polis* was founded in an easily defended position, consisting of a series of hills, which were soon surrounded by strong fortification walls. The monuments which are to be considered as the most important, mentioned by Pausanias³ and re-discovered during the modern excavations, are the sanctuaries of Athena⁴ and Asklepios;⁵ they are located on the two opposite, north-western and south-eastern extremities of the oblong area included in the city walls. (Fig. 1)

* In the context of the present cooperative work Sofoklis Alevridis elaborated the plans of the site and the monuments, matching them with Orlandos' drawing, provided the photographic documentation and the technical support required during the survey; Milena Melfi conducted the bibliographical research and authored the final version of the paper.

1. Orlandos 1968, 7-8.

2. Orlandos 1968, *passim*.

3. Paus. 8.26.4-6.

4. Orlandos 1968, 43-168.

5. Orlandos 1968, 169-202.

The survey, which took place in the area of the Asklepieion in 2002, thanks to the permit issued by Mrs Xenia Arapogianni, director of the 7th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, led us to a better understanding of the cult place studied by Orlandos. A brief report on the accomplished work will be presented here.

The sanctuary seems to be located in an extra-urban area, immediately outside of the city walls and probably near the entrance of the town. (Figs. 1 and 4) This is indeed the lowest (34 m lower than the level of the acropolis) and most accessible side of the extremely steep slopes of Alipheira, even today approached only by a track reaching the ancient site from the modern road. The city walls run south of the sanctuary, providing a border for the sacred area. (Fig. 4) The connections between the inside and the outside of the town in this area are not clear, because of the great difference in level, ca. 7 m, between the area included in the city walls and the Asklepieion itself. It is nevertheless likely that the access from the sanctuary to the town and *vice versa* took place through a gate located on the north-eastern stretch of this section of the city walls. Here the terrain slopes more gently and the entrance seems facilitated by a gap in the walls. Such a topographical position recalls the similar position of the Asklepieion *du haut* at nearby Gortys, located next to the city walls and accessible through the so-called *Porte C*; this probably implies the same cultic function for the gate itself.⁶

The terrain, naturally sloping down from south-east to north-west, was apparently arranged in two terraces, enclosed in *analemma* walls. In particular the northern and southern walls of what was interpreted by Orlandos as the *temenos*⁷ of the temple and altar of Asklepios, seem to be identifiable as terrace walls with the purpose of creating two large platforms for the monuments: the lower for the temple and the altar, the higher for the *τετράγωνο κτίριο*⁸ and maybe other buildings nowadays unknown. (Figs. 2-4)

The lower terrace, the temple and the altar, the latter studied in detail and reconstructed by Orlandos, seem to be part of the same building programme, to be placed in the second half of the 4th century B.C.⁹

The temple, measuring 9.30 x 5.75 m, is very simple in plan.¹⁰ It consists of a *pronaos*, paved with limestone slabs, and a *cella*, inside which Orlandos found an offering table or *trapeza* and what seemed to be the basis for the cult statue.¹¹ Nothing is left of the architectural members decorating the building, but on the

6. Martin and Metzger 1941; Martin 1948, 105-12.

7. Orlandos 1968, 170-1.

8. According to the definition given to the building by Orlandos 1968, 199-202.

9. This date is mainly based on the analysis of the decoration and typology of the altar, to which Orlandos relates all the extant buildings (Orlandos 1968, 182-99).

10. Orlandos 1968, 171-82 and fig. 111.

basis of the extant remains Orlandos was able to hypothesize an *in antis* façade with two columns on the front. The stone basis without inscription located left of the entrance seems, rather than bearing a statue, to recall the setting of *perirhanteria* or lustral basins at the entrance of sacred buildings, as at the temples of Asklepios¹² and Artemis¹³ in Epidauros.

The shape of the building and its internal arrangement recall those of the temple of Phigalia dedicated to Athena and Zeus Soter, recently discovered by Mrs. Arapogianni during her excavations of 1996 and 1997.¹⁴ Even if they have different dimensions and building techniques, both temples show the same division in two rooms, originally paved with stone slabs, and the presence on the main axis of the building of a *trapeza* and a statue basis, the latter abnormally distant from the rear wall, leaving a gap of 1.80 m in the case of Phigalia, 1.00 m at Alipheira. The *trapeza* found in Phigalia¹⁵ also shows interesting similarities with that recorded in Alipheira by Orlandos and today lying in pieces inside the temple of Asklepios. Both feet of the offering tables are shaped as lion legs, more sketchy in the case of Alipheira, and they have nearly the same dimensions (82 x 94 cm in Phigalia; 86 x 95 cm in Alipheira). The feet of the Phigalian *trapeza* were inserted in two stone bases and sealed with lead, a set-up which we might reconstruct also for Alipheira, where a later paving of stone chips and cement concealed the previous arrangement. Moreover, a similar type of *trapeza* is attested in Arcadia itself in the sanctuary of Pheneos attributed to Asklepios.¹⁶

In summary, the data obtained by the comparison of the two temples allow some considerations on their date and mutual relations.

1. The date in the second half of the 4th century B.C. proposed by Orlandos for the temple of Alipheira on the basis of the architecture, the style of the altar and a few coin finds, can be confirmed by the comparison with the similar temple of Phigalia, where the main phase has been firmly dated to the 4th century by the archaeological material.

2. The similarities in the shape and internal arrangement of the two buildings might be related to analogous cult practices, even if the presence, in Alipheira, of a monumental altar outside the temple suggests a shift to the open air of the sacrifices which, according to the archaeological evidence, took place inside the temple of Phigalia; consequently the *trapeza* would have been used only for bloodless offerings.

11. Orlandos 1968, figs. 117-20.

12. Kavvadias 1905, 46-50.

13. Kavvadias 1906, 94-6.

14. Arapogianni 1996, 130-2; *ead.* 1997, 115-6.

15. Arapogianni 1996, 132-3, fig. 3.

16. Protonotariou-Deilaki 1962, 59-60.

3. In more general terms, the collected evidence points to a close relation of cultural exchange between the two sites during the 4th century B.C. The geographical – and probably political – proximity of the two cities could also provide an explanation for the choice of identical typologies of tombs in Alipheira and Phigalia. Their temple-shaped façades¹⁷ seem to be unique in the archaeology of the region and, to our knowledge, of all Greece.

The only monument surviving on the partially excavated upper terrace is the *τετράγωνο κτίριο*, so named by Orlandos.¹⁸ (Figs. 3 and 5) It consists of two courses of blocks of pinkish limestone enclosing an almost square area (3.95 x 3.87 m). Some of the technical characteristics of the building, such as the *taenia* carved on the internal face of the upper course, forming a sort of indented step, can be observed in the temple itself, in particular on the only surviving stylobate block identified by Orlandos.¹⁹ It is consequently reasonable to include both monuments in the same building phase.

The discovery of a few column drums next to the building, and the presence of a drainage channel, suggested to Orlandos and Roesch an interpretation as an open courtyard, a sort of peristyle,²⁰ surrounded by rooms which have not been uncovered, but are still evident from the scattered remains. This interpretation seems to be correct, even if the working of the bottom of the columns, ending with an indented band and provided with holes for nails or clamps, suggests that they were inserted in a stylobate or individual bases; it excludes that they were located on the row of blocks which is visible today, where no signs of such assemblage can be detected.²¹ In particular, the presence of a flat band and clamps together points toward individual bases, possibly located along the sides of the presently visible square structure, as in the case, for example, of the *hestiatorion* of Troizen.²²

Given the existence of an open courtyard, provided with columns and, consequently, porticoes on the sides, various interpretations of the building as a *xenon*, a priest's house or an *enkoimiaterion* have been proposed.²³ In this respect some new elements can be added to our knowledge of the building. During the recent surveys we were able to discover several feet of a bench, possibly the same which had already been observed by Roesch and tentatively associated with the

17. Orlandos 1968, 203-43.

18. Orlandos 1968, 199-202.

19. Orlandos 1968, 175, fig. 115.

20. Orlandos 1968, 201-2; Roesch 1985.

21. Such a reconstruction, based on the columns standing directly on the visible row of blocks of the *τετράγωνο κτίριο*, coincides with the one proposed by Orlandos, who even attempted an *anastylosis* of the building (Orlandos 1968, 201, fig. 140).

22. Welter 1941, 31-3 and pl. 11.

23. For a survey of the different opinions expressed by scholars see Jost 1985, 82.

square building.²⁴ They consist of limestone slabs, squared on the top, bottom and rear sides. The lower ends of their protruding, swung fronts are fashioned in the shape of lion's paws. They supported a stone bench and were probably set against the walls of a building. (Fig. 6)

A stone bench in an Asklepieion such as the sanctuary of Alipheira seems to suggest two possibilities: the presence of an *enkoimiaterion*, for the sick people, or a *hestiatorion*, for sacred meals.

The bench supported by the feet mentioned above would have a height of 38-40 cm and a width of 50 cm, much less than the 0.80-1.20 m known from the benches of *hestiatoria* attested elsewhere.²⁵ But the bench from Alipheira has the same dimensions, both in height and width, as those found in the *stoai* of Epidauros²⁶ and Oropos,²⁷ used for incubation. Since all these sanctuaries are connected with Asklepios and healing practices, it is tempting to assume that the benches were used for similar purposes also in Alipheira.

On the other hand, the existence of a *hestiatorion*, even if not directly connected to the bench, might be supported by the characteristics of the square building, since a central open-air courtyard and appropriate devices for draining the water are considered to be essential features of this type of buildings.²⁸ *Hestiatoria* in sanctuaries of Asklepios are now well attested by archaeological and epigraphical evidence. The most monumental examples of the type are the buildings found in Troizen²⁹ and Corinth,³⁰ to which the so-called *Gymnasium* of Epidauros, today considered to have functioned as an extremely large dining hall, should be added.³¹ There is evidence also from the smaller sanctuaries: the best known inscription records the *hestiatorion* of the Asklepieion on Delos,³² but also in Athens decrees in honour of priests of Asklepios celebrate their successful arrangement of the *klinai*.³³ Of particular interest to us are the data from Arcadia itself, where several sanctuaries for Asklepios known from epigraphical, archaeological or literary sources seem to include a building for ritual meals, even if only in later times. This is the case of the Asklepieion of Mantinea, where

24. Roesch 1985, 28-32, figs. 4-5.

25. See the table presented by Goldstein 1978, 356, tab. A, in which all the *hestiatoria* known at the time of the publication are included.

26. *Stoa* 1987, 11-7; *Epidauros* 1999, 28-33.

27. Petrakos 1968, 77-84.

28. Tomlinson 1969; Goldstein 1978, 296-307; Armpis 1998.

29. Welter 1941, 31-3.

30. Roebuck 1952, 51-7.

31. *Gymnasium* 1988, 21-35; *Epidauros* 1999, 34-9.

32. *IG XI.2*, 144.

33. *IG II²* 974, 975, 976 and 1033 (= *SEG* 18, 1962, nos. 26, 27, 28, 29).

deipnoi are recorded by the inscription in honour of Ioulia Eudia,³⁴ and of the better known Asklepieion on the river Gortynios, where a building defined à *oikoi* was found.³⁵ It had a central courtyard surrounded by rooms, in some of which the preparation for a bench could be detected. Moreover, an inscription from the same site, dating to the Roman period, mentions the dedication of a *triclinium* by M. Turpilius Philotas.³⁶

In concluding, in Alipheira, the association of the square building with the stone bench, with dimensions different from those of dining beds of *hestiatoria* and similar to the *enkoimeteria* benches, might create some problems of interpretation. Given that:

1. – most of the square building is actually unknown, as well as all the structures which might have been located east of it,

2. – the bench, considering also the number of supports found, would be more suitable in a long hall or *stoa*, such as those of Epidauros and Oropos, than in the small rooms which could have surrounded the small courtyard,

it is possible to propose either that the two groups of evidence relate to two different buildings, respectively an *enkoimeterion* and a *hestiatorion*, or, given the small scale of the sanctuary, that the two functions were exercised by the same building, where a long hall was possibly located on one of the sides. In this case a hypothetical restoration of such a building might be proposed, using the structure which can be detected on the west side of the *τετράγωνο κτίριο* as the rear wall of the long hall. (Fig. 5)

Whatever the solution may be, it is worth noting that the Asklepieion of Alipheira appears, from the second half of the 4th century B.C., to be furnished with all the buildings necessary for the healing cult: the temple, with the altar and the *trapeza* for sanguinary and bloodless offerings; the *enkoimiaterion*, and probably a *hestiatorion*. What seems to be missing is, of course, a water source, which is not so far attested. Nevertheless the location of the site itself, surrounded by rivers and streams, and certainly related to sources mentioned by the ancient authors,³⁷ such as the Tritonis, and the many others exploited nowadays by the inhabitants of modern Alipheira, will not exclude that canalisation was employed to lead the water uphill. The situation would not be so different from what we have on the nearby site of Gortys, where the *loutron* of the so called Asklepieion *du haut*, far from water sources, was fed by water-pipes.³⁸

34. *IG V.2*, 269.

35. Metzger and Courbin 1951, 132-4.

36. *SEG* 11.2, 1954, no. 1165.

37. Paus. 8.26.3; Orlandos 1968, 24. The position of the source is located on the maps of the site sketched by Leake and Curtius and collected in Orlandos 1968, 8, fig. 6.

38. Martin and Metzger 1941, 280-2; Ginouvès 1962, 349-61.

Therefore the Asklepieion of Alipheira can be considered part of a group of sanctuaries – known from archaeological or only from literary sources – which demonstrate the existence and the success of the Asklepios cult in Arcadia from a relatively early date, at the very beginning of the general diffusion of the cult from Epidauros into the rest of the Peloponnese.

It cannot be considered a coincidence that the earliest sanctuaries known from the literary sources, at Mantinea³⁹ and Tegea,⁴⁰ are also those geographically closest to Epidauros, located at the border with Argolis. All the other early testimonies⁴¹ regarding the establishment of sanctuaries of Asklepios in Arcadia – Gortys and Alipheira, known archaeologically, Thelpousa⁴², Heraia⁴³ and Megalopolis,⁴⁴ known from literary and epigraphical sources – seem to indicate a diffusion of the cult along the Alpheios river and its affluents. (Fig. 7) Such an observation would confirm in itself the Epidaurian character, evidenced by the strong emphasis placed on water in the healing process, of the development of Asklepios cult in the region under consideration. In this process the Asklepieion *du haut* at Gortys and the sanctuary of Alipheira seem to hold key positions, by virtue of the close similarity of their internal arrangements to one another and in turn to the Epidaurian prototype.

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39. According to Pausanias (8.9.1), in the Asklepieion of Mantinea there was a statue of the god made by Alkamenes, which would suggest a date between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century B.C. for the foundation of the cult.

40. Also for the sanctuary of Tegea Pausanias (8.47.1) recalls the existence of a statue of Asklepios made by a major artist of the classical times, Skopas of Paros.

41. We exclude here the cults of Kleitor, Kaphiai and Orchomenos, since they are known only from Roman imperial sources according to the collection of testimonies published in Jost 1985, 493-4.

42. Paus. 8.25.3.

43. *IG V.2*, 416.

44. *IG V.2*, 449.

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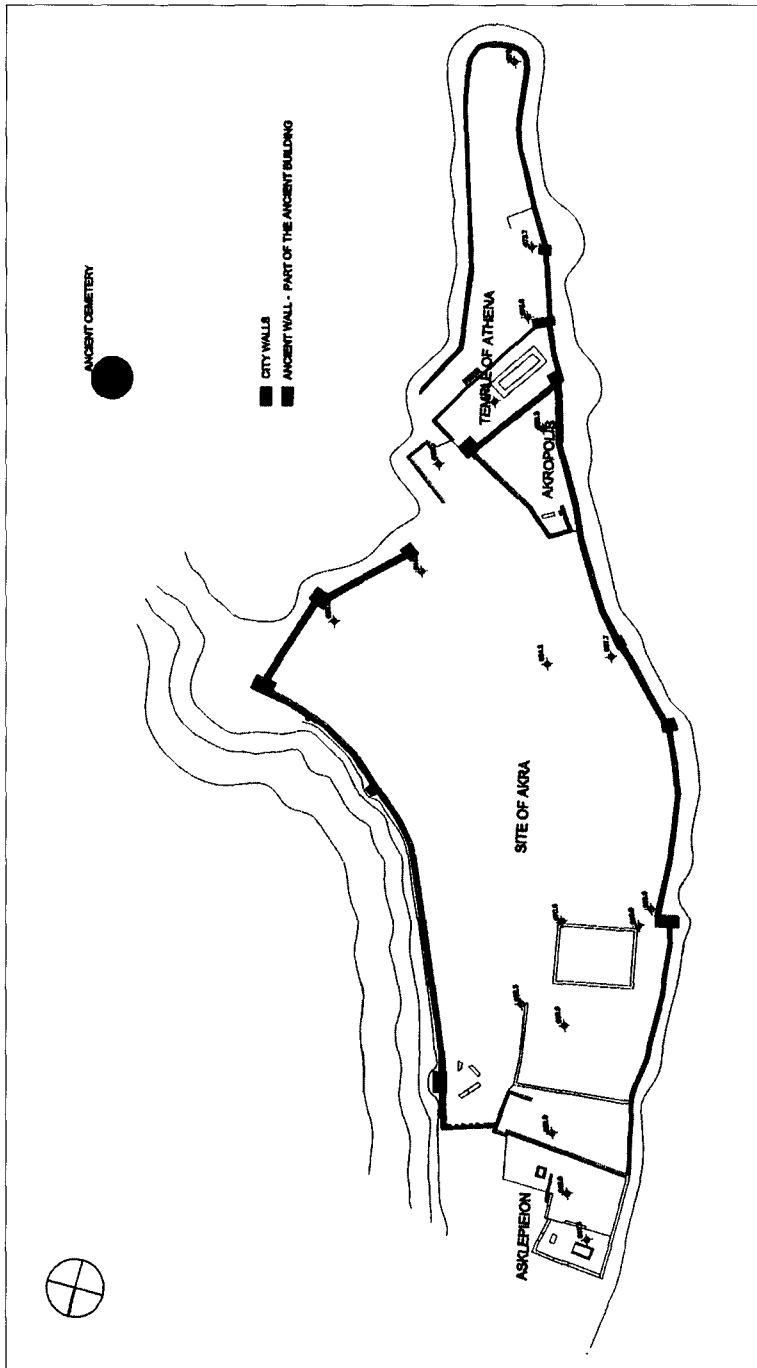


Fig. 1. General plan of the ancient town. (Reworked from Orlandos 1968, pl. 2.)



Fig. 2. The temple of Asklepios. (Photo: S. Alevridis.)



Fig. 3. The τετράγωνο κτίριο in the sanctuary of Asklepios. (Photo: S. Alevridis.)

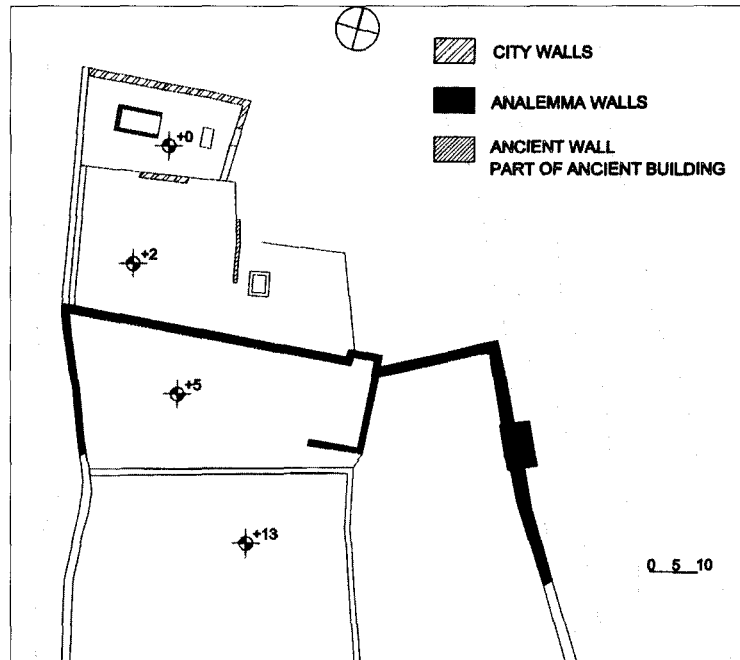


Fig. 4. Site plan of the sanctuary of Asklepios. (Redrawn from Orlandos 1968.)

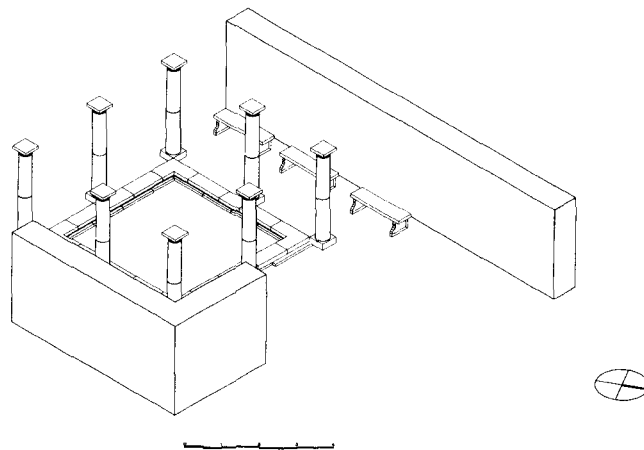


Fig. 5. Hypothetical restoration of the τετράγωνο κτίριο. (Drawing: S. Alevridis.)

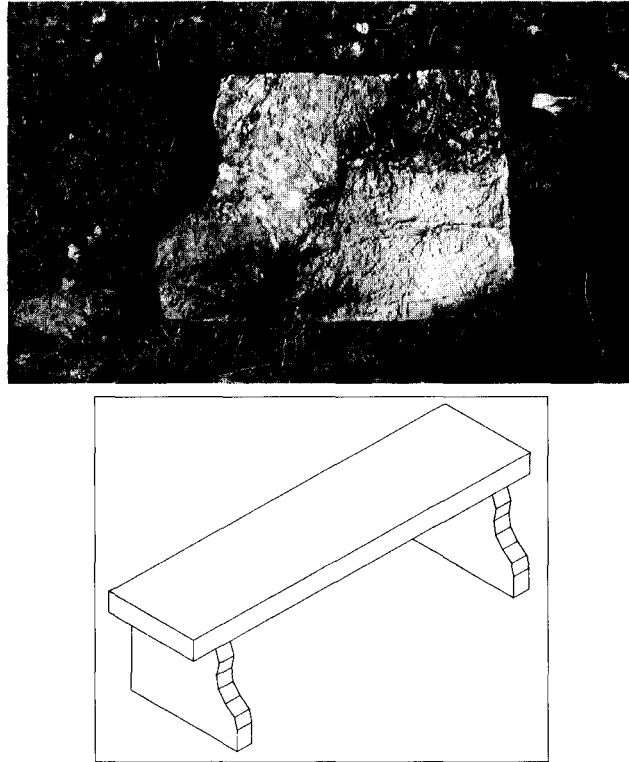


Fig. 6a-b. Foot of the bench and a hypothetical reconstruction. (Photo and drawing: S. Alevridis.)

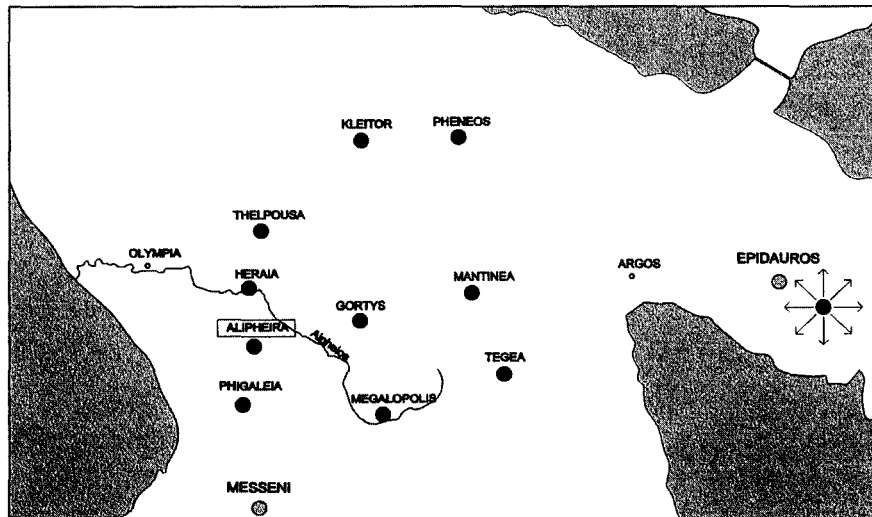


Fig. 7. Distribution map of Asklepios sanctuaries in Arcadia. (Drawing: S. Alevridis.)

Νεότερα στοιχεία για την τοπογραφία της βορειοδυτικής Αρκαδίας*

Γεωργία Ζ. Αλεξοπούλου

This paper presents new evidence provided by the rescue excavations of the 6th Ephorate of Antiquities during the last years as well as by the preliminary survey in the north-western part of Arcadia (the modern district of Kalavryta). This evidence concerns new topographical information: previously unknown cemeteries in the region of Trechlo and Skepato presuppose the existence of important settlements, as well as several new sites discovered elsewhere in the whole region. Furthermore, the discovery of a previously unknown temple site is of great importance. A part of this research deals with the road network. Three main roads connected the most important towns of north-west Arcadia: Psophis, Kleitor and Kynaitha. Some passages and paths are also traced in the same district.

Surface sherds of archaic, classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods as well as selected finds from the rescue excavations add further information.

Αφορμή για την ενασχόλησή μας με την αρχαία τοπογραφία της βορειοδυτι-

* Ευχαριστώ θερμά τον Διευθυντή της ΣΤ΄ Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων κ. Μιχάλη Πετρόπουλο, ο οποίος μου παραχώρησε, απλόχερα όπως πάντα, την άδεια για μελέτη και δημοσίευση του ανασκαφικού και φωτογραφικού υλικού της σωστικής ανασκαφής στο Τρεχλό Καλαβρύτων και τις κάθε είδους διευκολύνσεις που μου παρείχε για τις ανάγκες της δημοσίευσης αυτής. Θα ήθελα, επίσης, να ευχαριστήσω τον καθηγητή κ. Γ. Πίκουλα, ο οποίος με παρότρυνε να παρουσιάσω το θέμα αυτό στο συνέδριο για την Αρχαία Αρκαδία. Εδώ επιχειρείται μια πρώτη παρουσίαση του υλικού, το οποίο αποτελεί μέρος της υπό εκπόνηση διδακτορικής μου διατριβής. Ο αρχαιοφύλακας Χρήστος Τεμπέλης ήταν ο ακούραστος και πάντα πρόθυμος συνεργάτης, τον οποίο θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω και από τη θέση αυτή για τις ποικίλες και σημαντικές πληροφορίες που συγκέντρωνε και μου παρείχε, ως άριστος γνώστης της περιοχής. Ευχαριστίες οφείλονται, τέλος, στις υπομηχανικούς της Εφορείας Λαμπρινή Σταυροπούλου και Γεωργία Παπούλια, στη σχεδιάστρια Μαρία Γκολφινόπουλου, στην αρχαιοφύλακα Αθανασία Γουλιάμη καθώς και στη δακτυλογράφο Βασιλική Χριστοπούλου.

κής Αρκαδίας αποτέλεσε το γεγονός ότι τα τελευταία χρόνια είναι σε εξέλιξη ένα πρόγραμμα ανάδειξης της αρχαίας Ψωφίδος. Το πρόγραμμα άρχισε το 1998, ενώ μέχρι τότε δεν είχε γίνει καμία συστηματική έρευνα. Το 1999 πραγματοποιήθηκε μικρής διάρκειας επιφανειακή έρευνα και το 2001 άρχισαν οι εργασίες μέσα από το Ειδικό Πρόγραμμα Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης (ΕΠΤΑ).¹ Η οχύρωση, που είναι ορατή κατά το μεγαλύτερο μήκος της, τα διάσπαρτα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη, τα νομίσματα, που κατά καιρούς παραδίδονται στην Εφορεία από τους κατοίκους της περιοχής, και τα λίγα ευρήματα που προέρχονται από την Ψωφίδα,² ήταν οι μάρτυρες της πόλης αυτής. Δημιουργήθηκε έτσι επιτακτική ανάγκη για συστηματικότερη μελέτη. Στην παρουσίασή μας δεν θα επεκταθούμε ιδιαίτερος στα θέματα της τοπογραφίας της πόλης της Ψωφίδος, δεδομένου ότι υπάρχει ήδη σχετική αναφορά.³ Δεν θα ήταν δυνατόν, όμως, να μελετάται η πόλη ανεξάρτητα από το ευρύτερο περιβάλλον της και τις σχέσεις της με τις γύρω από αυτήν πόλεις και θέσεις της Αζανίδος Χώρας. Στο πλαίσιο της έρευνάς μας παραθέτουμε τα στοιχεία που έχουν προκύψει είτε μέσα από σωστικές ανασκαφές είτε από αυτοψίες και περιηγήσεις στην ευρύτερη περιοχή.

Η Ψωφίς "...ἔστιν μὲν ὁμολογούμενον καὶ παλαιὸν Ἀρκαδῶν κτίσμα τῆς Ἀζανίδος...".⁴ Βρίσκεται στο βορειοδυτικό τμήμα της Αρκαδίας, στη συμβολή τριῶν ποταμῶν, του Νουσαιῖτικου στα Δ, του Λειβαρτζινού-Αροάνιου στα ΒΑ και του Βερτσιώτικου-Σειραιῖκου στα Α-ΝΑ. Σε αυτή τη συμβολή-συνάντηση των ποταμῶν αναπτύχθηκε η αρχαία πόλη. Υπήρξε μια από τις πιο

1. Το 1998 άρχισε ένα πρόγραμμα ανάδειξης της πόλης χάρις στην προσπάθεια του τότε Προϊστάμενου της ΣΤ΄ Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων και νυν Γενικού Διευθυντή Αρχαιοτήτων κ. Λάζαρου Κολώνα και του Πολιτιστικού Συλλόγου "ΕΡΥΚΙΝΗ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ". Περισσότερα στοιχεία για την πόλη έχουν προκύψει από τις εργασίες που πραγματοποιήθηκαν τα επόμενα χρόνια και συνεχίζονται και σήμερα μέσα από το Ειδικό Πρόγραμμα Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης (ΕΠΤΑ). Οι εργασίες εντάχθηκαν στο Πρόγραμμα αυτό χάρις στο ενδιαφέρον του Προϊσταμένου της ΣΤ΄ Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων κ. Μιχάλη Πετρόπουλου. Για τις εργασίες του 1998 και 1999 βλ. Αλεξοπούλου 2003. Για τις εργασίες του 2001 βλ. στον παρόντα τόμο το άρθρο του Μ. Πετροπούλου.

2. Όπως π.χ. χάλκινη λαβή (Rolley 1963, 472), πήλινες προτομές, πήλινα ειδώλια, λήκυθοι, μικκύλα σκυφίδια. (Στοιχεία αρχείου Εφορείας.) Τα ευρήματα παρεδόθησαν από τον Θ. Τακτικό, κάτοικο Τριποτάμων, το 1953 και είναι καταγεγραμμένα στον κατάλογο Πηλίνων του Μουσείου Πατρών (αφ. ευρ. 571-587).

3. Αλεξοπούλου 2003.

4. Πολύβ. 4.70.3. Απολλ. 11.5.4. Στρ. 8.2.3-3.1. Στέφ. Βυζ., Εθνικών, λ. Ψωφίς, 704-5. Παπανδρέου 1887, 14-28. Παπανδρέου 1906, 230-2. Παπανδρέου α.χ, 56-9. Παπαχατζής 1980, 270-6. Παπανδρέου 1920, 139-46. Leake 1968², 241-51. Πίκουλας 1981-82, 269-81. Πετρόπουλος 1985.

σπουδαίες πόλεις της Αζανίας⁵ και στο σταυροδρόμι πολλών οδών. (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 1)

Τον 5ο αι. π.Χ. στη διάρκεια του Πελοποννησιακού πολέμου, όλοι οι Αρκαάδες μάχονται κατά των Αθηναίων.⁶ Πιθανώς και οι Ψωφίδιοι συμπράττουν με τους υπόλοιπους Αρκαάδες, αν και δεν αναφέρονται από τον Θουκυδίδη. Στα Λεύκτρα συμπολεμούν με τους Σπαρτιάτες κατά των Θηβαίων.⁷ Στα κυριότερα πολεμικά γεγονότα της Ελληνιστικής περιόδου η Ψωφίς συμμετέχει τόσο ως μεμονωμένη πόλη-κράτος όσο και από κοινού με τις άλλες Αρκαδικές πόλεις. Στα 219 π.Χ. ο Φίλιππος Ε΄ της Μακεδονίας καταλαμβάνει την Ψωφίδα και στη συνέχεια την παραδίδει στον Άρατο και την Αχαϊκή Συμπολιτεία. Οι πληροφορίες για τη Ρωμαϊκή εποχή που αφορούν την πόλη είναι ελάχιστες. Κατά τον Α. Ριζάκη⁸ η Ελλάδα δεν μεταβλήθηκε αμέσως σε ρωμαϊκή επαρχία, αλλά λειτούργησε υπό ένα καθεστώς ιδιόμορφης ελευθερίας, που δεν ήταν βέβαια απόλυτη, καθώς βρισκόταν υπό την επίβλεψη του ανθυπάτου της Μακεδονίας. Τονίζει ότι η περίοδος χαρακτηρίζεται όχι μόνο από την απουσία αρχαιολογικών καταλοίπων, αλλά και από τη διακοπή της νομισματοκοπίας και των εμπορικών συναλλαγών. Ο πληθυσμός των πόλεων μειώνεται και τα αστικά κέντρα αγροτοποιούνται. Κατά την πρώιμη Πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδο, σταδιακά επικρατεί ο χριστιανισμός στην περιοχή, όπως και στην υπόλοιπη Πελοπόννησο, που έκτοτε ακολουθεί τις τύχες του βυζαντινού κράτους.⁹ Αργότερα οι επιδρομές του Γότθου και Αρειανού Αλάριχου δημιουργούν σημαντικά προβλήματα στην πόλη και την ευρύτερη περιοχή της.¹⁰ Κατά τη διάρκεια της Τουρκοκρατίας σημειώνονται πολλές καταστροφές και το αρχαίο οικοδομικό υλικό χρησιμοποιείται για την ανοικοδόμηση της Μονής Κοιμήσεως Θεοτόκου. Επι πλέον ο σύγχρονος οικισμός Τριποτάμων καταλαμβάνει μέρος της αρχαίας πόλης και ο ομαλός χώρος εντός των τειχών παραδίδεται στη γεωργική και κτηνοτροφική εκμετάλλευση.¹¹ Η συνεχής χρήση του χώρου αλλοίωσε την εικόνα του και δυσχέρανε τον εντοπισμό και την ταύτιση των μνημείων της.

Οι τρεις κύριες πύλες που έχουν ήδη εντοπισθεί, συνδέονται με ισάριθμους σημαντικούς δρόμους που ένωσαν την Ψωφίδα με άλλα σημαντικά κέντρα της Πελοποννήσου. Την πορεία των δρόμων, καθώς και ορισμένων διακλαδώσεών τους, εντοπίσαμε κυρίως με πεζοπορία.

5. Για το έθνος των Αζάνων και τη χώρα τους βλ. Πίκουλας 1981-82.

6. Θουκ. 2.9.2.

7. Θουκ. 5.57.

8. Βλ. Ριζάκης 1987-88, 2 κ.ε.

9. Πετρόπουλος 1999, 45.

10. Χρυσός 1981-82, και Βελισάριος 1991.

11. Αλεξοπούλου 2003, 173.

Η δυτική πύλη εντοπίστηκε κοντά στην κοίτη του ποταμού Ερυμάνθου.¹² Από αυτήν εκκινεί ένας κύριος δρόμος (Χάρτης 2, Δ1), που διασταυρώνεται στους δυτικούς πρόποδες της οροσειράς του σημερινού Αστρά με άλλον που κατευθύνεται προς τον Λασσιώνα και την Πισάτιδα. (Χάρτης 2, Δ2) Ο δρόμος αυτός συνεχίζει προς δυσμάς και θα πρέπει να διέρχεται δυτικά της πόλης του Οπούντος, που ανήκει στην Ακρώρεια. Από το σημείο αυτό ένα παρακλάδι του κάμπτεται προς Βορράν και θα πρέπει να έφθανε στην αρχαία Τρίτεια,¹³ ενώ η προς Δυσμάς πορεία του καταλήγει στην αρχαία Ήλιδα.¹⁴ (Χάρτης 2, Δ3)

Η βορειοανατολική πλευρά του τείχους της Ψωφίδος στη θέση 'Πόρτες', εκεί όπου υπάρχει και η ανατολική πύλη,¹⁵ δηλώνει τον κύριο οδικό άξονα που συνδέει την Ψωφίδα με τον Κλείτορα,¹⁶ τους Λουσούς¹⁷ (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 22) και την Κύναιθα προς τα ανατολικά. Ένα τμήμα του ακολουθούσε τον ρου του Λειβαρτζινού-Αροάνιου ποταμού και άλλο ταυτίζεται με τη σημερινή επαρχιακή οδό που οδηγεί προς Καλάβρυτα. (Χάρτης 2, Δ4) Από τον κύριο αυτόν άξονα, που οδηγεί προς Κλείτορα, Λουσούς και Κύναιθα είχαμε υποθέσει ότι θα πρέπει να ξεκινούσε ένας ακόμα αρχαίος δρόμος, που θα οδηγούσε προς το αρχαίο Λεόντιο.¹⁸ Την υπόθεσή μας αυτή επιβεβαιώσαμε επιτόπου ακολουθώντας ένα παλιό μονοπάτι, το οποίο ξεκινά από τον κύριο άξονα που οδηγεί προς Κλείτορα και Λουσούς, διέρχεται αριστερά του χωριού Λεχούρι (Χάρτης 2, Δ5), διασχίζει τις νοτιοδυτικές υπώρειες του βουνού Προφήτης Ηλίας στα δεξιά και την όχθη του χειμάρρου Βούλιακα αριστερά και συνεχίζει προς τα βόρεια μέσα από τις θέσεις Κεφαλόβρυσο, Κορδέλες ή Στροφές, Ράχη, Αλώνια, Αφροξυλιά, Άνω Βλασία και καταλήγει στο λόφο Καστρίτσι, τα ερείπια του οποίου ταυτίζονται με το αρχαίο Λεόντιο.¹⁹ (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 2, και Χάρτης 2, Δ6) Κατά τον Γ. Πίκουλα ένας δρόμος ξεκι-

12. Αλεξοπούλου 1999, υπό έκδοση.

13. Παπαχατζής 1980, 132.

14. Η πορεία αυτού του δρόμου δεν έχει επιβεβαιωθεί σε όλο το μήκος του. Για την ύπαρξή του γίνεται αναφορά και από τον Γ. Πίκουλα. Για το θέμα βλ. Pikoulas 1999β, 248 κ.ε.

15. Παπανδρέου 1920, 130.

16. Ο οδικός αυτός άξονας, που οδηγούσε στον Κλείτορα, κατέληγε στη δυτική πύλη. Για το θέμα βλ. Πετριτάκη 1996.

17. Το Αυστριακό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο ανέσκαψε το 1898 και 1899 το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Ημερασίας υπό τη διεύθυνση των W. Reichel και A. Wilhelm. Από το 1981 ξανάρχισε η συστηματική ανασκαφή υπό τη διεύθυνση της κ. V. Mitsopoulos-Leon μέχρι το 2001 και έκτοτε υπό τη διεύθυνση του κ. G. Ladstätter.

18. Πρόκειται για το Λεόντιο της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας. Μερικοί μελετητές τοποθετούν την πόλη αυτή στο σημερινό χωριό Λεόντιο (Γουρζούμισσα). Για το θέμα βλ. Παπαχατζής 1980, 132 κ.ε.

19. Yalouris 1959, 620. Rizakis 1995, 308.

νούσε από τον Κλείτορα και διαμέσου του αυχένα του Πριολίθου έφθανε στην κοιλάδα του Ερασίνου (Βουραϊκού) ποταμού, στην Κύναιθα και συνέχιζε βορειότερα προς την Αχαΐα.²⁰ (Χάρτης 2, Δ9) Το κομμάτι αυτό του δρόμου θα πρέπει να συναντάται ή να αποτελεί τη συνέχεια εκείνου που έχει διερευνήσει ο Μ. Πετρόπουλος. Πρόκειται για το δρόμο που έχει ως αφητηρία το Αίγιο, κατευθύνεται προς Ν-ΝΔ, διέρχεται από την Τραπεζά (Κούμαρη), Άνω Μαζαράκι (Ρακίτα) και φτάνει στους Λουσούς.²¹ (Χάρτης 2, Δ9) Δεξιά του χωριού Λεχούρι ακολουθήσαμε ένα άλλο μονοπάτι, το οποίο διαμέσου των θέσεων Μάνη, Αγ. Μαρίνα, Κρύα Βρύση οδηγεί στο Μάνεσι.²² (Χάρτης 2, Δ7) Κατά τον Γ. Πίκουλα από το Λεχούρι ξεκινά και ένα μονοπάτι και δια των θέσεων Γαύρος, Αλογόραχη, Καπρίβαινα φθάνει στην Κέρτεζη. (Χάρτης 2, Δ8)

Από τη βορειοδυτική πύλη του Κλείτορος²³ (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 3) ακολουθήσαμε ένα μονοπάτι με κατεύθυνση προς Β και τις δυτικές υπώρειες του βουνού Προφήτης Ηλίας. Διέρχεται από το δάσος των δρυών του συνοικισμού Λεύκης Σιγουνίου²⁴ (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 4), παραπλεύρως της θέσης Ρημοκλήσι κοντά στην πηγή του ποταμού Ζούγρα. Το μονοπάτι ακολουθώντας κατευθύνεται προς τις δυτικές υπώρειες άλλου βουνού, που ονομάζεται επίσης Προφήτης Ηλίας και ανήκει εδαφικά στο δημοτικό διαμέρισμα Σιγουνίου Δήμου Καλαβρύτων και καταλήγει στο λεκανοπέδιο των Λουσών, όπου και η ομώνυμη αρκαδική πόλη.²⁵ (Χάρτης 2, Δ10) Μια άλλη διαδρομή έχει ανιχνεύσει ο Γ. Πίκουλας (Χάρτης 2, Δ12), περίπου παράλληλη με τη Δ10, η οποία ξεκινάει βόρεια του Κλείτορα και δια μέσου των θέσεων Άνω Κλειτορία, Καρνέσι, Σιγούνι καταλήγει στους Λουσούς.²⁶ Η κύρια σύνδεση Κλείτορος – Λουσών, κατά το μελετητή, γίνεται από τα ανατολικά από τη διάβαση των Καστριών,²⁷ επειδή η γεωμορφολογία είναι ομαλή.

Από τη νοτιοδυτική πύλη της Ψωφίδος μια άλλη αρτηρία έφθανε στη Θέλουσα,²⁸ μέσω του Αφροδισίου Όρους.²⁹ (Χάρτης 2, Δ13) Ο οδικός αυτός ά-

20. Πίκουλας 1999α.

21. Petropoulos 2002, 156-7.

22. Βλ. παρακάτω.

23. Πετριτάκη 1996, 84.

24. Πετρόπουλος 1984.

25. Πάνω από το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Ημερασίας στο λόφο του Προφήτη Ηλία και στο συνοικισμό Χαμάκου ο Μ. Πετρόπουλος εντόπισε την ακρόπολη της πόλης των Λουσών. Για το θέμα βλ. Πετρόπουλος 1984, 104, και Πετρόπουλος 1985, 63 κ.ε.

26. Πίκουλας 1999α, 138.

27. Πίκουλας 1999α, 138.

28. Παπαχατζής 1980, 275, και ειδικότερα υποσ. 3.

29. Στη θέση Άγιος Πέτρος στο Αφροδίσιο Όρος η Χρ. Καρδαρά έχει ανασκάψει ιερό, το οποίο ταυτίζει με το ιερό της Ερυνικής Αφροδίτης, βλ. Καρδαρά 1988. Ο Μ. Πετρόπουλος έχει υποθέσει ότι το ιερό, το ανασκαφέν από την Χρ. Καρδαρά, δεν πρέπει να είναι της

ξονας θα πρέπει να διακλαδιζόταν στις Σειρές και δια των θέσεων Ίσωμα, ΝΔ υπώρειες λόφου Αλωνάκια, κάμπος Πάου³⁰ (Σκουπιτσιού), νότιες υπώρειες λόφου Ξυλοβόλι (μεταξύ Προφήτη Ηλία και του σημερινού χωριού Πεύκου), Άγιος Αθανάσιος Αμυγδαλιάς (Μαμαλούκα) θα κατέληγε στην Κλειτορία και στην επάνω κοιλάδα του Λάδωνος.³¹ (Χάρτης 2, Δ13) Στην κορυφή του λόφου Άγιος Αθανάσιος, πρόβουνο του βουνού Προφήτης Ηλίας, υπάρχουν δύο πλατώματα που δεν ξεπερνούν τα 60 μ. σε μήκος και τα 20 μ. σε πλάτος. Από το λόφο αυτόν ελέγχεται η κοιλάδα του Λάδωνος, μια από τις πιο γραφικές τοποθεσίες του Καλαβρυτινού χώρου, που από τα βορειοανατολικά του έχει άμεση οπτική επαφή με τον Κλείτορα. (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 3) Τα δύο πλατώματα έχουν υψομετρική διαφορά 4-5 μ. Στο άνω πλάτωμα σώζεται θεμέλιο μεγάλου οικοδομήματος, διεύθυνσης ΒΑ-ΝΔ, για το οποίο ο Γ. Παπανδρέου αναφέρει ότι είναι μήκους 30 μ., πλάτους 10 μ. και ότι πιθανώς ανήκει σε βυζαντινή Μονή.³² Αλλά το σωζόμενο θεμέλιο είναι ασφαλώς αρχαίο και οι λιθόπλινθοί του έχουν λειασμένη την άνω επιφάνειά τους. Ο Γ. Πίκουλας θεωρεί ότι ο λόφος αυτός είναι μια εκ των τριών οχυρών θέσεων του Κλείτορος, που εντάσσονται στο αμυντικό του δίκτυο και τοποθετεί σε αυτόν το ιερό της Κορίας Αθηνάς.³³ Κατά την αυτοψία μας περισυνελέγησαν όστρακα γεωμετρικής εποχής³⁴ και ένα τμήμα πήλινης μορφής, πιθανώς γυναικείας.

Από το χωριό Αμυγδαλιά, που είναι κτισμένο στις δυτικές υπώρειες του παραπάνω λόφου, προέρχονται δύο σύνολα νομισμάτων, που βρίσκονται στο Νομισματικό Μουσείο Αθηνών: το πρώτο περιλαμβάνει πέντε ασημένια νομίσματα (Βοιωτίας, Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας, Κλειτορίας και Άργους) και το δεύτερο εννέα χάλκινα νομίσματα (Θυρρείου Ακαρνανίας, Κορίνθου, Φλιούντος, Αιγείρας, Σικυώνος και Αρκαδίας).³⁵

Ερυνκίνης Αφροδίτης, διότι βρίσκεται μακριά από την Χώρα των Ψωφιδίων, βλ. Πετρόπουλος 1985, 63. Για περισσότερα στοιχεία βλ. στον παρόντα τόμο την ανακοίνωση του Γ.Α. Πίκουλα.

30. Παπανδρέου 1887, 54-67. Παπανδρέου 1920, 121-9. Παπαχατζής 1980, 269. Πετρόπουλος 1985, 67.

31. Πίκουλας 1999α.

32. Παπανδρέου 1906, 278.

33. Πίκουλας 1999α, 149 κ.ε. Píkoula 1999β, 302.

34. Ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό είναι ένα όστρακο κωνικής βάσης αγγείου, πιθανώς κρατήρα, με ψηλό πόδι, την εξωτερική επιφάνεια του οποίου περιτρέχουν μελανές επάλληλες ταινίες. Ανήκει στο πρώτο μισό του 8ου αι. π.Χ., αλλά ο τύπος αυτός απαντά σε όλη τη διάρκεια της γεωμετρικής εποχής (Brann 1962, πίν. 2 αρ. 20 και πίν. 5 αρ. 92, 93· Blegen 1964, πίν. 7 αρ. 17-3). Άλλο όστρακο βάσης κυπέλλου ή σκύφου με μελανές οριζόντιες ταινίες χρονολογείται στον ύστερο 8ο αι. π.Χ. (Brann 1962, πίν. 10 αρ. 192).

35. Varoucha-Christodoulou 1962, 426.

Εκτός από τα παραπάνω, που αφορούν στο οδικό δίκτυο, θα αναφερθούμε και σε ορισμένες θέσεις, στις οποίες εντοπίστηκαν αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα, που εμπλουτίζουν τις γνώσεις μας για την τοπογραφία της περιοχής αυτής. Οι θέσεις αυτές προέκυψαν είτε μέσα από σωστικές ανασκαφές, οι οποίες έχουν πραγματοποιηθεί τα τελευταία χρόνια, είτε είναι εντελώς νέες θέσεις.

Στο χωριό Τρεχλό Καλαβρύτων και στη θέση 'Σκαμιά' ερευνήθηκαν έξι ταφικοί πίθοι (Σχέδ. 1), ημικατεστραμμένοι.³⁶ (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 6) Μόνο του πίθου 6 ήταν δυνατόν να μετρηθεί το εσωτερικό ύψος (1,88 μ.). Και οι έξι ήταν τοποθετημένοι σε μια σειρά με τα στόμιά τους στα βόρεια, τα οποία εφφράσσοντο με μια ασβεστολιθική πλάκα, που εξωτερικά στηριζόταν σε όρθια θέση με αργούς λίθους. Οι πίθοι κατέληγαν σε κυλινδρικό πόδι. Οι πέντε εξ αυτών περιείχαν κανονικές ταφές σε στάση πλαγίως οκλάζοντος, ενώ ένας περιείχε δευτερογενή καύση. Όλοι ήταν κτερισμένοι. Τα αγγεία τους χρονολογούνται στους πρώιμους αρχαϊκούς χρόνους.³⁷

Στο χωριό Κρονονέρι Καλαβρύτων (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 7) σε αυτοψία διαπιστώθηκε καταστροφή κεραμοσκεπών τάφων,³⁸ κατά τη διάνοιξη αγροτικού δρόμου. Από την ίδια περιοχή προέρχονται και τέσσερα αγγεία που χρονολογούνται στο τέλος της υστερογεωμετρικής - αρχές πρώιμης αρχαϊκής εποχής.³⁹

Στο χωριό Φλάμπουρα Καλαβρύτων (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 8), το οποίο είναι κτισμένο στις βορειοδυτικές υπώρειες του βουνού Κοκορέτσα, μέσα στο σημερινό νεκροταφείο και κατά τη διάνοιξη σύγχρονου οικογενειακού τάφου ανασκάφηκε πιθάρι, που βρέθηκε όρθιο *in situ*, ακέραιο. Είχε σπάσει στην αρχαιότητα και είχε συγκολληθεί με δύο μολύβδινους συνδέσμους.⁴⁰ Η παρουσία του πίθου σε συνδυασμό με τα άφθονα επιφανειακά κεραμίδια που υπάρχουν στο χώρο, μας οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι πρόκειται για αποθηκευτικό πιθάρι και όχι ταφικό. Το εσωτερικό ύψος του ήταν 1,10 μ., διάμετρος εσωτερική 0,85 μ. και διάμετρος στομίου 0,50 μ. Το πιθάρι είχε τοποθετηθεί σε στρώμα που περιείχε όστρακα γεωμετρικών και αρχαϊκών χρόνων. Στον ευρύτερο χώρο εντοπίστηκαν οικοδομικά κατάλοιπα υστερορωμαϊκών και βυζαντινών χρόνων. Από τη θέση 'Βελβίνικο' του χωριού παρεδόθη στο Μουσείο

36. Πετρόπουλος 1998, υπό εκτύπωση. Επίσης στη θέση 'Πουρνάρες' του οικισμού Λαπάτα Τρεχλού, κατά τη διάνοιξη αγροτικού δρόμου ερευνήθηκαν δύο κιβωτιόσχημοι τάφοι ακτέριστοι με το κρανίο προς δυσμάς, πιθανώς χριστιανικοί, βλ. Πετρόπουλος 1989, 137.

37. Πρόκειται για πέντε κάρθαρους του ψηλού τύπου, μια κορινθιακή κοτύλη και ένα χυτροειδές χειροποίητο αγγείο με έξω νεύον χείλος. Πρβλ. Γκαδόλου 2000, 120-3.

38. Πετρόπουλος 1997α, 296.

39. Δύο κάρθαροι, μία λήκυθος-οινοχόη και ένας ατύβαλλος. Δεκουλάκου 1982, 219-35. Γκαδόλου 2000, 118-20.

40. Πετρόπουλος 1995.

Πατρών το 1967 υστερογεωμετρικός κήρυκος που προερχόταν από πίθο.⁴¹

Κατά τη διάνοιξη-βελτίωση του υπάρχοντος δρόμου από Φλάμπουρα προς Μεγάλο Μποντιά, στη θέση 'Λίμνα', ανασκάφηκε ταφικός περίβολος και κεραμοσκεπής τάφος. Από τα όστρακα που περισυνελέγησαν χρονολογείται στους ύστερους κλασικούς χρόνους.⁴²

Στο Μάνεσι (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 9) και στη θέση 'Βρωμονέρι', όπου και το γνωστό μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο,⁴³ κατά τη διάνοιξη αγροτικού δρόμου αποκαλύφθηκαν στο πρηνές χαμηλού λόφου οι δρόμοι επτά θαλαμοειδών μυκηναϊκών τάφων, οι οποίοι είχαν ανασκαφεί στο τέλος της δεκαετίας του '30. Ερευνήθηκε ένας λαξευτός τάφος, σχήματος ακανόνιστου ελλειψοειδούς, διαστ. 2,70 x 0,65 μ. και με προσανατολισμό Α-Δ. Η νότια πλευρά είχε καταστραφεί από το μηχάνημα και η είσοδός του φρασσόταν με ξερολιθιά, πλάτους 0,30 μ. Περιείχε ύπτιο σκελετό με το αριστερό χέρι στο στήθος. Βρέθηκαν δύο σφονδύλια από στεατίτη και τμήμα μόνωτου κυπέλλου.⁴⁴

Στην κορυφή του λόφου 'Κάστρο' ή 'Σκυλόλακας', που βρίσκεται ανατολικά της Κοκορέτσας, υπάρχει ένα μικρό οχυρωμένο πλάτωμα (Εικ. 1) διαμέτρου 30 μ.⁴⁵ (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 10) Στα νότια και ανατολικά οι πλαγιές είναι απότομες, στα δυτικά δύσβατες και ο λόφος είναι βατός μόνον από τα βόρεια. Στα ανατολικά οι κάθετες πλαγιές του λόφου καθώς και του απέναντι λόφου Ράϊκου⁴⁶ συγκλίνουν, δημιουργώντας ένα στενό πέρασμα, από το οποίο διέρχεται ο σημερινός επαρχιακός δρόμος που οδηγεί στα Καλάβρυτα. Το τμήμα αυτό του σύγχρονου δρόμου αντιστοιχεί στον αρχαίο. (Εικ. 2)

Η οχύρωση ακολουθεί την οφρύ του λόφου και είναι χτισμένη από πλακοειδείς λίθους ντόπιου γκρίζου ασβεστόλιθου (διαστ. 0,47-0,50 x 0,40 μ. πλάτος και 0,11-0,20 μ. πάχος) τοποθετημένους σε οριζόντιες στρώσεις. Οι λίθοι της άνω στρώσης τέμνουν κατά μήκος την κατώτερη σειρά. Το πλάτος (πάχος) της οχύρωσης κυμαίνεται από 1,20 έως 1,30 μ.

Η οχύρωση αυτή δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ακρόπολη, αλλά ένα μικρό οχυρό, πιθανώς ανάλογο με εκείνο της Κέρτεζης.⁴⁷ Στα βορειοανατολικά ενισχύεται με ορθογώνιο πύργο, διαστ. 3 x 3 μ. Το οχυρό ελέγχει το πέρασμα, έχει οπτική επαφή προς ανατολάς με το Κάστρο της Ωρυάς (Κάστρο Καλαβρύτων)

41. Μαστροκάστας 1967α, πίν. 155 β. Πρβλ. Γκαδόλου 2000, 123-4, η οποία χρονολογεί το αγγείο αυτό στους πρώιμους αρχαϊκούς χρόνους.

42. Αλεξοπούλου 1996.

43. Κυπαρίσσης 1929, 91. Κυπαρίσσης 1930, 87.

44. Πετρόπουλος 1997β.

45. Λακάκη 1987α.

46. Στη θέση Ράϊκου έχουν ερευνηθεί τάφοι παλαιοχριστιανικών χρόνων, βλ. Παπάζογλου 1982α.

47. Πίκουλας 1991.

και προς βορράν με την Γουμένισσα (Βουσάρι). Και αυτό το οχυρό εντάσσεται στο αμυντικό πρόγραμμα της περιοχής. Μετά από την ανασκαφή θα αποσαφηνιστούν ο ακριβής προσορισμός του και η χρονολόγησή του. Λόγω των πεσμένων λιθοπλίνθων σε όλο το μήκος του τείχους δεν εντοπίστηκε πύλη εισόδου.⁴⁸ Η κεραμική που περισυνελέγη είναι εφθαρμένη.

Στη θέση 'Ξερόκαμπος' του δημοτικού διαμερισματος Σκεπαστού (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 11), η οποία βρίσκεται βόρεια της Αγίας Λαύρας και παραπλεύρως της επαρχιακής οδού Πατρών – Χαλανδρίτσας – Καλαβρύτων, κατά τη διάνοξη αρδευτικής τάφρου ήλθαν στο φως τέσσερις ταφικοί πίθοι.⁴⁹ Η συγκεκριμένη θέση καταλαμβάνει μεγάλο τμήμα, που εκτείνεται σε μήκος 1.500 μ. και πλάτος 700 μ. περίπου. Οι τέσσερις ταφικοί πίθοι ήταν κατεστραμμένοι, πλην ενός, τοποθετημένοι στη σειρά και είχαν προσανατολισμό Β-Ν. Το στόμιό τους εφράσσετο με πλακοειδείς λίθους και οι νεκροί ήταν σε συνεσταλμένη στάση. Οι πίθοι κατέληγαν σε κυλινδρικό πόδι. Ο καλύτερα σωζόμενος (ύψους 1,50 μ., διαμ. κοιλίας 0,80 μ.) περιείχε κτερισμένη ταφή (Εικ. 3), την οποία συνόδευαν αγγεία και μετάλλια αντικείμενα που χρονολογούνται στους πρωτογεωμετρικούς χρόνους.⁵⁰

Βορειότερα της αρδευτικής αύλακος και σε απόσταση 1.300 μ. περίπου πραγματοποιήθηκε σωστική ανασκαφική έρευνα σε δύο όμορα οικόπεδα. Στο ένα, ιδιοκτησίας Εργοστασίου 'Αχαϊκές Πρωτεΐνες' αποκαλύφθηκε συστάδα τεσσάρων πίων, σε βάθος 1,25 μ. από την επιφάνεια του εδάφους.⁵¹ Είχαν προσανατολισμό ΒΑ-ΝΔ και περίπου τις ίδιες διαστάσεις (ύψος 1,62-1,70 μ., διαμ. κοιλίας 0,80-1,10 μ.) Κατέληγαν σε κυλινδρικό πόδι. Και το στόμιο των πίων αυτών, όπως και του Τρεχλού φραζόταν από ασβεστολιθικές πλάκες. Οι νεκροί ήταν σε συνεσταλμένη στάση και ακτέριστοι. Νότια των πίων και σε βάθος 1,85 μ. από την επιφάνεια του εδάφους μέσα σε στρώμα ποταμίστων χαλικιών αποκαλύφθηκε χυτροειδές, χειροποίητο αγγείο πρωτογεωμετρικής εποχής, σε κακή κατάσταση.⁵² Από το στρώμα αυτό περισυνελέγησαν όστρακα γεωμετρικών χρόνων.

Στο όμορο οικόπεδο, το οποίο ήταν νότια του προηγούμενου, ιδιοκτησίας

48. Σύμφωνα με μαρτυρίες των βοσκών της περιοχής η θέση αυτή χρησιμοποιήθηκε και στην περίοδο της Γερμανικής Κατοχής.

49. Αλεξοπούλου 2000α, υπό έκδοση.

50. Πρόκειται για μια οινοχόη με ταινιωτή λαβή και μελανή στιλπνή βαφή – εκτός από μια ζώνη άβαφη στην εξωτερική επιφάνεια του χείλους (για τον τύπο βλ. Desborough 1952, πίν. 29 C, αρ. A22), δύο σφηκωτήρες και βελόνη πόρπης, η οποία φαίνεται να είχε χρησιμοποιηθεί ως περόνη. Πρβλ. Coldstream 1977, 173-5, για την χρονολογία τέτοιου υλικού.

51. Αλεξοπούλου 2001, υπό έκδοση.

52. Γκαδόλου 2000, πίν. 80, αρ. Κ7. Ανάλογο αγγείο ως προς το σχήμα προέρχεται από τη Γαβαλού (αρχαίο Τριχόνιον) Αιτωλίας, Σταυροπούλου-Γάτση 1980, με πίν. 37 β.

Δήμου Καλαβρύτων, κατά τη διάρκεια εκσκαφικών εργασιών για την κατασκευή Εργοστασίου Βιολογικού Καθαρισμού, ερευνήθηκε σε βάθος 1,45 μ. από την επιφάνεια του εδάφους, οικογενειακός τάφος, πεταλόσχημος ή αφιδωτός⁵³ διαστ. 1,72 x 0,92 μ. Οι ταφές ήταν ακτέριστες. Η Λ. Παρλαμά θεωρεί ότι ο τύπος αυτός των τάφων, που έχει ερευνηθεί στη Μεσσηνία, γεννήθηκε από την ΜΕ οικία. Πιστεύει ότι είναι τύπος καθαρός μεσσηνιακός, αν και αφήνει ανοικτό το ενδεχόμενο της κρητικής επίδρασης. Επι πλέον ο τύπος αυτός των τάφων καλύπτει μια ευρεία περίοδο από το τέλος της ΜΕ εποχής έως τους Πρωτογεωμετρικούς χρόνους.⁵⁴ Περισυνελέγησαν αρκετά όστρακα, οι τύποι των οποίων ξεκινούν από την Πρωτογεωμετρική και φτάνουν έως τη Γεωμετρική και πρώιμη Αρχαϊκή εποχή.⁵⁵ Μεταξύ των οστράκων ξεχωρίζουν δύο, τα οποία συνανήκουν, με χρώμα πηλού γκριζοπράσινο. Φέρουν διακόσμηση επάλληλων οριζόντιων μελανών λεπτών ταινιών, διακόσμηση που διαρκεί από την Πρωτογεωμετρική έως την Αρχαϊκή εποχή.⁵⁶ Το νεκροταφείο προφανώς καταλαμβάνει μια μεγάλη έκταση.

Εκτός από τα ευρήματα των τριών σωστικών ανασκαφών η θέση 'Ξερόκαμπος' του Σκεπαστού παρουσιάζει και τοπογραφικό ενδιαφέρον, διότι βρίσκεται πολύ κοντά στην περιοχή της Σάλμενας, όπου μερικοί μελετητές τοποθετούν την αρχαία Κύναιθα. Κατ' άλλους η αρχαία πόλη βρίσκεται στο Κάστρο της Ωρυάς (Κάστρο Καλαβρύτων).⁵⁷ Ο Μ. Πετρόπουλος προτείνει δύο θέσεις για την αρχαία Κύναιθα.⁵⁸ Η πρώτη αφορά το Βρυσάρι ή το Δροσάτο. Στο Βρυσάρι (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 12) έχει εντοπισθεί και ερευνηθεί νεκροταφείο της ύστερης μυκηναϊκής περιόδου⁵⁹ και στο Δροσάτο (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 13) σε διάφορες θέσεις, και στις ακατοίκητες σήμερα όχθες του ποταμού Σελινούντα, έχουν εντοπισθεί αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων, τα οποία ενισχύουν την άποψη για την ύπαρξη κάποιας αταύτιστης πόλης.⁶⁰ Θεωρεί ότι για την ταύτιση της θέσης με την Κύναιθα συνηγορεί το γεγονός ότι βρίσκεται αμέσως μετά τη χώρα των Πατρών και Φαρραίων με τη σειρά που αναφέρει ο Πολύβιος.⁶¹ Η δεύτερη θέση είναι στην περιοχή

53. Αλεξοπούλου 2001, υπό έκδοση.

54. Παρλαμά 1976. Moschos 2000, 18.

55. Όστρακα κανθάρων ή σκύφων και κωνικές βάσεις αγγείων με στυλινή βαφή. Γκαδόλου 2000, πίν. 23 ι και 58 γ.

56. Γκαδόλου 2000, πίν. 23 στ, 45 β και 53 α.

57. Για τη θέση Σάλμενα και την αρχαία Κύναιθα βλ. Πίκουλας 1980-81, όπου αναλύει διεξοδικά το θέμα της αρχαίας πόλης Κύναιθας και την σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

58. Πετρόπουλος 1985, 65-6.

59. Κυπαρίσσης 1925-26, 43 κ.ε. Γιαλούρης 1960, 138. Παπαποστόλου 1978. Παπάζογλου 1982α. Papadopoulos 1979.

60. Παπανδρέου α.χ., 258. Κυπαρίσσης 1925-26, 44. Παπάζογλου 1982β. Λακάκη 1987β.

61. Πολύβ. 4.25.4.

του Πριολίθου, την οποία προτείνει όχι τόσο για τα αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα όσο για την επίκαιρη θέση που κατέχει και ελέγχει την εύφορη κοιλάδα του Βουραϊκού ποταμού. Στο χωριό Κάνδαλος (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 21) και στο κωνικό ύψωμα Μπουρή έχουν εντοπισθεί ίχνη προϊστορικής κατοίκησης.⁶² Επίσης από τον Πριόλιθο (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 14), και από τη θέση 'Λάκκωμα', προέρχονται ένα μελαμβαφής κάρναρος και μια οινοχόη πρωτογεωμετρικών χρόνων⁶³ και από τη θέση 'Κοκκόρη' προέρχεται θησαυρός του βου αιώνα μ.Χ.⁶⁴ Το γεωμετρικό νεκροταφείο στη Σάλμενα είναι μια νέα αρχαιολογική θέση ανάμεσα στον Πριόλιθο και το κάστρο της Ωρυάς (κάστρο Καλαβρύτων). Μήπως η Σάλμενα είναι ένα από τα 'ύποπτα' σημεία της περιοχής για την ταύτιση της Κύναιθας, όπως χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρει ο Γ. Πίκουλας;⁶⁵ Η θέση οπωσδήποτε κρίνεται σημαντική, διότι θα δώσει πρόσθετο ενδιαφέρον στη διερεύνηση του χαρακτήρα του πολιτισμού που αναπτύχθηκε στην περιοχή και ενδεχομένως στις σχέσεις της με άλλες περιοχές.

Στα ΝΔ του Κάστρου της Ωρυάς (Κάστρου Καλαβρύτων) (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 15), κατά τη διάρκεια εκσκαφικών εργασιών ανέγερσης πολυτελών οικιών ιδιοκτησίας Στάθη Μουτζουρούλια και πλησίον του ναυδρίου της Αγίας Παρασκευής, ήλθε στο φως κεραμοσκεπής τάφος, που περιείχε παιδική ταφή. Σε δύο σωζόμενα τμήματα καλυπτήριας κεραμίδας του τάφου εσώζετο στο ένα η επιγραφή ΑΡΙ< και στο άλλο το γράμμα Ν (ύψος γραμμάτων 0,018 μ.), πιθανώς από το όνομα του κεραμέως. Ο σκελετός ήταν σε κακή κατάσταση. Ανατολικότερα αποκαλύφθηκε τμήμα αγωγού σε μήκος 2 μ. με κτιστά τοιχώματα (πλάτους 0,20 μ.) και συνδετικό υλικό ασβεστοκονίαμα. Περισυνελέγησαν αρκετά όστρακα με χονδροειδή και λεπτή κεραμική, αρχαϊκών, κλασικών, ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων, μεταξύ των οποίων πλεόναζαν τα κομμάτια πίθων.⁶⁶ Επίσης αριστερά του δρόμου που οδηγεί από Καλάβρυτα προς Λουσούς, στη θέση Πρίμιση ή Μπρίσοβο (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 16) υπάρχει άφθονη κεραμική στις νότιες υπώρειες του γηλόφου. Κατά μήκος του δρόμου από Καλάβρυτα προς Λουσούς, και έναντι του υπό κατασκευή κτηρίου ιδιοκτησίας Α. Μπίρμπα, και στην ίδια θέση διακρίνονται αρχαίες επιχώσεις με θραύσματα κεραμιδιών. Στα δεξιά του δρόμου στο μικρό λόφο, ο οποίος είναι απόληξη της Βελιάς, και βρίσκεται το ναύδριο Αγ. Ιωάννης ο Θεολόγος, υπάρχουν αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη που εντόπισε ο Γ. Πίκουλας.⁶⁷

Στις βορειοδυτικές υπώρειες του όρους Αυγό και συγκεκριμένα στον αυχέ-

62. Για το θέμα βλ. Σάμψων 1986.

63. Μαστροκώστας 1967β, με πίν. 156 δ,ε.

64. Οικονομίδου 1979.

65. Πίκουλας 1980-81, 23.

66. Αλεξοπούλου 2001α, υπό έκδοση.

67. Πίκουλας 1980-81, ειδικότερα 10-2.

να που σχηματίζεται μεταξύ Μικρού και Μεγάλου Γκρεμουλιά (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 17) εντοπίσαμε μια νέα αρχαιολογική θέση.⁶⁸ Στα βόρεια υπάρχει χαράδρα απότομη και δυσπρόσιτη, ενώ στα νότια οι δύο ορεινοί όγκοι συγκλίνουν δημιουργώντας ένα στενό διάσελο. Στον αυχένα εντοπίστηκε η ορατή βόρεια μακρά πλευρά μεγάλου οικοδομήματος από μεγάλες πωρολιθικές πλίνθους, μήκους 30 μ. περίπου. Στη βορειοανατολική γωνία του κτηρίου βρέθηκε πλίνθος γείσου, που σώζει προμόχθους και σταγόνες. (Εικ. 4) Από την έρευνα στο χώρο δεν εντοπίσαμε αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη, εκτός από σκόρπιες λιθοπλίνθους νότια του κτηρίου. Επιφανειακά βρέθηκαν μόνον κομμάτια κεραμιδιών στέγης, στρωτήρες κορινθιακού τύπου, που σώζουν ίχνη κόκκινης βαφής. Η θέση εποπτεύει την περιοχή της Κεντρικής Αιγιάλειας, που κείται βόρεια αυτής και ερωτηματικά προκύπτουν ως προς την απόδοσή της στη χώρα της Κύναιθας ή των Λουσών.

Στον οικισμό Καλλιθέας, του δημοτικού διαμερίσματος Κλειτορίας (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 18), στη θέση 'Φιλομάτι' και συγκεκριμένα στον αύλειο χώρο ανατολικά του ναυδρίου Αγ. Στεφάνου, κατά τη διάρκεια εκσκαφής για ανεύρεση κρυμμένου θησαυρού, ήλθαν στο φως όστρακα προϊστορικών χρόνων.⁶⁹ Υπερτερούν κυρίως τα ανοικτά αγγεία, αν και μεγάλος αριθμός από τις βάσεις μπορεί να ανήκει και σε κλειστά. Χαρακτηριστικό σχήμα αποτελούν οι μεγάλοι κρατήρες της ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ περιόδου, οι σκύφοι και οι κύλικες, από τις οποίες βρέθηκαν πολλές βάσεις. Από τα κλειστά αγγεία χαρακτηριστικότερο είναι ένα όστρακο από λαϊμό πρόχου με πλαστικό δακτύλιο της ΥΕ ΙΙΙΑ περιόδου. Υπάρχουν ακόμα βάσεις πιθανοφρέων διαφόρων μεγεθών της ΥΕ ΙΙΙΑ-Β περιόδου, και λίγα όστρακα μεγάλων, χειροποίητων αποθηκευτικών αγγείων.

Στη θέση 'Κοτρώνες' ή 'Πλάτανος' στα βορειοανατολικά της κτηματικής περιφέρειας Κλειτορίας, δυτικά του χωριού Τουρλάδα και νότια του χωριού Άγιος Νικόλαος, εντοπίστηκαν τοίχοι και κεραμεικός κλίβανος ρωμαϊκών χρόνων εντός της αρδευτικής αύλακος. Επίσης βρέθηκαν όστρακα ελληνιστικών χρόνων.⁷⁰

Στα Φιλέϊκα Καλύβια, στη θέση 'Χασνά' παραπλεύρως της επαρχιακής οδού Τριποτάμων – Τρίπολης (111), εντοπίστηκαν οικιστικά κατάλοιπα και διάσπαρτη κεραμική αρχαϊκών χρόνων (κυρίως κεραμίδων), καθώς επίσης ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων. Κατά τη διάνοιξη αρδευτικής αύλακος, παραπλεύρως της επαρχιακής οδού, και έναντι της οικίας Σταθούλια, σε βάθος +1,50 μ. από την επιφάνεια του καταστρώματος της σύγχρονης οδού, ήλθαν

68. Αλεξοπούλου 2001β, υπό έκδοση.

69. Αλεξοπούλου 1997.

70. Αλεξοπούλου 2000β, υπό έκδοση.

στο φως δύο κεραμοσκελείς τάφοι ακτέριστοι, με προσανατολισμό Β-Ν. Τα όστρακα που περισυνελέγησαν χρονολογούνται στους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους.⁷¹

Μια πρώτη εκτίμηση των δεδομένων μας επιτρέπει να διατυπώσουμε ορισμένες παρατηρήσεις, με βάση την παρουσίαση των θέσεων που επισημάνθηκαν, είτε με την επιφανειακή έρευνα είτε με μικρής διάρκειας σωστικές ανασκαφές. Τα εν μέρει για πρώτη φορά ανασκαπτόμενα νεκροταφεία του Τρεχλού στη θέση 'Σκαμιά' (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 6) και του Σκεπαστού στη θέση 'Ξερόκαμπος' (Χάρτης 1, αρ. θέσης 11), μικρά ή μεγάλα, ασφαλώς ανήκουν σε οικισμούς, οι οποίοι θα βρίσκονται κάπου κοντά. Οι ταφικοί πίθοι, τόσο στο Τρεχλό όσο και στο Σκεπαστό, ήταν όμοια προσανατολισμένοι Β-Ν και επιπλέον στο Σκεπαστό είχαν και προσανατολισμό ΒΑ-ΝΔ. Οι πίθοι ήταν διατεταγμένοι κατά συστάδες, ώστε να σχηματίζουν επιμήκεις σειρές. Οι νεκροί δεν ήταν όλοι κτερισμένοι. Από τα ευρήματά τους χρονολογούνται στους πρώιμους αρχαϊκούς και πρωτογεωμετρικούς χρόνους αντίστοιχα, ενώ στο Σκεπαστό υπάρχουν και όστρακα μεσοελλαδικών χρόνων. Τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα είναι λίγα και δεν μας επιτρέπουν να γνωρίζουμε εάν έχουμε επιρροές από γειτονικά ή απομακρυσμένα πολιτισμικά κέντρα. Στη θέση 'Γκρεμουλιάς' και σε υψόμετρο 1422 μ. αποκαλύπτεται για πρώτη φορά αρχαίο μνημείο και μάλιστα ναός, που σύμφωνα με τα πρώτα επιφανειακά ευρήματα (αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη, κεραμίδια στέγης) θα μπορούσε να χρονολογηθεί στα αρχαϊκά χρόνια. Στη θέση 'Φιλομάτι' του οικισμού Καλλιθέας Κλειτορίας, εντοπίζονται για πρώτη φορά ίχνη κατοίκησης, που ανάγεται στην Υστεροελλαδική περίοδο.

Επειδή όλες οι θέσεις βρίσκονται κοντά σε ποτάμια και εύφορες κοιλάδες, πρόκειται πιθανώς για εγκαταστάσεις γεωργικού και κτηνοτροφικού χαρακτήρα. Μέσα από τα δύσβατα βουνά, παραπλεύρως ποταμών, πανάρχαια μονοπάτια συνέδεαν τις θέσεις αυτές. Διαμέσου των φυσικών ορεινών ή πεδινών οδών οι κάτοικοι διατηρούσαν επαφές ακόμα και με τα πιο απομακρυσμένα κέντρα. Η συνέχιση της επιφανειακής και ανασκαφικής έρευνας στο βορειοδυτικό τμήμα της Αρκαδίας θα μας δώσει λύση όχι μόνον για την οικονομική, αλλά και για την κοινωνικοπολιτική οργάνωση του χώρου αυτού.

Γεωργία Ζ. Αλεξοπούλου

ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ

Αλ. Υψηλάντου 197

GR - 262 25 Πάτραι

Greece

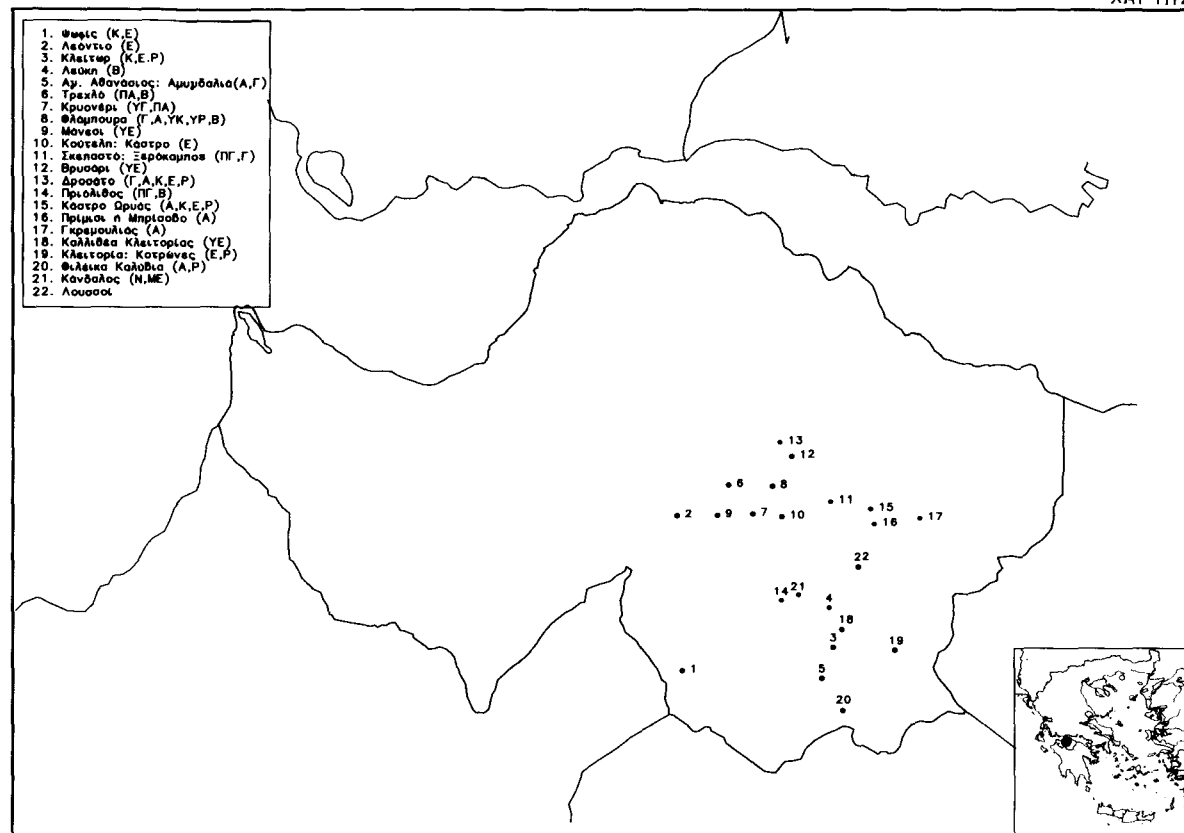
71. Αλεξοπούλου 2000β, υπό έκδοση.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

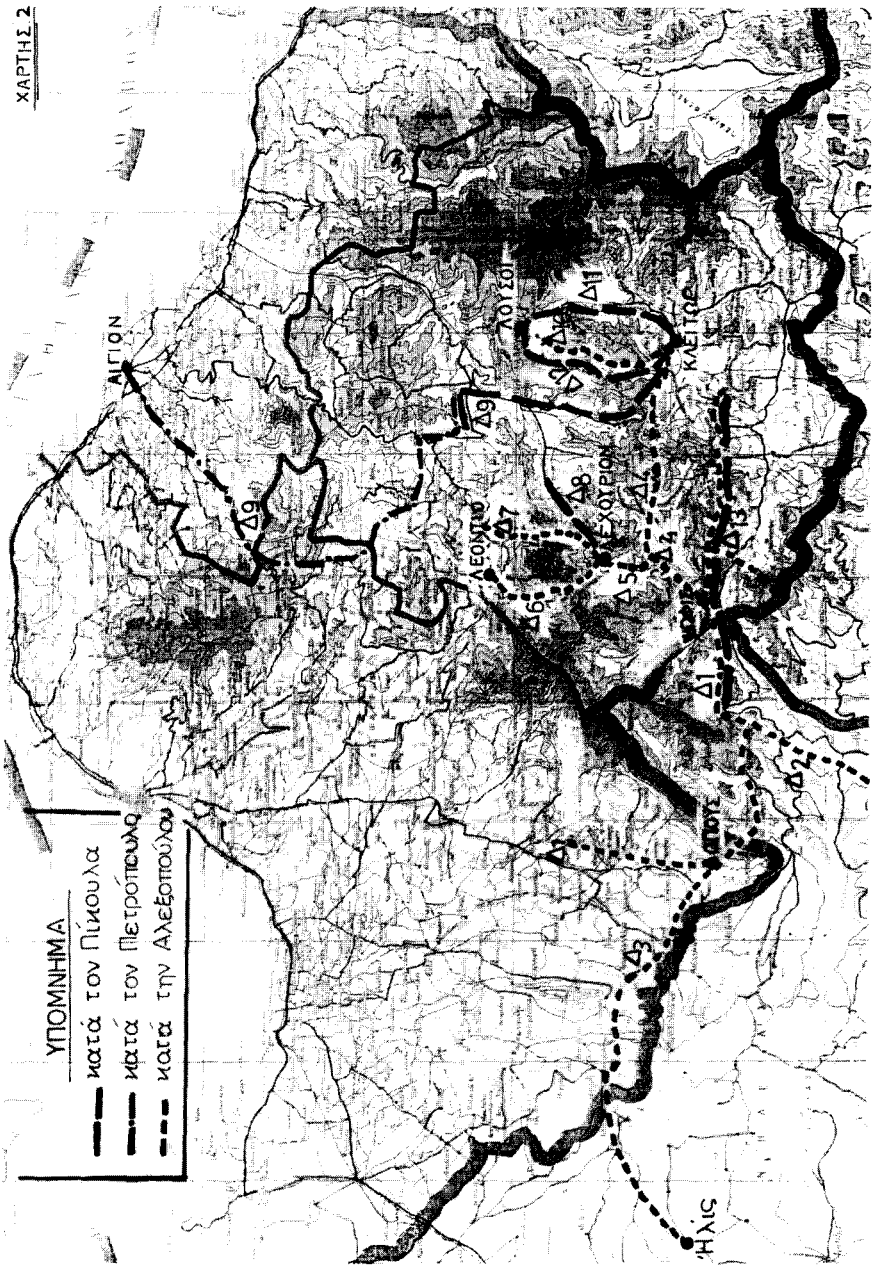
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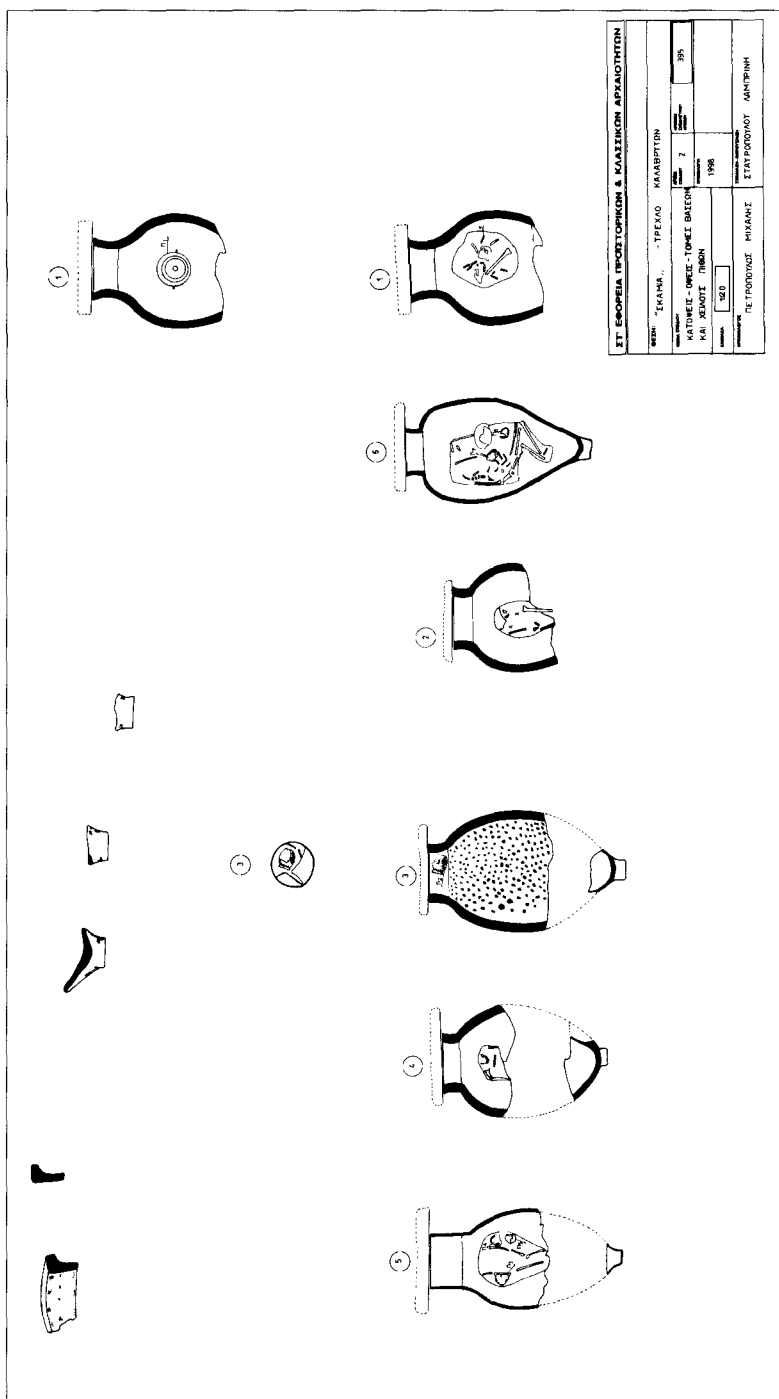
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Χάρτης 1. Κατάλογος θέσεων. (Επεξεργασία ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Χάρτης 2. Διαδρομές επικοινωνίας. (Επεξεργασία ΣΓ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Σχ. 1. Τεγελό Καλαφρύτων, θέση Σκαμιά. Οι ταφικοί πίθοι της ανασκαφής. (Επεξεργασία ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 1. Κούτελη Καλαβρύτων, θέση Κάστρο. Τμήμα του οχυρωμένου πλατώματος. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 2. Κούτελη Καλαβρύτων, θέση Κάστρο. Το στενό πέρασμα προς τα Καλάβρυτα, μεταξύ Κάστρου Κούτελης και λόφου Ράϊκου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 3. Σκεπαστό Καλαβρύτων, θέση Ξερόκαμπος. Ο πίθος Ι κατά χώραν. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 4. Γκρεμουλιάς Καλαβρύτων. Πλίνθος γείσου με προμόχθους και σταγόνες. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)

Recent Research Concerning the Walls at Asea

Jeannette Forsén, Björn Forsén and Lars Karlsson

The fortification walls of Asea Paleokastro in Arcadia have recently been studied in several different aspects. Thus, the parts of the walls which are still visible above the ground have been documented in detail. Furthermore, an attempt has been made to trace the course of the lower city walls which are covered by modern alluvium with the help of various geophysical methods. As a result we suggest that the acropolis walls should be dated to the classical period, whereas the lower city walls probably were constructed during the Kleomenic war (229/28-222 B.C.) Cleaning work done around the main gateway of the acropolis indicates that the road leading up to the acropolis originally was constructed for carts. During the Late Byzantine period the acropolis was refortified, and some walls belonging to this phase are still to be seen at the main gateway and the summit of the acropolis. Preliminary results of the geophysical prospection finally indicate that the lower circuit wall may have had a total length of ca. 1 km, enclosing an area of about 11 ha.

Asea is a *polis* located in a small, separate valley between Tegea and Megalopolis. Archaeological excavations were carried out here for the first time in the 1930s by Erik J. Holmberg from Gothenburg in Sweden.¹ Roughly ten years ago Swedish archaeological activity was resumed at Asea by Jeannette Forsén and Björn Forsén. As we were interested in broadening our knowledge of the main site and acropolis of Asea, Asea Paleokastro, in relation to the surrounding valley, our initial work (1994-96) took the form of an archaeological survey – the Asea Valley Survey – the final report of which has just appeared.²

After a one-season excavation in 1997 of the sanctuary of Hagios Elias, ca. 3.5 km to the north-west of Asea Paleokastro,³ we turned our interest anew to

1. The main publication relating to Holmberg's work is Holmberg 1944.

2. Forsén and Forsén 2003.

3. This project was conducted in collaboration with Erik Østby from the Norwegian Insti-

the acropolis in the year 2000. This time we focused our attention on the fortification walls of the site. This new project is carried out under the auspices of the Swedish Institute at Athens and with the support of the Greek Archaeological Service. In 2000 we cleaned and documented the remaining walls that were visible above the surface in collaboration with Lars Karlsson from the University of Uppsala, Sweden. The two following years we have with the help of geophysical methods tried to trace the course of those parts of the lower city walls which are covered by alluvium. This work has been conducted in collaboration with Stavros Papamarinopoulos and his team from the University of Patras, Greece.

The fortifications at Paleokastro consist of two parts; the acropolis walls and the walls surrounding the lower city to the south-east of the acropolis. (Fig. 1) Holmberg dated the ancient fortifications around the acropolis and the lower city to the 3rd century B.C., and noted that the acropolis had been re-fortified during the Late Byzantine period.⁴ One reason why he dated the city walls to the 3rd century was that he believed that the settlement at Paleokastro did not develop into a town before that.⁵ It has, however, been noted that the building technique of the acropolis walls differs from that of the lower city walls, and that the acropolis walls thus may be older than those walls.⁶ Moreover, the Asea Valley Survey has revealed that the settlement at Paleokastro developed into a town already during the 6th century B.C., thus making an earlier date of the acropolis walls historically plausible.

The project recording the walls of Asea has four different aims:

- first, to obtain new information about the construction of the walls;
- second, to trace the full course of the lower city walls with the help of geophysical methods;
- third, to date the walls more exactly with the help of new information about the walls seen together with the results of the Asea Valley Survey,
- and finally, to collect more information about the re-fortification of the Paleokastro during the Late Byzantine period.

This paper summarizes the final results of the work of 2000 published by Forsén, Forsén and Karlsson,⁷ together with the results of the geophysical work of 2001 to be published by Dogan and Papamarinopoulos.⁸ In addition, some

tute at Athens. The final publication is in preparation, but one extensive, preliminary report has already appeared (Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999).

4. Holmberg 1944, 138, 142 and 181.

5. Holmberg 1944, 172.

6. Valmin 1949, 139, and Pikoulas 1988, 181.

7. Forsén, Forsén and Karlsson 2002.

8. Dogan and Papamarinopoulos 2003.

preliminary results of the geophysical work done in 2002 as well as some new general conclusions are presented.⁹

Let us begin with the acropolis walls. Here we cleared two square towers (the West and North-West towers) and a short piece of the curtain wall. Just to the north of the West Tower there is a gap between the curtain wall and the tower, which we think could be interpreted as the remains of a small postern gate. The wall and towers are constructed of rather small stones, seldom larger than 50 x 50 cm, and stand on a projecting footing course. (Fig. 2) The width of the wall is 3.10 m. All over the surface of the better preserved North-West Tower we found rocks and blocks indicating that the tower was solid.

Already a first glimpse at the lower city walls reveals that they are built in a totally different way from the acropolis walls. The lower city walls are built in a polygonal technique employing very large blocks (frequently measuring up to ca. 1.5 x 1.0 m). Furthermore the walls, which have a width of 3.30 m, stand directly on the rock without any footing course. An interesting feature is the existence of a masonry chain in the southern spur wall. (Fig. 3) The characteristic pattern of the masonry chain is formed in the wall face by the ends of transverse walls running perpendicular to the wall face, through the inside of the wall, thus connecting the two wall faces. The function of these transverse walls is to anchor and hold the two wall faces together, preventing the earth fill inside from pushing out the wall faces.¹⁰

Also the towers of the lower city walls have distinct features which differ from those of the towers of the acropolis walls. Thus, there are at least three round towers along the southern spur wall. Round towers are unusual, and usually occur only in connection with gates.¹¹ It is also quite possible that the three round towers in Asea have framed one of the main gates, the important gate towards Megalopolis. That not all towers of the lower city walls were round is evidenced by the fact that the only surviving tower along the northern spur wall is square. This tower is of special interest because there exists an inner wall face which shows that it was not filled with rubble and earth, but must have had an inner room just above ground level. Furthermore we found blocks laid out as a pavement through the curtain wall, just to the north of the square tower, clearly indicating the existence of a postern gate at this spot.

Today the only visible parts of the lower city wall are the two spurs which run down the slopes of the acropolis to the north and the south. (Fig. 1) The rest

9. The final results of the geophysical work conducted in 2001-02, combined with archaeological and historical comments, will be published by Forsén, Forsén and Papamarinopoulos in a forthcoming volume of *OpAth*.

10. Karlsson 1992, 67-95.

of the circuit has been covered by a thick layer of alluvium brought by the Alpheios. The second aim of our project was to trace the course of the city wall with the assistance of ground-penetrating equipment. This work began in 2001, when Meliha Dogan conducted a multi-electrode resistivity image survey of the areas covered by alluvium mainly along the northern spur wall. To measure the electrical resistivity of the soil has proved to be a suitable method when looking for walls, cavities and other buried features at different depths. During the resistivity image survey a total of 13 tomographical sections (sections 1-3 and 13 along the southern spur wall and sections 4-12 along the northern spur wall) were drawn at spots where we considered it likely that the wall would run.

Which results did we get from the resistivity image survey? The three clearest profiles were obtained from sections 4-6, all from the area just below the visible end of the northern spur. In these profiles the wall is very clearly visible as a ca. 3-3.3 m wide structure reaching down to a depth of ca. 1.3-1.5 m below the surface.¹² Although the wall was not as clearly visible in all 13 sections, the work done in 2001 still gave us a fairly good idea of the course of the wall, at least of its northern part. Just after coming down the northern slope of the acropolis the wall seems to turn towards the east and south-east, finally following the Panaitsa ravine.

The geophysical prospection continued in 2002, this time close to the modern village of Kato Asea just below the end of the southern spur. This time a different method was applied in order to find the wall. 16 squares, all measuring 19 x 19 m apart from one that was only 9 x 9 m in size, were set out in fields where the vegetation made it possible; one of the squares was positioned to the west of the Megalopolis – Tripolis highway, the rest between the highway and the railroad. First a general geo-electrical mapping was conducted with an accuracy of 400 points of measurement for each of the large squares and 100 for the small one. After this, geo-electrical tomography with a geo-electrical resistivity meter as well as georadar with the Sir-10 system and 500 and 100 MHz antennas, were applied selectively to the squares of largest interest.

The results obtained by this method are more reliable than those reached in 2001, because we now get the full stretch of the wall when and if it crosses through the squares. The results of the work are still being processed by Papamarinopoulos' team, but it is clear that the wall after the last round tower, Tower III, seems to turn slightly and continues in east-southeast direction. No investigation has so far been conducted to the east and south-east of the Panaitsa ravine, but as it seems that the northern spur turns and follows the ravine, we

11. For round towers, see Winter 1971, 216-7; Adam 1982, 62-3.

12. Dogan and Papamarinopoulos 2003.

assume that the southern spur wall does the same and that the two spur walls meet at some point along the Panaitsa ravine. If this indeed is the case, then the course of the wall may have looked like Fig. 4, *i.e.*, it would have had a total length of about 1 km and would have enclosed an area of ca. 11 ha, a figure which should be compared to the ca. 2.5 ha surrounded by the acropolis walls. But it needs to be stressed that these are only preliminary results, and further geophysical work is needed in order to establish the exact course of the lower city wall.

Having thus described some of the main differences in construction between the acropolis and the lower city walls and the question concerning the course of the lower city wall, we proceed to the third question, how to date the walls. Let us start with the acropolis walls. Several of their characteristics described above seem to indicate a classical date, but because of their very weathered condition it is difficult to suggest a more exact date. However, there can be no doubt that they ante-date the lower city walls. Yanis Pikoulas has in his doctoral dissertation suggested an early 4th century date for the acropolis walls,¹³ and we see no reason to disagree with him, although we want to point out that there may have been several different construction phases.

There is more to say about the date of the lower city walls. The rustic polygonal technique points towards the 3rd century B.C. However, the walls of Asea clearly ante-date the polygonal technique without any kind of such horizontal arrangements that developed around 220 B.C. Another important chronological feature of the lower city wall is the existence of an inner room in the ground floor of the square tower. Inner rooms like this were used for placing catapults at the foot of the wall and are not common until the advanced Hellenistic period. Although no clear date can be given for the first time when such inner rooms appeared, we probably have to get down to the 3rd century before they become common.¹⁴ Stylistically the lower city walls thus seem to date to the second or third quarter of the 3rd century, with a *terminus ante quem* ca. 220 B.C.¹⁵

To the discussion of the date of the lower city walls the fact can be added that they seem to have been built under strong pressure of time. Thus the well-known archaic Agemo-statue was originally found built into one of the round towers. It is said that another inscription, which unfortunately was not preserved, was found while the same tower was dismantled in search of stones for building

13. Pikoulas 1988, 181.

14. Some of the earliest towers of this type can be found in Aigosthena, dated in the late 4th or early 3rd centuries, see Marsden 1969, 163. Towers with interior rooms were also discovered by us during a visit to Alea. For the walls of Alea, see Meyer 1939.

15. For another neighbouring wall of this period, in Dimitsana to the north of Megalopolis, see Pikoulas 1986, 99-123.

purposes.¹⁶ Apparently any stones found were used in building the wall, which gives the impression that it was constructed in haste during a period of war.

Building city walls is no small enterprise. As an example, 60,000 peasants and 6,000 pairs of oxen were in 401 B.C. needed to construct a 6 km long wall within 20 days in Syracuse.¹⁷ Consequently 10,000 men and 1,000 pairs of oxen would have been needed to build the lower city wall at Asea within 20 days. Still the adult male population of Asea could hardly have exceeded 1,000.¹⁸ Thus, in order to be able to build the walls within a short period Asea must have received a considerable amount of support from allies.

Thus, to put it in another way, we probably have to look for a period of war when Asea had reason to feel extraordinarily threatened, but when it had strong allies which could be counted on to support the construction of walls at Asea. Historically the most plausible date for such circumstances is to be found during the Kleomenic War 229/28-222 B.C. During this war the Spartans under Kleomenes waged an aggressive and very destructive war against the Achaian League, to which most of Arcadia belonged. Megalopolis had joined the Achaian League in 235 B.C. and may have been followed by Asea at the same time.¹⁹ The Achaian League would definitely have been interested in supporting the construction of new city walls in Asea as a bulwark against Sparta, and would of course have had the means to support such a project. The interest of the Achaian League in such a project must have been strong during the Kleomenic War. Therefore we suggest that the lower city walls most likely were constructed with the support of the Achaian League at some stage of the Kleomenic War.

Let us now turn to the final aim of our project, *i.e.*, to collect more information about the medieval re-fortification of the Paleokastro. Holmberg in his book very briefly refers to such a re-fortification in connection with the main gateway to the acropolis. He also mentions the existence of a Medieval-Early Modern chapel on the summit of the acropolis. One reason for our interest in these late remains was that we did not find any Medieval-Early Modern pottery on the acropolis during the survey. In order hopefully to clarify this lacuna in our knowledge we partially cleaned the main gateway and the chapel.

According to Holmberg the width of the main gateway to the acropolis was reduced during the Late Byzantine period by building a new wall, placed in front

16. Koumanoudis 1874; Foucart and Le Bas 1870, no. 334 d. See also the discussion of the find circumstances in Forsén and Forsén 2003, chapter II.

17. Diod. Sic. 14.18. See also the discussion by Camp 2000, 46-7.

18. According to a study of the maximum number of people the territories of south-east Arcadian *poleis* could have supported, Asea could at most have supported 2,000-3,000 persons. See Forsén 2000, 50.

19. For the historical circumstances see Forsén and Forsén 2003, chapter VIIc.

of the ancient wall-line. According to him the ancient road was furnished with low steps, as seen on a drawing from his publication.²⁰ (Fig. 5) The cleaning work revealed that the ancient road-bed had been 3.7-4.0 m wide, *i.e.* had been built for the access of carts. Holmberg's Late Byzantine wall is constructed of stones embedded in coarse mortar on top of a 0.10 m thick layer of debris. None of Holmberg's steps were recovered during the cleaning operation, but as seen in Fig. 5, none of them had a width exceeding the width of the medieval gateway, and the lowest step is indicated as parallel to the doorpost stone, which in its turn was connected with the Late Byzantine wall. Steps like these are common in ascents and descents of Medieval-Early Modern *kalderimia*, which were built for pack animals and not for carts.²¹ Consequently Holmberg's steps most likely belong to the Late Byzantine re-fortification of the Paleokastro.

On the summit of the acropolis Holmberg mentions a chapel and some other later walls, partly located on top of what he describes as a Hellenistic temple.²² The walls of the chapel are built by large, reused limestone blocks, some of which may originate from the city walls, whereas others, such as one with two holes for a lifting device, seem to belong to the foundation of an ancient building. The building technique of the chapel is similar to that of the Late Byzantine wall in the main gateway – ancient blocks have been reused and put together with smaller natural stones by coarse mortar. This is also the case with the other later walls on the summit that seem to form two enclosures around the chapel.²³ The function of these walls is unclear, but taking their thickness (ca. 1.5 m) into account, they may have served as some kind of inner fortification on the acropolis, inside which the small chapel was located.

The pottery collected during the cleaning operation on the summit finally deserves a short mention.²⁴ Apart from prehistoric, mainly Early Helladic pottery, three Geometric sherds (one Protogeometric/Early Geometric), and some medieval pottery was found. To the medieval finds belong a piece of a loom-weight as well as a matt painted sherd datable to the 13th-14th centuries. Some further idea of the date of the Late Byzantine re-fortification is also given by a coin minted by John VIII Palaiologos that Holmberg found next to the main gateway.²⁵ There are no historical sources mentioning a re-fortification of the Paleokastro, but it could have been part of an effort to block the frequent

20. Holmberg 1944, 138-9, figs. 127-30.

21. For *kalderimia* see *e.g.* Pikoulas 1999a, 254-5, or Pikoulas 1999b, 245-58.

22. Holmberg 1944, 144-7.

23. Holmberg 1944, pl. 6; Forsén, Forsén and Karlsson 2002, fig. 29 and with comments on p. 99.

24. For a more detailed discussion see Forsén, Forsén and Karlsson 2002, 103.

25. Holmberg 1944, 181; Varucha-Christodulopoulos 1944, 171, no. 53.

Ottoman raids in the Peloponnese during the 14th-15th centuries which headed down to Messenia through the Asea valley.

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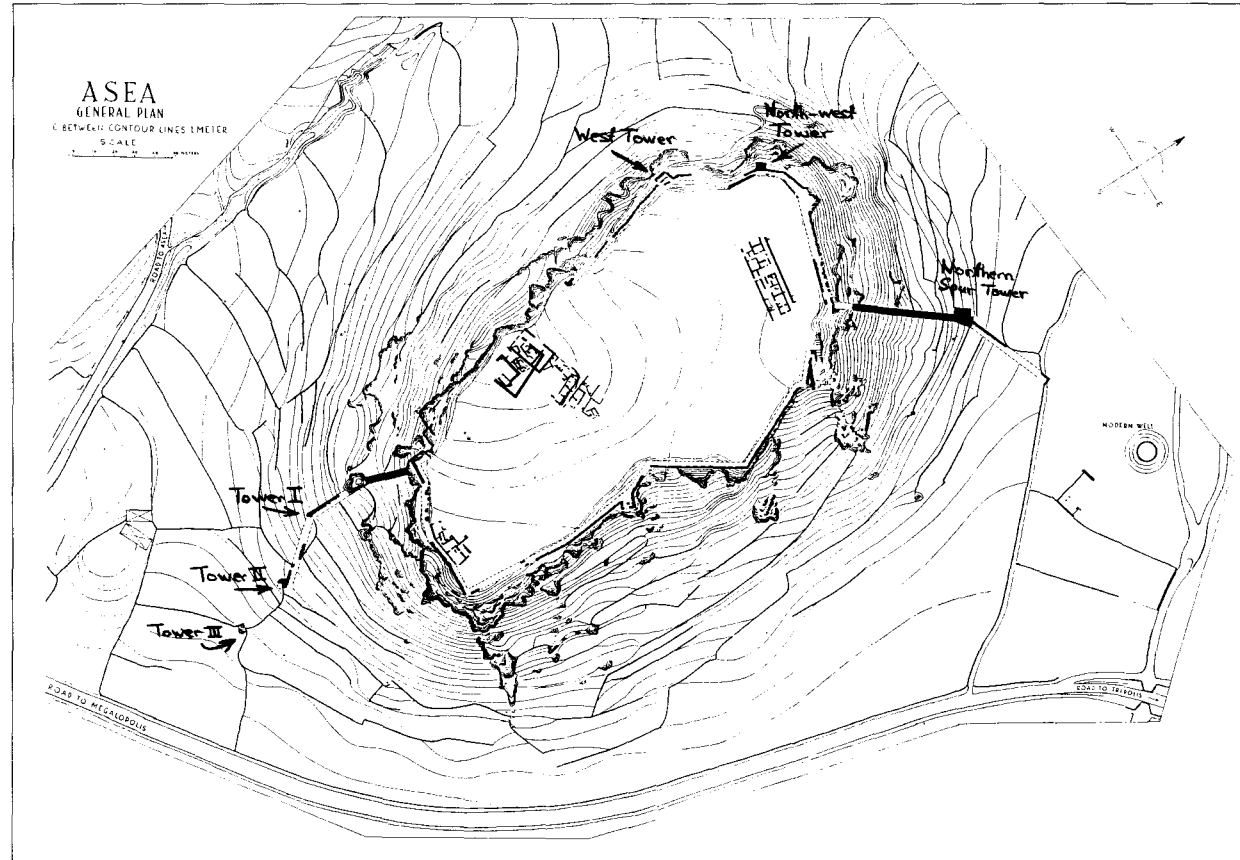


Fig. 1. Plan of the ancient walls and towers of Asea. (After Holmberg 1944, pl. 5.)



Fig. 2. The north-west tower with its projecting footing course seen from the north.
(Photo: authors.)

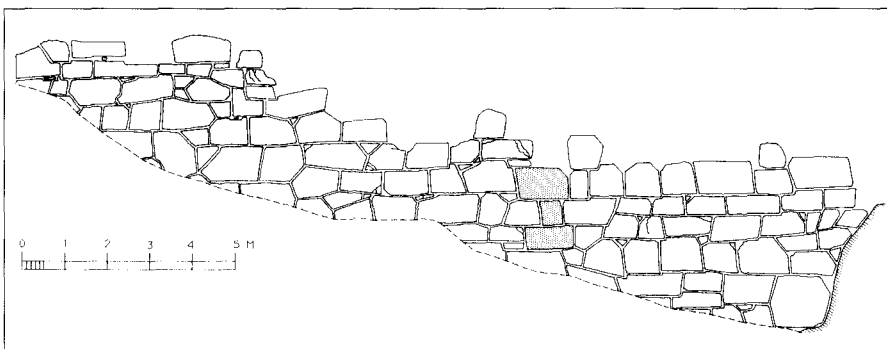


Fig. 3. The outer wall face of the southern spur wall with the masonry chain marked.
(Drawing: L. Karlsson.)

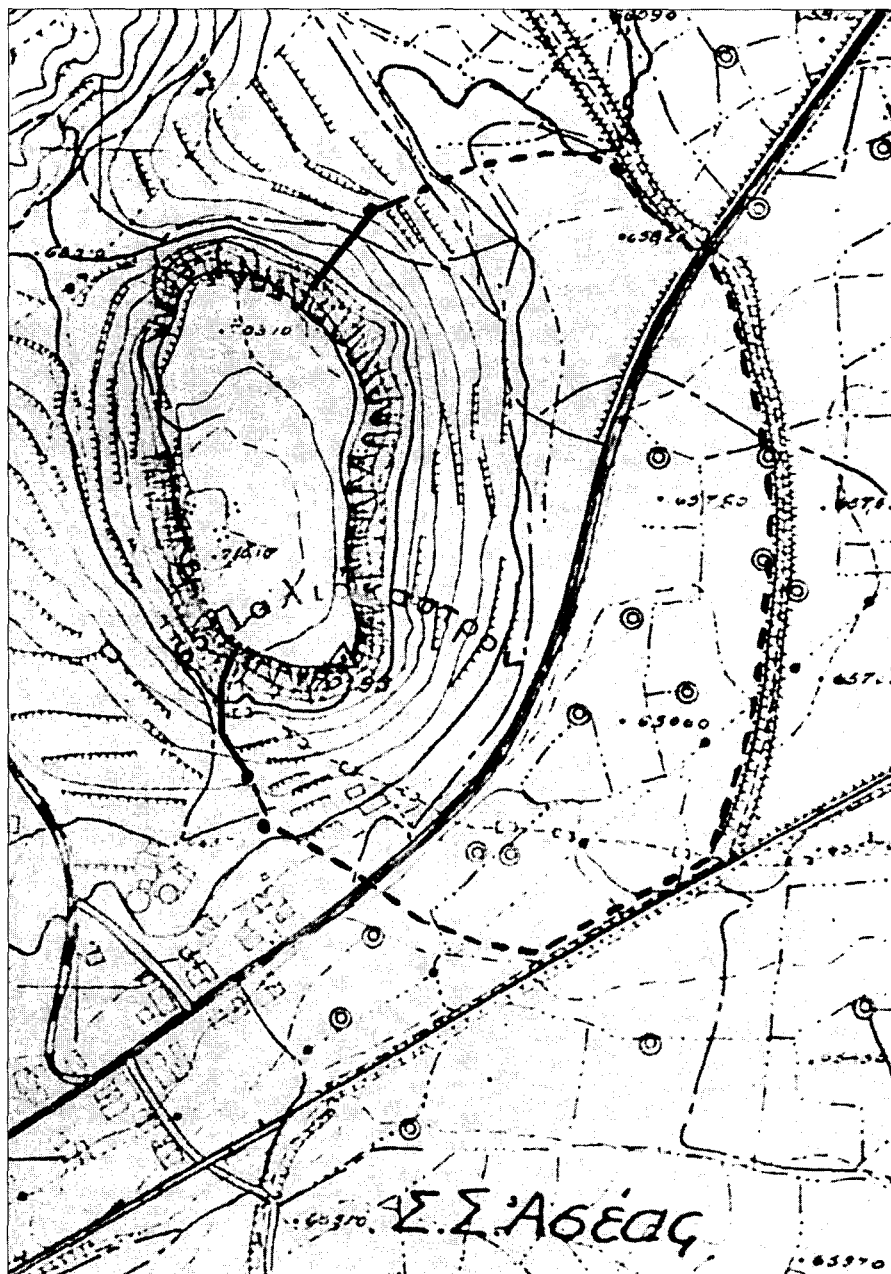


Fig. 4. The approximate stretch of the lower city wall. (Prepared by the authors.)

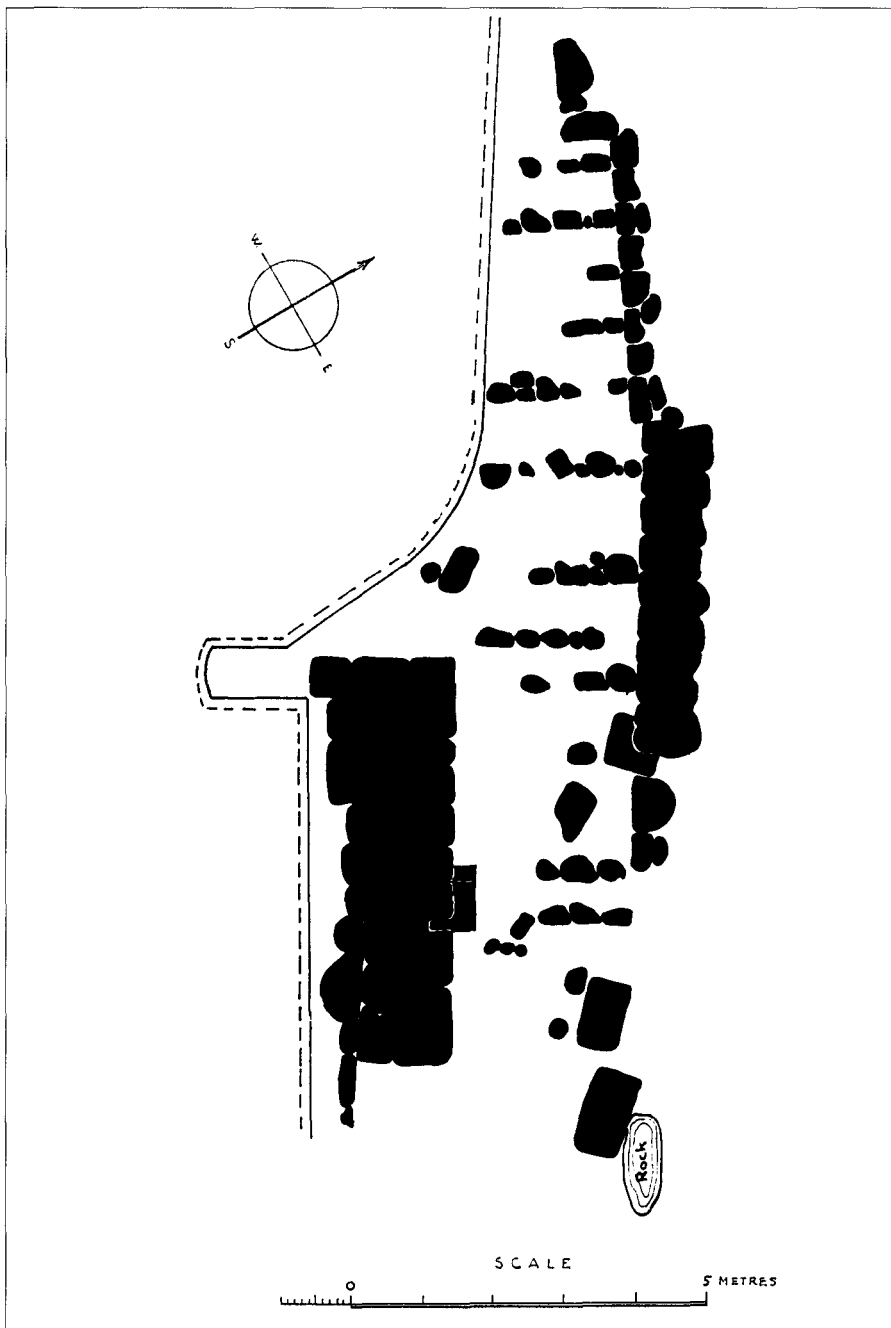


Fig. 5. The main gateway to the acropolis with Late Byzantine additions (new wall and steps). (After Holmberg 1944, fig. 128.)

Lavda. The Architectural Remains

Yvonne Goester

To the memory of Huib Waterbolk who made the drawings at Lavda

In the years 1984-88 a team of Dutch archaeologists investigated the ancient remains on Lavda hill, above the modern village of Theisoa near Andritsena. The results of these campaigns were published in *Pharos*, the journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens. The objective of this article is to introduce the scattered architectural fragments lying about on the site. A general description is provided of the more than hundred catalogued limestone and marble blocks of Doric order (shafts, capitals, entablature). As no foundations of buildings were visible, an attempt is made to provide an interpretation of their use, function and date.

On 8 May 1805 Colonel William Leake set out from Andritsena to Karytena. On his way he visited, as he writes in his diary, "the steep and lofty hill of Lavdha upon which are the remains of a small fortified Hellenic town, now known by the name of the castle of St. Helene ... an enclosure near one side of the outer walls, but entirely separated from them. This citadel is about 150 yards in diameter. In it stood a temple, of which the lower parts of seven Doric columns of one foot eight inches in diameter, are still standing in a line in their original places".¹

The remains on Lavda hill have been visited by several other travellers and archaeologists since, but no serious investigations were carried out before the Netherlands Institute in Athens started to work in 1984. The aim of the project was twofold: to solve the problem of the location of ancient Theisoa and Lykoa, and to give the ancient settlement on Lavda hill a place in the geography and history of Arkadia. In the field the work consisted of mapping the visible remains and setting a number of trenches. One aim of the investigations, giving a name to the site, has been reached. The find of a tile with the inscription THIZ

1. W. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* vol. II, London 1830, 18.

makes it plausible that the remains on Lavda hill are those of ancient Theisoa. The location of Lykoa remains unknown. Most of the results of the campaigns in the years 1985-88 have been published in *Pharos*, the journal of the Netherlands Archaeological Institute in Athens.²

The study of the architectural remains may help to clarify the second objective. A subject that has not yet received the attention it deserves in publication concerns the loose finds of architectural remains. During the four campaigns at Lavda Mr. J.J. Feije has surveyed the slopes of the hill and the surface inside the circuit wall for loose architectural remains. The blocks were mapped and described, and characteristic fragments were measured and drawn.

The remains of Theisoa consist of a wall encircling the highest part of Lavda hill. The top of the hill is separated from the rest of the settlement by an acropolis wall. The acropolis thus formed is fairly flat. Only the north-western part inside this wall rises rather steeply and forms the actual top of the hill. On the western side of the acropolis the wall is still standing to a height of 4 m. Parts of the southern and eastern wall have collapsed. The terrain outside these walls is rather flat over some 50 m up to the point where the hill goes into a steeper slope toward the southern circuit wall. The northern face of the acropolis is very steep. Here also part of the wall has collapsed. Nearly all the blocks were found on the acropolis itself and on the south-eastern and northern slopes. A number of blocks have been reused and built into reparations of the acropolis wall, the circuit wall and other minor walls of later buildings inside the settlement.

We have seen that Colonel Leake assumed to have seen the remains of a temple *in situ*. For everyone who visits the site the row of nine columns standing on the acropolis is a conspicuous feature. But with the knowledge of today it is clear that these are not the remains of an original, ancient building. The distances between the shafts are too small in relation to their thickness and vary considerably. The columns were probably used at a later time to form or strengthen a wall.

Apart from these column shafts the visitor recognizes smaller fragments of columns, frieze blocks and other architectural parts lying scattered around. On closer inspection, however, it appears that many more blocks are to be found. It also appeared that not only blocks carved from the local limestone are present, but marble fragments were found as well. With the help of the representatives of the Ephorate of Olympia Mr. Feije has drawn up a list of the loose architectural remains, including 139 limestone and 46 marble fragments. The blocks belong to the Doric

2. G.-J.-M.-J. te Riele *et al.*, "Archaeological Investigations at Lavda in Arcadia, 1," *Pharos* 1, 1993, 177-208; *eid.*, "Archaeological Investigations at Lavda in Arcadia, 2," *Pharos* 2, 1994, 39-89; Y.C. Goester, "Archaeological Investigations at Lavda in Arcadia, 3," *Pharos* 3, 1995, 131-8; Y.C. Goester and D.M. van de Vrie, "Lavda, The Excavation 1986-88," *Pharos* 6, 1998, 119-78.

order: columns, capitals, architrave, triglyph/metope frieze and cornice blocks.

Columns

Mr. Feije's list includes 67 parts and smaller fragments of columns. The nine shafts on the acropolis are among the best preserved. They are standing to a height of 0.65 to 1.30 m. None has a worked upper surface, which means that their original length is no longer known. They have 20 flutes with sharp arrises and a diameter varying between 0.47 and 0.48 m. The diameter of some of the other fragments of columns could be measured or reconstructed, for the smallest one as 0.42 m, for the largest as 0.505 m. The width of the flutes varies from 0.07 to 0.08 m. The total length of fragments of columns found is ca. 33 m. Only three marble pieces of columns were found; they are too small and fragmentary to allow a comparison of measurements. Five fragments of engaged columns were found, two of which are marble pieces. The two well-preserved limestone pieces have identical dimensions with a diameter of 0.31 m if they were complete circles. The marble ones are larger, 0.42 m in diameter.

Bases

Seven fragments of column bases were found. All except one are small and incomplete pieces. The height of the bases varies between 0.095 and 0.107 m. The single, large piece is very damaged, so that the moulding is no longer clear. On one piece at least the arrises are not sharp, but all the flutes end straight on the basis. They are 0.075 to 0.08 m wide. (Fig. 1)

Capitals

24 capitals or fragments of capitals were recorded, 16 marble pieces and eight limestone ones. Many fragments, however, are too small to provide any useful information. It is also possible that several small fragments may belong to the same capital. The best preserved marble capital (LM45) has an echinus and an abacus of the same height, 0.075 m, flutes 0.07 m wide, three anuli and a dowel hole. The echinus and abacus have the same width. (Fig. 2) The anuli on all pieces are on the whole not very carefully executed. (Fig. 3) Some capitals incorporate the anuli and the upper part of the column in one block. In two cases the abacus is wider than the echinus. On one of the marble capitals an inscription AXAIKOY was found. This inscription has been published by G.-J.-M.-J. te Riele.³ One of

3. G.-J.-M.-J. te Riele, "A propos de deux inscriptions trouvées en Arcadie ancienne," *Hyperboreus* 1.1, 1994, 151.

the limestone capitals that could be measured has a lower diameter of 0.58 m. The limestone capitals are clearly larger than the marble ones. Two blocks that could be anta-capitals were discovered.

Architrave

12 architrave blocks or parts of such were described. The maximum preserved length measured at a broken block is 1.66 m. The block is rather damaged. The height of all blocks is 0.45 or 0.46 m and the depth 0.45 m. All blocks have at the back a recess where the second block could be placed. On several blocks grooves for T-clamps are visible. The architraves are all of the same type with a taenia and regulae with six guttae. The straight taenia is 0.065 to 0.075 m high. The regulae are 0.025 to 0.035 m high and between 0.40 and 0.42 m wide. The distance between the guttae is 0.08 m.

Frieze

20 frieze blocks were identified. The metopes are not sculptured. One complete block (LB90) provides useful information: length 2.16 m and height 0.577 m. It has two triglyphs and two metopes. Its metopes are 0.655 to 0.675 m wide; the triglyphs 0.41 m; the glyphs are triangular, 0.08 to 0.085 m wide, slightly rounded at the top and not undercut. (Fig. 4) The depth of this block could not be ascertained; others are 0.41 or 0.43 m deep. The other fragments have comparable overall measurements. In most cases the taenia is 0.08 m high. The frieze without the taenia is always 0.49 m high. Some blocks recede at the back for the second layer. Two of the pieces are corner blocks, one of them well preserved. It is 0.68 m long, 0.445 m wide and 0.555 m high. The taenia is 0.054 m high and protrudes 0.03 m. The block has no metope. The triglyph is 0.40 to 0.41 m wide; the glyphs are triangular, slightly rounded at the top, not undercut, 0.08 m wide and 0.022 m deep. The block has two rectangular holes and a T-shaped clamp hole.

Geisa

23 fragments of geisa blocks have been described. All are of marble. The height of the blocks varies between 0.175 and 0.22 m. Some have remains of mutuli and guttae, others show a projection with a simple profile. All hawksbeaks and drips are damaged. The depth of the mutuli is between 0.185 and 0.20 m, height 0.03 m. The length of the mutuli was nowhere preserved, nor could the total depth of the blocks be ascertained.

It is remarkable that capitals and geisa blocks are of marble while the other parts of the order, with a few exceptions, are of limestone. The limestone pieces are generally larger than the marble ones, except for the engaged columns, where the opposite is the case. There are, however, two marble capitals, which are somewhat larger than the other pieces. There is even a third type. Some 300 m down the southern slope of the hill three marble capitals and part of a marble column are lying in a reuma. They are very worn and could not be measured well, but it is clear that they are of a different, larger size.

Most of the architectural blocks recorded are so damaged that only a few complete dimensions are available for comparison. Therefore we have to limit ourselves to more general observations. The diameters of the limestone columns vary between 0.47 and 0.495 m. The lower diameters of the marble capitals vary between 0.36 and 0.44 m. It is, therefore, clear that the columns and the capitals cannot belong together. This leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with two different buildings. A third structure is also possible, since the large marble capitals on the south slope do not fit in either category. The relation of the material – limestone or marble – and the components of the order remains remarkable, however.

The mapping of the find places confirmed that most blocks are located on the acropolis and on the slopes directly underneath the acropolis walls. (Fig. 5) The distribution map of the blocks shows that precisely at the spots where the wall has collapsed architectural blocks have tumbled down the slope. Only a few have rolled further down. The marble fragments have not come down very far. We may safely assume that all the architectural blocks belonged to buildings that were standing on the acropolis.

On the acropolis three rubble heaps, of rectangular form, can be seen. They look like the remains of buildings whose walls have collapsed, leaving a hollow in the middle. Mr. Feije has made a trial trench at one of these rubble heaps in order to find out whether foundations were present underneath. This unfortunately was not the case and no indication was found concerning the character or age of these supposed buildings. This means that we do not have any indication for the foundations of the buildings the architectural blocks belonged to, and that it remains hypothetical what kind of buildings were standing on the acropolis. It is obviously tempting to suggest a temple, but this must remain a conjecture.

Suggested dates

The remains on Lavda hill are unfortunately in such a state that we have only the data provided by loose blocks at our disposal. The limestone capitals are too damaged for any conclusions to be drawn from their profiles. Some of the marble capitals are well preserved. One (LM30; Fig. 3) has a straight profile of

the echinus with a small curve inward where it meets the abacus, comparable to the capital from the temple of Hagios Elias near Asea⁴ and less steep than those at Lepreon.⁵ The temple of Hagios Elias is late archaic, the temple of Demeter at Lepreon is dated to the 4th century. Those of the Lavda capitals that have preserved the complete profile of echinus and abacus show that both are equally high. The echinus continuing below the anuli and cutting off the flutes seems to be a later feature.⁶

When we compare the height of the blocks of architrave and frieze it appears that the frieze is on the average about 0.10 m higher. The comparison of the width of the triglyphs and the metopes shows that the metopes are ca. 0.20 m wider than the triglyphs. The metopes are shaped as horizontal rectangles, not as squares.

On a number of blocks grooves for clamps have been preserved. With the exception of a few rectangular holes they are all T-shaped, a regular type in classical times.

The bases are unusual. The flutes end immediately and horizontally above the bases. At least in one case the arrises between the flutes are not sharp. Perhaps we may compare these 'based' columns with those mentioned by professor Winter at the peripteral temple of Kourno in the Mani. There their function and place in the construction is clear, which is not the case at Lavda. The peripteros of Kourno with its half-columns with bases is dated to the first half of the first century B.C.; the bases are explained as a feature introduced by Roman influence.⁷ We cannot, however, exclude the possibility of an Ionic order at Lavda hill. On the basis of these data we can reach a preliminary conclusion.

The marble pieces may belong to a structure dating from the classical to late classical period. The limestone pieces date from a later period. Although it is difficult to be more specific, a late 2nd or 1st century date cannot be excluded. It is equally impossible to be specific about the character of the buildings. Professor Lauter, who visited the site, suggested to me in a letter that there might be a marble temple and a later stoa or rather a second temple. At the moment of writing it had not yet been possible to discuss these matters further.

The initial aims of the investigations at Lavda have been fulfilled. We assume now that the ancient name of the settlement was Theisoa. The second aim was

4. J. Forsén, B. Forsén and E. Østby, "The Sanctuary of Agios Elias – Its Significance, and Its Relations to Surrounding Sanctuaries and Settlements," in Th.H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6, Copenhagen 1999, 176, fig. d.

5. H. Knell, "Lepreon. Der Tempel der Demeter," *AM* 98, 1983, 124, Abb. 6.

6. J.J. Coulton, "The Stoa at the Amphiareion, Oropos," *BSA* 63, 1968, 171.

7. J.E. Winter and F.E. Winter, "The Date of the Temples near Kourno in Lakonia," *AJA* 87, 1983, 10.

more demanding. When first visiting the site and seeing the remains it is clear to the visitor that a settlement of some importance was located here. This impression has only been confirmed and strengthened by Mr. Feije's research. The fact that – on a rather remote and elevated spot – marble was used as building material points to a certain wealth or motivation of the inhabitants. Marble is not known to occur in the neighbourhood and must have been brought from far away and up the hill. Although the results of our investigations at the moment do not allow any more extensive statements, we may assume that Theisoa was an important settlement during one or more periods in the classical and Hellenistic times. It is tempting to link these results with what we know from literary sources about Theisoa and how the town is mentioned in connection with the synoicism of Megalopolis. Too little is known about the role or fate of Theisoa in this context, however, and a discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of the present article.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Erik Østby for the organisation of the Arkadia Seminar, Professor Hans Lauter for his help and interest in Lavda, and Dr. G.J. van Wijngaarden, Director of the Netherlands Institute in Athens, for his hospitality in May 2002. My greatest thanks go to Mr. J.J. Feije, who did the work on Lavda hill, but who – due to illness – is no longer in a position to present the results himself. All credit should go to him, all mistakes are mine.

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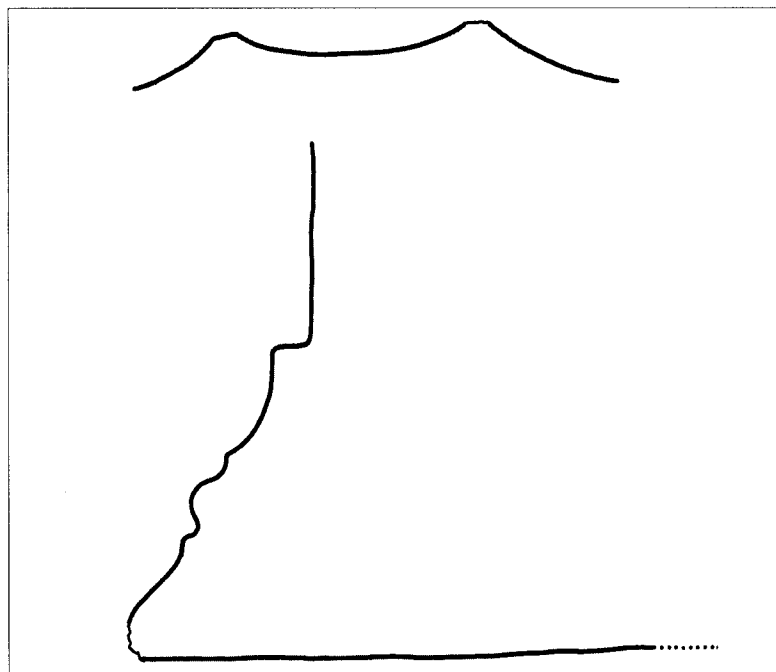


Fig. 1. Lavda, column basis LB31. (Drawing: J.J. Feije.)



Fig. 2. Lavda, marble capital LM45. (Photo: J.J. Feije.)



Fig. 3. Lavda, marble capital LM30. (Photo: J.J. Feije.)



Fig. 4. Lavda, frieze block LB90. (Photo: J.J. Feije.)

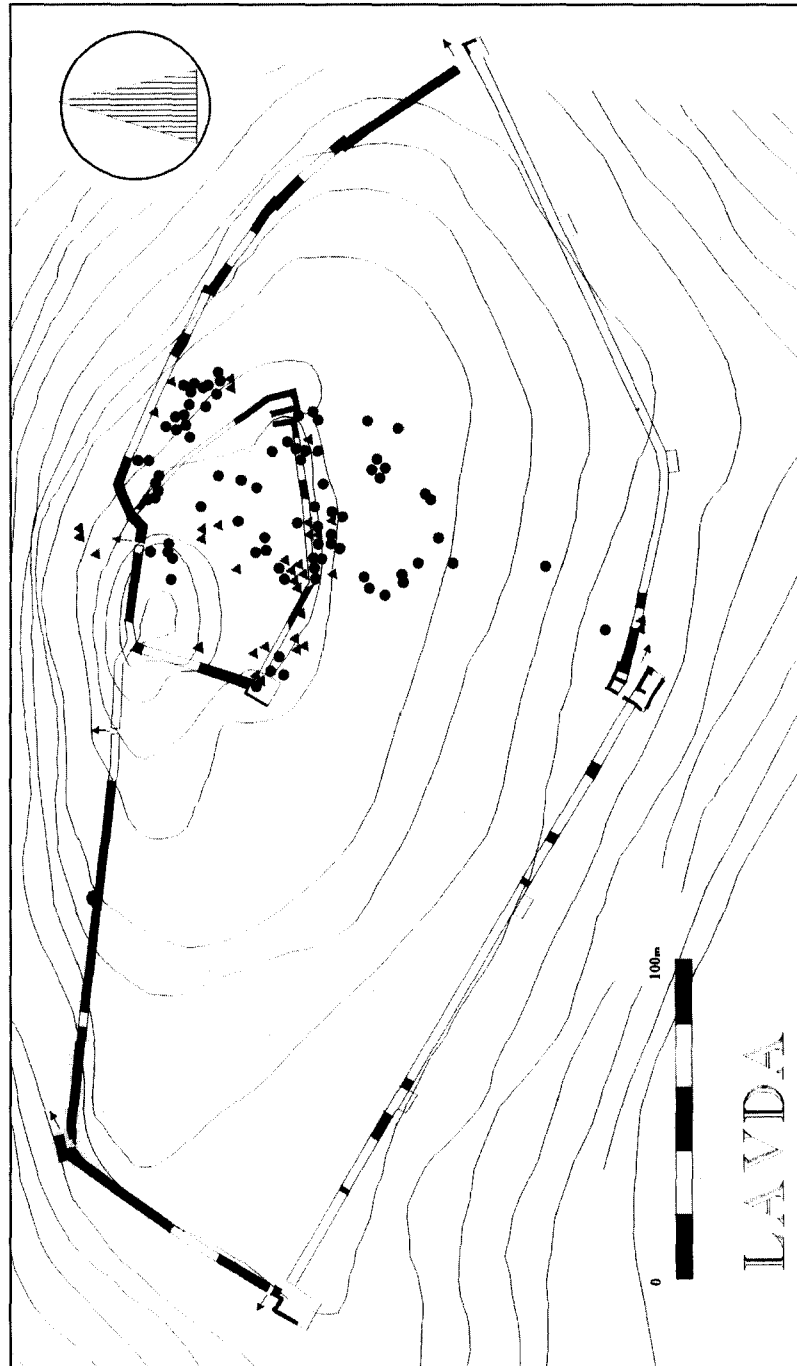


Fig. 5. Lavda, distribution map of the architectural blocks. (Drawing: D.M. van de Vrie.)

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

Anna Vasiliki Karapanagiotou

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.¹ (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.² 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.

* My warmest acknowledgements are offered to Prof. Hans Lauter and to my colleague Dr. Polyxeni Bouyia for their useful comments on the text. My gratitude is also expressed to the editor Prof. Erik Østby and to Dr. Chrysanthi Gallou for the translation of the original Greek text. This paper is a slightly changed version of the communication read at the seminar, with the addition of detailed data reports and the absolutely necessary footnotes. The processing and conservation of the material from the excavation have not yet been completed, therefore the evidence presented here is far from conclusive. See also the papers on the subject by Karapanagiotou 1997; *ead.* 1998; *ead.*, forthcoming.

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.³ 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.⁴ 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 ..."⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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).⁸ 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.⁹ (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.¹⁰

The general picture obtained so far at Kyparissia is as follows: Six parallel streets, 4.60 m wide, the στενωποί,¹¹ 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-

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.¹²

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.¹³ 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 m² large) extends to the east of the corridor.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ The western part of the houses functioned as store-rooms, as suggested by a system of rectangular rooms, walls without openings in

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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ (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.¹⁸

The excavation of the best-preserved part of the wall has not yet confirmed the systematic use of towers.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹ 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

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.²² 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.²³ 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,²⁴ and Halieis in Southern Argolid.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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.²⁸ Its position within a plain and its enclosure by a fortification wall correspond with the evidence from Kyparissia.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.³¹ Consequently, the area enclosed by the walls occupied at least 40 ha.³²

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

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,³⁴ 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.³⁵

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.³⁶ 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.³⁷ (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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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.⁴⁶ The metal objects, of iron and bronze, are connected with the

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 (σασπωτήρ) which is typologically similar to another such object from Arkadia, dated around 500 B.C.⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹
2. The life of the orthogonally planned city reached its peak in the second half of the 5th to late 4th century B.C.⁵⁰
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.⁵¹

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.⁵² 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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ The synoecism of Heraea is dated to 370 B.C.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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*.⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ His passage 5.33.1-3 demonstrates that the

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).⁶⁰ 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”.⁶¹ 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.⁶² 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,⁶³ the only Parrhasian town attested in ancient sources⁶⁴ as early as the 6th century B.C.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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,⁶⁷ 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.)



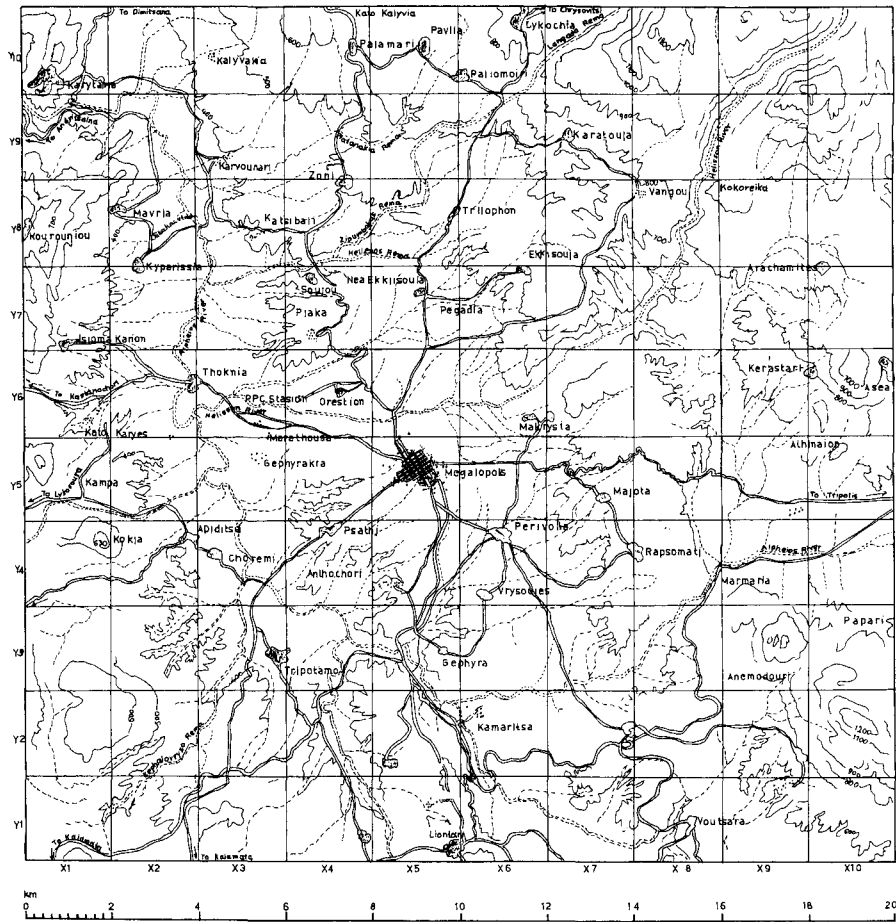
Fig. 3. Kyparissia. Detail of Street 3, with pavement, drainage channel and rooms behind it, seen from southwest. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)



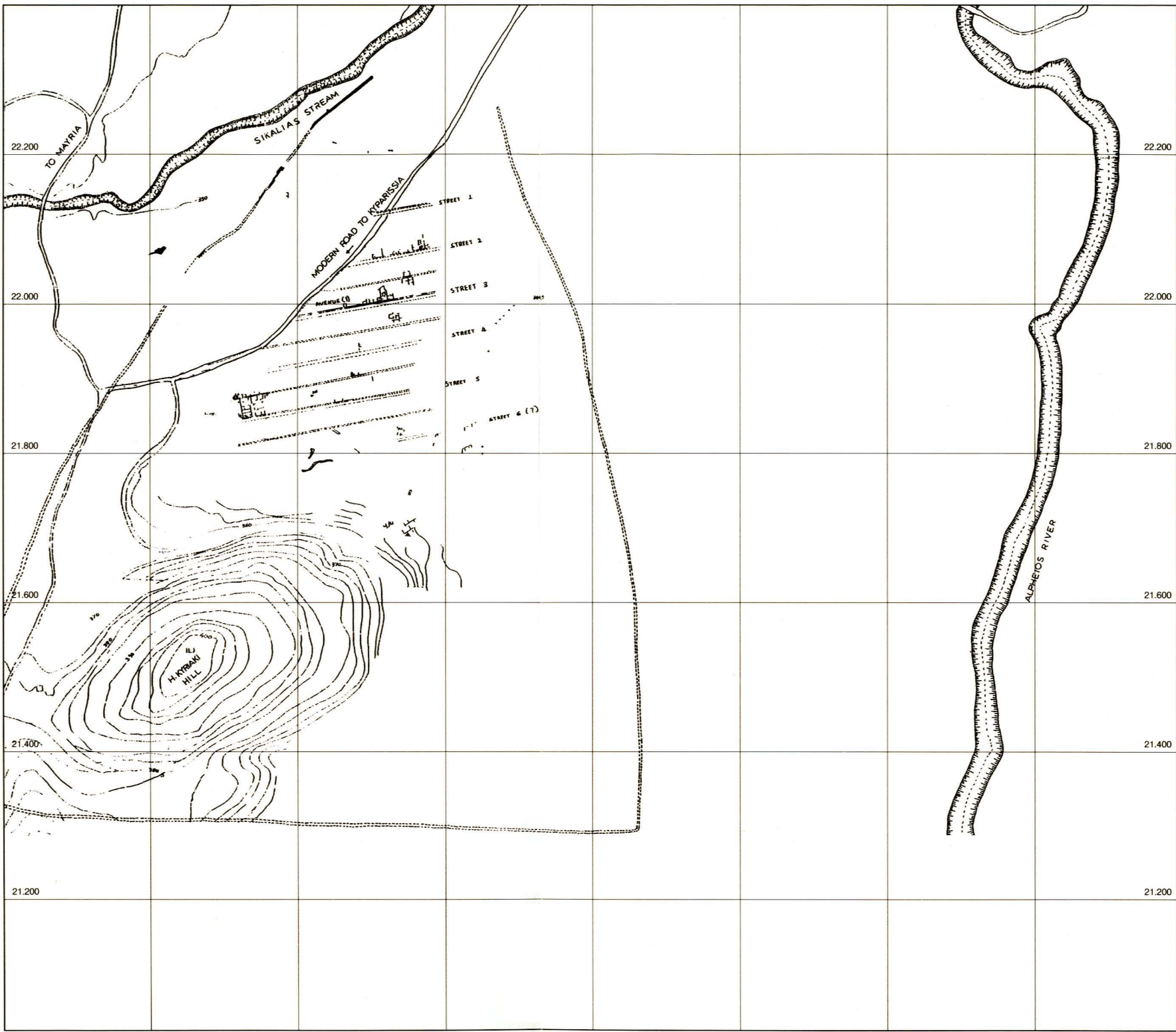
Fig. 4. Kyparissia. General view of the house-complex north of Street 5, seen from southwest. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)



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



Plan 1. Map of southwestern Arkadia. (Plan: based on Petronotis 1973, fig. 3.)



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

Κλείτωρ. Η πόλη υπό το φως των ανασκαφών **Γενική θεώρηση ανασκαφικών δεδομένων**

Μαρία Πετριτάκη

Excavations at the site of the city of Arcadian Kleitor began in 1987. To date, the main body of archaeological evidence lies in the finds from the systematic excavation in the area between the theatre and the SW gate as well as in those from an extensive rescue excavation, which preceded the installation of the irrigation system of the valley. From this and other relevant evidence, much information has been obtained concerning the building history of the ancient city. The fortification wall, which surrounded the city, was of an estimated length of ca. 2500-3000 m, and it enclosed an area of about 1.9 sq. km. The socle is built of stone, with the core-with-facings (*emplekton*) method, following the trapezoidal system. The superstructure consisted of mud-bricks. At the SW gate, two Hellenistic phases can be distinguished, while there are indications of an earlier, but not clearly identifiable one. The theatre lies at the SW end of the city, and evidence of a *diazoma* has been located. The theatre seems to have been used as a quarry already from the Roman period. At the crossing of the two main streets of the city, at the site of Frangokklesi, there is evidence of an organized settlement of the classical and Hellenistic periods. During the Roman period, the settlement extended considerably outside the city walls, where rural structures of this period have been located. Organized cemeteries lie outside the gates. There are burials dating from the Late Geometric period until the Late Roman. Excavation and surface finds lead to the conclusion that Frangokklesi was built on the site of an Early Christian basilica. Activity in the city seems to have ceased in the 4th century A.D. In all probability, it was transferred to the west, to the site of the modern village of Kleitoras, known under this name since medieval times.

Finally, it must be added that prehistoric artefacts found in excavations or collected on the surface, suggest activity in the valley in the pre-Mycenaean period with dwellings on the surrounding hills.

Η ανασκαφική έρευνα στην πόλη του Αρκαδικού Κλείτορα άρχισε να δρομολογείται στα 1987. Η προσπάθεια μας συγκροτήθηκε μέσα από την ΣΤ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων με συντελεστές στο εγ-

χείρημα ένα τοπικό Σύλλογο,¹ και τη Νομαρχία Αχαΐας. Με σταθερό βηματισμό, υπερβαίνοντας ένα σύνθετο πλέγμα εμποδίων, μετά τις πρώτες τοπογραφικές εργασίες,² και ένα σύντομο προκαταρκτικό δοκιμαστικό έλεγχο, διαμορφώνουμε συστηματική ανασκαφή στο ΝΔ τμήμα της πόλης στον μεταξύ της νοτιοδυτικής πύλης και του θεάτρου χώρο. Παρ' ότι οι ανασκαφικές περιόδους που ακολούθησαν, αθροιστικά, είναι ελάχιστες, αναζητώντας παράλληλα με τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα τα ίχνη της μέσα στη διάσταση του τοπίου της, αρχίζει να αποτυπώνεται κλιμακωτή η γνώση του ιστορικού παρελθόντος της. Στα 1991, με την έναρξη στην περιοχή του μεγάλου αρδευτικού έργου της κοιλάδας του Αροαρίου, το οποίο εφαρμόζεται και σε τμήμα της πεδιάδας της αρχαίας πόλης, ο στόχος μας υπηρετείται με πλούτο αρχαιολογικών πληροφοριών. Η πόλη αρχίζει πλέον να ανασυντίθεται και να αφηγείται την οικοδομική της ιστορία, μέσα από τα σκάμματα των νέων αγροτικών δρόμων, των σωληνώσεων και των αποστραγγιστικών τάφρων του έργου.³

Η χάραξη της πορείας του οχρωματικού περιβάλλοντος προσαρμοσμένη στο πεδινό έδαφος της περιοχής το ανάγλυφο του οποίου εκμεταλλεύεται, είναι πλέον γνωστή και υπολογίσιμη σχεδόν σε όλη την περίμετρο του ακόμη και στην ανατολική πλευρά, όπου το τείχος είναι αφανές. (Σχ. 1) Το ορατό μέρος του διατηρείται σε κάτοψη στο επίπεδο της επιφανείας του εδάφους, αλλού καθ' όλο το πάχος, αλλού ενδεικτικά. Καλύπτει μια συνεχή απόσταση περίπου 1500 μ. και φέρει 14 ημικυκλικούς πύργους. Το μόνο εξέχον υπέργειο τμήμα του είναι ένας ημικυκλικός πύργος στην ενσωματωμένη στο τείχος φυσική ακρόπολη, στη θέση Κόντρα, απ' όπου επιτυγχάνεται ο έλεγχος όλης της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Από την περαιτέρω συνέχεια του άξονά του, τμήματα

1. Καθοριστική υπήρξε στην υλοποίηση του στόχου μας η υποστήριξη του Συλλόγου Κλειτορολευκασίων Πάτρας. Η ισόρροπη συμβολή του, ηθική και οικονομική, αποφασιστική και καρποφόρα, αποτέλεσε την αφετηρία μακράς συνεργασίας επί του θέματος του αρχαίου Κλείτορος.

2. Η τοπογραφική αποτύπωση των επιφανειακών αρχαιολογικών ενδείξεων άρχισε στα 1987 με συνεργείο της Τεχνικής Υπηρεσίας του Υπουργείου Γεωργίας. Εκκινώντας από τα δυτικά, κάλυψε μέρος της αρχαίας πόλης μέχρι την περιοχή του Φραγκοκκλησιού. Η ολοκλήρωση της καταγραφής των τοπογραφικών στοιχείων μέσα από τα οποία ανιχνεύεται η πόλη συμπεριλαμβανομένων και των ενδιαμέσως αναδειχθέντων ανασκαφικά λειψάνων, συντελέστηκε πολύ αργότερα στα 1993-94, επ' αφορμή του μεγάλου αρδευτικού έργου της κοιλάδας του Αροαρίου και πραγματοποιήθηκε υπό την διεύθυνσή μας από τον τοπογράφο αρχιτέκτονα Χαρ. Μπαρμπόπουλο. Πρόκειται για την πρώτη τοπογραφική αποτύπωση της αρχαίας πόλης. Όπως είναι γνωστό, προσπάθεια σχετικής σκιαγράφησης του γενικού περιγράμματός της έχει γίνει στο παρελθόν από τους Reinach και Lebas 1888, 34, με πλησιέστερη αυτή του Παπανδρέου 1920, 113.

3. Για μια πρόδρομη συνοπτική αναφορά στην πόλη υπό το πρίσμα των ανασκαφών βλπ. Πετριτάκη 1996. Επίσης, Πετριτάκη 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993.

του οποίου εντοπίστηκαν κατά τόπους ανασκαφικά, υπολογίζουμε ότι περιέτρεχε την πόλη σε συνολικό μήκος γύρω στα 2500-3000 μ. ορίζοντας την έκτασή της στα 577 στρέμματα περίπου. Τα τμήματα του ανατολικού και βόρειου σκέλους του τείχους, όπως φάνηκε, έχουν δεχθεί τις καταστροφικές συνέπειες του ποταμού Καρνεσίου. Ο ποταμός, ενώ κατά την αρχαιότητα έρεε εκτός των τειχών, διασχίζοντας στην σύγχρονη εποχή την καρδιά της πόλης με κατεύθυνση Α-Δ, με τη συχνή μεταβολή και τις διακλαδώσεις της κοίτης του, τις υπερχειλίσσεις και την ορμητικότητα του νερού του κατά την χειμερινή περίοδο, διαβρώνει και επιχωματώνει τα αρχαία κατάλοιπα αενάως. Μέσα στην ενεργή στις μέρες μας κοίτη του ποταμού Καρνεσίου, θαμμένα κάτω από τις μεγάλου πάχους αποθέσεις του αποκαλύψαμε ένα ημικυκλικό πύργο⁴ και μεσοπύργιο τμήμα του τείχους στην προέκτασή του, ΝΑ. Διατηρείται η λίθινη κρηπίδα δομημένη κατά την έμπλεκτη τεχνική. Στις εξωτερικές επιφάνειες φέρει τοίχους με εφαρμογή του τραπεζιόσημου συστήματος,⁵ από πλίνθους ντόπιου ασβεστόλιθου αδρά δουλεμένους και στο μεταξύ αυτών κενό κροκάλες και λατύπη. Η τοιχοδομία του συμπληρώνεται με κατά διαστήματα εγκάρσιους τοίχους, τα ζεύγματα, οι οποίοι έδεναν τις εξωτερικές παρειές. Στον πύργο (Εικ. 1) επισημαίνεται δομική ανεξαρτησία από το τείχος και φαίνεται πως ανήκει σ' αυτούς οι οποίοι αντιπροσωπεύουν την επονομαζόμενη νέα γενεά, η οποία κατά τον Winter μετά δυσκολίας θα μπορούσε να χρονολογηθεί πριν το 300 π.Χ.⁶ Εντελώς άλλη είναι η εικόνα των τμημάτων του ΒΑ σκέλους του οχυρωματικού περιβόλου, όπου διαπιστώθηκε ανατειχισμός. Το τείχος έχει αναμορφωθεί και οι εξωτερικοί τοίχοι έχουν αντικατασταθεί με άλλους από λογάδες λίθους αναμειγμένους κατά διαστήματα με λιθοπλίνθους. Το επικοδόμημα του λιθολογήματος φαίνεται πως ήταν από πλίθρες. Το συμπεραίνουμε και επιβεβαιώνεται από την ανασκαφική έρευνα στην οχυρωματική εγκατάσταση της ΝΔ πύλης, όπου εντοπίσαμε τα κενά από τους προϋπάρχοντες εγκάρσιους ξύλινους ενδέσμους που συγκρατούσαν το σώμα των ώμων πλίθρων σε συνδυασμό με την χρήση ξύλινων οριζοντίως και κατά μήκος τοποθετημένων στοιχείων, των θράνων.

Η εν εξελίξει ευρισκομένη έρευνα τμήματος του ΝΔ πυλώνα απέφερε ένα αξιόλογο δείγμα οχυρωματικής αρχιτεκτονικής και μια κύρια πύλη ελέγχου

4. Προφανώς δεν είναι ο πύργος ο μνημονευόμενος από τον Παπανδρέου 1920, 103-4. Επίσης, Winter 1989, 198.

5. Πρόκειται για ένα σύστημα κυμαινόμενο μεταξύ πολυγωνικού και τραπεζιόσημου με επικράτηση του τραπεζιόσημου. Κατά τον Winter, χωρίς αμφιβολία υπάρχει ένας σημαντικός αριθμός ελληνιστικών παραδειγμάτων πολυγωνικού συστήματος. Ωστόσο, το τραπεζιόσημο, βελτίωση του πολυγωνικού και λέσβιου, από την άποψη της ταχύτητας και της οικονομίας προσφερόταν για την κατασκευή των τειχών. Winter 1979, 90-1, και Jost 1999, 203.

6. Winter 1989, 199, και Winter 1979, 193, n. 110.

εισόδου της πόλης, προσαρμοσμένη σε κεντρική αρτηρία του οδικού δικτύου με Α-Δ κατεύθυνση. Η πύλη διαμορφώνεται σε εσοχή του τείχους. Εξωτερικά ελέγχεται από ισχυρό ορθογώνιο πύργο με ημικυκλική προεξοχή σε τμήμα της πρόσοψής του. Εσωτερικά η εγκατάστασή της αποτελείται από δυο διαδοχικούς αύλειους χώρους, ένα τετράγωνο για την παγίδευση του επιτιθεμένου, ένα άλλο ορθογώνιο αμυντικό και δυο διαδοχικές εσωτερικές θύρες. Η προς τα έξω διατηρεί τους επιχαικωμένους όλμους των στροφών της. (Εικ. 2) Η προς τα μέσα είναι τριπλή. Τέσσερις βάσεις πεσσών παραστάδων διαμορφώνουν μια κεντρική είσοδο για τα άρματα και δυο πλευρικές για τους πεζούς. Ένα ακόμη άνοιγμα εισόδου πιθανόν για διευκόλυνση του χειρισμού των μεγάλων καταπελτών, εντοπίζεται στο τείχος νότια του τετραγώνου αύλειου χώρου και δεξιά του επιτιθεμένου, το οποίο έκλεισε σε δεύτερη οικοδομική φάση. Το εντοπισθέν τμήμα της πύλης συνιστά το νότιο ήμισυ της. Μας επιτρέπει να συμπληρώσουμε το υπολοιπόμενο για την ολοκλήρωση και διαμόρφωση του μορφότυπου της.

Με βάση την στρωματική διαδοχή, επισημαίνονται δυο φάσεις των ελληνιστικών χρόνων με υπερυψωμένα δάπεδα και μετασκευή και ορίζεται ένα ακόμη δάπεδο χρήσης χαμηλότερα στο επίπεδο έναρξης του θεμελίου το οποίο δεν σώζεται, αλλά αντιστοιχεί στην αρχική φάση της οχύρωσης. Η ιστορική διασύνδεση με την μαρτυρούμενη από τον Πολύβιο⁷ ανεπιτυχή απόπειρα των Αιτωλών το 220/19 π.Χ. να καταλάβουν την πόλη στηρίζοντας τις κλίμακες τους στο τείχος, τεκμηριώνει την ύπαρξή της σε μια περίοδο όπου η καμπύλη εξέλιξης της στρατιωτικής τεχνολογίας είναι ιδιαίτερα υψηλή επιβάλλοντας αντίστοιχα οικοδομική εξέλιξη στις οχυρώσεις. Ο ακριβής όμως καθορισμός του χρόνου της αρχικής κατασκευής της είναι δύσκολος, τουλάχιστον με την ελλειμματική εικόνα της έρευνας που διαθέτουμε προς ώρας. Συγκρίσεις ως προς τις αρχές της τυπολογίας και διαμόρφωσης της πύλης, όπως η τοποθέτηση σε εσοχή και η διαδοχή αυλών, στοιχεία εξελιγμένης κλασσικής οχυρωματικής, που υπαγορεύονται από την διάδοση της χρήσης και εξέλιξη του καταπέλτη και των πολιορκητικών μηχανών, καθώς και η τειχοδομία, φαίνεται να οδηγούν με επιφύλαξη την αρχική φάση στον 4ο π.Χ. αιώνα.⁸

Μια ακόμη πύλη εντοπίστηκε στα ΒΔ με κατάλοιπα δυο πύργων διαφορετικών οικοδομικών φάσεων, προσανατολισμένη στην κατεύθυνση προσπέλασης της πόλης με άξονα Β-Ν. Είναι αξιοσημείωτο, ότι και οι δυο παραπάνω αναφερθείσες βασικές αρτηρίες της πόλης, οι οποίες διασυνδέονται με τις πύλες, επιβίωσαν στις μέρες μας στην πορεία δυο παλιών αγροτικών δρόμων που διασχίζουν το χώρο της. Εμμέσως, από την συνεκτίμηση στοιχείων της

7. Πολύβιος, 4.19.2-5.

8. Λόγος διεξοδικός επ' αυτού θα γίνει στην επικείμενη αναλυτική δημοσίευση για την ΝΔ πύλη και τον οχυρωματικό περίβολο εν γένει.

πορείας του τείχους και εντοπισθέντος νεκροταφείου, σηματοδοτείται η ύπαρξη και τρίτης πύλης ΝΑ.

Στο ΝΔ τμήμα του πολεοδομικού ιστού της πόλης πολύ κοντά στο πέρας της οχύρωσης προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση, βρίσκεται το θέατρο, το οποίο είναι προφανές ότι είχε εξαρχής περιληφθεί στο σχεδιασμό της. Η επισήμανση της θέσης του είχε γίνει από παλιά με αναφορά σε αυτό από τους W.M. Leake, J.G. Frazer, E. Curtius και Γ. Παπανδρέου. Προκαταρκτικός δοκιμαστικός έλεγχος⁹ ο οποίος πραγματοποιήθηκε μέχρι τούδε μόνο στο κοίλο, εξαιτίας πρακτικών δυσκολιών εκ του ιδιοκτησιακού καθεστώτος, απέφερε λείψανα επτά συνολικά σειρών εδρών μετατοπισμένων, αλλά με λογικοφανή πλοκή και σύνολο συσσωρευμένων αρχιτεκτονικών μελών και δομικών στοιχείων όλων των ειδών, από επιφανειακό καθαρισμό.

Η πρόσθια πλευρά των ασβεστολιθικών εδωλίων είναι κατακόρυφη με εξοχή οριζόντιας ταινίας στο επάνω μέρος. Στην επιφάνεια εδράσης διαμορφώνουν άπεργο κατά το κέντρο και χαμηλότερα επεξεργασμένα άκρα. Όπως φαίνεται δεν εδράζονταν απευθείας στο έδαφος, αλλά η προσαρμογή τους σ' αυτό γινόταν με ιδιαίτερη υποθεμελίωση. Το στοιχείο αυτό εξάγεται από τους μικρούς πλακοειδείς λίθους που βρέθηκαν ανάμεσά τους, ορισμένοι των οποίων φέρουν μοχλοβόθρια και οι οποίοι λειτουργούσαν ως κρατευτές. Ακόμη σε απόσταση από την ορχήστρα διαπιστώθηκε τμήμα μετατοπισμένης σειράς θρόνων της προεδρίας (Εικ. 3), το οποίο θεωρούμε ότι στοιχειοθετεί την ύπαρξη διαζώματος. Τούτο τεκμηριώνεται και ενισχύεται από την εύρεση κατά χώραν δυο πλακοειδών λίθων οι οποίοι υποβάσταζαν ένα τέτοιο θρόνο της προεδρίας, προφανώς της πρώτης σειράς του επιθεάτρου. Οι θρόνοι επιφανειακά ορατοί και εξ ανασκαφής προερχόμενοι, ανήκουν στον μονόλιθο συνεχόμενο τύπο, αλλά και τους μεμονωμένους αυτοτελείς, οι οποίοι συνδέονται μεταξύ τους. Δεν είναι δυνατόν να προσδιορίσουμε το εύρος του θεάτρου, πριν επεκταθούμε στην ορχήστρα. Εξίσου αδύνατο είναι να μιλήσουμε για τη χρονολόγηση του. Στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους βρίσκεται σε λειτουργία και αυτό μπορεί να αντιστοιχισθεί με το ιστορικό γεγονός της συνόδου της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας που μας μεταφέρει ο Λίβιος¹⁰ ότι έλαβε χώρα στην πόλη του Κλείτορα το 184 π.Χ. Στα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια ήδη έχει αρχίσει η λεηλασία και διαρπαγή του αρχιτεκτονικού του υλικού. Έδρανα του θεάτρου βρέθηκαν κτισμένα σαν δομικό υλικό σε δεύτερη χρήση σε κτίσματα της περιόδου αυτής κοντά στην περιοχή του, ενώ η κατασκευή ενός κεραμεικού κλιβάνου απέναντι από το λόφο του μνημείου, στο λόφο Καταρράχη, επισφραγίζει την υποβάθμιση του χώρου.

Το οικιστικό πλέγμα της κλασικής-ελληνιστικής πόλης από την διασπορά των ορατών ενδείξεων και τα λιγοστά ανασκαφικά δεδομένα φαίνεται να δια-

9. Βλπ. Πετριτάκη 2001α.

10. Livius 39.36.3-4.

χέεται παντού. Το σταυροδρόμι δυο οδικών αρτηριών της πόλης στην θέση του Φραγκοκκλησιού, συνηγορεί για την ύπαρξη συγκροτημένης οικιστικής ζώνης στην περιοχή του. Η πόλη από τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα υφίσταται τον 1ο αιώνα π.Χ. και το μεταφερόμενο από τον Στράβωνα¹¹ "... οὐκ ἐτ' εἰσίν, ἢ μόλις αὐτῶν ἵχνη φαίνεται καὶ σημεῖα ..." δεν ανταποκρίνεται στην αλήθεια για την πόλη του Κλείτορα. Αργότερα στους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, όπως διαπιστώθηκε, η οικιστική φυσιογνωμία της περιοχής αλλάζει. Γίνονται μεταθέσεις μέρους της εγκατάστασης περιφερειακά και η κατοίκηση εξαπλώνεται εκτός των τειχών, γεγονός το οποίο υπαγορεύτηκε από τις μεταβλημένες βιοτικές συνθήκες, τους κοινωνικούς και οικονομικούς μηχανισμούς της εποχής αυτής. Έτσι, έχουμε αγροτικές δομές αυτής της περιόδου οι οποίες αναπτύσσονται κατά μήκος του δρόμου στην έξοδο από την ΝΔ πύλη, στην περιοχή του Αγίου Πέτρου και σε δυο ακόμη οικιστικούς πυρήνες στην εξωτερική ζώνη του οικισμού ανατολικά. Στον Άγιο Πέτρο διαπιστώθηκε κτιριακό συγκρότημα (Εικ. 4), το οποίο συνιστά αγροτικό συνοικισμό, όπου κατοικούσε πιθανόν περιοδικά ή ευκαιριακά μια κοινωνική ομάδα από γαιοκτήμονες της περιοχής, μάλλον αμπελουργούς. Εμφανίζει κοινό σύστημα οργάνωσης με την ζωή επικεντρωμένη σε φυσικό θύλακα γόνιμης πεδινής έκτασης και στο χώρο βοσκής και υλοτόμησης που τον περιβάλλει. Η θέση του οικισμού επέτρεπε να ασκούν την γεωργία η οποία αποτελούσε μια από τις βασικές εισοδηματικές πηγές των κατοίκων και παράλληλα να απολαμβάνουν τα οφέλη που εξασφάλιζε η γειννίαση με την πόλη. Παρά την αποσπασματικότητα, την κακή διατήρηση και την ελλιπή ανασκαφική έρευνα, διακρίνουμε δυο ομοιόμορφες ιδιοκτησίες μικρού μεγέθους διαχωριζόμενες από ένα διάδρομο. Αποτελούνται από ένα δωμάτιο εντός περιβόλου, όπου περιλαμβάνεται εγκατάσταση ληνεώνος, μέρος του οποίου συνιστά κτιστή δεξαμενή,¹² επιχρισμένη με υδραυλικό κονίαμα, δάπεδο με πήλινες πλάκες και συλλεκτήρα για την καθίζηση του γλεύκους. Η αμπελοκαλλιέργεια είναι διαδεδομένη στην περιοχή. Ληνοί εντοπίζονται και στις άλλες αγροικίες, όπως ΝΑ επίσης έξω από τον βραχίονα του τείχους. Η εύρεση μάλιστα στον Κλείτορα τρίστηλου ελληνόγλωσσου αποσπάσματος του Διοκλητιανού προστάγματος,¹³ το οποίο αναφέρεται κυρίως στις τιμές διατίμησης του μούστου και του κρασιού ενισχύει την εικόνα οργανωμένης εμπορικής δραστηριότητας για την εκμετάλλευσή του στο επίκεντρο της οποίας ήταν η πόλη.

Τα εκτός του άστεως οργανωμένα συστηματικά νεκροταφεία, άμεσα συσχετιζόμενα με το τείχος εντοπίζονται έξω από τις πύλες που ήδη προαναφέραμε, καθώς και ΝΑ εκεί όπου, κατά τη γνώμη μας, υπολανθάνει, δίνοντάς μας

11. Στράβων, *Γεωγραφικά*, 8.8.2.

12. Πρβλ. Κουρκουτίδου-Νικολαΐδου 1973, και Μητσοπούλος-Λέον 1992-93.

13. Giacchero 1974, vol. 1, 71-2, vol. II *Imagines*, tav. I, II. Επίσης, Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III, suppl. 2, 2328⁶¹.

σημείο αναφοράς του ορίου της οχύρωσης προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση, μια ακόμη πύλη του. Ωστόσο, επισημαίνονται και άλλες συστάδες τάφων ή μεμονωμένες ταφές, καθώς με την παρακμή της πόλης και την συρρίκνωσή της η ταφική χρήση γενικεύεται και εξαπλώνεται παντού.

Ιδιαίτερης σημασίας αποδείχτηκε μεμονωμένος ταφικός πίθος των υστερογεωμετρικών χρόνων, ο οποίος βρέθηκε εκτός των τειχών, στην χώρα της πόλης ΒΔ και περιείχε ένα χάλκινο κράνος (Εικ. 5) και δυο αγγεία. Είναι προφανές ότι πρόκειται για τάφο πολεμιστή συνοδευόμενο από την αμυντική του σκευή. Το κράνος είναι κωνικό. Αποτελείται από κωνικό πύλο, ο οποίος με την παρεμβολή ανάγλυφου δακτυλίου συρράπτεται με προμετωπίδα, επαυχένιο και παραγναθίδες καμπύλου περιγράμματος. Το χείλος περιθέει ανάγλυφη γραμμή και η ακραία παρυφή φέρει οπές για την στερέωση της επένδυσης. Σε σχέση με τα κράνη της περιόδου αυτής σύμφωνα με την ταξινόμηση του Borchhardt¹⁴ ανήκει στην κατηγορία δ'. Τα κωνικά κράνη χωρίς λοφίο, αλλά με ιδιαίτερα τονισμένη την ψηλή κορυφή του κώνου, που είναι η απλούστερη μορφή κράνους και ο τύπος τους είναι γνωστός από την αγγειογραφία. Παράλληλά του αποτελούν το κωνικό κράνος της Βουδαπέστης, άλλα από υστερογεωμετρικούς τάφους του Άργους και κράνη από την Ολυμπία.¹⁵

Ο ενταφιασμός σε πίθους εμφανίζεται ιδιαίτερα διαδεδομένος τρόπος ταφής. Με εξαίρεση την προαναφερθείσα υστερογεωμετρική ταφή, από μια πρώτη εκτίμηση, οι πιθοταφές εκκινούν από τον 6ο π.Χ. αιώνα και φτάνουν στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους. Ανάμεσα στους πίθους περιλαμβάνονται και δυο ενδιαφέροντα δείγματα με ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση. Το ένα είναι διακοσμημένο με σύστημα τριπλής ανάγλυφης σχοινοειδούς ταινίας στο λαιμό, το άλλο φέρει γραμμική διακόσμηση αποτελούμενη επίσης από σχοινοειδείς ταινίες στοιχημένες και συμπλεκόμενες, που στολίζουν περισσότερες ζώνες του αγγείου.

Κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους κυριαρχεί ο κιβωτιόσχημος και κεραμοσκεπής τάφος. Όπως διαπιστώθηκε στους κιβωτιόσχημους τάφους είχαν χρησιμοποιηθεί σαν δομικό υλικό σε δεύτερη χρήση, επιγραφές προγενέστερων περιόδων, προερχόμενες κυρίως από επιτύμβιες στήλες. Στήλες κοινές, με επίπεδο κορμό, με ή χωρίς πλαισίωση, με αετωματική επίστεψη και με την στερεότυπη έκφραση “χαίρε”. Ιδιαίτερη ομάδα ανάμεσα στις επιτύμβιες στήλες αποτελεί ο τύπος με ιωνικό ανακλιτροειδές επίκρανο (*sofa capitelle*), γνωστός ως τύπος της δυτικής Ελλάδας, δείγμα του οποίου βρέθηκε σε βιοτεχνική περιοχή, στην χώρα της πόλης, ανατολικά. Τμήματα επιτύμβιων στηλών του ίδιου τύπου έχουν και παλαιότερα βρεθεί.¹⁶

14. Borchhardt 1972, 39-40.

15. Courbin 1957, 365, fig. 48. Πρωτονοταρίου-Δεϊλάκη 1982, 44, 36, εικ. 2. Kunze 1958, 123-4.

16. Fraser και Rönne 1957, 202.

Γνωρίζουμε ότι τα χρόνια που ακολούθησαν την καταστροφή της Κορίνθου πολλοί Ρωμαίοι πραγματευμένοι κατοικούντες ή παρεπιδημούντες ανάπτυξαν στην Πελοπόννησο εμπορική δραστηριότητα. Ανάμεσα στους τόπους που εγκαταστάθηκαν μαρτυρείται επιγραφικά η παρουσία τους και στον Κλείτορα με τα ονόματα Ρασιπίι – Γεμίνιι,¹⁷ η μνεία των οποίων χωρίς αμβολία υποδηλώνει την ύπαρξη ρωμαϊκής κοινότητας στην πόλη. Επιτύμβια δίγλωσση επιγραφή αναφερόμενη σε Ρωμαίο, η οποία βρέθηκε στο ανατολικό νεκροταφείο σαν δομικό υλικό κιβωτιόσχημου τάφου, επιβεβαιώνει την ύπαρξη της κοινότητας αυτής.

Στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της πόλης επισημαίνουμε και την βιοτεχνική της δραστηριότητα. Στη θέση Φιλομάτη, στα χαμηλά προνή του λόφου του συνοικισμού της Καλλιθέας αποκαλύφθηκε τμήμα κεραμεικού κλίβανου ορθογωνίου τύπου του α΄ μισού του 4ου π.Χ. αιώνα. Ανάμεσα στα θραύσματα των αγγείων που περισώθηκαν στο εσωτερικό των δυο συρίγγων του θαλάμου θέρμανσης, βρέθηκε μια ενδιαφέρουσα μήτρα ανάγλυφου πλακιδίου με απεικόνιση του ήρωα Ακταίωνα (Εικ. 6) που κατασπαράσσεται από τα σκυλιά του. Γνώμη μας είναι, όπως έχει διατυπωθεί και σε ιδιαίτερο άρθρο που αφορά στο συγκεκριμένο εύρημα,¹⁸ ότι η διαχείριση του μύθου, στην κατασκευή του συγκεκριμένου αντικειμένου πιθανόν αποτροπαϊκού χαρακτήρα, υπαινίσσεται λατρεία της Αρτέμιδος στην περιοχή, παρ' ότι δεν μαρτυρείται αυτή στις κατατιθέμενες από τον Πανσαμία.

Κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους όταν η πόλη συρρικνώθηκε, η βιοτεχνική δράση μεταφέρθηκε και εντός του κλασικού πυρήνα της. Στο λόφο Καταράχη αποκαλύφθηκε ένας ακόμη κεραμεικός κλίβανος ορθογωνίου τύπου, με πολύ καλή διατήρηση.

Πολλοί μελετητές υποστήριξαν ότι το εκκλησάκι της Παναγίας, το Φραγκοκλήσι που δηλώνει το πέρασμα των Φράγκων από το χώρο της πόλης καταλαμβάνει τη θέση κάποιου αρχαίου ναού. Στοιχεία τα οποία απορρέουν από το δομικό υλικό της κατασκευής του και τα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη που βρίσκονται συγκεντρωμένα στο εσωτερικό του, σε συνδυασμό με άλλα ανασκαφικά από την διενέργεια δοκιμαστικών τομών στο χώρο περιμετρικά του, οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι βρίσκεται στην θέση προϋπάρχοντος χριστιανικού ναού.

Τα οικιστικά λείψανα του 3ου π.Χ. αιώνα, και τα κατάλοιπα του 4ου π.Χ. αιώνα, τα οποία συνιστούν το αρχαιότερο στρώμα υποκάτω του, ακολουθούν δομές των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων και ταφική χρήση των ρωμαϊκών και υστερορωμαϊκών χρόνων, η οποία φαίνεται να πλαισιώνει μια υπολανθάνουσα παλααιοχριστιανική βασιλική. Η διέλευση αποστραγγιστικής τάφρου ανατολικά του ιερού του Φραγκοκκλησιού αποκάλυψε πλην της επέκτασης της οικιστικής και

17. Hatzfeld 1919, 149-50, Index 399, και *CIL* III, 95, 495.

18. Πετριτάκη 2001β.

ταφικής χρήσης, μέρος της ασίδας του ναού. Αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη, θραύσματα γυαλιών από τους φεγγίτες των παραθύρων του ναού και νομίσματα του 3ου-4ου μ.Χ. αιώνα στηρίζουν προς το παρόν τη θέση μας. Βέβαια, η έρευνα και η αποκάλυψη του ίδιου του μνημείου θα το προσδιορίσει επαρκέστερα.

Ο Κλείτωρ δεν αναφέρεται στον νηών κατάλογο, όπως γειτονικές αρχαδικές πόλεις. Όμως, προϊστορικά ανασκαφικά ευρήματα, μια λίθινη αξίνα και μια λεπίδα οψιανού, σε συνδυασμό με άλλα από επιφανειακή περισυλλογή, ενισχύουν την άποψη για πολύ πρώιμη χρήση του χώρου στους προμυκηναϊκούς χρόνους. Μια τόσο μεγάλη και πρόσφορη για καλλιέργεια πεδιάδα, που την περιβάλλουν δυο ποτάμια δεν ήταν δυνατόν να μείνει ανεκμετάλλευτη. Η κατοίκηση κατά τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους φαίνεται να εστιάζεται στους γύρω λόφους και έρχεται σε άμεση σχέση με τη διασπορά των ΠΕ και ΜΕ θέσεων της ευρύτερης περιοχής.

Η ταφική μαρτυρία των υστερογεωμετρικών και υστεροαρχαϊκών χρόνων προς το παρόν δεν επιβεβαιώνεται οικιστικά. Τεκμηριώνεται η συνέχεια της ζωής της στους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, γεγονός το οποίο μαρτυρείται και επιγραφικά με την παρουσία της σε ένα κατάλογο πόλεων της Πελοποννήσου του 2ου-3ου μ.Χ. αιώνα. Τον 4ο μ.Χ. αιώνα η πόλη φαίνεται πως υφίσταται τις συνέπειες της γενικής καταστροφής που υπέστη η Πελοπόννησος από τον Αλάριχο και εμφανίζεται ανακοπή στην πορεία της.

Η αναφορά επισκόπου Κλήτορος στο Τακτικό του Παρισινού Κώδικα 1555 Α των αρχών του 8ου αιώνα που κατά τον Γ.Ι. Κονιδάρη¹⁹ αποτελεί αυθεντικό αντίγραφο απολεσθέντος πρωτοτύπου Τακτικού των Εικονομάχων των χρόνων των Ισαύρων (732–746), η ύπαρξη του σημερινού χωριού Κλείτορα με το όνομα της αρχαίας πόλης 4 χιλιομέτρα περίπου δυτικότερα, με το οποίο απαντά από το Μεσαίωνα, η εύρεση θησαυρού²⁰ νομισμάτων του 6ου-7ου μ.Χ. αιώνα στην ίδια περιοχή, στη θέση Κουβούκλι, και η παρουσία του τοπωνυμίου Επισκοπή στην περιοχή Κλείτορα-Καστελλίου, πιστεύουμε ότι επιτρέπουν την υπόθεση, ότι η ζωή της πόλης δεν διακόπτεται, αλλά μετατοπίζεται δυτικότερα στην περιοχή του σημερινού Κλείτορα. Μετά το πέρασμα των Φράγκων, εμφανές από τις οχυρώσεις αυτής της περιόδου, σιώπησε. Το διάδοχο σχήμα του κάμπου της είναι ένα τοπίο που δεν έχει εκπονηθεί χάριν της αναπτύξεως του οικοδομικού επεκτατισμού. Αισιοδοξούμε, ότι θα μπορέσουμε σταδιακά μέσα από την ανάσα της φύσης να ενσωματώσουμε την ιστορία του τόπου στο παρόν.

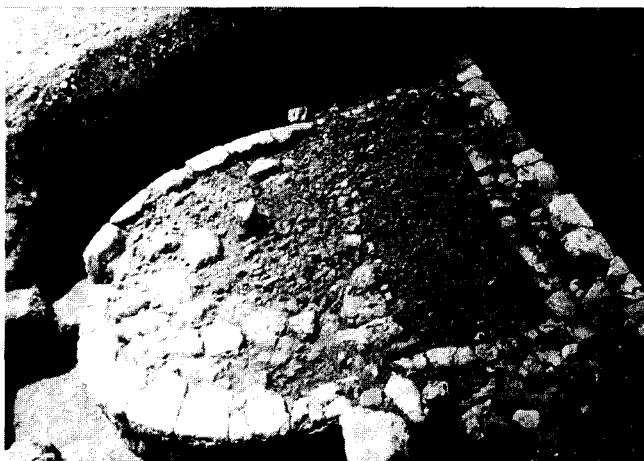
Μαρία Πετριτάκη
ΚΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ
Αλιβιάδου 229
GR – 285 36 Πειραιάς
Greece

19. Κονιδάρη 1980.

20. Αβραμέα 1983, 61.

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Εικ.1. Κάτοψη του πύργου στην κοίτη του ποταμού Καρνεσίου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



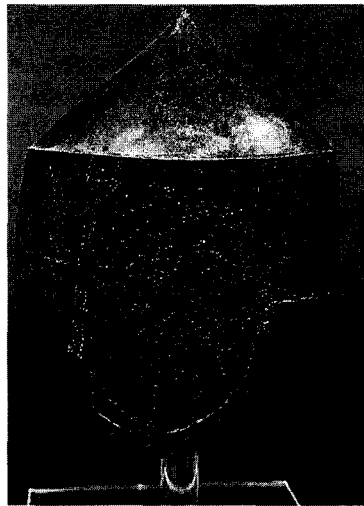
Εικ. 2. Η προς τα έξω εσωτερική θύρα της ΝΔ πύλης. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 3. Μερική άποψη της έρευνας του θεάτρου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 4. Γενική άποψη του αγροτικού συνοικισμού του Αγίου Πέτρου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 5. Το χάλκινο κράνος του υστερογεωμετρικού τάφου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)

Εικ. 6. Η πήλινη μήτρα με απεικόνιση του ήρωα Αχταίωνα. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Έρευνες για την αρχαία Ψοφίδα

Μιχάλης Πετρόπουλος

The project “Investigations in ancient Psophis” started to materialize in 2001, initiated by the 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Patras with the financial support of the Region of Western Greece through the program ΕΠΤΑ and with the help of the municipality of Aroaneaia.

The aims of our project were the following:

- A) the cleaning of the ancient fortification wall,
- B) the cleaning of the visible public buildings,
- C) trial pits for the localization of the ancient theatre,
- D) the locations of the ancient temples of the city.

The cleaning of the wall brought to light almost its whole perimeter. It was established that there were towers in every part of the wall. A new gate was located in its western part.

The most important public building is known as ‘Helleniko’. A large wall supports the building, which consists of a central court and rooms around it, and its excavation will take place during the next period.

The initial trial pits in the western part of the city did not bring to light the ancient theatre, but many walls, which belong to different, probably public, buildings. The trial pits will be continued in this part of the city, because the discovery of a theater mask and of theater tickets during the cleaning of the west wall show that the theatre must be located here.

A trial pit in the court of the monastery of the Virgin Mary brought to light a large Doric capital. G. Papandreou had also found large drums in 1920 in the same area. These elements show that the most important temple of the city, for Aphrodite Erykine, must be located here and not in Ag. Petros by Aphrodision, as Chr. Kardara believes. Numerous architectural members, such as capitals, columns, drums etc. in the neighbouring house of Sp. Taktikos show that in this part of the city we must search for its *agora*.

In 2003, some more trial pits will offer elements for the chronology of the walls, for the location of the theatre, for the identification of the large building ‘Helleniko’ and perhaps for the relations between Psophis and Sicily.

Μία από τις σημαντικότερες πόλεις της Βόρειας Αρκαδίας, περιοχή που σήμερα ανήκει στο νομό Αχαΐας, ήταν και η Ψωφίς, “... παλαιὸν Ἀρκαδῶν κτίσμα τῆς Ἀζανίδος,” κατά τον Πολύβιο (4.70.3). Τα ερείπια της αρχαίας πόλης καταλαμβάνουν μια μεγάλη έκταση 800 στρεμμάτων και, παρά το γεγονός ότι ήταν ανέκαθεν ορατά, εντούτοις δεν είχαν τύχει καμιάς συστηματικής ανασκαφικής έρευνας. Βεβαίως, όλοι οι επιστήμονες που έχουν ασχοληθεί με την Αρκαδία και ιδίως με το βορειότερο τμήμα της την Αζανία,¹ της αφιερώνουν το αναλογούν μερίδιο,² αλλά στηρίζονται προπάντων στις πληροφορίες των αρχαίων πηγών³ και των ορατών της λειψάνων. Βασική και συστηματική αναφορά γίνεται στις μελέτες του, σπουδαίου για τις πληροφορίες που διέσωσε και τις εκτεταμένες περιγραφές των ορατών λειψάνων στην εποχή του, Γυμνασιάρχη Γεωργίου Παπανδρέου. Η πρώτη, ήδη από το 1886 στο βιβλίο του “Αζανιάς”⁴ και η δεύτερη το 1920 με τίτλο “Έρευναι εν Καλαβρύτοις”, στα Πρακτικά της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.⁵ Είχε μεσολαβήσει κατά το 1906 μικρό κεφάλαιο στο βιβλίο του “Καλαβρυτινή Επετηρίς”.⁶ Εκτοτε μόνον ελάχιστες και μικρής έκτασης ανασκαφές έγιναν, κυρίως σωστικού χαρακτήρα, που δεν μπόρεσαν, όμως, να προσφέρουν τίποτε καινούργιο στις γνώσεις μας.⁷

Το 2001, ύστερα από προεργασία δύο ετών, ξεκίνησε το έργο “Έρευνα και Ανάδειξη της Αρχαίας Ψωφίδος” μέσα από το Πρόγραμμα ΕΠΤΑ, που χρηματοδοτήθηκε από την Περιφέρεια Δυτικής Ελλάδος. Στις προσπάθειές της η Εφορεία είχε την αμέριστη συμπαράσταση του Δήμου Αροανίας και προσωπικά του Δημάρχου, με τον οποίο η συνεργασία υπήρξε άριστη.

Το Πρόγραμμα είχε τέσσερις στόχους:

A) τον επιφανειακό καθαρισμό των τειχών, ώστε να διευκρινισθούν σαφέστερα τα όρια της αρχαίας πόλης και για πρώτη φορά να αποτυπωθεί η περίμετρος τους σωστά,

B) τον καθαρισμό των σημαντικότερων ορατών δημόσιων κτηρίων, χωρίς ανασκαφή στην πρώτη φάση,

1. Για τα όρια της αρχαίας Αζανίας βλ. Πίκουλας 1981-82, 269-81.

2. Π.χ. οι πλέον πρόσφατες μελέτες, όπου μπορεί κανείς να βρει όλη την παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία είναι των Roy 1999, 333, Morgan 1999, 422-4, Nielsen 1999, 37 κ.ε., Voyatzis 1999, 136, 157, και Jost 1999, 198-9, 220-1. Βλ. ακόμη Jost 1985, 53-60 και 513-4.

3. Πολύβ. 4.70.3, Πανσ. 8.24.1-14.

4. Παπανδρέου 1886, 14-28.

5. Παπανδρέου 1920, 130-46.

6. Παπανδρέου 1906, 139.

7. Μικρή δοκιμαστική έρευνα είχε γίνει το 1926 από τον Ν. Κυπαρίση, ο οποίος εντόπισε τη δυτική πύλη του τείχους απέναντι από τη γέφυρα του Ερυμάνθου, που οδηγούσε στην Ηλεία, Πετρόπουλος 1985, 63. Για το μη εντοπισμό αρχαίων οδών στην Ψωφίδα, που να σώζουν αρματοτροχιές, βλ. Píkoulas 1999, 302.

Γ) δοκιμαστικές τομές στο χώρο, όπου ο Γ. Παπανδρέου, ακολουθώντας τον Κούρτιο, είχε τοποθετήσει το αρχαίο θέατρο της πόλης, και

Δ) προσπάθεια εντοπισμού και ταύτισης των ιερών της πόλης, και ιδιαίτερα του ιερού της Αφροδίτης Ερυκίνης.⁸

Από τα τείχη της πόλης καθαρίστηκε ή παρακολούθηθηκε σε μεγάλο μήκος το δυτικό σκέλος κατά μήκος του Ερύμανθου ποταμού. (Σχ. 1.A) Το πλάτος του έφθανε τα 2,50 μ. Η άποψη του Γ. Παπανδρέου ότι στην πλευρά αυτή δεν υπάρχουν πύργοι αποδείχθηκε λανθασμένη. Εντοπίστηκαν έξι πύργοι, μέχρι στιγμής, σωζόμενοι σε πολύ χαμηλό ύψος. (Εικ. 1) Προφανώς οι λίθοι τους είχαν χρησιμοποιηθεί στα νεότερα σπίτια, μια και το τείχος και τα άλλα ορατά αρχαία κτήρια απετέλεσαν την εύκολη λύση για τον προσπορισμό των αναγκαίων οικοδομικών υλικών του σύγχρονου οικισμού των Τριποτάμων.

Στη δυτική πλευρά εντοπίστηκε και μία δεύτερη πύλη (Σχ. 1.4), άλλη από εκείνη που είχε εντοπίσει ο Γ. Παπανδρέου (Σχ. 2), που έφερε από τον ποταμό Ερύμανθο. Η πορεία του τείχους, αν και παρακολουθεί λίγο-πολύ εκείνη του ποταμού, εντούτοις απέχει από την αριστερή του όχθη αρκετά και σπάνια την προσεγγίζει σε πολύ μικρή απόσταση. Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι το τείχος κτιζεται επάνω σε μια φυσική οφρύ του υπερυψωμένου πλατώματος της πόλης πριν αυτό κατέλθει απότομα προς το ποτάμι. Είναι κτισμένο αλλού κατά το ψευδοϊσόδομο σύστημα, και όχι κατά το ισόδομο, όπως το περιγράφει ο Γ. Παπανδρέου, και αλλού με ένα μεικτό σύστημα, όπου ανάμεσα στο ψευδοϊσόδομο παρεμβάλλεται πολυγωνικό. (Εικ. 2) Σε ένα μέρος του έχει επισκευαστεί στο ανώτερο τμήμα από μικρότερου μεγέθους λίθους, σε στρώσεις που δεν είναι ενιαίες σε όλο το μήκος τους, διότι χρησιμοποιούνται ανάμεσά τους και μεγάλοι μεγέθους λιθόπλινθοι. Αυτές προφανώς ανήκαν στην αρχική φάση και ξαναχρησιμοποιήθηκαν κατά την επισκευή. Ίσως η επισκευή αυτή να έγινε μετά από την πολιορκία και καταστροφή της πόλης από τον Φίλιππο Ε΄ το 219 π.Χ. Παρατηρήθηκε επίσης πυκνή διείσδυση ριζών στους αρμούς, οι οποίες έχουν προκαλέσει μετακίνηση των λίθων.

Δημιουργήθηκε παράλληλα με αποψίλωση ένα μονοπάτι κατά μήκος της εξωτερικής πλευράς του, ώστε να μπορεί ο επισκέπτης να το περιηγηθεί άνετα.

Από το βόρειο σκέλος του τείχους (Σχ. 1.B) καθαρίστηκε σημαντικό τμήμα του. Και εδώ εντοπίστηκαν ορθογώνιοι πύργοι, μέχρι στιγμής οκτώ, τους ο-

8. Το έργο ανατέθηκε στη μόνιμη αρχαιολόγο κ. Γ. Αλεξοπούλου, την οποία θα ήθελα και από τη θέση αυτή να ευχαριστήσω, διότι το έφερε σε πέρας με μεγάλη επιτυχία. Στις διάφορες εργασίες βοήθησαν επίσης οι έκτακτοι αρχαιολόγοι Χριστίνα Κατσαρού και Κωνσταντίνα Μεσσιακάκη, ενώ τα σχέδια εκπόνησαν ο τοπογράφος της Υπηρεσίας κ. Α. Μαρινόπουλος και η σχεδιάστρια κ. Μαρία Γκολφινόπουλου. Μεγάλη βοήθεια προσέφεραν επίσης οι φύλακες αρχαιοτήτων κ. Νάνσυ Γουλιάμη και κ. Χρ. Τεμπέλης.

ποιούς επίσης δεν σημειώνει ο Γ. Παπανδρέου, ο οποίος μάλιστα επισημαίνει ότι το βόρειο σκέλος του τείχους σώζεται μόνον κατά την ΒΔ και τη ΒΑ γωνία του. Οι έρευνές μας απέδειξαν το αντίθετο. Το τείχος καθαρίστηκε και αποκαλύφθηκε χωρίς διακοπή σε ολόκληρο σχεδόν το μήκος του.

Για τη χρονολόγηση της κατασκευής του τείχους δεν έχουμε ακόμη επαρκή στοιχεία. Το μόνο σίγουρο είναι ότι κτίστηκε πριν από το 219 π.Χ., αφού τότε ο Φίλιππος Ε΄ πολιορκεί την πόλη. Τα ελάχιστα κινητά ευρήματα δεν κρίνονται ακόμη ασφαλή για την οριστική χρονολόγηση της κατασκευής του. Αποφεύγουμε τον πειρασμό να στηριχτούμε στις κατασκευαστικές ομοιότητες με άλλες αρκαδικές οχυρώσεις και να προσεγγίσουμε κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο τη χρονολόγηση, αφενός μεν γιατί παρόμοιες συγκριτικές χρονολογήσεις δεν είναι πάντοτε ασφαλείς,⁹ αφετέρου δε γιατί στο Πρόγραμμα της Εφορείας περιλαμβάνονται και μικρές δοκιμαστικές τομές σε όλες τις πλευρές του, ώστε με τεκμηριωμένα στοιχεία να έχουμε την οριστική χρονολόγησή του. Με τη διαδικασία αυτή θα διαπιστωθεί επίσης αν οι τέσσερις πλευρές του τείχους κτίστηκαν ταυτόχρονα ή ανήκουν σε περισσότερες οικοδομικές φάσεις, όπως φαίνεται τουλάχιστον από το εσωτερικό τείχος που θα δούμε παρακάτω. Για την καταστροφή του τείχους, επίσης δεν έχουμε ανασκαφικές πληροφορίες. Θα μπορούσαμε να την αποδώσουμε στην επιδρομή και εγκατάσταση των Βησιγόθων το 396/97 μ.Χ. στην Αρκαδία, όταν μετά από την κατάληψη της Πελοποννήσου παρέμειναν στην περιοχή του Ερυμάνθου, του Αλφειού, του Λάδωνος, του Μαινάλου και του Λυκαίου επί ενάμισυ σχεδόν έτος, πριν τους εκδιώξει ο Στιλίων.¹⁰

Στην επόμενη ερευνητική περίοδο, για την οποία υπάρχει η υπόσχεση για χρηματοδότησή της πάλι από το Πρόγραμμα ΕΠΤΑ το 2003, θα προχωρήσει η αποκάλυψη του τείχους σε μικρό τμήμα ακόμη της βόρειας πλευράς, στην ανατολική και προπάντων τη νότια, κατά μήκος του Αροάνιου ποταμού, εκεί όπου τα επιφανειακά ίχνη του είναι ελάχιστα. Στο ανατολικό σκέλος (Σχ. 1.Γ) ο Γ. Παπανδρέου είχε εντοπίσει επτά ορθογώνιους πύργους, για τους οποίους μάλιστα σημειώνει ότι είναι οι μόνοι που έχει το τείχος. Στη θέση δε Πόρτες (Σχ. 1.8), υποθέτει την παρουσία μιας πύλης του τείχους, πιστεύοντας ότι η λέξη Πόρτες οφείλεται ακριβώς στην παρουσία της πύλης. Αλλά στο τμήμα αυτό το τείχος είναι κατεστραμμένο από το δρόμο Ψωφίδος – Καλαβρύτων. Οι έρευνές μας, πάντως, απέδειξαν ότι και στις άλλες τρεις πλευρές, τη βόρεια, τη δυτική και τη νότια υπήρχαν πύργοι. Το νότιο σκέλος (Σχ. 1.Δ), ευρι-

9. Η οχύρωση της Ψωφίδος έχει συγκριθεί π.χ. με εκείνην της Γόρτυνος, του Κλείτορος, της Ασίνης, του Ακροκορίνθου και του Βουφαγίου και η κατασκευή της τοποθετείται στον 4ο αι. π.Χ., Martin 1947-48, 125. Αλλά η οχύρωση του Κλείτορος τοποθετείται τώρα από την ανασκαφέα στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους, Πετριτάκη 1996, 84.

10. Χρυσός 1981-82, 188 και σημ. 3.

σκόμμενο στο πεδινότερο και ομαλότερο μέρος της πόλης απετέλεσε το κατεξοχήν λατομείο του νεότερου οικισμού. Σήμερα σώζονται ελάχιστα ίχνη του, κυρίως κατά το δυτικό τμήμα του, στη συμβολή του με το δυτικό σκέλος. Δυστυχώς τα σωζόμενα τμήματά του έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί από τα σπίτια του νεότερου οικισμού ως μέρη των τοίχων τους, ενώ επάνω του πατεί και μέρος του περιβόλου του Δημοτικού Σχολείου (Σχ. 1.5), για την απομάκρυνση του οποίου καταβάλλει συνεχείς προσπάθειες η Εφορεία από εικοσαετίας. Το ΥΠΠΟ είχε θέσει χρονικό όριο για τη μεταφορά του, αλλά δυστυχώς αυτή δεν επετεύχθη ως σήμερα.¹¹

Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι από την *εσωτερική ακρόπολη* της αρχαίας πόλης (Σχ. 1.2), ελάχιστα ίχνη των τοίχων της είναι ορατά στη βόρεια πλευρά, διότι στη θέση της κτίστηκε το μεταγενέστερο Φράγκικο Κάστρο, το οποίο είτε κατέστρεψε τα αρχαία λείψανα, είτε τα εξαφάνισε με τεχνητή επίχωση. Η 6η ΕΒΑ έχει στόχο τη διερεύνηση της μεσαιωνικής ακρόπολης, επομένως ασφαλώς θα έχουμε περισσότερα στοιχεία μετά από την ολοκλήρωση του έργου της. Ο πρώτος καθαρισμός της και δοκιμαστικές τομές έγιναν από τη συνάδελφο κ. Α. Μουτζάλη, και τα αποτελέσματά τους δημοσιεύθηκαν πρόσφατα από την ίδια.¹² Από τη ΝΔ γωνία της ακρόπολης ξεκινά ένα *εσωτερικό τείχος* (Σχ. 1.10, Εικ. 3), του οποίου η νοητή απόληξη καταλήγει στο μέσον περίπου του δυτικού εξωτερικού σκέλους του τείχους. Είναι σαφές ότι δεν πρόκειται για διατείχιση, αφού διακρίνονται δύο τουλάχιστον πύργοι, αλλά για τμήμα της αρχικής περιμέτρου του τείχους. Προφανώς σε κάποια εποχή, που δεν γνωρίζουμε προς το παρόν, η πόλη επεκτάθηκε προς τα ΒΔ και κατασκευάστηκε η ΒΔ τριγωνική προσθήκη του τείχους. Ενδεχομένως σ' αυτή τη φάση να χρησιμοποιήθηκε το αρχικό τείχος ως *εσωτερικό διατείχιση*.

Στη δυτική πλευρά της πόλης και εντός των τοίχων από παλαιότερους περιηγητές και από τον Γ. Παπανδρέου τοποθετείται το *αρχαίο θέατρο*, χωρίς ακριβή τοπογραφική ένδειξη. Ο τελευταίος μάλιστα λέγει ότι αν και δεν εντόπισε κανένα ίχνος από το εδώλιά του, εντούτοις αυτό θα πρέπει να τοποθετηθεί σε ένα φυσικό κοίλωμα του εδάφους, το οποίο ταιριάζει για κοίλο θέατρο. Στην περιοχή αυτή υπάρχουν τρία φυσικά κοιλάματα, που θα μπορούσαν να ανήκουν σε θέατρο. Οι δοκιμαστικές τομές ξεκίνησαν από το βορειότερο, στη θέση Άγιος Ιωάννης (Σχ. 1.3), αυτό που δείχνει στο τοπογραφικό του σχέδιο, αλλά δυστυχώς δεν έφεραν στο φως κανένα ίχνος του θεάτρου. Εντοπίστηκαν, όμως, τμήματα τοίχων σημαντικών κτηρίων, πιθανώς δημόσιου χαρακτήρα. (Εικ. 4) Η ανεύρεση, πάντως, σε τομή στο εσωτερικό του δυτικού σκέλους

11. Με την αρ. ΥΠΠΟ/ΑΡΧ/Α1/Φ06/18894/877/8.5.1990 Υπουργική Απόφαση εδίδετο προθεσμία στην τότε Κοινότητα Τριποτάμων για την μετεγκατάσταση του Σχολείου έως το 1994.

12. Μουτζάλη 2004.

του τείχους πήλινης θεατρικής μάσκας και εισιτηρίων θεάτρου,¹³ δείχνει ότι πράγματι, κάπου εδώ θα πρέπει να αναζητηθεί το θέατρο. Στην επόμενη ερευνητική περίοδο θα πραγματοποιηθούν δοκιμαστικές τομές στα δύο άλλα φυσικά κοιλώματα.

Από τα ορατά δημόσια οικοδομήματα καθαρίστηκε εξωτερικά το σημαντικό κτήριο, γνωστό ως 'Ελληνικό', ορατών διαστάσεων 23 x 15 x 3 μ. την εποχή του Γ. Παπανδρέου (Σχ. 1.1), ο οποίος το συνέδεε με το νότιο σκέλος του τείχους της πόλης. Ο καθαρισμός απέδειξε ότι δεν έχει καμία σχέση με το τείχος, το οποίο διέρχεται λίγο νοτιότερα, άρα το κτήριο αυτό βρίσκεται εντός της πόλης. Είναι σαφές ότι δεν πρόκειται για πύργο του τείχους, του οποίου πραγματικός πύργος εντοπίστηκε μεταξύ του 'Ελληνικού' και της ΝΔ γωνίας του τείχους. Η προς νότον πλευρά του φαίνεται ότι λειτουργεί ως αναλημματικός τοίχος και είναι προφανές ότι χρησιμεύει για τη δημιουργία ενός τεχνητού ανδῆρου. Ενδεχομένως προς Ν του ανδῆρου να βρισκόταν κάποιος αστικός δρόμος. Ο επιφανειακός καθαρισμός στο εσωτερικό του αποκάλυψε την πάνω επιφάνεια αρχαίων τοίχων, που ορίζουν δωμάτια γύρω από μία κεντρική αυλή. Τι είδους οικοδόμημα στήριζε και άλλες κατασκευαστικές λεπτομέρειες, θα έχουμε μετά από την ανασκαφή του που θα πραγματοποιηθεί, ελπίζουμε, στην επόμενη ερευνητική περίοδο.

Λίγο χαμηλότερα προς τα ΝΑ, κάτω από το δρόμο προς Λειβάρτζι, και κοντά στην κοίτη του Αροάνιου ποταμού, καθαρίστηκε μία νεότερη κρήνη, το Παλιομάγγανο (Σχ. 1.9), για την κατασκευή της οποίας, όμως, έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί άφθονο αρχαίο υλικό. Μεταξύ αυτής και του κτηρίου στο Ελληνικό καθαρίστηκε τμήμα του νότιου σκέλους του τείχους, στο οποίο εντοπίστηκε ένας δεύτερος ορθογώνιος πύργος. (Εικ. 5) Άρα είναι πλέον σαφές ότι πύργοι υπήρχαν και στις τέσσερις πλευρές του τείχους.

Λίγο ανατολικότερα βρίσκεται η *Μονή της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου* (Σχ. 1.7), που κτίστηκε από τον Παπουλάκη κατά το 1825-26. Περιβάλλεται από υψηλό οχυρωματικό περίβολο, στο εσωτερικό του οποίου είχαν κατασκευαστεί πρόχειρα και ακαλαίσθητα στέγαστρα για τις ανάγκες του τοπικού πανηγυριού που γίνεται στις 23 Σεπτεμβρίου. Με την ευκαιρία της δραστηκής επέμβασης της 6ης ΕΒΑ, η οποία απομάκρυνε όλες τις πρόσθετες πρόχειρες κατασκευές, έγιναν στο εσωτερικό του περιβόλου και δύο δοκιμαστικές τομές από την Εφορεία μας. Στη μία τομή βρέθηκε και μεγάλο ασβεστολιθικό δωρικό κιονόκρανο, διαμέτρου μεγαλύτερης του ενός μέτρου, το οποίο προέρχεται από σημαντικότερο αρχαίο ναό. Ο επιστημότερος ναός της πόλης ήταν αφιερωμένος στην Αφροδίτη Ερυνίκη, με τον οποίο η Χρυσούλα Καρδαρά πιστεύει ότι πρέπει να ταυτιστούν τα ερείπια που ανέσκαψε στο Αφροδίσιο, στη θέση

13. Γ. Αλεξοπούλου, "Η Αρχαδική Ψωφίς", ΑΑΑ υπό εκτύπωση.

Άγ. Πέτρος, αρκετά μακριά από την Ψωφίδα.¹⁴ Όμως η πληροφορία του Πανσανία είναι σαφέστατη. Όταν αναφέρεται σ' αυτόν ομιλεί για το ναό της Αφροδίτης Ερυκίνης “*ἐν τῇ πόλει*”.¹⁵ Άρα η ταύτιση με το ναό του Αφροδισίου είναι ατυχής, άλλωστε δεν επιβεβαιώνεται και από καμία επιγραφική μαρτυρία, αν και ανασκάφηκε συστηματικά.¹⁶ Αντιθέτως από τον επισημότερο ναό της πόλης θα αναμέναμε αρκετές επιγραφές, τόσον αναθηματικού, όσο και πολιτικού χαρακτήρα, ψηφίσματα π.χ., συνθήκες, κλπ.

Και εδώ πιστεύουμε ότι πρέπει να αποδεχθούμε την άποψη όχι μόνον του Γ. Παπανδρέου, αλλά και αρκετών άλλων προγενεστέρων και μεταγενεστέρων του,¹⁷ ότι ο ναός της Ερυκίνης πρέπει να βρίσκεται στη θέση της μονής της Κοίμησης Θεοτόκου. Είναι τόσα πολλά τα διάσπαρτα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη και μέσα στην αυλή της Μονής, αλλά και εντοιχισμένα στους τοίχους της, ώστε είναι σίγουρο ότι στην περιοχή αυτή βρισκόταν τουλάχιστον ένας αρχαίος ναός. Οι μεγάλες διαστάσεις του δωρικού κιονοκράνου που εντοπίσαμε εμείς, αλλά και σπόνδυλοι κιόνων, επίσης μεγάλης διαμέτρου, που έφθανε τα 0,80 μ. και είχαν εντοπιστεί από τον Γ. Παπανδρέου, είναι μία σαφής ένδειξη για το μέγεθος του αρχαίου ναού, που λογικά πρέπει, λόγω ακριβώς του μεγέθους του, να ανήκε στον σπουδαιότερο ναό της πόλης, δηλαδή το ναό της Ερυκίνης Αφροδίτης. Υπάρχουν, όμως, και άλλων διαστάσεων, μικρότερων και ποικίλων, αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη στον περίξ χώρο. Αμέσως προς Δ της Μονής, πολλά από τα αρχαία αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη έχουν συλλεγεί και χρησιμοποιηθεί στη νεότερη οικία ιδιοκτησίας Σπυριδώνος Τακτικού¹⁸ (Σχ.1.6), και σε λειτουργική σχέση με το νεότερο οίκημα, αλλά και ως απλά διακοσμητικά στοιχεία των τοίχων και της αυλής του. Η ποικιλία των αρχιτεκτονικών μελών, τόσο ως προς τις διαστάσεις, όσο και ως προς το υλικό τους, μάρμαρο και τιτανόλιθος, υποδηλώνουν την παρουσία και άλλων αρχαίων ναών στην περιοχή. Ο συνδυασμός τους με το μεγάλο οικοδόμημα ‘Ελληνικό’ λίγο δυτικότερα δείχνει ότι εδώ βρισκόταν η αρχαία αγορά της πόλης. Άλλωστε είναι το πλέον επίπεδο τμήμα της αρχαίας πόλης, πράγμα που βοηθεί στην χωροθέτησή της.

Ένα ενδιαφέρον στοιχείο που πρέπει να διερευνηθεί είναι η σύνδεση της Ψωφίδος με τη Σικελία. Σύμφωνα με έναν από τους μύθους της ίδρυσής της, η Ψωφίδα έλαβε αυτό το όνομα από την ομώνυμη θυγατέρα του βασιλιά της

14. Καρδαρά 1988.

15. Πανσ. 8.24.6.

16. Για το ναό της Ερυκίνης Αφροδίτης, βλ. και Jost 1985, 53-60 και προπάντων 513-4. Βλ. επίσης την ανακοίνωση του Γ.Α. Πίκουλα στον παρόντα τόμο.

17. Παπαχατζής 1980, 273, σημ. 4. Βλ. και Πετρόπουλος 1985, 63.

18. Δυστυχώς οι προσπάθειες της Εφορείας για την απαλλοτρίωση του συγκεκριμένου ακινήτου δεν έχουν μέχρι στιγμής καταλήξει σε επιτυχές αποτέλεσμα.

Σικελίας Έρως, την οποία αγάπησε ο Ηρακλής και κατέλιπε έγκυο στην ως τότε ονομαζόμενη Φηγία και λίγο παλαιότερα Ερύμανθος. Οι δύο γιοι της Ψωφίδος και του Ηρακλή, Εχέφρων και Πρόμαχος, μετονόμασαν την Φηγία σε Ψωφίδα προς τιμήν της μητέρας τους. Η σύνδεση, λοιπόν, κατά το μύθο με τη Σικελία, όπως και το επίθετο της Αφροδίτης *Ερυνκίνη* από τον Έρως, αλλά και η παρουσία ομώνυμου και διάσημου ναού στον Έρως της Σικελίας,¹⁹ δεν μπορεί να είναι τυχαία. Πρέπει να υποκρύπτονται πρώιμες σχέσεις των δύο περιοχών και αυτές να ανάγονται πιθανότατα στην ύστερη γεωμετρική περίοδο, την εποχή δηλαδή του αποικισμού. Η αναφορά επίσης του Πανσανία, ότι η ακρόπολη της Ζακύνθου ονομαζόταν Ψωφίς, πρέπει να συνδέεται με τα γεγονότα αυτά.²⁰ Ίσως η Ζάκυνθος απετέλεσε τον ενδιάμεσο και πρώτο σταθμό εγκατάστασης των Ψωφιδίων προς τη Δύση. Είναι ενδιαφέρον, λοιπόν, αν κατά την ανασκαφή βρεθούν στοιχεία που θα επιβεβαιώσουν τη σύνδεση αυτή των δύο περιοχών.

Τα παλαιότερα ονόματά της, και ιδίως το όνομα Ερύμανθος με την προελληνική καταγωγή του,²¹ δείχνουν ότι η πόλη είναι παλαιότατη και ιδρύθηκε εκεί λόγω της στρατηγικής της θέσης. Υπήρξε πάντοτε κομβικό σημείο επικοινωνιών. Συνόρευε με τη ΝΔ Αχαΐα και την Ηλεία και αποτελώντας πέρασμα και προς αυτές και προς την Αρκαδία, εκμεταλλεύτηκε άριστα το πλεονέκτημα αυτό, ώστε να αναδειχθεί σε σπουδαίο κέντρο της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Τη στρατηγική της θέση ενίσχυαν τόσο τα τείχη της, το μήκος των οποίων υπολογίζεται σε 2,5 χλμ. περίπου, και η εσωτερική της ακρόπολη, όσο και οι τρεις ποταμοί που την περιέβαλλαν και κατέληγαν στον Ερύμανθο, παραπόταμο του Αλφειού. Η στρατηγική θέση της έδινε το δικαίωμα να επιλέγει τις κατά καιρούς συμμαχίες της, που όμως δεν υπήρξαν πάντοτε επιτυχείς. Έτσι συνέβη το 219 π.Χ., όταν ο Φίλιππος Ε΄ της Μακεδονίας, σύμμαχος της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας και των Αρκαδών στο Συμμαχικό Πόλεμο (220-217 π.Χ.), επετέθη κατά της Ψωφίδος, που την περίοδο εκείνη ήταν σύμμαχος της Αιτωλικής Συμπολιτείας και των Ηλείων. Η επιλογή της να συμμαχήσει με τους εχθρούς του Μακεδόνα βασιλιά είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την πολιορκία της μεσούντος του χειμώνα. Ο Φίλιππος στρατοπέδευσε στα προς νότον ευρισκόμενα χαμηλά υψώματα της Μπαρμπανίτσας, διότι πίστευε ότι αν καταλάμβανε την πόλη, η στρατηγική της θέση θα μπορούσε να του προσφέρει πολλά για την επίτευξη του τελικού σκοπού του, δηλαδή τη νίκη των συμμάχων του Αχαιών και Αρκαδών. Η Ψωφίς τελικά κατελήφθη ύστερα από έφοδο και απετέλεσε έκτοτε

19. Για τον Έρως της Σικελίας βλ. *EAA* III, 1960, 413-4, s.v. Erice (I. Bovio Marconi).

20. Πανσ. 8.24.3.

21. Δεν πρέπει να διαφύγει της προσοχής μας ότι και το αρχαιότατο όνομα της Ψωφίδος *Ερύμανθος*, αλλά και το όνομα *Ζάκυνθος* φέρουν την προελληνική κατάληξη -νθος.

μέλος της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας.²² Η πόλη εντούτοις εξακολουθεί να υπάρχει τουλάχιστον ως το τέλος του 3ου αι. μ.Χ., όπως δείχνουν επιφανειακά ευρήματα και προπάντων τα νομίσματα. Στα μεσαιωνικά χρόνια ονομαζόταν Χόζοβα και στα νεότερα Τριπόταμα, λόγω των τριών ποταμών. Και μόνον η συνεχής αλλαγή των ονομάτων της, Ερύμανθος, Φηγία, Ψωφίς, Χόζοβα και Τριπόταμα, δείχνει την αδιάλειπτη παρουσία της πόλης από τα προϊστορικά χρόνια έως σήμερα.

Θα ήθελα να κλείσω την ανακοίνωσή μου με ένα απόσπασμα του Γ. Παπανδρέου από το άρθρο του “Ερευναί εν Καλαβρύτοις”,²³ του 1920, ως οφειλόμενο χρέος στη μνήμη του:

Καί ἐν τῇ σημαντικῇ λοιπὸν ταύτῃ πόλει τῆς Ψωφίδος δέον ὅπως γίνωνται εὐρεῖαι ἀνασκαφαί, ἰδίως δὲ εὐρύταται ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς μονῆς, κατὰ τὴν θέσιν Ἑλληνικὴ καὶ καθ’ ἅπαντα τὸν χῶρον τῆς κάτω πόλεως ..., ἔτι δὲ δοκιμαστικαί σκαφαί κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Μετὰ ἀπὸ 82 χρόνια, λοιπὸν, φαίνεται ὅτι τὸ ὄραμα τοῦ Γ. Παπανδρέου ἀρχίζει νὰ υλοποιεῖται.

Μιχάλης Πετρόπουλος

ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ

Αλ. Υψηλάντου 197

GR – 262 25 Πάτρα

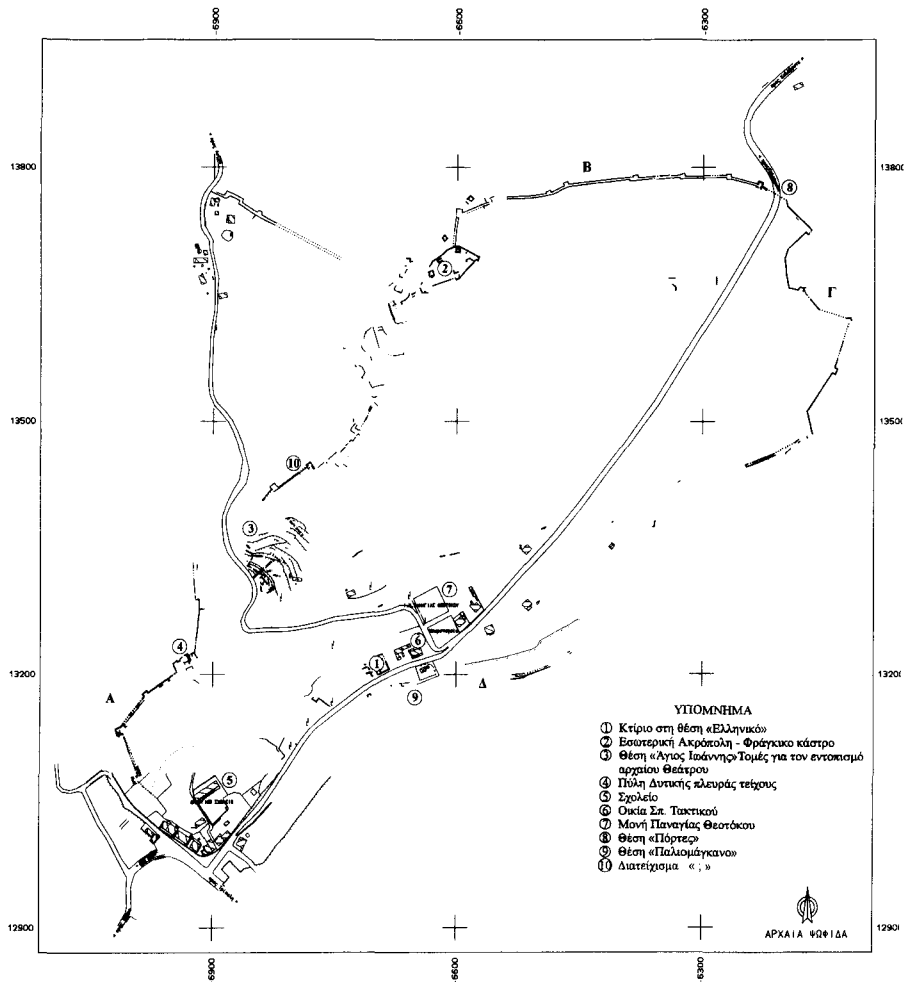
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22. Η είσοδος της στο Αχαϊκό Κοινό επιβεβαιώνεται και από επιγραφική μαρτυρία, SEG 15, 1958, 67 αφ. 254.

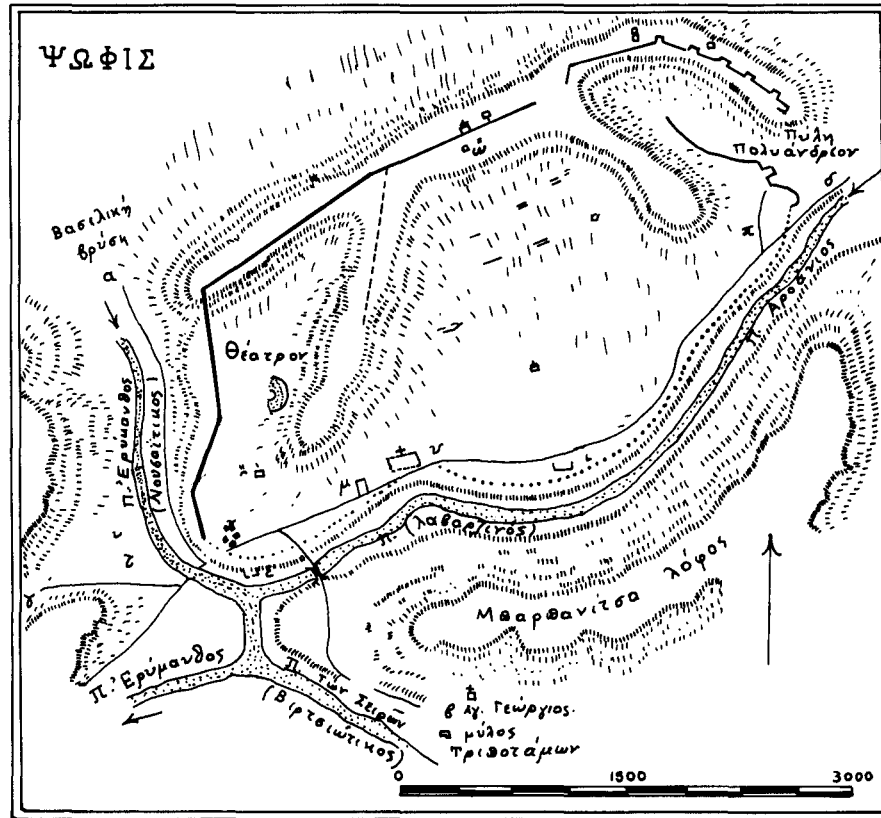
23. Παπανδρέου 1920, 146.

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Σχ. 1. Σχέδιο της περιμέτρου των τειχών της Ψωφίδος μετά από την έρευνα. (Σχέδιο ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Σχ. 2. Σχέδιο της περιμέτρου των τειχών της Ψωφίδος κατά τον Γ. Παπανδρέου. (Σχέδιο ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 1. Το δυτικό
τείχος και τμήμα
ορθογώνιου πύρ-
γου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄
ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 2. Λεπτομέρεια του τείχους της
δυτικής πλευράς. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄
ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 3. Εσωτερικό τείχος.
(Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 4. Αγ. Ιωάννης. Τμήματα τοίχων, πιθανώς δημόσιων κτηρίων. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 5. Πύργος του Νότιου σκέλους του τείχους στη θέση Παλιομάγανο. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)

“Aphrodite Erykina”, 25 Years After: The Interpretation of the Sanctuary Revised

Yanis Pikoulas

Summary

My paper deals with the well-known sanctuary of “Aphrodite Erykina” according to Chr. Kardara’s interpretation, who excavated it in 1968-69 and 1980-81 and published it with admirable promptness: *Ἀφροδίτη Ἐρυκίνη. Ἱερὸν καὶ μαντεῖον εἰς τὴν ΒΔ Ἀρκαδίαν*, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας vol. 106, Athens 1988. The sanctuary was situated on the saddle of Hagios Petros (about 1155 m above sea level) on Mount Aphrodision, in the modern prefecture of Gortynia, between Erymanthos and the Ladon valley, just on the frontier between Psophis and Thelphousa. Today a new road leads to Kontovazaina (12 km), branching off from Highway 111 (Tripolis – Patra), and reaches the saddle with the sanctuary after 8 km.

I present the data of the excavation and I propose a new interpretation of the remains of the buildings of the sanctuary, 25 years after my participation in another excavation at the same territory under the auspices of Prof. Chr. Kardara and the study of the finds from the sanctuary in the museum of Olympia (1977). I also present a new plan of the sanctuary complex. (Fig. 1)

According to my interpretation the “altar” and the “sacred road” are remains of the main entrance to the sanctuary, like a propylon. The “telesterion” was actually a double stoa and the “temenos” was in fact the temple, today partly preserved (not excavated) under the modern church of Hagios Petros; the temple was Doric and peripteral. The so-called “omphalos”, inside the cella, was a typical *thesauros*. The complex of buildings to the east consisted rather of workshops, guest-houses etc. There is no evidence for the existence of a “stadium” or an “odeion”. It is more probable that the sanctuary was an Artemision than an Aphrodision, and not specifically an oracle/*manteion*, as Kardara argued. Pausanias did not mention this sanctuary or the surrounding area.

The complete version of the paper has been published in *Horos* 14-16 (2000-03), 333-44.

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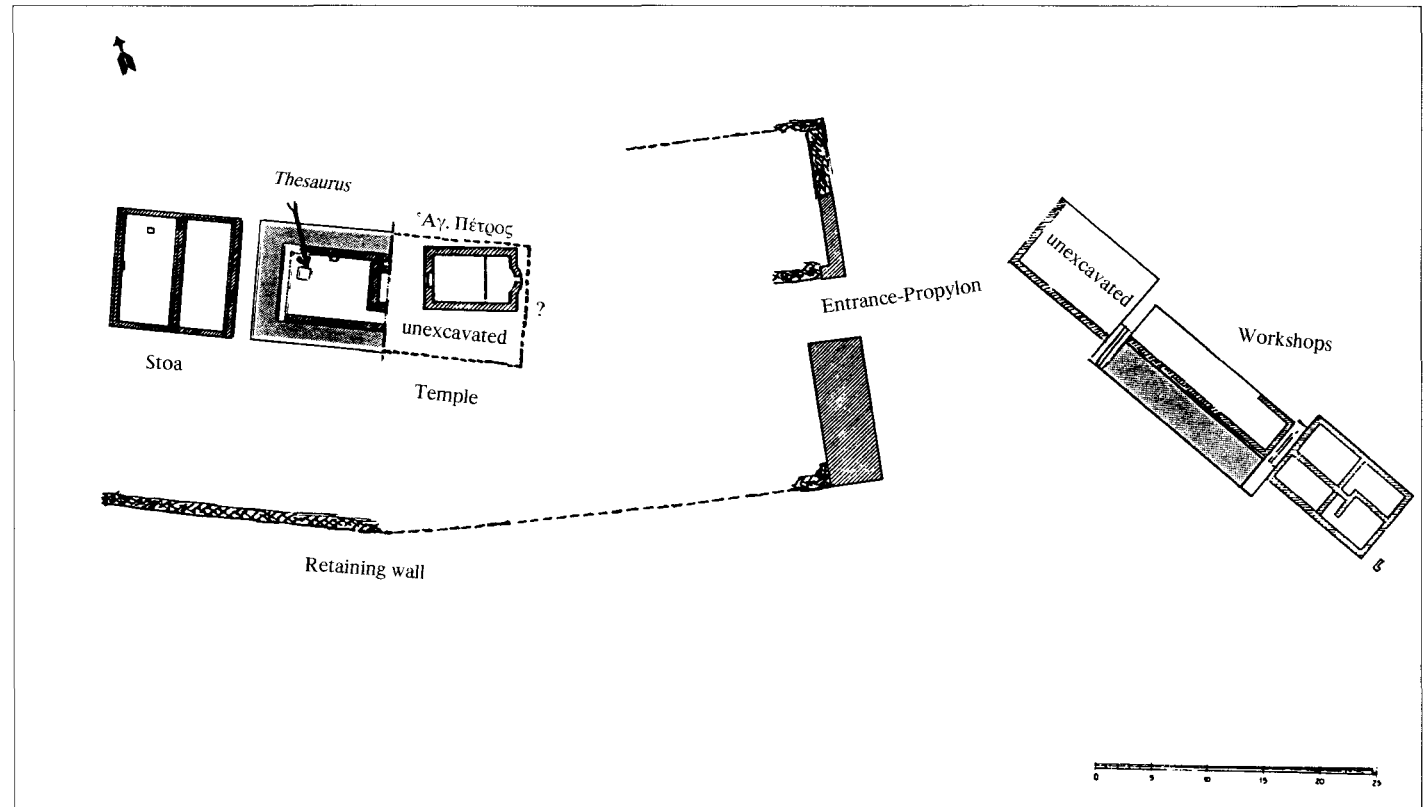


Fig. 1. The plan of the sanctuary at Mount Aphrodision. (After Kardara 1988, pl. 1, with new identifications of the various structures added.)

A New Topographical and Architectural Survey of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion

David Gilman Romano

During the summer of 1996 a team from the Mediterranean Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology undertook a computerized above-ground topographical and architectural survey of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion. The objective of the survey was to create, by means of an electronic total station survey, a new and highly accurate map of the above ground and visible architectural components of the sanctuary including the areas of the ash altar, the *temenos* and the bases for the columns of Zeus on the southern peak of Mount Lykaion. Also included were the monuments, buildings and structures of the high mountain plateau located below the southern peak, including the *xenon*, stoa, area of seats and statue bases, fountain houses, hippodrome, stadium and bath facility. The survey has been keyed to the 1 : 5000 topographical maps from the Geographical Service of the Greek Army (ΓΥΣ). The survey project has produced an accurate map of the sanctuary and has also generated questions and thoughts for future work.

During the summer of 1996 a team from the Mediterranean Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology undertook a computerized above-ground topographical and architectural survey of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion.¹ This mountain-top sanctuary was famous

1. The work was undertaken with the permission of the Ephor of Antiquities of Arkadia and Lakonia, Dr. Theodoros Spyropoulos, whom I thank for his assistance. I also thank the Director of the American School of Classical Studies at the time, Professor William D.E. Coulson, for his encouragement and assistance with this project. From the Arcadian village of Ano Karyes, I would thank Mr. Nikos Kostopoulos who was extremely cordial and helpful and who was responsible for arranging various critical logistical aspects of the project. I thank Annette Merle-Smith of Princeton, New Jersey and the Women's Committee of the University of Pennsylvania Museum for financial support that made the work at Mount Lykaion possible. The survey team consisted of Ms. Demi Andrianou and Mr. Kostis Kourelis of the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Osama Tolba of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Miss Katy

in antiquity for its ash altar and sacred *temenos* dedicated to Zeus. On a lower mountain plateau was the area where the Lykaion games were held. The purpose of this article is to describe the work that was done, to present several new maps of the sanctuary in the context of its topographical setting, and to pose several questions for future research.²

The objective of the survey was to create, by means of an electronic total station survey, a new and highly accurate map of the above ground and visible architectural components of the sanctuary of Zeus, specifically the area of the ash altar, the *temenos* and the bases for the columns of Zeus on the southern peak of Mount Lykaion, as well as the monuments and structures of the high mountain plateau located below the southern peak. This lower area is where Pausanias (8.38.5) tells us that the Lykaion games were held before his time. A further objective of the research project was to put the new survey drawings into the context of the landscape and topography of Mount Lykaion.³ (Fig. 1)

Methodology

The electronic total station survey was keyed to the topographical maps of the area in scale 1 : 5000 from the Geographical Service of the Greek army (ΓΥΣ). This meant that we were able to utilize the geodetic pins of the ΓΥΣ and the associated co-ordinate system for all our survey data. As a result our survey was oriented to true north and we were able to accurately associate the topographical features of the maps, including contour lines, with the surveyed monuments and structures.⁴ The electronic total station provides for a highly accurate topo-

Romano of the Episcopal Academy and the undersigned as Director. I thank the students for their long hours, hard work and dedication to the project.

2. My original interest in the mountain-top sanctuary is due to Professor Eugene Vanderpool of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, who first introduced me to the site in 1976 and who generously shared with me his knowledge, notes and hand-drawn plans of the Zeus altar and the upland sanctuary. My University of Pennsylvania dissertation included a chapter on the evidence for a stadium on Mount Lykaion. See Romano 1981, 172-7.

3. During the past 15 years or so there has been considerable development at the site of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion. There is now a quadrennial summer recreation of aspects of the ancient Lykaion games, the Lykaia, for children and youth that attracts participants and tourists to the location. A portion of the area of the ancient hippodrome is now being used in the summer as a track for the modern Lykaion games and there is also a parking facility near the south end of the hippodrome. There is a paved road that leads almost all the way to the lower sanctuary and there exists a modest dirt road up to the ash altar.

4. For a discussion of the methods of such a survey see Romano and Schoenbrun 1993, 177-90. The 1 : 5000 maps that we digitized included portions of the Megalopolis series, 7207-4 and 7207-6. I thank the ΓΥΣ for permission to use the co-ordinates of the geodetic pins in this area.

graphical and architectural survey that generates location as well as orientation and distance for the diagnostic features of a building, structure or monument. During the course of several academic terms in Philadelphia, following the summer survey, aspects of the 1 : 5000 topographical maps of the surrounding area were digitized.⁵ The resulting survey of the buildings and structures together with the digitized 1 : 5000 map is shown as Fig. 2 and a digital terrain model of a slightly larger area is seen as Fig. 3.

Historical background

In the 19th century the sanctuary was observed, reported and drawn by several early travelers. Abel Blouet drew a sketch of the valley and included a detailed drawing and plan of one of the buildings at the southern end of the valley.⁶ A few years later Ernst Curtius drew a sketch of the site including the outline of a portion of the hippodrome.⁷ The sanctuary was investigated briefly in 1897 by K. Kontopoulos, of the Greek Archaeological Society, who dug a few trial trenches in the area of the altar and the hippodrome.⁸ In the early 20th century K. Kourouniotis, also of the Greek Archaeological Society, continued work at the site and uncovered in a series of campaigns a portion of the ash altar and the *temenos* at the southern peak of Mount Lykaion as well as the general outline of the sanctuary in the upland valley below the peak. At the lower site Kourouniotis revealed several noteworthy buildings, including a *xenon*, a stoa, two fountain houses and an exedra.⁹ In addition a series of blocks and stele beddings were found to the east of the stoa as well as 4 rows of seats which lie to the north of it. To the southwest of the stoa was found an exedra. Two fountain houses were found in the area of the upland valley, one close to the *xenon* and another approximately one quarter of the way to the ash altar.

5. I thank the Director of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Dr. Jerry Sabloff and the Curator-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Section, Dr. Donald White for their support. We utilized the laboratory and the resources of the Corinth Computer Project in the Mediterranean Section of the museum for the mapping and analytical work of this research. For the support of the laboratory and the work of the Corinth Computer Project I thank the 1984 Foundation.

6. Blouet 1833, pl. 33.

7. Curtius 1851, pl. vii.

8. Kontopoulos 1898.

9. Kourouniotis 1903, 1904a, 1904b, and 1909.

Ancient testimonia

Our best source for the description of Mount Lykaion is Pausanias who in Book 8 gives us the following information:

Paus. 8.38.5:

“There is on Mount Lykaion a sanctuary of Pan and a grove of trees around it, and a hippodrome in front of which is a stadion. In former times they used to hold the Lykaion games here. Here there are also bases of statues, now with no statues on them. On one of the bases is an elegiac inscription that declares that the statue was a portrait of Astyanax of the race of Arkas.”

Paus. 8.38.6:

“Among the marvels of Mount Lykaion the most wonderful is this. On it is a *temenos* of Lykaian Zeus, into which people are not allowed to enter. If anyone takes no notice of the rule and enters, he must inevitably live no longer than one year.”

Paus. 8.38.9:

“On the highest point of the mountain is a mound of earth, forming an altar of Zeus Lykaios and from it most of the Peloponnesos can be seen. Before the altar on the east stand two pillars on which there were of old gilded eagles. On this altar they sacrifice in secret to Lykaian Zeus. I was reluctant to pry into the details of the sacrifice; let them be as they are and were from the beginning.”

(Translation W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library.)

Area of the ash altar and temenos (Figs. 3 and 4)

The top of the altar of Zeus is 1383 m above sea level; in linear distance the altar is 510 m to the southwest of the *xenon* and in vertical distance approximately 200 m above the *xenon* and the lower sanctuary. The ash altar was the site of human sacrifice according to several ancient authors.¹⁰ The two extant column bases, once for the columns holding the golden eagles of Zeus, are located 100 m to the southeast of the summit of the ash altar and 20 m in vertical elevation below the top of the altar. The north-south axis between the two column bases is between 2-3 degrees west of north, which would create the likely orientation of the two columns as close to due east.¹¹ The *temenos* mentioned by Pausanias and

10. Pl. *Resp.* 8.565 d; in the Pseudo-Platonic *Minos*; Theophrastus (quoted in Porph. *Abst.* 2.27.2); Paus. 9.38.7. See for the religious traditions of the sanctuary the paper by O. Zolotnikova in this volume.

11. The exact orientation of the axis between the centers of the two column bases is N2°

excavated by Kourouniotis is an area to the south of the ash altar and to the west of the bases for the columns of Zeus, at an elevation of approximately 1364 m. It is a flat area and it has no other characteristic features in the modern day.¹² The excavator gives the measurement of the area as 120 x 55 m and having the outline of the area ringed with stones. I have indicated the approximate area as a rectangle on the accompanying Figs. 3, 4.¹³

On the high mountain plateau located below the ash altar are buildings and structures that are associated with the staging of the Lykaian games. The survey was carried out where we were able to measure the excavated foundations and architectural features visible above ground.

Xenon (Figs. 3 and 5)

The *xenon* was measured as 35.7 m north-south and 18.5 m east-west and having a north-south orientation of 13-16 degrees northwest.¹⁴ The northeast portion of the building is preserved to six courses of masonry. The entrance to the building appears to have been on the south. To the northeast of the building and at a lower elevation were surveyed two 'corridors' that appear to link the area of the *xenon* with an area to the northeast. It is not completely clear now where the original ground level was in this area.¹⁵

Stoa (Figs. 3 and 5)

The nearby stoa to the east was measured as at least 65 m long and 13 m deep although the original overall measurements of the building are difficult to determine.¹⁶ The orientation of the length of the stoa is 38 degrees northeast; the stoa would have faced northwest.¹⁷ The interior details of the building are not at all clear and many wall blocks and architectural members are found in the general area.

24° 30' W creating the orientation of the two columns N87°35'30" E. The distance between the centers of the two column bases is 8.51 m.

12. Kourouniotis 1904b, 159-62, fig. 1.

13. This area was not surveyed since the stone limits of the *temenos* were not visible.

14. Kourouniotis 1909, 192-6, figs. 10-2, indicates the dimensions of the building as 38 x 20 m.

15. Kourouniotis 1909, 193.

16. Kourouniotis 1909, 187-9, figs. 2-4, states that the stoa has a length of about 70 m but was originally longer because the place where the stoa and the stairs meet has been destroyed. He also mentions that the depth of the stoa is 11 m.

17. See Coulton 1976, 252-3. Coulton states incorrectly, I believe, that the stoa would have faced south.

Area of seats, statue bases and stele beddings (Figs. 3 and 5)

A series of four rows of seats with a maximum length of 38 m are located approximately 21 m to the north of the stoa and at a similar orientation of 35 degrees northeast.¹⁸ At the southwestern end of the steps, there is a slight and subtle curve of the seats toward the west from a more southwesterly orientation. Approximately 27 m to the northeast of the preserved end of the series of steps a group of stele beddings and cuttings were measured and were found to have approximately the same orientation as the steps. These stelai and statue bases come within approximately 5 m from the projected southern limit of the hippodrome. Kourouniotis also excavated a single row of seats to the north of the four rows of seats that would be immediately adjacent to the southeastern limit of the hippodrome. These lower seats were not visible during our survey.¹⁹

Fountain houses (Figs. 3 and 5)

Elements of the lower fountain A were surveyed, 30 m to the southwest of the *xenon* and were found to be 17 degrees northwest. The fountain associated with the one mentioned by Pausanias, Agno, is located 267 m from the northwest corner of the *xenon* and at an elevation of 1236 m, 60 m above the level of the buildings below and 140 m below the ash altar.²⁰

Hippodrome (Figs. 1, 3 and 5)

According to Pausanias (8.38.5) there exists in the upland valley of Mount Lykaion a hippodrome "in front of which" is a stadium. He adds that in former times they used to hold the Lykaion games here. It is clear even in the present day that the eastern long side of the hippodrome has been created by the building of a massive stepped retaining wall. The wall is 3-4 m high in places and stretches a distance of ca. 140 m north-south. Some elements of the same retaining system continue around the curved northern end of the hippodrome in the rough shape of an arc although the stone of the retaining wall is missing. On the west side of the hippodrome the artificial retaining system ends where the terrace of the

18. Kourouniotis 1909, 189-90.

19. Kourouniotis 1909, 189-90, fig. 6.

20. Kourouniotis 1909, 198-200, fig. 1.

21. Frazer 1913, 382, has a description of the remains of the hippodrome as well as the remains of a building to the north of the structure.

hippodrome meets the sloping hillside.²¹ Here there is a low hill that limits on the west side the flattened and available area for a hippodrome. At the south end of the terrace the leveled area approaches the stele beddings, the statue bases, the seats, and a point where there is a slight rise in elevation. The maximum north-south dimension of the hippodrome is 320 m and the maximum available width of the structure is 104 m. The orientation of the structure is 8-9 degrees north-west. Spectator facilities for the hippodrome would have consisted of the neighboring low hills that border the flat hippodrome terrace to the east, north and west.

In the modern day the artificially flat hippodrome has been terraced for farming purposes. As a result the ancient ground level of the hippodrome has been modified especially towards the northeast. It is possible that some of the monuments from the hippodrome may have been dragged downhill towards the east and the stepped retaining wall. In March 1979, during an earlier visit to the site, I recorded six tapering column drums that I found in the area of the hippodrome. Three were found near the north end of the retaining wall at the level of the base of the wall, one was found in the field to the east of the hippodrome retaining wall, and two additional column drums were found near the southeastern limit of the hippodrome near where the dirt road approaches it. Although it cannot be certain, these tapering column drums may have been used as component parts of the turning posts at the north and south ends of the hippodrome.²² No elements of starting facilities for the hippodrome have been recognized from the area of the hippodrome.

The hippodrome at Mount Lykaion is the only extant and visible hippodrome in the Greek world. The measurement of the size of the hippodrome is important and the fact that a stadium was probably located inside the limits of the hippodrome is, to my knowledge, unique in the Greek world.²³

Stadium (Figs. 1, 3, 5)

Pausanias (8.38.5) mentions that there is a stadium "in front of" the hippodrome, *καὶ ἵππόδρομος τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον*, and Kourouniotis mentions that several stadium starting line blocks were observed towards the middle of the

22. I suggest this based on the find spots of the column drums and the fact that turning posts, *metae*, in Roman circuses were typically tapered. See Kourouniotis 1909, 190, fig. 7, where he discusses several columnar elements that may be related to the turning posts of the hippodrome.

23. For purposes of comparison, the arena of the Augustan circus at Bovillae, outside of Rome, measures approximately 328.5 m length and 60 m width. See Humphrey 1986, 561-6. In Roman times, circuses were also commonly used for Greek athletics. See for instance Humphrey 71-2.

hippodrome.²⁴ Blouet made the suggestion that a flat area to the northeast of the hippodrome may have been used as the stadium and he indicated this area on his drawing.²⁵ In 1956 Eugene Vanderpool reported seeing seven starting line blocks and during our survey in 1996 we were able to identify six of them. Four were found close together within 8.5 m, more or less in an east-west line within the interior space of the hippodrome.²⁶ Another two are found at a lower level on the embankment wall 60 m to the east and 16 m to the south. If the four closely spaced starting line blocks from the hippodrome terrace are near to their original position at the north end of the *dromos*, it may be possible to restore the *dromos* of the stadium to the south and within the area of the hippodrome. There is room for a stadium racecourse of approximately 170-180 m length and ca. 20 m width.²⁷ If correct, this would have meant that the racecourse for the horses would likely have had to run around the *dromos* of the stadium or at least around the starting line blocks. This would also have meant that one end of the *dromos* of the stadium would have come within approximately 40 m (presuming a length of ca. 180 m for the *dromos*) to the area of the seats and the stele beddings at the south end of the hippodrome terrace.²⁸

It is known from a series of inscriptions of the late 4th century B.C. concerning the Lykaion games that athletic and equestrian contests were held during the same festival year. For instance *IG V.2, 549*, dated to 320 B.C., records that victors in the Lykaion games were recorded in several equestrian events, the two and four horse chariot races and horse race as well as in a series of athletic events for boys and men.²⁹ This would suggest that the facility was used for equestrian as well as for athletic contests during the same days.

Bath facility (Figs. 1, 3, 5)

At the northeast end of the hippodrome and at the approximate level of the base of

24. Kourouniotis 1909, 190-2, fig. 8.

25. Blouet 1833, fig. 33.

26. Kourouniotis 1909, 190-2, fig. 8, discusses the stadium and several starting blocks.

27. The original length and width of the *dromos* of the stadium at Mount Lykaion is not known for certain. It could have been shorter than 170-180 m. The total length of the six known starting line blocks equals approximately 5 m.

28. This explanation would be in keeping with the description of Pausanias (8.38.6) if he was standing at the south end of the upland valley near the stoa, looking to the north and seeing the great expanse of the hippodrome in front of him. In this case the south end of the stadium *dromos* would have come fairly close to the south end of the hippodrome and the valley.

29. This would contradict the idea of Harris 1972, 163, that "a sill with grooves for runners' feet half-way along its length shows that after ceasing to be used for horse-racing it was adapted as a stadium". The inscription *IG V.2, 549* was found in the southern sector of the hippodrome.

the stepped retaining wall exists a building that is likely to have served at least partially as a bath building. Several elements of this structure, located about 35 m north of the northeast aspect of the hippodrome terrace, were surveyed. The eastern aspect of the building appears to be a large cistern whereas in the center of the building and at a higher level several large stone wash basins are still visible. The walls of the bath are constructed of polygonal masonry of the hard local limestone. The east-west length of the exposed structure is measured as 22.7 m and the north-south measurement is approximately 20 m.³⁰ The east-west length of the building appears to continue to the west, although this aspect of the building remains mostly below ground level.³¹ From the orientation of several surveyed walls within the bath it is clear that the orientation of the bath is within one degree of the north-south orientation of the nearby hippodrome.

Observations, conclusions and thoughts for future work

The current research has succeeded in creating an accurate map of the visible, above-ground structures and monuments of the mountain-top sanctuary of Zeus and the lower mountain plateau where the Lykaion games were held. The map is accurate with respect to orientation and location of the currently visible buildings and structures and in the context of the mountain topography of the site. Aspects of the same buildings and structures that are either underground or covered by vegetation have not been surveyed.

Based on the work of the completed survey it is possible to make a few observations about the layout of the upper and lower sanctuaries. On the southern peak of Mount Lykaion, at 1383 m above sea level, the area of the ash altar, the 120 x 55 m *temenos* to the south and the columns supporting the eagles of Zeus towards the east serve as a focal area for the cult. The stone bases for the columns supporting the golden eagles are oriented on an axis of 2-3 degrees north of east. There is a fairly flat mountain top plateau to the south of the ash altar and the *temenos* that extends for over 200 m. (Figs. 3, 4) It would be interesting to know what function, if any, this area had in the Zeus festival.

In the upland valley to the northeast of the ash altar, several of the buildings and structures of the sanctuary appear to have been planned with respect to other structures. For instance the *xenon* and the lower fountain A, the stoa and the stele beddings to the east and the stairs or seats to the north, all would seem

30. Kourouniotis 1909, 191-2, fig. 9.

31. The drawing from Blouet 1833, pl. 33, indicates that much more of the bath building was visible in the 19th century and that it should be approximately twice as long as what we have surveyed in the modern day. Blouet's drawing indicates a total length of the building of approximately 50 m.

to have been constructed in relation to one another. The hippodrome and the stadium appear not only to have been constructed with respect to each other but the *dromos* of the stadium appears to have been located within the space of the hippodrome. The size of the hippodrome, 320 x 104 m, is of great interest and importance since it is the only hippodrome anywhere in the Greek world that can actually be visualized and measured. The construction of the hippodrome terrace must have been a massive project involving the transport of large quantities of earth fill to level out the valley and build the stepped retaining wall to support the earth.

Pausanias (8.2.1) claims that the Lykaion games were older than the Panathenaic games in Athens, and Pindar in the 5th century makes several mentions of the Lykaion games.³² Pausanias says that these games used to be held at the mountain sanctuary, and in his description of the *agora* at Megalopolis (8.30.2-3) he mentions the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus that is located there, although he says that there is no entrance into it.³³ Madeleine Jost has suggested that the sanctuary of Zeus had been transposed to Megalopolis probably at the same time as the synoecism of the city of Megalopolis in the 4th century (371-368 B.C.). She argues that this would not have been a transfer of the cult to the city but rather the creation of a 'doublet cult.'³⁴ It is known from the victor inscriptions found at the mountain location of the games that the festival continued at Mount Lykaion after the synoecism of Megalopolis, and it would be interesting to know how long they continued at the mountain sanctuary as well as when the cult of Zeus Lykaios began and what its relationship was to other Arkadian cults and communities.

A new program of excavation and research would be welcome at Mount Lykaion for a number of reasons. Such new research would lead to a better understanding of the history of the sanctuary, its origins and development into a major Greek sanctuary by the classical period. Renewed excavation would lead to further understanding of the dating and functions of the excavated buildings and structures as well as the possible discovery and excavation of additional ones. Geophysical techniques of remote sensing applied to the lower sanctuary might reveal the locations of buildings and structures that have not yet been discovered as well as further details of the buildings and structures that are already well known. Modern GIS and remote sensing studies might shed light on ancient routes of communication in and around the mountain sanctuary. A modern geological study of this part of Mount Lykaion could provide clues as to the possible reasons for the location of the sanctuary in this place. New excavations of the ash altar and

32. *Oi.* 7.153; *Oi.* 9.102; *Nem.* 10.48.

33. This situation is of course similar to the description of Pausanias above, 8.38.6: "the *temenos* of Lykaian Zeus into which people are not allowed to enter."

34. Jost 1994, 226-7.

subsequent scientific osteoanalysis of the bone fragments could produce further evidence as to whether human sacrifice was practiced at the sanctuary of Zeus.

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Altar of Zeus



Fig. 1. Photograph of the the upland valley as the location of the Lykaion Games with some of the buildings labeled. The altar of Zeus on the southern peak of Mount Lykaion is in the distance. (Photo: author.)

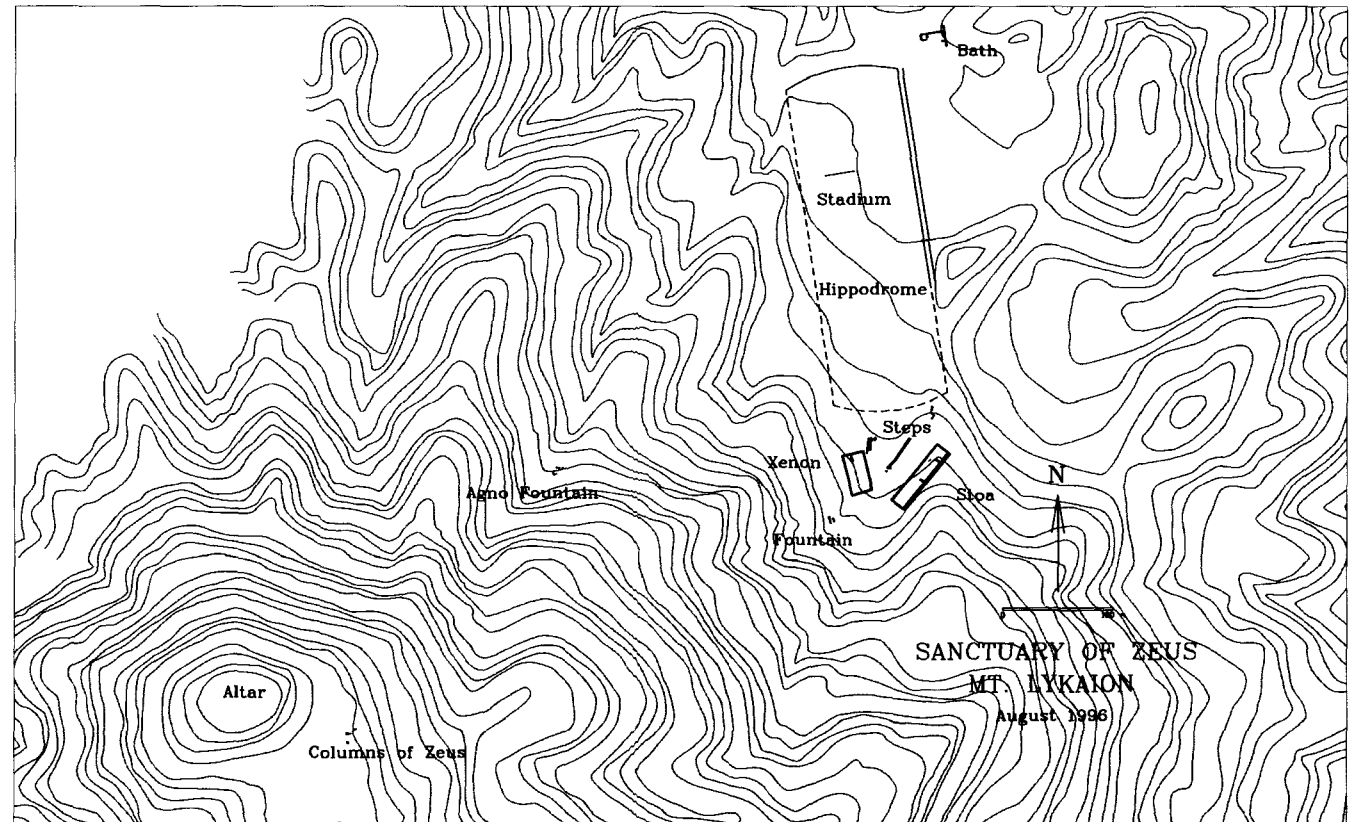


Fig. 2. Results of 1996 electronic total station survey of the sanctuary of Zeus and related structures together with the 1 : 5000 topographical map of the area. Contour lines are at 4 m. (Prepared by author.)

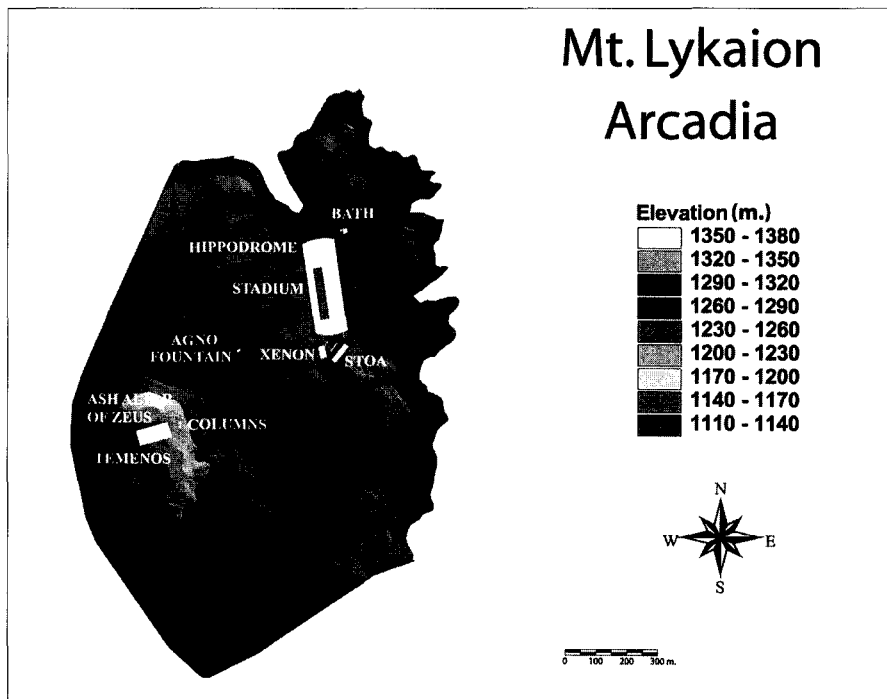
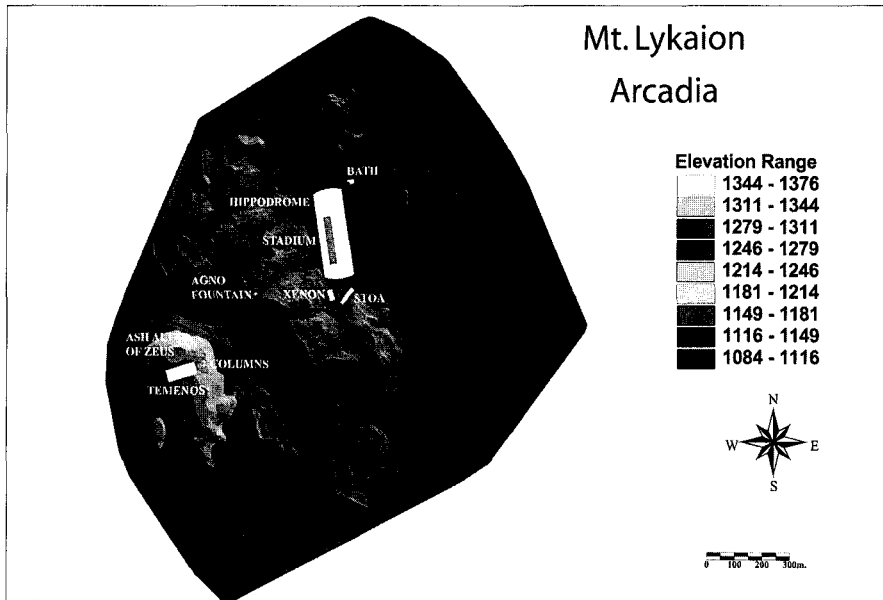


Fig. 3. Digital terrain model of Mount Lykaion illustrating the location of ash altar, hippodrome, Agno fountain, xenon and stoa. (Prepared by author.)

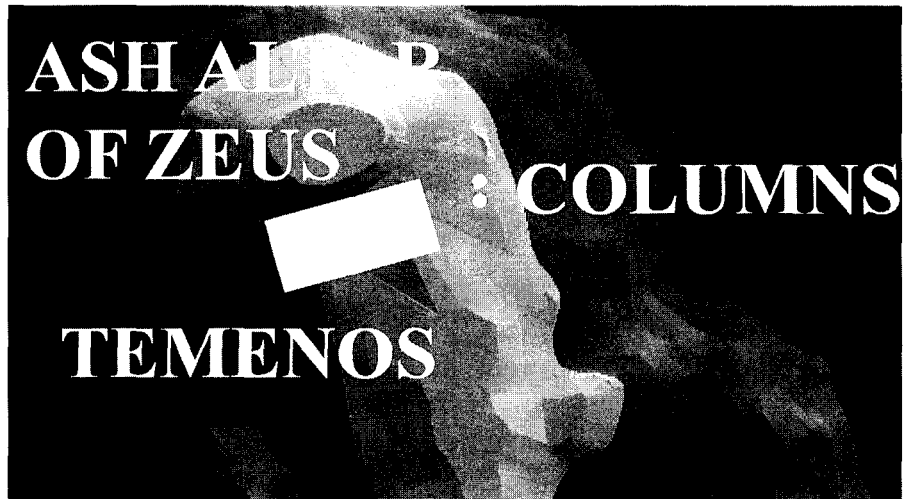


Fig. 4. Digital terrain model of area of the ash altar of Zeus with neighboring structures and monuments. (Prepared by author.)

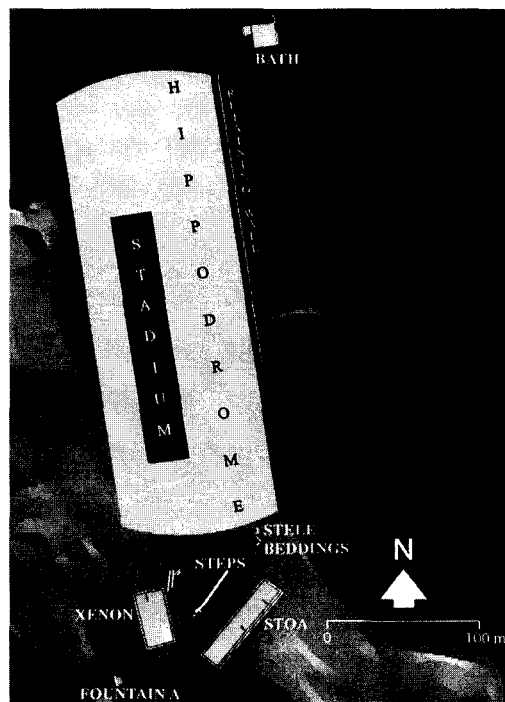


Fig. 5. Digital terrain model of upland valley on Mount Lykaion with surveyed structures and monuments. (Prepared by author.)

The Exploration of Ancient Stymphalos, 1982 – 2002

Hector Williams

From 1982-84 the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the University of British Columbia in collaboration with the Archaeological Society of Athens carried out topographical and geophysical surveys of the site of ancient Stymphalos; the work revealed an orthogonally planned city of the late classical period under farmers' fields. Since 1994 the University of British Columbia has excavated a number of different sites around the city, revealing houses, roads, a sanctuary with an archaic *kore* statue, fortifications, theatre seating and a Hellenistic stage building, several unidentified structures, and five small, early Christian cemeteries. The work has added considerably to our knowledge of the history of the city, uncovering, for example, Mycenaean pottery, an Augustan Roman resettlement possibly after the destruction by Mummius in 146 B.C., as well as five small cemeteries from an early Byzantine community.

The site of ancient Stymphalos lies in a narrow mountain valley some 600 m above sea level on the north shore of Lake Stymphalos, on Arcadia's borders with more settled regions of the northeastern Peloponnese.¹ Small scale and only briefly published excavations by Anastasios Orlandos for the Archaeological Society of Athens between 1924 and 1931 uncovered several buildings near the lake, but work stopped when he undertook new excavations at Sikyon.²

1. I would like to acknowledge the generous co-operation of a number of organizations in our work, especially the Archaeological Society of Athens for permitting our initial collaboration and for transferring the site to the Canadian Institute and to the Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Nauplion and its successive ephors and staff for their support of our work. We also thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of British Columbia for funding our research at Stymphalos, and the Canadian Institute at Athens and the Canadian Embassy for their constant support. Thanks are due to the many colleagues and students who have taken part, especially Prof. Gerald Schaus and Dr. Susan-Marie Cronkite Price who have been senior supervisors. And lastly it is a pleasure to acknowledge the help that we have received from the people of Stymphalia and area around over the past twenty years.

2. Orlandos 1924 to 1930.

Archaeological exploration of the site of ancient Stymphalos by the Canadian Archaeological Institute and the University of British Columbia began in 1982 in collaboration with the Society, with three years of topographical and geophysical survey.³ Since 1994 there have been annual campaigns of archaeological excavations of increasing size until the summer of 2002 when study seasons began.⁴

Our work at the site began with a topographical survey in the summers of 1982-84 which mapped all visible remains of the ancient city that now lies under farmers' fields.⁵ (Fig. 1) Such a survey was timely because plowing has been gradually eroding much of the surface and near surface architectural remains. It quickly became apparent that although Stymphalos had been in existence for some centuries, it had been laid out anew on an orthogonal plan some time in the 4th century B.C., probably during the reorganization of the Peloponnese after Spartan defeats to Thebes in 371 and 362 B.C.⁶ Within a rough triangle of fortification walls about 800 x 800 m the builders laid out a grid of streets usually 6 m wide running north-south crossed by a few broader avenues 8 m wide running east-west. Blocks were long and narrow, usually 30 m wide by over 100 m in length, which suggests a module (including the street width) of 110 Doric feet. Some areas like the rocky acropolis, a long tongue of land extending across about half the southern part of the site, were not included in the grid plan. The fortification walls with their mud-brick superstructure on a 2.5-4.5 m wide stone socle, their mixture of semicircular and rectangular towers and overlap style gates, resemble very closely those of Mantinea, rebuilt in the 360s. Improvements like massive rectangular and polygonal artillery towers and a gateway with a 'killing court' like the Arcadian Gate at Messene appeared around the end of the 4th century.⁷

Plotting and drawing up parch marks in the soil in the dry summer of 1983 revealed another aspect of the site's building history: at one site near the eastern end of the acropolis a building had encroached on the line of a north-south road.

3. Williams 1983 to 1985.

4. Williams *et al.* 1995 to 1998 and 2003.

5. Dr. Thomas Boyd made the first site plan in 1982 with the assistance of Rob Loader; Richard Anderson added further details in 1983-84, and since 1999 Ben Gourley, University of York, has been site architect and is responsible for Fig. 1 as well as for preparing the study and publication of the fortifications.

6. While some coins (dated by our numismatist, Dr. Robert Weir, University of Windsor) and pottery from our excavations date to the early-mid 5th century B.C., most of our discoveries belong to the mid-4th century B.C. and later.

7. Date based on a hoard of 14 coins (latest of which was of Demetrios Poliorketes) found in the Western Tower which replaced a smaller original rectangular tower at the end of the 4th century B.C.

We turned to this area in the summer of 1994 when we began actual excavations because we thought it might indicate a period when central authority had broken down, allowing individual house owners to expand into public property. The second area that we investigated that summer was a small sanctuary on a terrace at the western end of the acropolis, a site briefly explored by Orlandos in 1924 and 1926, which contained a temple, an altar, and a rectangular auxiliary building.⁸ Subsequently we have examined sixteen areas in and around the city, including the start of the famous aqueduct built by Hadrian to carry water down to Corinth.⁹ Another aspect of our initial work at the site was to attempt a large scale geophysical survey of the ancient city; as far as we know this survey was one of the first to be attempted on a Greek urban centre.¹⁰

Our survey work on the eastern side of the city revealed not only clear evidence of the city's streets and some major rectangular structures that were probably courtyards or peristyles, but also traces of the city's fortifications. Indeed the only evidence for the city's northernmost gate comes from a resistivity survey in a plowed field: it seems that most of the northern area of the city's defences was robbed out in the 13th century for building material for the nearby Cistercian monastery of Zaraka.¹¹ Visible in the print-out are the semicircular towers near and flanking the gate as well as the overlapping city walls. The main survey plan clearly reveals that the streets are moved 15 m west from the southern line of streets in the northern part of the site, probably to impede an enemy that had broken through the walls and was fighting down the streets. Aristotle suggests such anomalies in the new orthogonally gridded towns of the 4th century in order make attack more difficult.¹²

The largest area of excavation lay just east of the acropolis where both parch marks and geophysical survey had indicated remains of potential interest. Our eight seasons of excavation have revealed here parts of two north-south streets and of several houses built in the mid to late 4th century B.C., probably abandoned in the mid 2nd century B.C., and reoccupied and rebuilt in the late first century

8. Orlandos 1924, 121 and 1926, 134.

9. Our survey added to the important general study of the aqueduct by Lolos 1997; we found a low level as well as high level aqueduct running across the plain from the spring that is the source.

10. Most of this work was carried out by students from Bradford University whose important contributions, along with those of Dr. Richard Jones of the British School at Athens, made the survey possible. A limited survey by Dr. Stavros Papamarinopoulos with a proton magnetometer yielded much less information while experiments by Dr. Guy Cross in 1989 and 1996 with different kinds of remote sensing equipment (ground penetrating radar, electro-conductivity, seismic reflection) produced occasionally interesting results.

11. Williams 1985, 220, fig. 3.

12. Arist. *Pol.* 7.10.4-5.

B.C. for about half a century until their destruction by earthquake. Interpretation of the archaeological and architectural data is far from complete, however, and the picture may change somewhat with further study.¹³ At least two successive periods of encroachment took place into the line of the 6 m wide street on the eastern side of the block, gradually narrowing it to an alley 1.5 m wide and then closing it completely. There was no such encroachment on the corresponding street on the western side of the block and indeed here the surface, covered in its last stage by broken pottery sherds as a sort of paving, remained unbuilt over although a massive drain was inserted at a diagonal where the street met an east-west avenue; we were able to carry out a sondage some 1.2 m deep, recovering the building history of the road from the late classical period onward. In the wet fill at the bottom some Mycenaean pottery appeared, but we are still uncertain whether it came from a fill brought in for the road or from undisturbed deep levels. The whole question of earlier settlement at the site is far from settled; we have a handful of Mycenaean (LH IIIB) sherds scattered from across the site as well as two apparently Early Helladic lithic tools, but all are from later levels.

The best preserved building period in this area was the early Roman when a pair of courtyard houses was installed in the largely abandoned city, perhaps at the time of the resettlement of Corinth in the later 1st century B.C. The dark lines on the site plan indicate the remains of the western house with its well and central courtyard paved with broken tiles set on edge and its large open area, perhaps a garden, to the south. (Fig. 2) The most interesting material came from another house across the street where the new residents had utilized a large well built ashlar structure with fine four metre long cut blocks on its facade along the street. This site provided us with the clearest evidence for the mid 1st century earthquake in the form of nearly three dozen complete but shattered kitchen and common ware vessels very similar to late Tiberian period pots from Corinth. Striking discoveries were extensive remains of drafted wall plaster resembling the First Pompeian style in a room laid out like an *andron* with a raised border for couches, an iron sword 81 cm long (*spatha*?) still in parts of its sheath, a dagger, a round bronze shield cover, and a pair of large marble lions' feet, perhaps supports for furniture of wood. Over thirty bronze decorative door bosses in four different styles and a bronze door lock also came from the floor level amid destruction debris.

13. For example, there are a number of coins from the period between 146 B.C. and the Augustan times.

14. Professor Gerald Schaus, Wilfrid Laurier University, supervised this area and is preparing the final publication of it. Professor Mary Sturgeon is preparing the publication of the statue.

Few ancient sources touch on the history of ancient Stymphalos and our work has allowed us to begin to determine some critical events from the archaeological evidence. Most striking was the general absence of pottery and other finds from the mid 2nd century B.C. to the Augustan period. Our initial hypothesis was that a major event must have taken place about the mid 2nd century B.C. to cut the site suddenly off. The likely cause was Roman military activity during the Achaean War which destroyed the city of Corinth in the autumn of 146 B.C. and which likely had effects on surrounding towns. Among the four hundred or so coins from the excavation there is a remarkable forgery of a Roman denarius of 149 B.C. generally agreed to have been the money issued to pay the Roman army in Greece. Perhaps discarded at Stymphalos by some Roman soldier after the silver wash wore off the coin, it seems to confirm a Roman military presence after 149 B.C. We also have coins of Syria (including a fine silver tetradrachm), Egypt, Sicily and even Carthage ca. 300 B.C. that may have come back as part of the pay of Stymphalians serving as mercenary soldiers. The presence of large numbers of coins from Sikyon, Phlius and Corinth indicate our major nearby trading partners; indeed they far outnumber local issues of the Stymphalian mint.

One of the most interesting areas of the site lies on a terrace near the western end of the acropolis where a small temple has always been visible.¹⁴ (Fig. 3) Partially cleaned although not excavated by Orlandos, the structure has revealed some remarkable features. It seems to have been destroyed by fire in the mid 2nd century B.C., but not before at least two marble statues were broken up and burned in its fiery end; in the temple were parts of a half life-sized, late archaic *kore* of Parian marble as well as parts of a possible temple child, suggesting a kourotrophic divinity.¹⁵ The *kore* seems to be of Greek island origin and must somehow have found its way to Stymphalos after the mid 4th century when the sanctuary was constructed. We recovered about a third of it; we found no fragments elsewhere, and where it originally stood and what actually happened to it is still a mystery. Of note is a thin green glass eye that may have been inset in the missing face. For the temple child there are only the pudgy arms and feet attached to a rough base. The archaic statue appears to date to the late 6th or early 5th centuries B.C., but the child looks like a mid to late 4th century statue. Orlandos found near the temple part of an inscription, now lost, referring to Athena Polias but the kourotrophic nature of the statue might otherwise have suggested Artemis.¹⁶ Indeed the discovery of over two hundred pieces of gold, silver and mostly bronze jewellery from around the sanctuary again suggests a divinity like Artemis to whom women might donate such offerings before or

15. For a recent discussion of this sanctuary see Schaus and Williams 2000.

16. Orlandos 1926, 134.

after childbirth.¹⁷ Finds include earrings of different forms, finger rings of both bronze and iron (many with decorated bezels), bracelets and armlets. There were also nearly two hundred terracotta figurines, some of female worshippers and of animals as well as several small bronze figurines of animals.

The temple was a simple structure, 11 x 6 m, of mud-brick on stone orthostates with pronaos and main chamber. In front, however, was the foundation for a five-step stairway with a circular cutting on a block on its north side that probably was the site of a perirrhanterion; we found fragments of bases and basins of several of these terracotta 'holy water' basins around the site. In front of the temple was a large altar made up of large blocks of cut local limestone that were no doubt covered with plaster in antiquity; a roughly paved area surrounded it. North of the altar and temple was a tripartite auxiliary building that included a kitchen in its final form and to its west an annex that produced a number of loom weights. Interesting to the west as well was a series of five aniconic anepigraphic stelai set in a row in the earth, which may have been rude cult images like ones mentioned elsewhere in Arcadia by Pausanias.¹⁸ We know of remains of a second temple (tetrastyle prostyle) cleared by Orlandos near the south city wall by the lake and much to our surprise in a joint project with the local Ephorate we found evidence for a substantial Doric temple of classical date about two kilometres north of the ancient city at the edge of the modern village at Monastiraki; we found remains of columns, entablature and over twenty marble roof tiles, but the foundations still elude us and may lie under recent houses. We still have no evidence, however, for the location of the temple of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias, nor for his temple of Hera, although the latter may lie outside the present city site if an earlier Stymphalos does indeed lie somewhere else in the valley.¹⁹ Certainly there is evidence for substantial Doric structures, probably temples, elsewhere in the valley near the village of Lafka at the church of Agios Konstantinos, and the convent of Agia Kyriaki from which we have capitals and pieces of entablature.

The Monastiraki site also produced the first early Christian graves that we uncovered; in one was a coin of Justinian about A.D. 535. Since that time we have found 5th and 6th century interments in five areas of the site itself, possibly individual family cemeteries belonging to an as yet unlocated early Byzantine settlement.²⁰ Groups of graves appeared on the west side of the city in and around two early Hellenistic artillery towers, including one with a panoramic

17. Young 2001.

18. Williams and Schaus 2000, 90-2.

19. Pausanias 8.22.1-9; nor do we know the location of the local sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis attested epigraphically (Mitsos 1946-47).

20. For a more complete discussion see Williams *et al.* 1998, 297-300.

view over lake and city at the western height of the acropolis; others appeared in the pronaos of the temple of Athena and outside it, while more have emerged in the last two seasons at the eastern end of the acropolis above the theatre. Our human remains specialist, Dr. Sandra Garvie Lok, has uncovered much interesting information about them, including a group with an hereditary extra vertebra in the neck bones. Another oddity is the presence of a dog burial in a well built Christian tomb in the acropolis tower that had been cleaned of most of its human remains. As for earlier burials we know the location of three Hellenistic cemeteries from the discovery of nearly twenty funerary stelai at different locations north of the city, each with the name of an individual and little else apart from a toponymic “from Phlious”.²¹ It is striking that the majority belong to women; perhaps many men went off to serve as mercenary soldiers and simply never returned home.

A striking success with the resistivity meter was the discovery of the stage building of the city’s theatral area on the flat land south of the eastern end of the acropolis. (Fig. 4) Clearly visible here were stoa-like remains that on excavation turned out to be an unexpected *skene*. The city had no regular theatre, but a long line of rock cut seats along the eastern end of the acropolis had suggested a theatral area, perhaps a one-sided stadium. Although much of the *skene* had been robbed out there was clear evidence of two building stages of early and middle Hellenistic times with Doric façade with stone screens between the columns. Most interesting was the presence of pairs of letters – alpha/alpha to tau/tau at matching ends of stylobate blocks, suggesting that the structure had been dismantled and transplanted from elsewhere; similar letters are present on the façade of the theatre at nearby Sikyon. The plan has clear resemblances to other Hellenistic *skenai* like those at Eretria or Assos, with three rooms behind.²² A few Doric elements of cornice and mutules are all that remain of the superstructure. The stage building is substantial, over 50 m in length, and includes reused masonry in its walls and foundations.

The condition of the seating is very mixed: many of the upper rows of seats are still well preserved although at times weathered, but the lower rows have disappeared entirely, perhaps in part because of unidentified reuse of the area in late Roman/early Byzantine times. We recovered human remains from two partly robbed graves cut out of bedrock at the eastern end of the seating, and with them was a 5th century, early Christian lamp. Similarly above the seating on the flat terrace of the eastern acropolis were a number of both disturbed and

21. Harding and Williams 1992. Orlandos reported at least six other stelai and in 2004 a shepherd brought in another from a field half a kilometre west of the city.

22. See Bieber 1961, 116, fig. 440 (Assos); 118, fig. 452 (Eretria).

undisturbed Christian graves along with remains of several dog burials. The poorly preserved and as yet unidentified structures here seemed to go back to the Hellenistic period but had been abandoned in the mid 2nd century B.C. and never reused until late antiquity when graves had been excavated through the layers of collapsed roof tiles that overlay the scanty foundations. The upper parts of the walls were of mud-brick, as were most other upper walls in the ancient city.

We have also resurveyed a number of structures that Orlandos uncovered west of the theatre, including a klepsydra. Most striking on the central south side of the city near the lake were the foundations of a previously unrecognized monumental propylon resembling in plan the Ptolemaian propylon at Samothrace, and just to the south the substantial propylon to a possible palaestra.²³ (Fig. 5) Of interest as well in a nearby area quarried out of the south side of the acropolis, probably a source for much of the building stone at the site, are the remains of a keyhole-shaped building that Dr. Hans Lauter has identified as an inspiration for the Pantheon in Rome.²⁴ In fact, however, its lengthy entrance is more suggestive of a Mycenaean tholos tomb, and one might suggest a deliberate copying of such structures for a local heroon. Unfortunately about fifteen years ago treasure hunters ripped out some of the substantial polygonal blocks that made up its south side; cleaning up the damaged area provided some evidence to suggest that although late classical or early Hellenistic in date, it was still in use in Roman times.

We have paid particular attention to the fortifications of the city, both examining areas dug by Orlandos like the "Phlious Gate" in the southeast, which clearly was inserted into the existing circuit at a later date, probably around the start of the 3rd century B.C., or the "Pheneos Gate" where there appears to have been a propylon and benches lining the gateway through the city wall.²⁵ We also uncovered new areas including three artillery towers, like the Phlious gate apparently inserted at a later date: each encapsulates in its walls remains of a more modest original tower. The largest tower lies at the southwestern corner of the city at the highest point of the acropolis, and dominates the approaches from the south and the west, *i.e.* exposed flat plains that could be swept by artillery fire. Some 20 x 11 m with internal rooms, it consists of a outer 3 m thick masonry and mud-brick circuit of walls with polygonal masonry and a superstructure of mud-brick. Indeed the mud-brick may also have served to support catapults and to absorb their recoil on firing. The second largest tower lies along the western walls and produced the coin hoard referred to earlier; the third and smallest new tower lies just south of the Athena sanctuary and is hexagonal in

23. Orlandos 1925, foldout pl. I which presents this area of the city.

24. Lauter 1986, 177, Abb. 59 a.

25. See Orlandos 1927, 53-4.

shape, an innovation of the early Hellenistic period to allow more sweep for catapults. Evidence for the catapults comes from over 130 iron projectile points, some pyramidal and some conical in form, found in the sanctuary and occasionally elsewhere on the site.²⁶ Of note from the acropolis tower was also a hoard of 30 late 4th century B.C. lead sling bullets inscribed with initials in relief.²⁷

Our excavations have finished for the time being and we are planning several seasons of conservation, study and publication. One project of particular importance is the conservation of the still flowing late classical fountain house whose back wall bends out more and more each year and threatens to collapse from the pressure of earth and water behind. Colleagues from the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto have also worked on the nearby 13th century Cistercian abbey which has produced scattered earlier material from the ancient site including a Hellenistic tomb relief of a cavalryman and a coin of Septimius Severus.²⁸

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26. Williams *et al.* 1998, 310-1. The majority belong to mid 2nd century B.C. contexts and can be associated with the probable Roman attack, but some also came from contexts of the late 4th century B.C.

27. Williams *et al.* 1998, 306, pl. 12.

28. For a summary report of this excavations see Campbell 1997.

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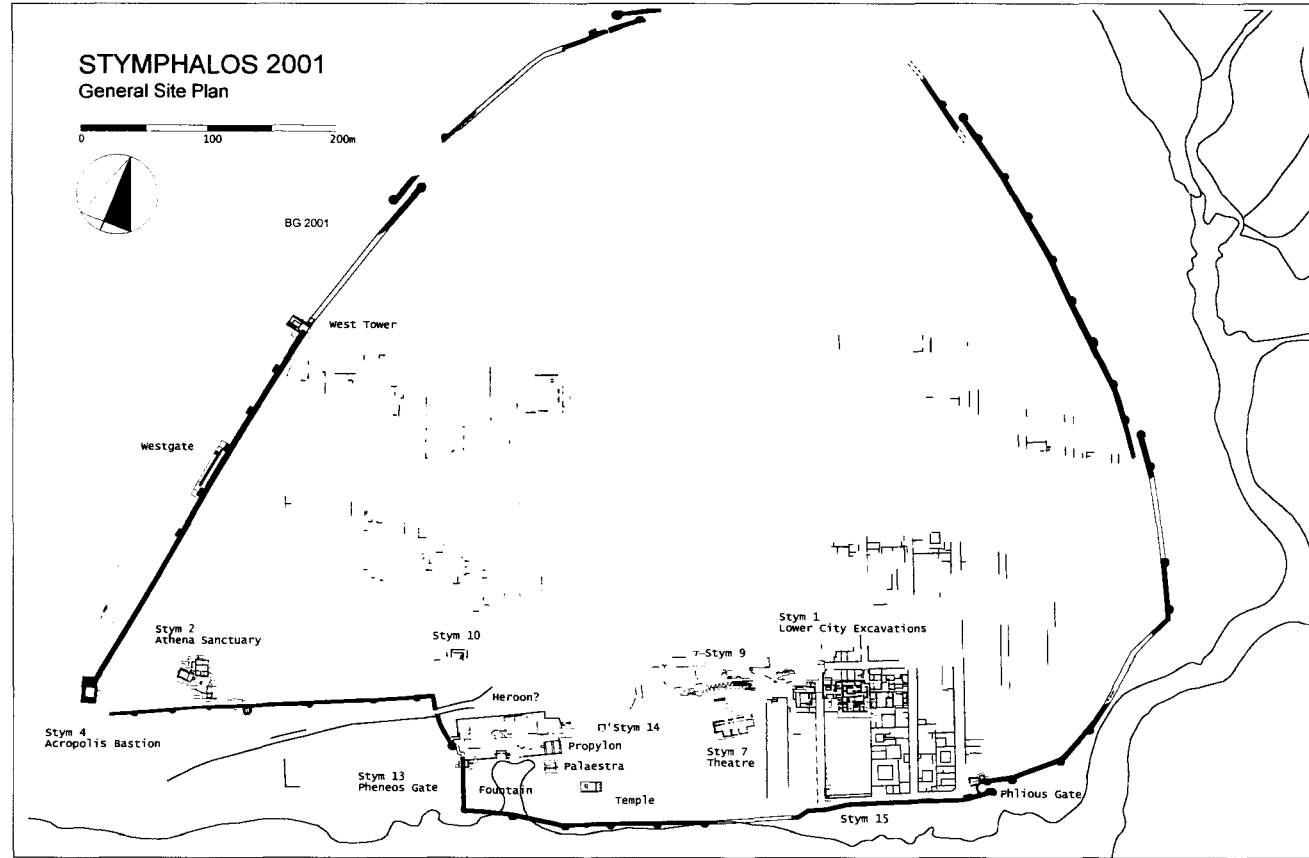


Fig. 1. General plan of ancient Stymphalos. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

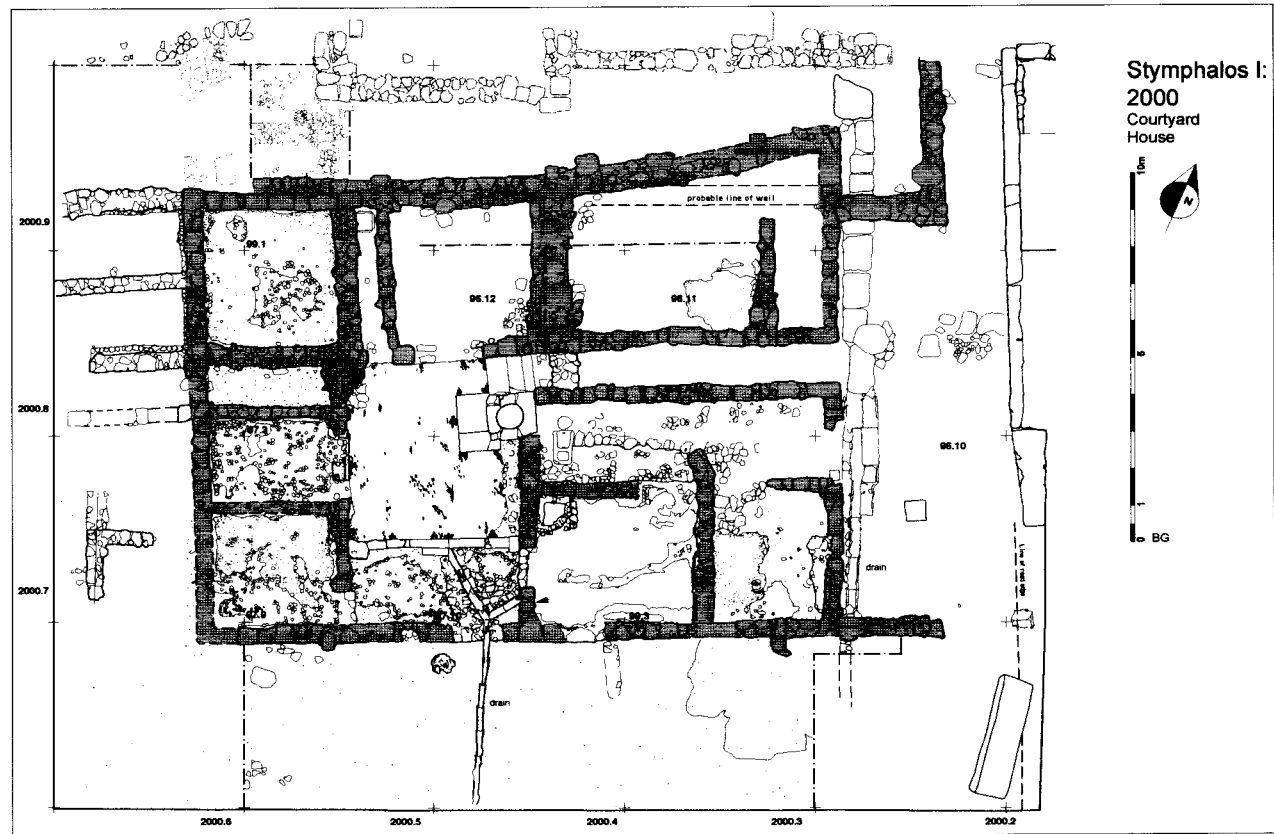


Fig. 2. Remains of Roman house in eastern domestic quarter. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

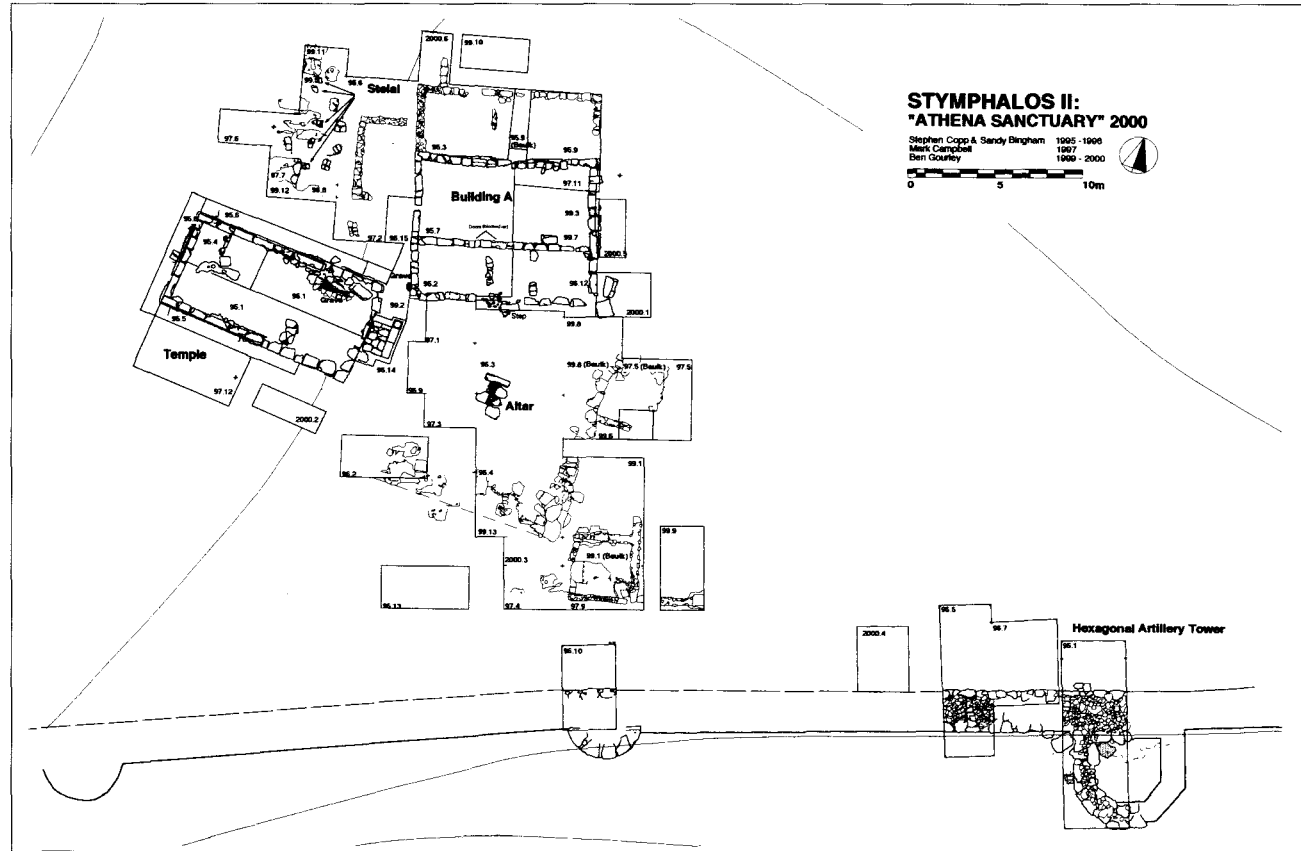


Fig. 3. Plan of sanctuary on western acropolis. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

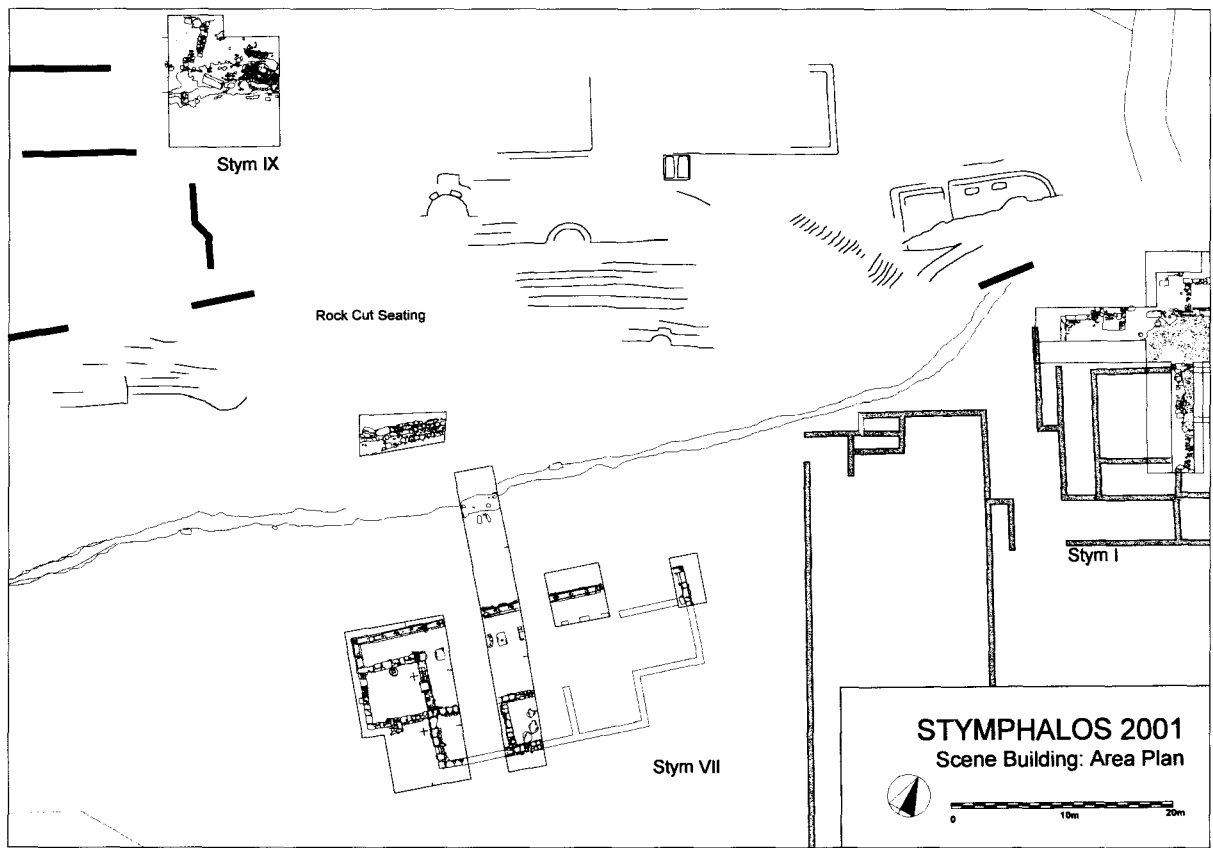


Fig. 4. Plan of area of theatre and stage building. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

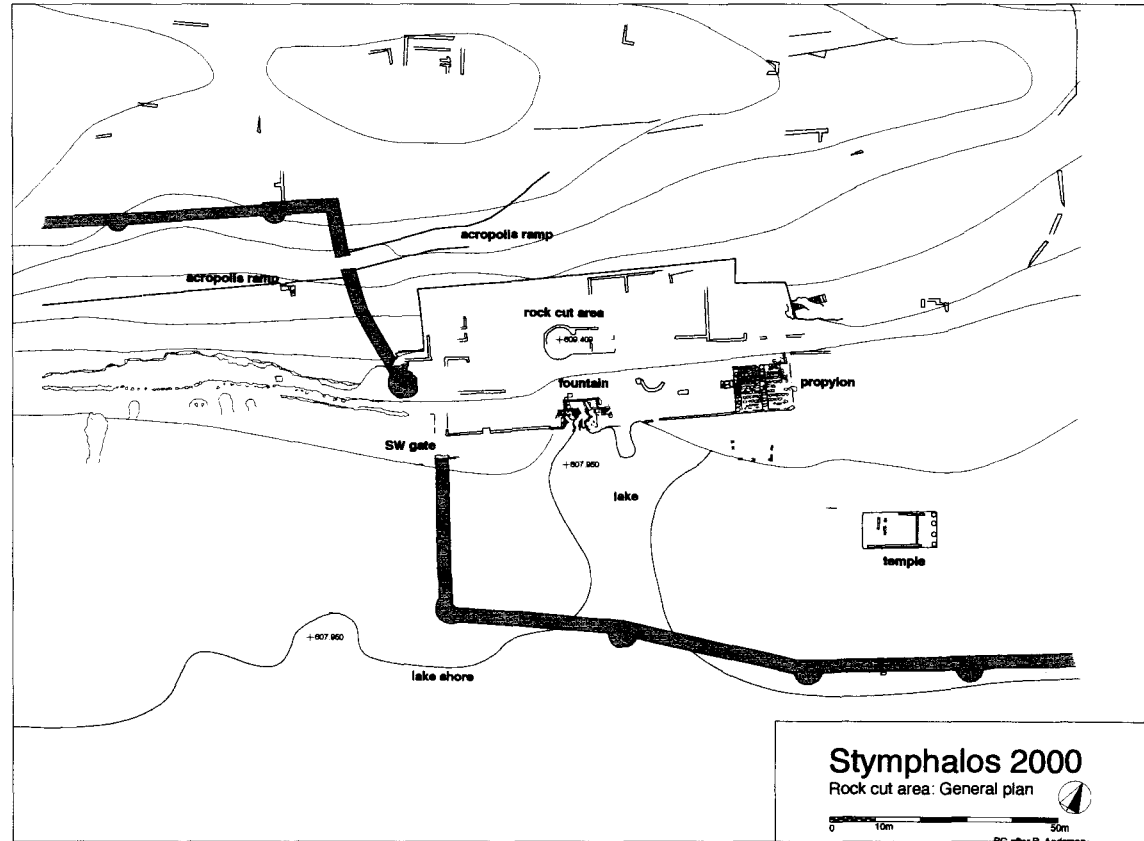


Fig. 5. Plan of southern central area of city cleared by Orlandos. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

VI. ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ANCIENT ARCADIA

Arcadian Miniature Pottery

Leslie Hammond

Over the past eight years, this author has undertaken research regarding a specific genre of ceramics, miniature vessels. Having studied, drawn, photographed, and compared hundreds of miniature vessels in Arcadia and throughout Greece, she provides in this paper a brief summary of the history of study regarding miniature vessels and defines what a miniature vessel is. An overview of those vessels found in Ancient Arcadia follows, focusing on research conducted with three specific projects: Bassai, Asea, and Tegea. While this overview of Arcadia miniatures is brief, it provides the introduction into a topic that is blooming, as are all other aspects of research in the Ancient Arcadian region, which brought us together to the seminar in Athens.

My study of miniature vessels began during my first study season at Tegea in the summer of 1995. For three consecutive seasons I labored over hundreds of not so elegant fragments. When I first began looking, I was not sure what I expected to find or how I would even distinguish a miniature vessel from any other vessel. Some seemed obvious enough, but the vast majority of the material was so fragmented that I had to learn through a process of elimination. Nevertheless, I progressed with my study by cataloguing, measuring, munselling, and drawing each piece I thought was or could possibly be a miniature vessel. At that point I did not even know for sure how I defined a miniature vessel. Since few scholars had discussed or even defined a miniature vessel, I trusted that the Tegean material would speak to me.

While miniature vessels are known from a variety of contexts – domestic, funerary, and cultic – my research focuses on those from sanctuaries. Scholars began to mention these vessels near the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, but in general terms without individual catalogue entries.¹ Dunbabin, however, was the first to highlight miniature vases giving them a chapter of their own in the second

1. Waldstein 1905, 96-101; Wace 1905-06.

volume of the Perachora publication.² Dunbabin inventoried 481 miniatures, illustrating nearly all with photographs, and grouping them by shape. Unfortunately, these catalogue entries are not very comprehensive, often consisting only of one measurement, and an occasional description of the painted decoration.

Subsequent publications followed Dunbabin's lead, noting miniatures when recovered and presenting them in increasingly informative fashion. However, these entries comprise but a few samples of the hundreds, even thousands, which are preserved, mostly from votive deposits and dumps. Analysis of these miniatures rarely extended beyond a presentation of a select few catalogued examples following an introductory paragraph.

More elaborate introductions to chapters and analysis of forms began to appear in publications such as Stillwell and Benson's presentation of the miniatures from the Potters' Quarter in Corinth in 1985, and Pemberton's from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary also at Corinth in 1989.³ Regional studies, such as that by Foley on the Argolid and Voyatzis' of Arcadia, have also incorporated some miniature vessels.⁴

Defining the term 'miniature vessel' was not as easy as it might seem at first. The typical dictionary entry for the word "miniature" notes: "A copy on a much reduced scale; something small of its kind."⁵ A 'miniature vessel' would logically seem to be any vessel that has been reduced in scale. This terminology assumes that from the set repertoire of ancient vessel shapes there is a corresponding set of shapes made on a reduced scale. However, it was immediately apparent that this definition fell short in relationship to the material I first studied at Tegea. Additionally, I found that what one scholar considered to be a miniature, another did not.⁶ Furthermore, not all 'normal' shapes at a given site appeared to have a 'miniature' parallel; and there appears to be no consistency among the shapes miniaturized from site to site.

Theoretically, any shape can be made in miniature. However, we must keep in mind that the original function of the 'normally' sized vessel may not equally transfer to the shape once it becomes miniaturized.⁷ While regional variations of

2. Payne 1962, 290-313.

3. Stillwell and Benson 1984, 309-43; Pemberton 1989, 64-6 and 168-77.

4. Voyatzis 1990, 79-84; Foley 1988, 71-6.

5. *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary* 1974, 741. The definition of "mini" is given as "something small of its kind; of small dimensions" while "miniaturize" is "to design or construct in a small size".

6. Stillwell and Benson 1984, 309; Catling 1976-77, 38 and 40. The aryballos is often a shape of contention. Corinthian aryballoi are not considered to be miniatures, while those from Laconian sites are.

7. Caskey and Amandry 1952. Compare Marer-Banasik 1997, 250, "A note on the de-

miniature vessels exist, just as there are variations for the typical repertoire of ancient vessels, I have created the following definition based on the material I studied at Tegea.⁸ ‘Miniatures’ are vessels that are modeled from other vessels but on a reduced scale. Additionally, other vessels which do not have corresponding larger ‘models’ can also be considered miniatures, as a consequence of their small size, equal to or less than a 10 cm cube.

Review of Arcadian miniature vessels

From 1996 to 1997 I was fortunate to travel and study miniature vessels throughout the Peloponnese.⁹ Wherever I traveled, I made notes and drawings of all the miniatures I saw. Arcadia is a region that is less published than other regions of the Peloponnese, and this especially holds true as concerns the miniatures. Below, I present a brief summary of Arcadian miniature vessels.

The region of Arcadia, where Tegea is located, provides many examples of such pottery.¹⁰ Examples of miniatures exposed in the Tripolis museum come from the sites of Mavriki, Lykosoura, Hagios Elias near Asea, Gortsouli, Paleopyrgos, Asea, Megalopolis, and Kelessi, and others.¹¹ Recent excavations in

definition of *miniature*”: “Miniatures can be defined as vessels too small for everyday or practical use. Large-size hydria are practical shapes that can be set off in size from the miniature hydria found at the Heraion with some ease. There is no need for the three handles on a miniature hydria, for example, as it is easily picked up with one hand. In other cases a definition is not as clear-cut. It is not always clear when a cup, bowl or other drinking vessel is too small for practical use. For example, the hydria is a utilitarian vessel for carrying and pouring water. However, when large numbers of miniature hydriai appear at sanctuaries, such as the Argive Heraion, they are interpreted as votives.”

8. While this definition is based on the material studied at Tegea, so far, the definition holds beyond the scope of that material alone.

9. Miniatures are often unpublished and it is necessary to have that type of reference to request permission to study the material. Thus, I could not request permission to study everything I knew existed because I did not have a published reference to them. My research has to a certain extent been directed by this factor.

10. The majority of those on display are kept in the Tripolis museum, although others can be found at individual site museums – with the exception of those from Bassai, which are located in the museum at Olympia.

11. The following is primarily based upon observations in the Tripolis museum. At Lykosoura miniature kraters were exhibited while the Bronze Age cemetery of Paleokastro preserves amphoriskoi. From a *bothros* of an archaic sanctuary at the site of Gortsouli, ancient Mantinea, were found miniatures including shallow bowls, dishes, and other handmade vessels of coarse fabric. In a shrine at Paleopyrgos, Arcadian Orchomenos, kotylai, kraters, mugs, kantharoi, bowls, and amphorai have been uncovered. The late archaic and classical, 6th to 4th century B.C., material from Megalopolis includes belly-handled small amphorai, kraters, bowls,

the sanctuary at Stymphalos have yielded miniature votive cups including skyphoi and kraters. Although Stymphalos was part of ancient Arcadia, the selection of miniatures published thus far are more akin to those from Corinthia.

Material from Bassai

Dr. Yalouris generously approved my study of the miniatures from Bassai in the Olympia museum. Bassai, in south-western Arcadia, is one of the few sites in this region from which illustrations of miniature vessels have been published. Unfortunately, there was not much original documentation about them other than that “the shapes imitate Corinthian, Laconian, and Elean wares”, and include a jug or pitcher, a pedestal vase, a lakaina, a kotyle, a two-handled mug or kantharos, an aryballos, and a thurible.¹² The Laconian influence, if not outright import, is strong among the miniature vessels at Bassai. The shapes studied in the store-room at the Olympia museum included aryballoi with strap handles and two-handled cups with globular bodies. Additional miniatures were inspected from a series of graves apparently excavated in 1975. These too were mostly cups with one or two handles. The miniatures from Bassai seem to be wheel-made, of a fine fabric, and primarily painted with a dark, probably black monochrome paint.¹³

Asea material

I have analyzed the miniatures recovered during the Asea Valley survey and the Hagios Elias excavations led by Björn and Jeannette Forsén.¹⁴ The miniature vessels recovered during the Asea Valley Survey were concentrated in two main areas, defined as S60:35 and S60:36. While only a small sample was identified, the scope and variety of the shapes, wares, and fabric reveal much.

14 examples of miniature vessels were identified among the corpus of survey material.¹⁵ Both open and closed shapes were noted, although the former predominated. Open vessels included examples of kotylai, dishes, phialai, kana,

and hydriai. Material of the classical and Hellenistic periods from the site ‘Kelessi’ near the Elisson river includes miniature amphorae with vertical handles. Lousoi is another Arcadian site where miniature ceramic finds are reported. Material from the site of Mavriki includes such miniatures as oinochoai, kalathoi, skyphoi, and cups.

12. Cooper 1996, 232-7.

13. The mugs, lakainai, and kantharoi recovered from the ‘Northern Sector’ at Tegea are similar to those found at Bassai, both sites exhibiting Laconian influence.

14. I would like to thank both Björn and Jeannette for allowing me to include my recent analysis of that material here.

15. Hammond 2003.

and a variety of bowls. Hydriai were the only clearly identifiable closed shapes, but other indeterminate fragments of open and closed vessels were also noted.

The shapes identified showed affinities to vessels from other areas of Arcadia as well as regions beyond. Comparisons made between the Asea Survey miniatures and those from Tegea tend to date primarily to the archaic period, while the material dating to the classical and later periods are mostly comparable to miniatures found outside Arcadia.¹⁶

The majority of the survey samples, 93%, were of fine wares while the remaining 7% were determined to be of semi-coarse fabric. Three groups of fabric color appear: reddish yellow, very pale brown, and yellow. Reddish yellow dominate the sample with 42%. While reddish yellow was more common among the open shapes, among the closed shapes yellow fabric was the most popular.

Only 28% of the miniatures preserved traces of paint. Unfortunately, given the worn and abraded surfaces, much of the original painted decoration has probably been lost. While survey material does not always provide the best preserved examples, the miniatures recorded during the Asea Valley Survey do illustrate the variety of shapes, a use of particular fabrics and wares as well as a range of time within which these miniatures date.

Just under 50 examples of miniature vessels were found during excavations conducted at the site of Hagios Elias near Asea. Only open shapes were identified, such as cups, mugs, kotyle, kraters, bowls, dishes, kana, and possible kalathoi. Over 92% of these miniatures were made of fine wares, 73% of these were painted. Only one preserved an incised decoration. The variety of the color of the fabrics was greater than among the Asea survey material: pale yellow and reddish yellow predominated with 40% and 23% respectively.

Tegea material

Miniature vessels were uncovered during the early excavations at Tegea. Ch. Dugas published 34 such vessels, but their exact provenience is unknown. In general, miniatures included in Dugas' and Voyatzis' publications are comparable to those discovered during the Norwegian excavation from 1990 to 94, in shape, fabric type, wear, and decoration.¹⁷

16. Discussions regarding the comparanda of Asea material follow within the specific catalogue entries. It should be noted, however, that some scholars do not consider the comparisons of miniature vessels to be very reliable: Pemberton 1989, 65. See also Renfrew 1985, 16; he states that "Religious experience can often take place in a special location ... there is likely to be specific cult equipment, and a redundancy of symbols" (or objects).

17. Gratitude is extended to the Professor R. Etienne and Dr. Th. Spyropoulos for granting permission to include previously excavated material in my study.

Excavations took place within the classical temple of Athena Alea – the ‘Temple Excavations’ – and in the area to the north of the temple, the so-called ‘Northern Sector.’ My study of the miniatures from the Norwegian excavations resulted in the establishment of three distinct phases of miniature vessel production and use at the site over time.

Phase I is represented by 149 miniature vessels discovered in the votive pit located below the pronaos of the classical temple. All these miniatures are similar in manufacture, material, and fabric, suggesting that these vessels had a significant and consistent role in defining their context.

Open vessels dominate among the miniatures in Phase I, although a few fragments of closed shapes were noted.¹⁸ (Fig. 1) However, the shapes of miniature footed cups and dishes, popular in Phase I, do not replicate the shapes of any ‘normal’ drinking and serving vessels, thus indicating that there is something different about them.¹⁹ These vessels are not simply scaled down versions or cheap imitations of normal shapes, rather they were made for a purpose of their own.²⁰ Either they were offered as votives in their own right, or they may have held substances consumed or left behind in association with some activity. Phase I miniatures appear to be exclusive in all characteristic aspects as compared with the two later phases.

The production and decoration of the miniatures from Phase I is quite basic.²¹ The vessels were formed by hand from clay typically having various types of inclusions. That they were locally produced, is indicated by the reddish yellow fabric and handmade technique.²² Although variations appear among the fabric colors of the miniatures from Phase I, the reddish yellow fabric color predo-

18. Hammond 2000, fig. 8. Open shapes predominate among the ‘normally’ sized vessels at Tegea as well.

19. Voyatzis’ study of the *bothros* ceramics (other than miniatures) has shown that shapes include skyphoi, cups, shallow bowls, possibly kraters, as well as jugs, and perhaps amphorae and pyxides. She has also noted Laconian influence among the non-miniature ceramics. (Personal communication; see also her paper in this volume.)

20. In some contexts, miniatures do have a practical and useful function in everyday life.

21. While the production of these miniatures may have taken place in a workshop (as opposed to household production), this can not be substantiated at the present. Further excavations and study of the coarse wares (non-miniatures) will hopefully shed light on this question.

22. The fabric with a reddish yellow color, seen in the majority of the miniatures from Phase I, has been confirmed as a local fabric through scientific analysis (ICP-AES) undertaken by the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens. The fabrics from Tegea also include a very pale brown color, in addition to the reddish yellow (varying to pink) color, as mentioned. Thanks are extended to Dr. Voyatzis for sharing this information. The handmade process in general suggests local production, at least in the case of Tegea, since none of the handmade miniature vessels found at Tegea can be identified as imports.

minates, and is consistently used throughout the history of miniature vessel production at Tegea.²³

Decorative motifs are kept to a minimum during Phase I.²⁴ Decoration includes only impressed or incised lines located almost exclusively on the rims of bowls.²⁵ The simple character of the Phase I miniatures may suggest that most of these vessels were probably containers for offerings dedicated at the site, rather than functioning as dedications themselves.²⁶

Miniature vessels from *Phase II* include material found in the pronaos surface layers and in the metal-working area, all objects excavated in the cella, as well as from the layers dated to the archaic period in the 'Northern Sector'. The continued presence and increase in numbers during Phase II confirm the importance of miniature vessels at the site.²⁷

Phase II introduces new miniature shapes which reflect the 'normal' ceramic shapes more closely.²⁸ (Fig. 2) Miniature shapes not previously seen include kotylai, kraters, shallow bowls, and phialai.²⁹ While kotylai and shallow bowls are the most popular, shallow bowls are most numerous and can be related almost exclusively to the Geometric buildings suggesting that this shape can be specifically tied to some activity that took place in association with these

23. The color of a fabric is determined by a number of factors, including the clay source and firing process. Shepard 1968, 100-12 for the causes of different clay colors, 147-55 and 213-23 for identifying firing methods. Hammond 2000, 215, n. 27, for additional discussion regarding the results of firing processes.

24. Although five Mycenaean sherds (possibly from the same vessel) preserve painted decoration, these were probably intrusive since they were found among the top and uppermost layer of the *bothros*, distinguished by the metalworking area just above it.

25. The exceptions include one dish with incised lines on the rim, one handle fragment with incised lines, and one bowl which has impressed rings, possibly made with a hollow reed. A total of nine cases exist where these decorative elements are noted.

26. The artisans of Tegea clearly had the skills and ability to produce fine wares with painted decorative patterns, but for some reason they chose not to do so for those of miniature size.

27. The quantity of miniatures increases from Phase I to Phase II, reflecting the regular pottery at Tegea with the expansion of shapes and external influences. Voyatzis informs me that Laconian influence/importation is much reduced at this time and the focus shifts to the Argolid with such shapes as skyphoi, one- and two-handled cups, kraters, and kantharoi, as well as oinochoai, lekythoi, amphorae, pyxides and oinochoe-lekythoi. Additionally, Corinthian style kotylai and pyxides also appear. In short, from the late LG period, the site of Tegea expands its use and production of ceramics in general, miniatures and non-miniatures alike. See the contribution by Dr. Voyatzis to this volume.

28. Hammond 2000, fig. 9.

29. These are primarily open shapes, while generally among the pottery of regular size from this period, more closed shapes begin to appear. Only one closed shape can be confirmed among the miniatures of Phase II.

structures.³⁰ Shallow bowls have no parallel among the vessels of 'normal' size.³¹ (Fig. 3)

The kotyle, first appearing in Phase II, is second in popularity only to the shallow bowl. The kotyle, however, continues into Phase III where it becomes the most popular of the miniature shapes.³² This shape seems to function more as a votive token or substitute for a 'normally' sized kotyle, since it has a corresponding shape of 'normal' size; it may, as an alternative explanation, actually have been used in some probably cultic activity. Both the miniature kotylai and those of 'regular' size first appear in Phase II.³³ The continued importance of this shape from Phase II to Phase III suggests a certain continuity also of actions in the sanctuary. The same continuity is seen for the miniature krater, but it is not nearly as popular as the kotyle.³⁴

Changes appear in the production of miniature vessels from Phase II as well. Although handmade miniatures are still manufactured, wheelmade pieces are almost exclusively confined to kotylai and kraters, as well as a few bowls.³⁵ The wheel-throwing process adds fine clays to the extant semi-coarse and coarse wares seen among the miniatures at Tegea. The colors resulting from the intro-

30. All shallow bowls belong to Phase II except four examples found among the miniatures from Phase III.

31. The shallow nature of the vessel could suggest a votive function, just as the phiale is considered a 'votive' shape. However, many shallow bowls, unlike phialai, have suspension holes and a slightly convex profile, suggesting that they were probably suspended, could catch the wind and rotate, their distinct painted pattern on each side being visible. This interpretation is substantiated because numerous bronze and iron pins and nails were found in association with the Geometric buildings, suggesting that the shallow bowls functioned as hanging votives. Simon 1986, 317, for vases that "may have had a ritual use during ceremonies".

The uniqueness of the Tegean shallow bowls may have been inspired by small Argive bowls. Similar cult activities emerging at this time at both sites could result in the independent production for this shape. There are no exact parallels between the Argive vessels and the Tegean shallow bowls.

32. Kotylai are most numerous (overall a total of 40 from the temple excavations) among the surface layers of the cella as well as in association with Building 1. However, the pronaos surface and occupation levels 2 and 3 provide only eight fragments of kotylai. The concentration of kotylai in the upper levels of the temple excavations may suggest that this shape was introduced somewhat later, or 'caught on' later, than the shallow bowl.

33. Voyatzis informs me that the kotylai from the 'regular' pottery are similar in shape to the Argive type and in style to the Corinthian types.

34. Like the shallow bowl, the krater is more popular during Phase II than Phase III, where only seven of the 27 examples from the site belong.

35. Since we find many similarities between the miniatures and 'normal' pottery during this phase and the following Phase III, we can propose that the production of the miniatures from Phase II and III occurred within a workshop environment.

duction of new fabrics among the miniature vessels include pale yellow and very pale brown.³⁶ The artisans have now refined their fabrics to make them suitable for the wheel-throwing process.³⁷

In Phase II, miniature vessels are enhanced by painted linear or monochrome decoration, although a few instances of incised decoration still occur.³⁸ (Fig. 4; see also Fig. 3) The added decorative motifs which now appear indicate that more attention is being given to this production.³⁹

The two most popular miniature vessel shapes seen in Phase II may be influenced by external sources. The normally sized kotylai reveal inspiration from the Argolid and the Corinthia, and a similar situation seems to occur with the miniature kotylai as well.⁴⁰ Miniature kotylai found at Tegea are similar in

36. Light yellowish brown preserved over a dozen examples as well, while all others preserved seven or less examples each. Although the use of reddish yellow fabric was reduced almost by half, it was still more popular than the very pale brown fabric that has also been determined to be local (as early as PG among the regular pottery of the site) according to the analysis undertaken by the Fitch laboratory.

37. Coarse wares are also produced on the wheel, but when miniaturized vessels with coarse fabric are constructed on the wheel, one might expect a rougher surface, since the size of the inclusions can now be more closely related to the size of the vessel, while the greater surface area of the vessel can better handle more and larger inclusions. The process could be more harmful to the hands of the maker him/herself as well. Furthermore, during the delicate process of making a miniature vessel on the wheel, great care must be taken to avoid inclusions or other unwanted 'lumps' in the clay. There is no case among the Tegean miniatures of coarse ware objects made on the wheel. Compare Fábrega 1994, 38: a modern potter specializing in the production of porcelain miniature vessels summarizes the problem of contaminations to fine clay miniatures made on a wheel when she states: "The purity and plasticity of the porcelain are absolutely essential. A grain of sand or a piece of iron disrupts the process... A loose hair can wind around the pot, strangle it; even a cat hair is disruptive." Hammond 2000, 222, n. 49, for further discussion regarding contemporary productions of miniature vessels.

38. A few straggling vessels are found in Phase II that were part of the original corpus of shapes in Phase I. One footed cup, two dishes, and one kana (all shapes also found in Phase I) continue the undecorated style common from Phase I. There are, however, new bowl types that exhibit painted decoration, some of which are of fine fabric. Nine examples of incised decoration are noted among the miniatures of Phase II. This appears on three bowls, on five handmade shallow bowls, and on one handle fragment. These cases of incision should probably not be considered as 'leftovers' from Phase I, since those from Phase II occur on different shapes or variations created by manufacture or material.

39. A total of nine examples of the 148 objects from Phase I is hardly sufficient to establish this as a 'normal' decorative pattern for the miniatures. When an artist takes the time to decorate a vessel, it gives more importance to the vessel itself, adding support to the suggestion that miniature vessels are taking on a new or different role than previously seen in Phase I.

40. Corinthian miniature kotylai were found not only throughout the Argolid and other areas of the Peloponnese, but throughout the Mediterranean. Corinth has been cited as "one of

shape, size, and fabric to Corinthian kotylai; but the non-Corinthian decorative patterning on the Tegean examples indicates that they were made locally and not imported.⁴¹

The quantity of miniatures from *Phase III*, the final phase of the sanctuary, is approximately equal to that found in Phase II, most of the pieces being recovered from the 'Northern Sector'. The consistent quantity of miniature vessels reveals that their use in the sanctuary continued to be important.⁴² Overall, Phase III miniatures appear to be an extension of Phase II. Open shapes continue to dominate the miniature types, with the addition of footless cups (with flat bottoms), kantharoi, mugs, lakainai, and dinoi.⁴³ (Fig. 5) One new closed shape appears as well, the oinochoe. Nevertheless, the kotyle continues to be the most important shape while the shallow bowls, on the contrary, have almost disappeared.⁴⁴ The importance of the kotyle as a votive vessel at Tegea is further confirmed by the fact that eight of these vessels were found together, without any other manufactured objects, in a foundation trench for the classical Skopadian temple.⁴⁵ The context suggests that these kotylai constituted part of a

the leading producers of miniature votive pottery": Stroud 1965, 15-6, n. 28. See also Payne 1962, 290-1, and Payne 1971, 334-5, for locations where these vessels have been exported. See also Boardman and Hayes 1973.

41. Since the fabric color types of the kotylai (as well as other shapes, such as kraters) from Tegea and those from the Corinthia are so similar, it is quite risky to base judgments of influence as against importation on fabric color alone. The Tegean miniature kotylai are most different in the decorative patterning and tend to be smaller than those from such sites as the Demeter and Kore sanctuary. However, some smaller Corinthian kotylai are known from Perachora, but their decoration is still different. The kotylai of Phase II also deviate from the Corinthian types by a tendency to be smaller than those found at Corinthian sites, but this is not always the case.

The Tegean shallow bowls are not dissimilar in shape and size, and in some cases fabric, from the 'saucers', 'shallow dishes' or 'handmade bowls' found at many sites in the Argolid. The variation appears, as with the kotylai, in their painted decoration. While the Argive vessels have tidy, parallel lines, at Tegea the lines tend to either drip over the vessel surface inside and outside, or radiate from the center to the rim like the spokes of a bicycle wheel. The Tegean artisans are not just copying an object seen or imported from another area, but adapting a form to the local need.

42. Phase III contained 180 pieces of miniature vessels, while Phase II had 169.

43. Hammond 2000, fig. 10.

44. This probably results from the fact that the shallow bowls are found almost exclusively in connection with the Geometric buildings and thus probably relate to activities undertaken in the sanctuary during that period alone. Only four shallow bowls were found among the miniatures from Phase III.

45. These kotylai were found along the west side of the foundation wall between the cella and pronaos of the classical temple. The only other remains noted from the related stratigra-

foundation deposit and might have been buried during a possible foundation ceremony for the construction of the classical temple.⁴⁶

Most of the new Phase III shapes may be explained by the fact that many are imports or local imitations of other regional types of miniature vessels. The newly introduced miniature vessel shapes tell us that the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea was progressively gaining more and more renown. Kantharoi, mugs, and lakainai are imported Laconian shapes.⁴⁷ It is not clear if these tiny vessels found their way to Tegea with visiting foreigners or with locals who had traveled to other areas, but it is significant that there are now miniature vessels at Tegea which have not been locally produced.⁴⁸

Phase III miniatures are almost exclusively wheelmade and of fine fabric.

phical unit (D1/7) were 15 grams of animal bones. A similar grouping of miniature cups was discovered in the 'Northern Sector', where three footless cups were found piled together *in situ*; but these do not constitute a foundation deposit.

46. For Iron Age foundation deposits (non-religious structures) see Wells 1988, 259-66. I would like to thank Dr. Nordquist for bringing my attention to this reference. Wells also cites foundation rituals from Mesopotamia and Egypt as well as other examples in the Greek world, some of them for temples. Although none of the objects found in the foundation deposits discussed by Wells (three, at Asine) were miniature vessels, they occur elsewhere (temple of Athena, Gortyn). Wells also cites an article by Donderer 1984, 177, where it is claimed that in the historical periods (archaic and later), the foundation deposits, buried in the ground, are related to chthonic female deities.

47. Kantharoi, mugs, lakainai, oinochoai, and possibly dinoi (in addition to a few possible jugs) are among those shapes that appear to be imports (mostly Laconian). At least half of the kraters from Phase III are also probably imported from Corinth. They are of a different type from those of Phase II. Miniature Laconian pottery has been found beyond the Peloponnese in southern Italy, at Taranto (Taras), in Etruria, on Samos, Rhodes, and at Smyrna (in Ionia), for example.

48. Fábrega 1994, 39, discusses the convenience of traveling to exhibits with miniature pots. Furthermore, when considering the total weights calculated for each excavation area, it is easy to believe that many miniature vessels could easily be transported. The typical weight for a Tegean kotyle (with a rim diameter of 3 cm or less) is one gram. The total weight for all miniatures recovered in the cella excavations amounts to 326 grams, or 0.71 pounds. The material from the pronaos excavations, although smaller in quantity than the pots found in the cella, weighs a little more, as a result of the material used to construct the vessels: 679 grams or about 1 1/2 pounds (1.49 pounds). The miniatures from the 'Northern Sector', the largest quantity, reach still less weight: 564 grams, about 1 1/4 pounds (1.243 pounds). The total weight for all miniatures from the site amounts to 1,569 grams or 1.58 kilograms, about 3.45 pounds. These quantifications clearly show that hundreds of miniature vessels could be transported with little effort. Their insignificant weight and compact size make shipping these vessels rather convenient. Compare Rice 1987, 452: "Miniaturization...a particular advantage that both allows the artisan to transport more of the items to the selling area and lets the tourist buyer (or art dealer) fit more of them into a suitcase."

Less variety in the colors of fabrics is noted as well. The lighter colored clays continued to be used, such as pale yellow and very pale brown, even more so than they had been in Phase II.⁴⁹ In addition, decorative elements found among the miniature of Phase III have been reduced to concentrate, with one exception, on the painted type, consisting entirely of linear patterns on kotylai and some kraters, or monochrome color on most other shapes. The increased use of monochrome painting may reflect the style of the time, the place from which those vessels originally came, or the quickness with which potters wished to produce these little vessels. The artisans have refined their craft of miniature vessel production, making fewer shapes and using fewer fabrics and decorative motifs, and thus quickening their processes.⁵⁰ This, in turn, must reflect the need or demand for the vessels themselves, perhaps resulting in mass production.

These three phases of miniature vessel production are rather enlightening. Phase I focused on handmade, coarse, and semi-coarse shapes, without parallels among the 'normally' sized ceramics. Phase II initiates changes involving all characteristics of the miniatures – shapes, wares, fabrics, and decoration. For the first time these miniature vessels can actually be considered, in some cases, to be miniature versions of the 'normal' shapes. While shallow bowls are a hallmark shape of Phase II, the continued appearance of the kotyle, which links Phase II to Phase III, suggests a degree of continuous activity at the site that cannot be documented between Phase I and Phase II. This probably has some connection with the fact that the archaic and classical temples for Athena Alea are related to these two latter phases.

Phase III can be characterized as the almost exact opposite of Phase I. While the potters of Phase I focused on the production of semi-coarse and coarse, handmade, virtually undecorated wares, those from Phase III use the wheel and

49. Yellow as fabric color is also important during Phase III. Although it first appeared in Phase II, advantage is taken of it during this period. Likewise, pale yellow and very pale brown become more important, eclipsing reddish yellow in popularity, although the latter is still used. While very pale brown fabrics were popular in Phase II, only one example was recorded in Phase I.

50. Although reduced quality is typically associated with increased quantity and quicker production, such inferior quality is not obvious among the miniatures of the final phase at Tegea. The extent to which this 'refinement' has progressed to mass production may suggest that miniatures have indeed at this point become mere tokens and cheap votives to be deposited at cultic sites. This may be the explanation for the kotylai at Tegea; however, the numbers of one specific shape or another uncovered thus far at Tegea are comparable, but not as extensive as some of the massive quantities of certain shapes found at sites such as those in Laconia, the Argolid and the Corinthia. Whether this implies that miniatures at Tegea were used for specific cultic activities or ceremonies rather than as passing tokens or substitutes, or perhaps rather that miniatures were a less popular votive at the site, is a question that cannot be answered at present.

produced almost exclusively painted, fine wares, 89% of their production. Imports are also a key characteristic of this final phase.

Analysis of the Tegean material clearly shows that stereotypes regarding miniatures are not always true. It is now possible to question the entire concept of miniature vessels as cheap substitutes for normally sized pots. Although it has been shown that this may be true in some cases, it is not applicable at all times. These are the humble beginnings of miniature vessel research in Arcadia. As additional sites are excavated, surveyed and explored, the opportunity to expand our knowledge about miniature vessels, not only in Arcadia or in the Peloponnese, but all over Greece, the whole of the Mediterranean, and perhaps beyond, is bound to increase. I encourage all of you, in whatever project you work, be it in Arcadia or not; take a second look at your small, unassuming vessels, you might be surprised at the stories they have to tell.

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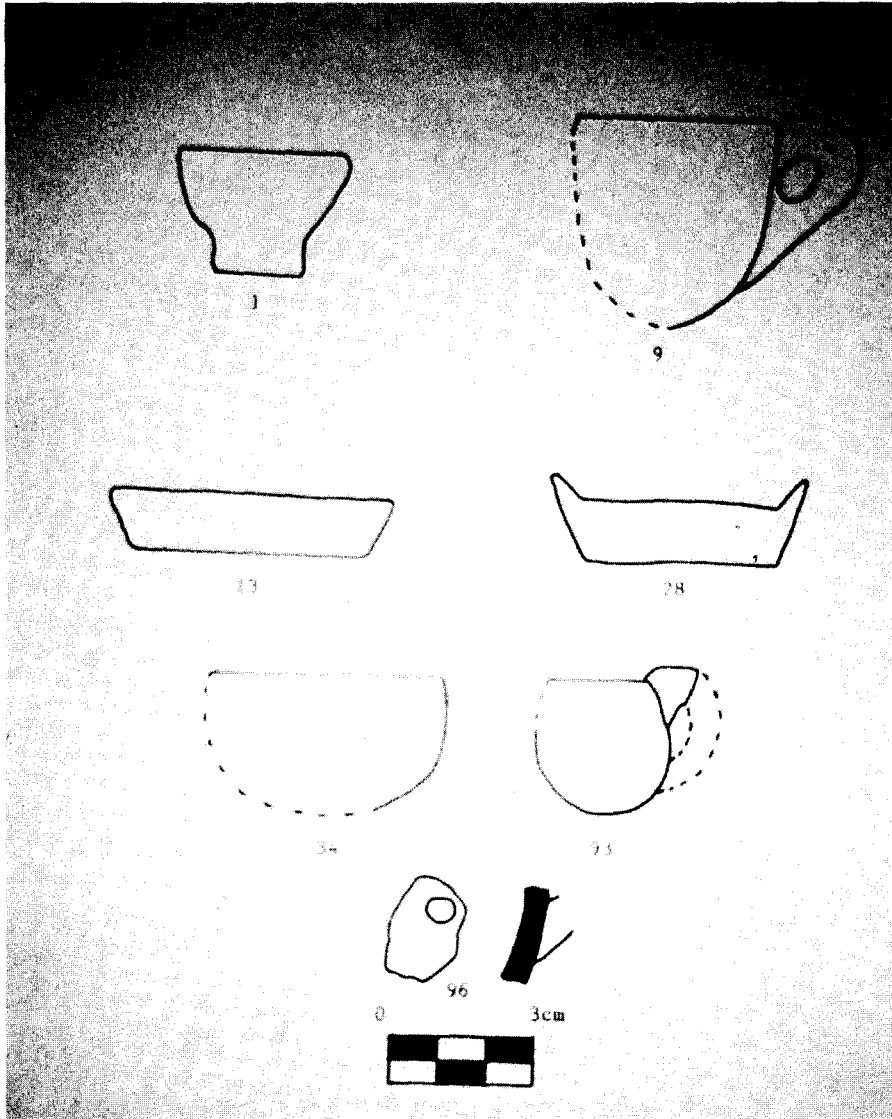


Fig. 1. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase I: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)

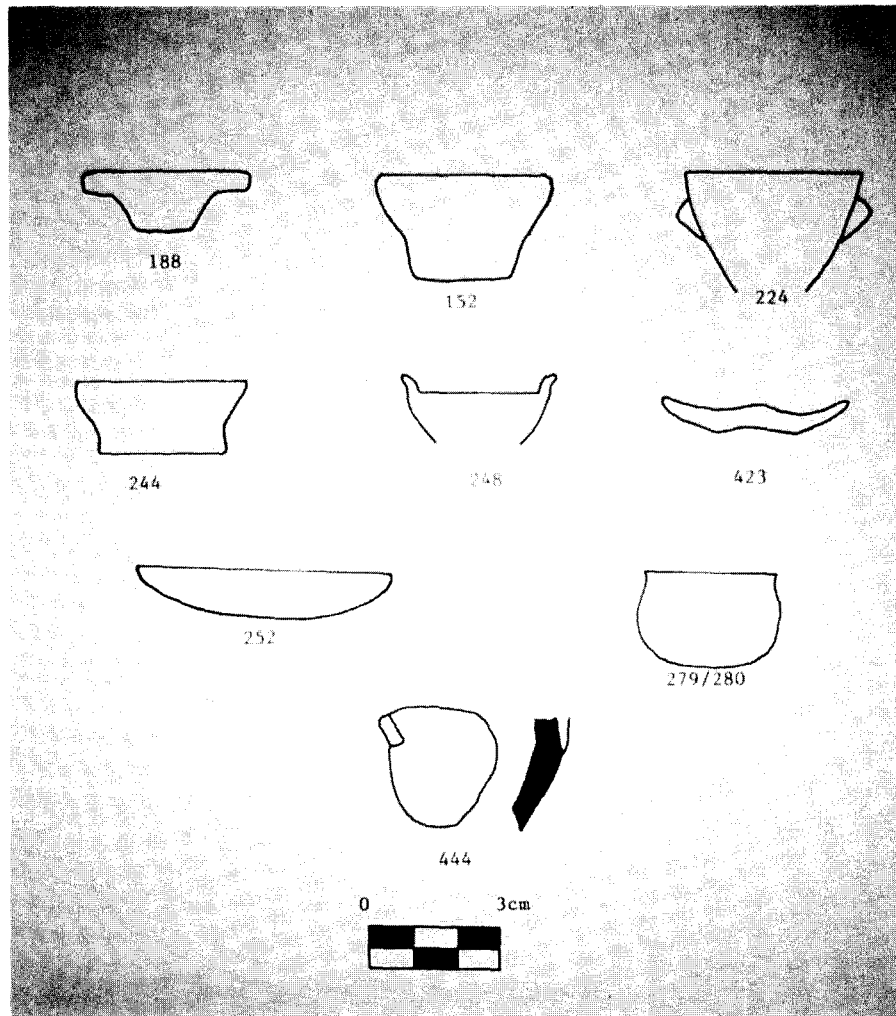


Fig. 2. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase II: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)

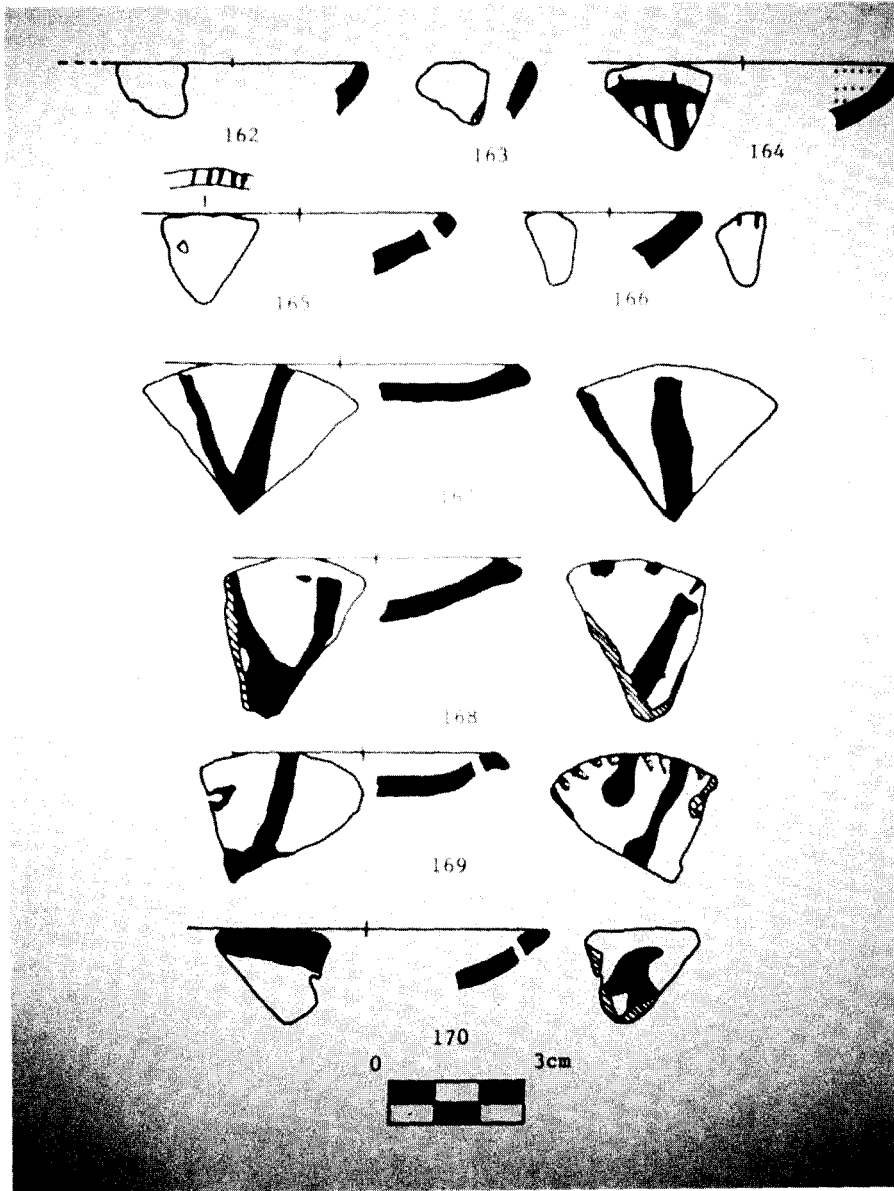


Fig. 3. Miniature pottery from Tegea: profile drawings of shallow bowls from Phase II. (Drawing: author.)

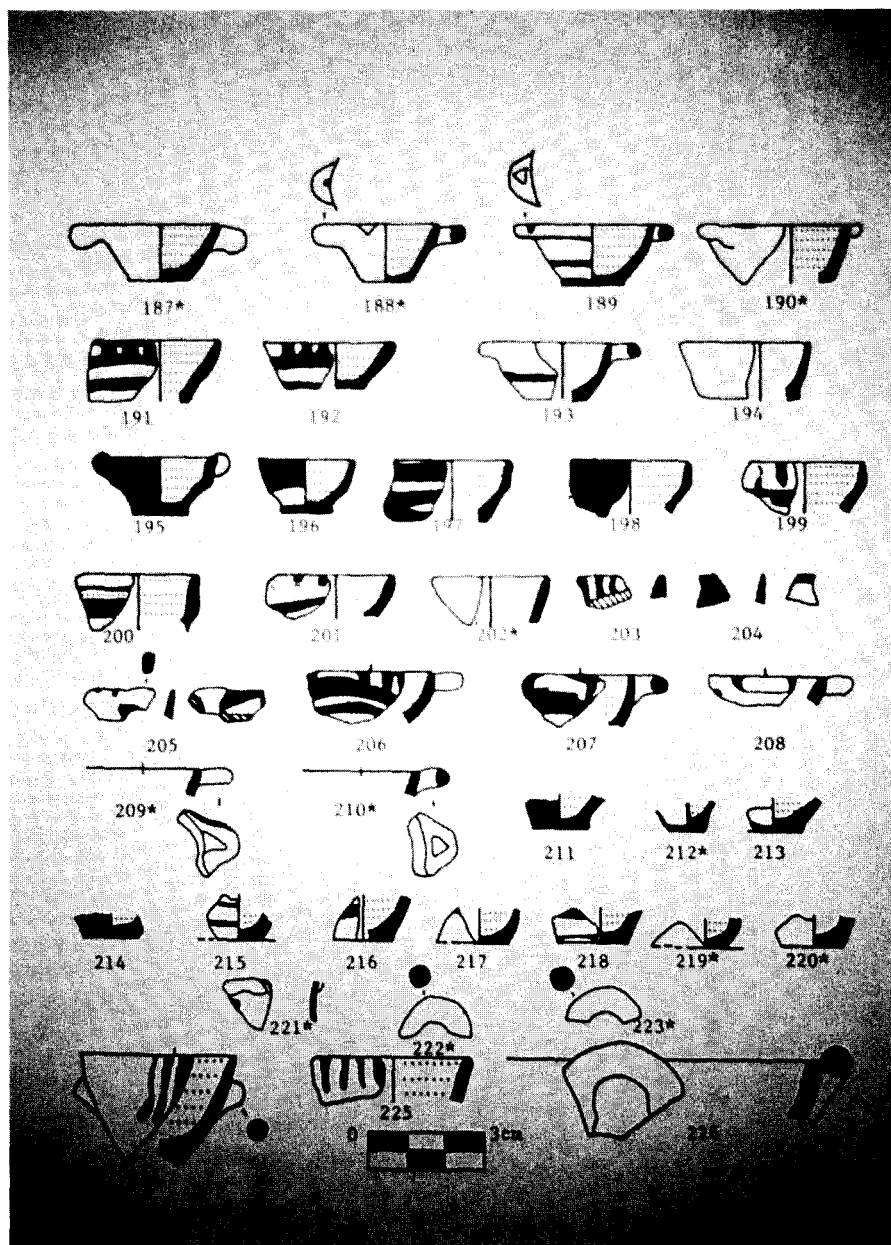


Fig. 4. Miniature pottery from Tegea: profile drawings of kotylai and kraters from Phase II. (Drawing: author.)

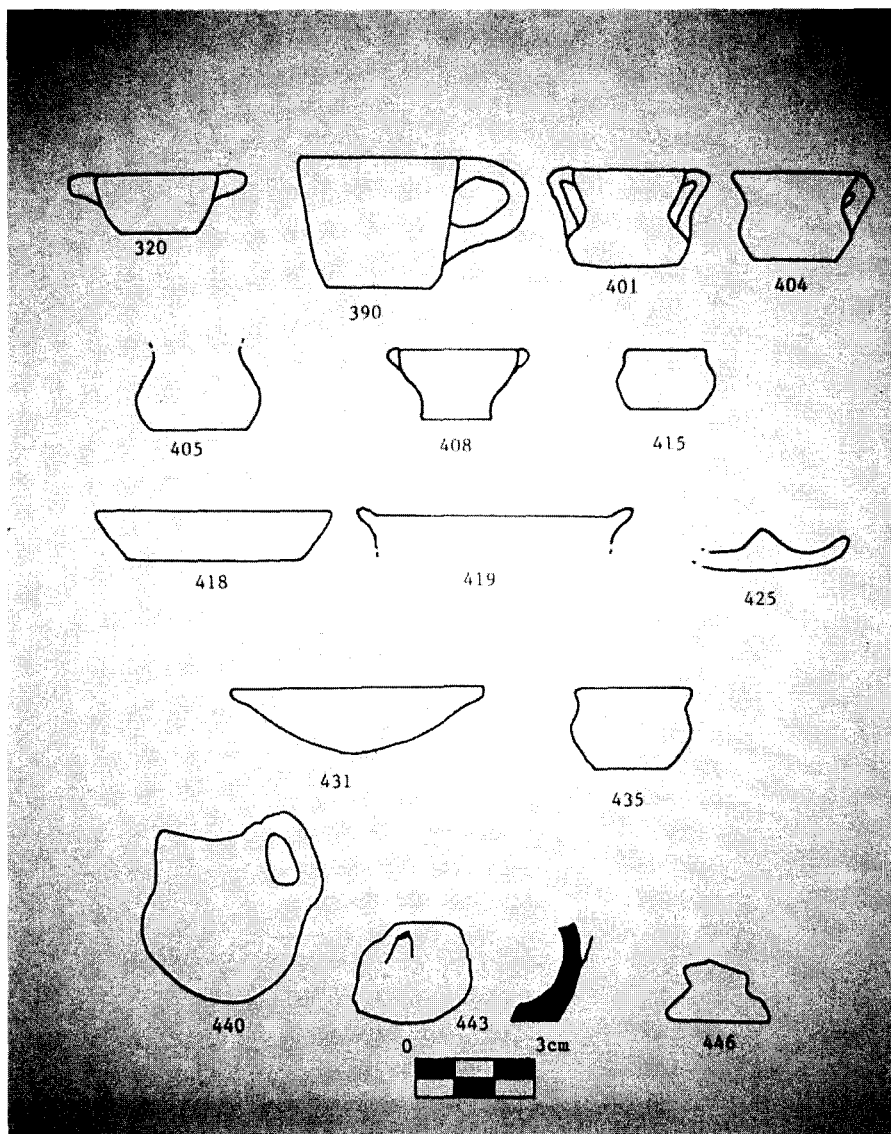


Fig. 5. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase III: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)

Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας

Ελένη Κουρίνου Πίκουλα

The fragmentary lion statue walled in the facade of the primary school at the village Arachamita was found according to local tradition in the ravine Botsona near the village. It is made of grey limestone, and its preserved height of 70 cm indicates that it comes from the over-lifesize statue of a lion. The surface of the protome is badly weathered, and on the top of the animal's head it is almost disintegrated.

In spite of the bad condition of the surface certain features and iconographical details still visible can be used as chronological evidence and indicate a date around the end of the 5th century B.C.

The lion statue may very possibly be associated with the Mainalian settlement Peraitheís, recently identified with the territory of the village Arachamita. Although only mere conjectures can be made concerning its function, it seems probable that the lion statue was erected on a *polyandrion* rather than on an individual grave.

Στην πρόσοψη του ανενεργού σήμερα Δημοτικού Σχολείου του χωριού Αραχαμίτα,¹ αριστερά της εισόδου, ευρίσκεται εντοιχισμένο ένα τμήμα αγάλματος λέοντος, το οποίο σύμφωνα με την τοπική παράδοση βρέθηκε στην όχθη του πλησιόχωρου ρέματος της Μποτσόνας.²

Το γλυπτό, κατασκευασμένο από γκριζό ασβεστόλιθο, τον γνωστό ως Ωλωνού-Πίνδου, είναι τοποθετημένο ελαφρώς λοξά στον τοίχο. (Εικ. 1) Το συνολικώς σωζόμενο – και ορατό έξω από την τοιχοδομία – ύψος του, που αντιστοιχεί στο ύψος του λαιμού με την κεφαλή του ζώου, ανέρχεται σε 70 εκ. και το πλάτος του στέρνου του σε 30 εκ., διαστάσεις που υποδηλώνουν ότι ανήκε σε άγαλμα μεγέθους μεγαλύτερου του φυσικού.

1. Το χωριό Αραχαμίτα της επαρχίας Μαντινείας του Νομού Αρκαδίας, ευρίσκεται λίγο βορειότερα από την Ασέα, δεξιά/βόρεια της Εθνικής οδού, που οδηγεί από την Τρίπολη στην Μεγαλόπολη. Το σχολείο, σύμφωνα με την κτητορική επιγραφή στην πρόσοψή του, ανεγέρθηκε με δαπάνη των αδελφών Βασ. Λυμπεροπούλου το έτος 1924.

2. Πίκουλας 1999, 104-5. Το γλυπτό υπέδειξε στον Γ.Α. Πίκουλα ο αγαπητός φίλος Μίμης Ρούσος, δάσκαλος από την Αραχαμίτα.

Λόγω του υλικού κατασκευής του, η γενική κατάσταση διατηρήσεως του γλυπτού δεν είναι καλή. Η επιφάνεια στο πρόσωπο του ζώου έχει υποστεί διάβρωση και στο επάνω μέρος της κεφαλής είναι σχεδόν αποσπασμένη. Επιπλέον, το δεξιό τμήμα του ρύγχους είναι αποκεκρωμένο, ενώ εκτεταμένες αποκρούσεις υπάρχουν υψηλότερα, στο δεξιό τμήμα της κεφαλής, όπως επίσης στη δεξιά πλευρά του λαιμού.³ (Εικ. 2)

Παρά τη διάβρωση και τις φθορές της επιφανείας του γλυπτού, είναι ευκρινή ορισμένα χαρακτηριστικά καθώς και μερικές ενδιαφέρουσες λεπτομέρειες της αποδόσεως της μορφής. Η προτομή συνολικώς χαρακτηρίζεται από ανστηρότητα και βαρύτητα. Στην πρόσθια όψη κυριαρχεί η υπαγωγή της μορφής σε ενιαίο, σχεδόν παραλληλόγραμμο, περίγραμμα. (Εικ. 3) Το πρόσωπο του λέοντος είναι στραμμένο κατευθείαν εμπρός και είναι σχετικώς ευρύ. Οι οφθαλμικές κοιλότητες είναι αρκετά βαθιές, εντύπωση που επιτείνεται από τα τονισμένα ζυγωματικά. Στην αριστερή πλευρά του ρύγχους διακρίνεται ευκρινώς το άκρο των χειλιών, αποδιδόμενο επιτηδευμένα και κατά τρόπο που φανερώνει ότι ο λέων δεν παριστανόταν με το στόμα τελείως ανοικτό, αλλά μάλλον επεδείκνυε, βρυχώμενος απειλητικά, τα δόντια του. (Εικ. 4) Η χαίτη αποτελείται από μακρικούς φλογόσχημους βοστρύχους, που καλύπτουν – όπως φαίνεται από την καλύτερα σωζόμενη αριστερή πλευρά – τον λαιμό του λέοντος σε ακτινωτή, γύρω από το πρόσωπο, διάταξη. Τα αυτιά του ζώου δεν διακρίνονται.

Παρά την αποσπασματικότητα του γλυπτού και τον εντοιχισμό του σε λοξή θέση, είναι σχεδόν βέβαιον, όπως φανερώνει το ύψος του στέρνου του ζώου, η ορθή γωνία, που σχηματίζει το κάτω σαγόνι του με την πρόσθια επιφάνεια του λαιμού, και, τέλος, η κλίση της πίσω/επάνω επιφανείας του λαιμού, ότι ο λέων παριστανόταν σε οκλάζουσα στάση, δηλαδή καθιστός στα οπίσθια σκέλη του, στηριζόμενος στα τεντωμένα πρόσθια και με την κεφαλή κατενώπιον. Πρόκειται για χαρακτηριστικό τύπο απεικονίσεως των λεόντων κατά την αρχαϊκή εποχή στην ηπειρωτική και τη νησιωτική Ελλάδα, που απαντά σποραδικά και κατά τους κλασσικούς και ελληνιστικούς χρόνους,⁴ όταν κυριαρχούν άλλοι τύποι, που επιβάλλονται κυρίως με την παραγωγή της Αττικής.⁵ Στον συγκεκριμένο εικονογραφικό τύπο απεικονίζονται, για παράδειγ-

3. Λιγότερη φθορά παρουσιάζει η αριστερή πλευρά, γεγονός που πιθανώς να οφείλεται σε μικρότερη έκθεσή της σε διαβρωτικούς παράγοντες.

4. Κατά τον Vermeule (1972, 51) ο συγκεκριμένος τύπος επιχωριάζει κατά την περίοδο 450-300 π.Χ. στην Βοιωτία, στην Βόρεια Ελλάδα και στα νησιά του Αιγαίου, ενώ μόνον ένας λέων του συγκεκριμένου τύπου, χρονολογούμενος περί το 340 π.Χ., αποδίδεται στην Αττική.

5. Για τους αττικούς λέοντες ως επιτύμβια μνημεία κατά τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. βλ. Vedder 1985, 78-97, 115-9.

μα, ο λέων της Δημητσάνας (περί τα τέλη του 6ου αι. π.Χ.),⁶ ο λέων των Κυθήρων (περί το 520 π.Χ.),⁷ ο λέων της Κομοτηνής (περί το 510 π.Χ.),⁸ οι λέοντες της Δήλου (περί το 500-490 π.Χ.),⁹ εκείνοι των Θεσπιών (του τελευταίου τέταρτου του 5ου αι. π.Χ. και του 4ου αι. π.Χ.),¹⁰ ο λέων στην Βενετία από τον Πειραιά (του δεύτερου μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ.),¹¹ ο λέων των Θηβών (379-338 π.Χ.),¹² ο λέων της Αμφιπόλεως (μέσα του 4ου αι. π.Χ.),¹³ ο λέων της Χαιρώνιας (338 π.Χ.),¹⁴ οι λέοντες από τη Λάρισα και τη Νικόπολη (τελευταίο τέταρτο του 4ου αι. π.Χ.)¹⁵ και, εκτός του ελλαδικού χώρου, ο λέων στα Εκβάτανα (4ος αι. π.Χ.).¹⁶

Η χρονολόγηση του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας, εξαιτίας της αποσπασματικότητας και της κακής καταστάσεως διατηρήσεως του αγάλματος, αναγκαστικά στηρίζεται στα ελάχιστα σωζόμενα εικονογραφικά στοιχεία, τα οποία διακρίνονται στο γλυπτό.¹⁷ Πρόκειται για την απόδοση της χαιτίης και των λεπτομερειών του προσώπου του ζώου, και την απόδοση συνολικώς του σωζόμενου τμήματος της μορφής.

Η χαιτίη του λέοντος αποτελείται από μακρυνούς φλογόσχημους βοστρύχους. Αποδίδονται με χαμηλό ανάγλυφο και καλύπτουν σε ακτινωτή διάταξη, με τακτική επαλληλία, τον λαιμό του ζώου ξεκινώντας περιμετρικά από το

6. Κουρίνου Πίκουλα 1990. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53.

7. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 93 σημ. 17, 97 κε. Για τη χρονολόγηση, Kokkorou-Alewrá 1997, 597. Ο ίδιος εικονογραφικός τύπος, του οκλάζοντος λέοντος με την κεφαλή κατενώπιον, απαντά επίσης σε αρχαϊκά χάλκινα ειδώλια λεόντων του λακωνικού εργαστηρίου, πρβλ. Gabelmann 1965, 71-3, 116 αρ. 68, πίν. 12.1-3 και 13.3. Herfort-Koch 1986, 63-4, 122: K163 με παράλληλα, πίν. 22.6.

8. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 98-9. Kokkorou-Alewrá 1997.

9. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 91-101, με την παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

10. Κεραμόπουλος 1911, 163, εικ. 2, 3, 4. de Ridder 1922, 253-5 αρ. 68, 255 αρ. 70. Για τη χρονολόγηση των λεόντων από τις Θεσπιές και διαφόρων βουωτικών λεόντων βλ. Vermeule και von Kersburg 1968, 99-101.

11. Broneer 1941, 40-1. Giglioli 1952, 5-7.

12. Κουμανούδης 1966, 145-6.

13. Roger 1939, 4-42. Broneer 1941. Οι Vermeule και von Kersburg (1968, 100) χρονολογούν το λέοντα της Αμφιπόλεως στο 340-330 π.Χ. Επίσης Mertens-Horn 1986, 51.

14. Körte 1878, 385-6. Willemsen 1959, 52. Οι Vermeule και von Kersburg (1968, 100) χρονολογούν το λέοντα της Χαιρώνιας στο 334 π.Χ., ενώ η Knigge (1976, 170-1) στο 316 π.Χ. Η Mertens-Horn (1986, 51-5) προτιμά τη χρονολόγησή του στο 338-335 π.Χ.

15. Willemsen 1959, 69.

16. Για τη σύνδεση του μνημείου με το κενοτάφιο του Ηφαιστίνωνος, που πέθανε το 324 π.Χ. βλ. Luschey 1968, και Mertens-Horn 1986, 51.

17. Η διαχρονική παρουσία και η γεωγραφική διασπορά της συγκεκριμένης παραλλαγής του τύπου του οκλάζοντος λέοντος, αποτρέπει την αξιολόγηση της στάσεως, στην οποία αποδίδεται το ζώο, ως βαρύνοντος χρονολογικού κριτηρίου.

πρόσωπο, δίχως να ξεφεύγουν από το περίγραμμα της μορφής. Παρόμοια διάταξη στην απόδοση της χαίτης απαντά ήδη σε αρχαϊκά αγάλματα λεόντων, όπως, για παράδειγμα, στον λέοντα από την Περαχώρα στη Βοστώνη (570-550 π.Χ.),¹⁸ σε άγαλμα λέοντος από τον Κεραμεικό,¹⁹ στο λέοντα της Σικυώνος (550 π.Χ.),²⁰ στο ζεύγος των λεόντων από το Λουτράκι στην Κοπεγχάγη (540-530 π.Χ.),²¹ στον λέοντα της Δημητσάνας²² καθώς και σε αρχαϊκά χάλκινα ειδώλια λεόντων του κορινθιακού κυρίως εργαστηρίου.²³ Στο λέοντα της Αραχαμίτας όμως, οι βόστρυχοι αποδίδονται φυσιοκρατικότερα και σαφώς διαφοροποιούμενοι από τις μορφές, που απαντούν στην αρχαϊκή εικονογραφία: πλό επιμήκεις, λεπτοί και κυματιστοί. Παρεμφερής πραγμάτευση των βοστρυχών της χαίτης αναγνωρίζεται σε πρώιμα κλασικά αγάλματα λεόντων, όπως, για παράδειγμα, στον λέοντα της Νέας Υόρκης ή στους λέοντες από την Ξάνθο της Λυκίας, στο Λονδίνο.²⁴ Όμως, ως προς το συγκεκριμένο εικονογραφικό στοιχείο, ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας ευρίσκεται πλησιέστερα στο ζεύγος των αττικών υστεροαρχαϊκών λεόντων από το Αρτεμίσιο της Δήλου,²⁵ τον λέοντα από τα Δίδυμα (δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ.),²⁶ τον λέοντα από την Αλικαρνασσό (δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ.),²⁷ έναν λέοντα των Θεσπιών (γύρω στα τέλη του 5ου αι. π.Χ.),²⁸ τον λέοντα του Μουσείου Φλωρεντίας (τελευταίο τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ.)²⁹ κ.ά.

Το πρόσωπο του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας δεν προσφέρεται για παρατήρηση λεπτομερειών, εξαιτίας της διαβρώσεως της επιφανείας του γλυπτού και της μεγάλης αποκρούσεως στο ρύγχος. Είναι σαφές όμως ότι κυρίαρχο στοιχείο ήταν η αυστηρή και απειλητική συγχρόνως έκφραση του ζώου. Η διακοσμητική απόδοση του άκρου των χειλιών, που στον λέοντα της Αραχαμίτας

18. Museum of Fine Arts, Βοστώνη, αρ. ευρ. 97.289. Caskey 1925, 14-8. Payne 1931, 243-4, πίν. 50.7. Gabelmann 1965, 48-9, 113 αρ. 29, πίν. 5. Mertens-Horn 1986, 25, και 1988, 34-6. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53 με βιβλιογραφία.

19. Μουσείο Κεραμεικού 794. Kübler 1970, πίν. 132-3.

20. Μουσείο Σικυώνος 3578. Floren 1979, 39-42. Mertens-Horn 1988, 34-6.

21. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Κοπεγχάγη, 1926 και 1927. Payne 1931, 243. Gabelmann 1965, 48-9, 115 αρ. 58, πίν. 8.1-2. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53 με βιβλιογραφία.

22. Κουρίνου Πίκουλα 1990. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53.

23. Βλ. ενδεικτικώς, Gabelmann, 1965, 115, αρ. 59, 61 α.

24. Mertens-Horn 1986, 6-15, πίν. 5.2, 6.1-2, 7.1-2, 8, 9. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 92, 99-100, πίν. 25, 3. Κοκκορού-Αλευρά 1997, 597, εικ. 9.

25. Μουσείον Δήλου: A4103-A4104. Gabelmann 1965, 122 αρ. 48, πίν. 29.1-2. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 100, πίν. 21.2. Ζαφειροπούλου 1999, 92-3, 257 αρ. 80-1.

26. Willemsen 1959, 46-7, 131, πίν. 45. Gabelmann 1965, 119 αρ. 115, πίν. 22.1-2.

27. Willemsen 1959, 46-7, 131, πίν. 44.

28. Willemsen 1959, 48, πίν. 45.

29. Mertens-Horn 1986, 16-7, πίν. 11.2-3.

σώζεται μόνον στην αριστερή πλευρά του ρύγχους, είναι εικονογραφικό στοιχείο που απαντά ήδη από τον 6ο αι. π.Χ σε λεοντοκεφαλές-υδρορροές στην κυρίως Ελλάδα και στις αποικίες της Μεγάλης Ελλάδας,³⁰ καθώς και σε αγάλματα λεόντων, για να αποτελέσει κατόπιν ένα σταθερό στοιχείο στην εικονογραφία των συγκεκριμένων ζώων.³¹ Ο τονισμός των οστών, που κυριαρχεί στην απόδοση του προσώπου του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας, διαπιστώνεται σε αγάλματα του 5ου αι., εξελίχθηκε όμως στην πλέον επιτηδευμένη και φυσιοκρατική έκφρασή του στους λέοντες του 4ου αι. π.Χ.

Από τις παραπάνω παρατηρήσεις είναι νομίζω σαφές ότι ελάχιστα είναι τα αξιοποιήσιμα για την χρονολόγηση του γλυπτού στοιχεία. Παρόλα αυτά, η συνύπαρξη, στον λέοντα της Αραχαμίτας, αρχαϊκών εικονογραφικών στοιχείων – όπως είναι η ακτινωτή διάταξη των βοστρύχων της χαιτίης – με στοιχεία, που απαντούν στον 5ο αι. π.Χ. και μάλιστα στο β' μισό του – όπως είναι ο λεπτός και σχετικά υψηλός λαιμός και η πραγμάτευση των βοστρύχων της χαιτίης – καθιστά πιθανότατη την χρονολόγηση του έργου περί τα τέλη του 5ου αι. π.Χ.: συνεκτιμώμενη μάλιστα με το χώρο ευρέσεως του γλυπτού και το υλικό κατασκευής του, οδηγεί στην υπόθεση ότι πρόκειται για έργο ενός τοπικού, αρκαδικού, εργαστηρίου.

Ιδιαίτερος ενδιαφέρον είναι το ζήτημα της αρχικής προελεύσεως του αγάλματος και, συνεπώς, του χαρακτήρος του.

Στην περιοχή του χωριού Αραχαμίτα – και συγκεκριμένα στη θέση Αγία Σωτείρα - Αγία Παρασκευή - Κουκουναριές – ταυτίστηκαν το 1999 από τον Γ. Πίκουλα οι *Περαιθείς*, οικισμός του έθνους των Μαιναλίων, μαρτυρούμενος μόνον από τον Πausanία.³² Ο Πίκουλας χαρακτήρισε δύο άλλες οικιστικές θέσεις της ίδιας περιοχής ως παραρτήματα του κυρίως οικισμού σημειώνοντας ότι τα άφθονα όστρακα μαρτυρούν την παρουσία του οικιστικού κέντρου από την αρχαϊκή έως και την κλασική εποχή· επιπλέον, ταύτισε το ρέμα της Μποτσόνας, δηλαδή τη θέση ευρέσεως του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας, με τον αναφερόμενο από τον Πausanία, σε άμεσο γεωγραφικό συσχετισμό με τους Περαιθείς, *χειμάρρουν Έλαφον*.³³ Συνεπώς, η θέση ευρέσεως του αγάλματος φαίνεται ότι περιλαμβάνεται στο πλέγμα των αποδιδόμενων στους Περαιθείς θέσεων.³⁴

30. Willemsen 1959. Mertens-Horn 1986.

31. Ενδεικτικώς Willemsen 1959, πίν. 44, 45, 52, 58-9.

32. Πaus. 8.36.7. Πίκουλας 1999, 104-5, 129-30.

33. Πίκουλας 1999, 129.

34. Εφόσον υπάρχει δυναμικό οικιστικό κέντρο στην άμεση περιοχή ευρέσεως του αγάλματος, δεν νομίζω, με τα υπάρχοντα στοιχεία, ότι πρέπει να συσχετισθεί με άλλα σημαντικότερα, αλλά ασφαλώς πιά απομακρυσμένα οικιστικά κέντρα, όπως είναι για παράδειγμα η Ασέα.

Όσον αφορά στον χαρακτήρα του αγάλματος, μόνον υποθέσεις είναι δυνατόν να γίνουν, αφού δεν είναι γνωστός ο ακριβής τόπος ευρέσεώς του. Το πλέον πιθανόν είναι, ότι ο λέων αποτελούσε το επιτάφιο σήμα κάποιου εξέχοντος ή το σήμα ενός πολυανδρίου, κατά πρακτική γνωστή ήδη από τον 6ο αι. π.Χ. Στις προαναφερόμενες κατηγορίες καταλέγονται, για παράδειγμα, οι λέοντες των Κυθήρων, της Δημητσάνας, και της Κομοτηνής, ο λέων των Θεσπιών, που εσήμαινε το πολυάνδριο των πεσόντων στο Δήλιον το 424 π.Χ., ο λέων της Αμφιπόλεως των μέσων του 4ου αι. π.Χ., ή εκείνος της Χαιρώνειας του 338 π.Χ. κά.³⁵ Μεταξύ των δύο πιθανολογουμένων και ευλογοφανών ερμηνειών κλίνω υπέρ της δεύτερης, δεδομένου μάλιστα του μεγάλου μεγέθους του αγάλματος. Εάν η υπόθεσή μου είναι σωστή, τότε η ίδρυσή του ίσως να συνδέεται με κάποια, πολύ σημαντική για την περιοχή, μάχη. Η απόλυτη σιωπή της αρχαίας γραμματείας για τους Περαιθείς, με μόνη εξαίρεση τη λακωνική αναφορά του Πausανίου, προφανώς είναι το κύριο κώλυμα για την τεκμηρίωση του παραπάνω συσχετισμού. Όμως το γεγονός ότι οι Περαιθείς ανήκαν στο έθνος των Μαιναλίων, η προσπάθεια χειραγωγήσεως του οποίου, κατά το δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ., ώθησε τους Τεγεάτες, με συμπαρατασσομένους τους Μαιναλίους, σε οξύτατες συγκρούσεις με τους Μαντινείς, με αποκορύφωση την μάχη της Μαντινείας το 418 π.Χ.,³⁶ δημιουργεί ευμενείς προϋποθέσεις για διατύπωση υποθέσεων.³⁷

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35. Κατά την μαρτυρία του Ηροδότου (8.225) στον τάφο του πεσόντος στις Θερμοπύλες βασιλέως της Σπάρτης Λεωνίδα είχε ιδρυθεί λίθινο άγαλμα λέοντος.

36. Οι Τεγεάτες συμπαρατάχθηκαν με τους Μαιναλίους και ανέκοψαν, συνεπικουρούμενοι από τους Λακεδαιμονίους, επιτυχώς τις επεκτατικές προσπάθειες των Μαντινέων. Για το θέμα, Πίκουλας 1990, 477-8.

37. Ιδιαίτερος δελεαστική, αλλά εξίσου αναπόδεικτη, είναι επίσης η σύνδεση του γλυπτού της Αραχαμίτας με τον σπουδαίο, γνωστό από έργα του στο ιερό της Ολυμπίας (Πανσ. 5.27.7, 6.6.3) μαινάλιο γλύπτη Νικόδαμο, η δράση του οποίου τοποθετείται κατά το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 5ου και το πρώτο τέταρτο του 4ου αι. π.Χ. Tzifopoulos 1991, 101-4, 131-3.

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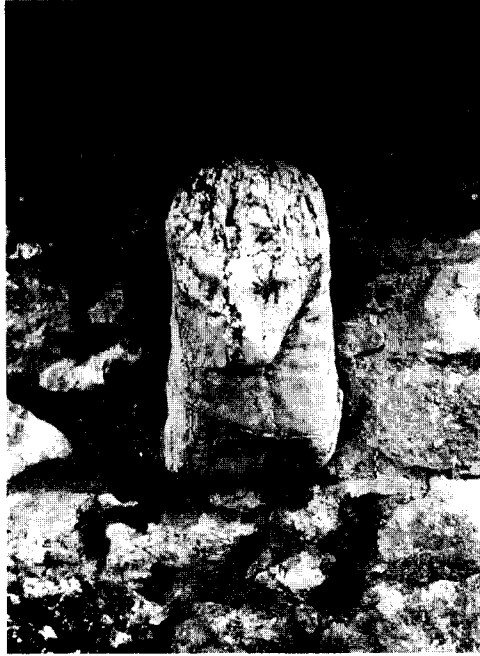
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Εικ. 1. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας. (Φωτογρ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας.)



Εικ. 2. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας, δεξιά πλευρά. (Φωτογρ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας)



Εικ. 3. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας, προ-
σθία όψη. (Φωτογορ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας)



Εικ. 4. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας, αριστε-
ρή πλευρά. (Φωτογορ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας)

Clay Figurines from Lousoi: Some Thoughts on Local Production

*The Ear is Shaky**

Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon

The excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi have brought to light a number of Geometric and archaic clay statuettes representing different types and styles, some handmade, others mouldmade. Some of the statuettes can be compared with and attributed to the Corinthian repertoire. Others coincide with known types from various Peloponnesian centers. But there are some types for which it seems difficult to find parallels. Certain characteristic details lead to the hypothesis that they may have been locally produced.

In this paper some statuettes are presented and the details leading to this conclusion are discussed. In addition to this, further indications for local production in Hellenistic times are added.

Recent publications inform us about the location, functioning and size of terracotta workshops.¹ Usually there is a rule about what indicates local terracotta production: a great number of statuettes, eventually of the same type, or a variety of types; moulds, kiln wasters etc. A safe proof of ceramic production are basins for the preparation of clay and kilns (for pottery and/or figurines). The ideal situation would be to discover figurines lying in or near the kiln, but

* I am grateful to Mrs. E. Matzek for correcting my English text. The photographs Figs. 2-5 are made by Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, the topographical map Fig. 1 by Prof. F. Glaser and Dr. G. Ladstätter.

1. Uhlenbrock 1990; Cuomo di Caprio 1992; Barra Bagnasco 1996a, 1996b, 1997; Muller 2000. Workshops were either large-scale installations, situated in the centres of towns favoured by water, consisting of basins for washing, kilns, places for storage etc.; or they were small installations, often based on family organization, working e.g. near a sanctuary, to cover the demand of the visitors. They could also be situated in a house, where moulds were copied and the firing was done in the potter's workshop.

this occurs very rarely indeed. On the other hand, in the case of single or singular pieces, one usually speaks of votive offerings brought by travellers from far away.

It may seem risky to postulate local terracotta-production at Lousoi, when the total number of figurines only amounts to about 400 fragments. I was encouraged, though, to do so, as my attention had been caught by a simple detail, which might be seen as an indication and which will be discussed below.

The provenance of the clay statuettes presented here is restricted to the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera. (Fig. 1) We have no information about the findspots of those which came to light during the old excavations of the Austrian Institute in 1898 and 1899.² However, the provenance of the statuettes of the new excavations since 1983 is defined accurately.³ They come from the following places: 1) the foundation pits of the temple of Artemis; 2) from the thickly packed setting of limestone and rock, which runs along the northern edge of the upper terrace, constructed in order to secure the area, which was to receive the large temple shortly after 300 B.C.; 3) from the small temple, the so-called Eastern Building, dated towards the end of the 4th century; and 4) from the layer covering this building after its destruction. For all of them, the only fixed date is the construction of the new temple in the early 3rd century as a *terminus ante quem*, because wherever they were found, they were fragmentary and already in secondary use. In addition, there are two stray finds from near the sanctuary, and the head Tk 1/2001 from the lower terrace, discussed below.

Parallel examples from other regions permit us to date at least some of them. Votives at Lousoi were offered from the 8th century onwards, with a peak in the 7th, 6th, and to a lesser degree in the 5th and 4th centuries. The terracottas fit into this frame, beginning in the 8th century.

In addition to the 250 clay statuettes reportedly found during the old Austrian excavations,⁴ of which 31 fragments were published in the article by Reichel and Wilhelm in 1901, the new excavations have produced 120 inventoried fragments,⁵ coming from the sanctuary and its immediate neighbourhood.

We cannot estimate the original number of votives offered to the goddess of Lousoi, since unlike the metal objects, which found their way into various museums and private collections, no terracottas from Lousoi have been identified elsewhere.

2. Reichel and Wilhelm 1901. It may have been either the upper or the lower terrace of the sanctuary. In the second case it is possible that they were washed down from the upper terrace.

3. Excavations in the sanctuary took place every year from 1986 to 1990 and from 1995 to 2000. See reports in *ÖJh* from 1987 on, and Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, *passim* and fig. 1.

4. Now kept in the National Museum in Athens.

5. The finds from the new excavations are partly kept at the Ephorate in Patras and partly in the local storage facility.

The statuettes belong to a few general groups with more or less distinct characteristics:

- hand-made crude statuettes, some of them showing the well-known ‘page-boy’ haircut
- protomai
- standing females with epiblema
- females with applied chains and amulets
- Corinthian types of Artemis and Spes, standing
- enthroned goddesses
- nude girls
- two heads and one fist of statuettes of larger dimensions
- hydriaphorai
- animals
- figural vases.

Some of the statuettes can easily be compared with and attributed to the Corinthian repertoire. Others fit with known types from various Peloponnesian centers, as Tegea, Tiryns, Argos, Laconia etc. But there are definitely some types for which it seems difficult to find direct parallels. The following selection includes some of the more remarkable terracotta statuettes from the sanctuary.

The first example to be presented is the small head of a young person.⁶ (Fig. 2) It was found lying face down on the lower terrace. At first sight it might be rejected as a forgery. However, in some respects it is a fine piece, and furthermore, who would go to so much trouble as to drop a single piece in such a remote place?

Conserved are the head and part of the chest, the rest is broken away. The clay is brown with light and dark inclusions, some voids; it is the clay mainly used for statuettes at Lousoi. There are traces of black colour on the face and hair. The face has a spontaneous expression. It is oval. The eyes, not quite at the same level, are surrounded by thick lids, the line of the lower lid of the left eye being shaky. The mouth is smiling. The hair is parted above a remarkably high forehead and adheres tightly to the head, arriving to just above the ears. It is divided into narrow strands with a fine, wavy surface, partly indicated by small parallel lines. The hair stops abruptly, the strands of hair which would usually fall to the shoulders, are missing. Just a tiny irregularity of the surface behind the right ear and a trace under the left ear indicate what may have been the mass of hair falling to the shoulders.

Having paid attention to the unusually high forehead, we should now take a second look at the mouth. The upper lip is curved and lifted up at the ends, whereas the lower lip is pulled too far to the right side of the face. It is out of balance, and the lower contour is corrected by an added line. However, most of

6. Tk 1/2001: total height 0.06 m, of the face from top to chin 0.032 m.

all we are intrigued by the treatment of the ears. The lower lobe of the left one is missing; the right one is positioned far too low, it is clumsily added where the hair ends, and adheres tightly to the cheek.

One gets the impression that only the face was taken out of a mould, together with the tightly fitting hair on the forehead and along the cheeks. The ears were evidently added later and pressed separately into the new mould, the left one only partly. The mouth did not turn out properly and was corrected.

If we overlook those faults, caused by a clumsy and hasty hand, we recognize this little head as a piece of rather good quality. It seems difficult, though, to find any parallels in terracotta for it. Perhaps one quite striking feature may lead to the solution: this is the rendering of the surface of the hair. Those finely indicated details, the narrow, slightly ribbed strands of hair, are not characteristic of terracotta sculptures; they belong to the field of bronze-working. And here examples for comparison are more easily found.

We mention the statuettes of standing, slender girls from Laconia, some of them carrying mirrors, the statuettes of *kouroi* used as vertical handles, or the busts of girls decorating the rim of vases.⁷ The oval face, closely fitting hair, large and heavily framed eyes, the expressive mouth, are characteristics of the lady on the lid of the Vix crater.⁸ The same can be said for the girl from Hermione.⁹ The *kouros* serving as handle of a hydria in Boston¹⁰ shows the same features. In addition, we find here the large, unarticulated ear and a very high, pointed, triangular forehead. The finely ribbed strands of hair are seen on a bust which decorates the rim of a vase.¹¹

So, whereas parallels in terracotta for our little head seem to be absent, several good pieces in bronze demonstrate that a similar example may have been used as prototype. If the head was meant to represent a work in bronze, the black colour on the face and hair would support this theory.

The next type to be discussed is represented by five statuettes, one complete, four body fragments, and one head.¹² (Fig. 3) The lower body is either flat or

7. Some of the bronze statuettes are Laconian, some attributed to Corinth, to Ionia, some to ateliers in South Italy or Etruria, where similar features are found. Eyes, which are not set at the same level, and unarticulated ears, are characteristic for Laconian heads; see Stibbe 2004.

8. Rolley 1994, 245, fig. 244; Stibbe 2000.

9. For the Laconian girls carrying mirrors, cp. Rolley 1984, 100-4, fig. 81; Herfort-Koch 1986, 33, K 58, pl. 8.4; Stibbe 2000, 84, fig. 16.

10. Politis 1936, 166, no. 6, fig. 23; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 99.460, 286, no. 411; see also Politis, 166, no. 5, pl. 4; Comstock and Vermeule, 85.515, 285, no. 410.

11. Kouleimani-Vokotopoulou 1975, 31, no. 56, fig. 17 b, pl. 23 a, b, g, dated 520-510 B.C.

12. Tk 22/87, Tk 12/96 plus Tk 21/97, Tk 11/97, Tk 29/97, Tk 3/99, Tk 1/98; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, pl. 16, fig. 6.

cylindrical; the lady is wearing a tightly fitting *peplos*, with a belt around the waist and a cape on the shoulders, the *epiblema*.¹³ This series is well known from several centres of the 7th and 6th centuries.¹⁴

The face resembles the above mentioned head with a *polos*, but the top of the head is different. The face is crowned by an interesting headdress, consisting of a row of flowers and above that, something which looks like a flower or the corolla of an opium poppy or a pomegranate. This seems to be the local version of decorating heads, as e.g. sirens and plank-shaped statuettes¹⁵ elsewhere are crowned with large decorative discs.

But what mainly interests us in this special context, is the poor treatment of the features of the face. The eyes are not clearly cut. The mouth has been placed too far to the right under the nose, drooping on one side. There is some shaky correction of the surface on the left side of the chin. Whereas the left ear is well carved, the right one does not come out clearly. Some manipulation can also be detected on the right shoulder, which bulges as if something, perhaps a wing, had been cut away. These details give the impression that a mould was brought from elsewhere and was rather clumsily copied, including some alterations.¹⁶

The third example is a very fine female protome.¹⁷ (Fig. 4) The type differs slightly from the known types of the northern Peloponnese and Phokis discussed by Croissant¹⁸ and usually present at Lousoi. It is closed above and open at the back. On the schematically indicated, rolled hair above the front sits a low *polos*. Behind the ears, three strands of hair fall to the breast. The face is beautiful; with its low forehead and heavy lower part with a strong chin, a strong nose, big eyes surrounded by heavy lids, slightly upwards turned and vaguely smiling lips, it reminds us of pieces of a large-scale sculpture. Again our attention is caught by the ears: the left one is fully formed, but shaky and clumsy. The right one is only barely visible, but it is wearing a round earring, which was probably pressed separately into the the mould.

13. See Davaras 1972, 58-65.

14. Important parallels for the Lousoi pieces are similar statuettes found in Arcadia and specially in the sanctuary of a female goddess, probably Artemis, at Gortsouli; see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1989.

15. Schürmann 1989, 30, no. 42, pl. 11 (from Boeotia, last quarter of the 6th century); 92, no. 313, pl. 53 (from Metapont, last quarter of the 6th century); Higgins 1967, 45-6, pl. 19 B, early 6th century; Thompson 1939, 306, from Boeotia.

16. If we examine the other head, with *polos* (Tk 1/89), we cannot overlook the fact that there is also a fault, like a long scar, on the left cheek.

17. Tk 7/99.

18. Croissant 1983, 329-32, types P1, P2: regions of Delphi, Chaironeia, Argos.

Again we have the impression that someone copied negligently from a mould of good quality. In the course of the work, the back and lateral parts were added by hand, as were the rolled hair and the polos.

No exact parallels to this piece are known to me, but some examples of minor quality and later date may be mentioned.¹⁹

If my suggestion that these pieces were moulded in a hasty, negligent way is accepted, we still do not know where this activity may have taken place, or whether the pieces were brought to Lousoi or fabricated there. Perhaps another group of statuettes may help to proceed further: While the pieces so far discussed show the procedure of using a mould, albeit not in a perfect way, the following ones are results of simple hand-modelling,²⁰ and they are directly linked to the tradition of the sanctuary.

These little hand-made statuettes are already well known from the first excavations. The group is best represented in the sanctuary. Some examples show the closely fitting 'pageboy' haircut, the line of hair above the forehead cut straight and melting with the root of the nose, giving the impression of a helmet. The statuettes are either standing, sitting or riding sidewise on horseback.²¹ From the old excavations five heads have been published;²² from the new ones we recognize 14 fragments of this type, either heads or upper parts of the bodies, four standing. One standing statuette is of special interest, reminding us of a *xoanon*.²³ The arms of the statuettes are either wide open or bent downwards; in one instance the left arm was bent forward. The faces differ slightly, there are two groups. Some are long and narrow, some short; they seem to be carved in wood. In some cases the features, e.g. nose and mouth, are indicated, but mostly they are not, with just the chin and nose protruding. We believe there is reason to regard this type of little statuettes as locally produced and to connect it with the cult statue of the goddess. The hairstyle lives on in bronze statuettes of the 5th century also related to the sanctuary.²⁴

There are no exact parallels in clay known from other sites, for comparison with our clay statuettes. But we see close connections with a distinct group of small bronzes, showing similar haircuts and similar faces.²⁵ These are the horse-

19. Delphi, Chaironeia, Argos etc.; see Croissant, *supra* n. 18.

20. Muller 2000.

21. The type of the riding goddess studied by Voyatzis 1992.

22. Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, figs. 26-9 and 31.

23. Tk 32/87; see Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, pl. 16, fig. 5.

24. Chance finds from clandestine excavations, having found their way to museums and private collections: Mitsopoulos-Leon 1993.

25. I have already discussed this case (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 136-7), but it should be repeated in this context.

guiding warriors holding a sword and standing on cauldron handles. Claude Rolley assigns two strikingly similar examples, one from Delphi and one from Dodona, to a northwestern Greek region.²⁶ Their empty faces and short haircuts are repeated on some of our little heads. As the bodies and arms of the statuettes from Lousoi are not fully preserved, not much can be said about their posture. Could some of our figurines resemble these bronze warriors, displaying a militant character? It is interesting to remark that terracotta statuettes from Metapont are said to represent the armed Artemis, holding a sword.²⁷

Two parallel cases can be mentioned:

Emil Kunze already mentioned a remarkable similarity between a terracotta head from the Amyklaion and a bronze statuette from the Acropolis in Athens, which wears a helmet and held a lance in its raised, right hand.²⁸ He reconstructed a similar statuette for the Amyklaion head, relating it to the statue of Apollon Amyklaios.²⁹

In Argos³⁰ attention is drawn to bronze statuettes of the 8th and 7th centuries which served as examples of imitation for terracotta statuettes, thus initiating local Argive coroplastic production.

We shall add one more hand-made head, of slightly larger dimensions, to the group mentioned above.³¹ (Fig. 5) The tightly fitting hair, cut across the forehead and textured in a zig-zag pattern, reminds us of wood carvings and, of course, of the hairstyle of the little bronze warriors.³² The features are roughly rendered. The head is a crude piece of work, but extremely lively and impressive. One does not hesitate to ascribe it to what we generally call the 'Arcadian' background.

26. Rolley 1969, 32, pl. 5, fig. 11 (Louvre, Br 83), and *ibid.*, 32, fig. 12, from Dodona (Athens National Museum, Karapanos collection).

27. Olbrich 1979, 80 no. 124, pl. 31. For another interpretation of the type, in various centers, see Barra Bagnasco 1997, 208; for the relation between Achaia, the sanctuary at Lousoi and Metapont, see Bakchylides, 11th *epinikion*.

28. Kunze 1930, with pls. 42, 43.2, 44 and 45.

29. For the identification of a statue, holding spear and bow, clad in a long chiton and wearing a helmet, with Artemis Orthia, on coins of Cleomenes III (235–222 B.C.), see Lambri-noudakis, *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, 196, 55 b = Kahil, *LIMC* II, 742, s.v. Artemis, II.2: 3 a, following the interpretation of Grunauer-v. Hoerschelmann 1978, 39 e, 99, 190.

30. Sarian 1969, with an appendix by C. Rolley on a bronze statuette of a warrior from the Ortiz Collection.

31. Tk 15/97; see Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 136-7.

32. The impressed zig-zag decoration on regionally produced vases, known from Ano Mazaraki and Aigion, is also attested at Lousoi; see Schauer 1998, 267-9, figs. 20-1; Gadolou 2003. There are also some human figures with hair indicated in zig-zag pattern from the sanctuary of Artemis at Ano Mazaraki; see Gadolou 313-4, pls. 34-6.

For these hand-made statuettes there is an additional indication of production at Lousoi: some of them are decorated with horizontal stripes like the vases, decorated in the same way, which were certainly locally made: the small votive pyxides in the shape of the Geometric stamnos pyxis with fixed or movable lid.³³

These examinations lead, as I think, to a first conclusion. The excavations in the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi have brought to light a small number of Geometric and archaic clay statuettes representing different types and styles, some hand-made, others mould-made. For each group we detect a different way of receiving influence or of direct copying.

Making copies out of moulds was, as Arthur Muller points out, the simplest way of terracotta fabrication.³⁴ The work could be done by untrained workmen or apprentices. That explains the discrepancy between the clumsy mistakes and the mostly good to excellent quality of the original mould. Clay figurines were copied from terracotta moulds, but also from metal moulds, as many examples show.³⁵

Hand-modelling required more skill; our little hand-made statuettes are simple, yet some of the heads are remarkably expressive. Coroplasts may have worked with or near potters, especially in small scale workshops.³⁶

We now have to go one step further and study another issue concerning the organization of terracotta-production,³⁷ resuming what we know today about the possible production of statuettes, vases and other objects in clay in Lousoi.

Various objects found in the houses in Phournoi in Hellenistic and early imperial times provide proof of local production.

There are several kiln-supports and moulds for long petal bowls as well as for

33. See Schauer 1998, 269, figs. 15-7.

34. See *supra* n. 1.

35. Thompson 1949; Züchner 1950-51; Zervoudaki 1968, 3-6 and *passim*, with literature; Reeder Williams 1976; Scheibler 1983, 94-8; Uhlenbrock 1990; Barr-Sharrar 1990; Merker 2000, 14.

36. Muller 2000, 96-9; Barra Bagnasco 1996b, 182-4.

37. Muller 2000, 96-9, describes several methods of producing figurines: either the master coroplast and his assistants worked in a special workshop for coroplasts, or statuettes were produced in a potter's workshop, the original moulds being bought from sculptors or just copied. In the third case the work could be done in a small workshop, with casual and limited production. For the preparation of metal votives, see Kilian 1979. He defines the "landschaftsgebundenen Stil" and distinguishes between the following three situations concerning objects found in sanctuaries: bronzes produced on the spot in local style; products of local workshops in foreign style; and imports from other areas, which could also be produced in the sanctuary by migrating technicians. Rolley 1963, 483, studying a group of Peloponnesian bronze vases of the 6th century, states: "dans le Péloponnèse du Nord, la situation est plus claire : nous y trouvons des importations de Sparte, des imitations directes et des oeuvres plus originales."

terracotta statuettes and other votive objects. In addition to this, bone utensils for working clay, leather or bone were produced in Lousoi. The same motif of an acanthus decorating antefixes and one of the large-size household objects, a *hestia*, also points to the practice of copying.

In order to answer this question of major importance we mention a thick layer of earth preceding the construction of the Hellenistic stoa and reused in later phases, in what we now recognize as the *polis* centre of Lousoi. It contains thick pieces of clay discarded from kilns. Those 21 kiln-supports which were also found at the same occasion, seem to indicate terracotta or vase production.

In addition to this, the results of an archaeometric survey made by professor Papamarinopoulos in 1987 near the source of Vetelino, in the neighbourhood of the stoa, and still rich in water today, support the possibility that kiln activity took place in this region of Lousoi.

We conclude: Small hand-made statuettes, representing the largest number of terracottas in Lousoi, could have been made in the workshop of a local potter; they reflect the original cult image of the goddess, but at the same time followed the general stylistic trend of the time, which is also seen in examples in bronze. For the second group, we imagine clay and metal prototypes being copied and adjusted locally for the needs of the sanctuary, by migrating technicians, if there were any, or, more probably, by hasty or untrained Lousiotic hands. This might explain the discrepancy of quality between the original and the result, and the evident singularity of some pieces.

It is generally accepted³⁸ that sanctuaries located in the vicinity of a strong production centre (Athens, Corinth, Argos, Tegea) imported to a large extent what they needed for votive offerings, whereas remote places mainly produced their own material.

Lousoi certainly may have developed some independence in the supply of votives for the sanctuary as well as objects for daily life. But it was also extensively frequented by visitors from other Peloponnesian centers, who brought precious and beautiful votives for the goddess.³⁹ There must have been good material giving inspiration for copy and imitation.

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38. Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, 212-3.

39. Some fine bronzes had found their way to the sanctuary of Artemis in Lousoi.

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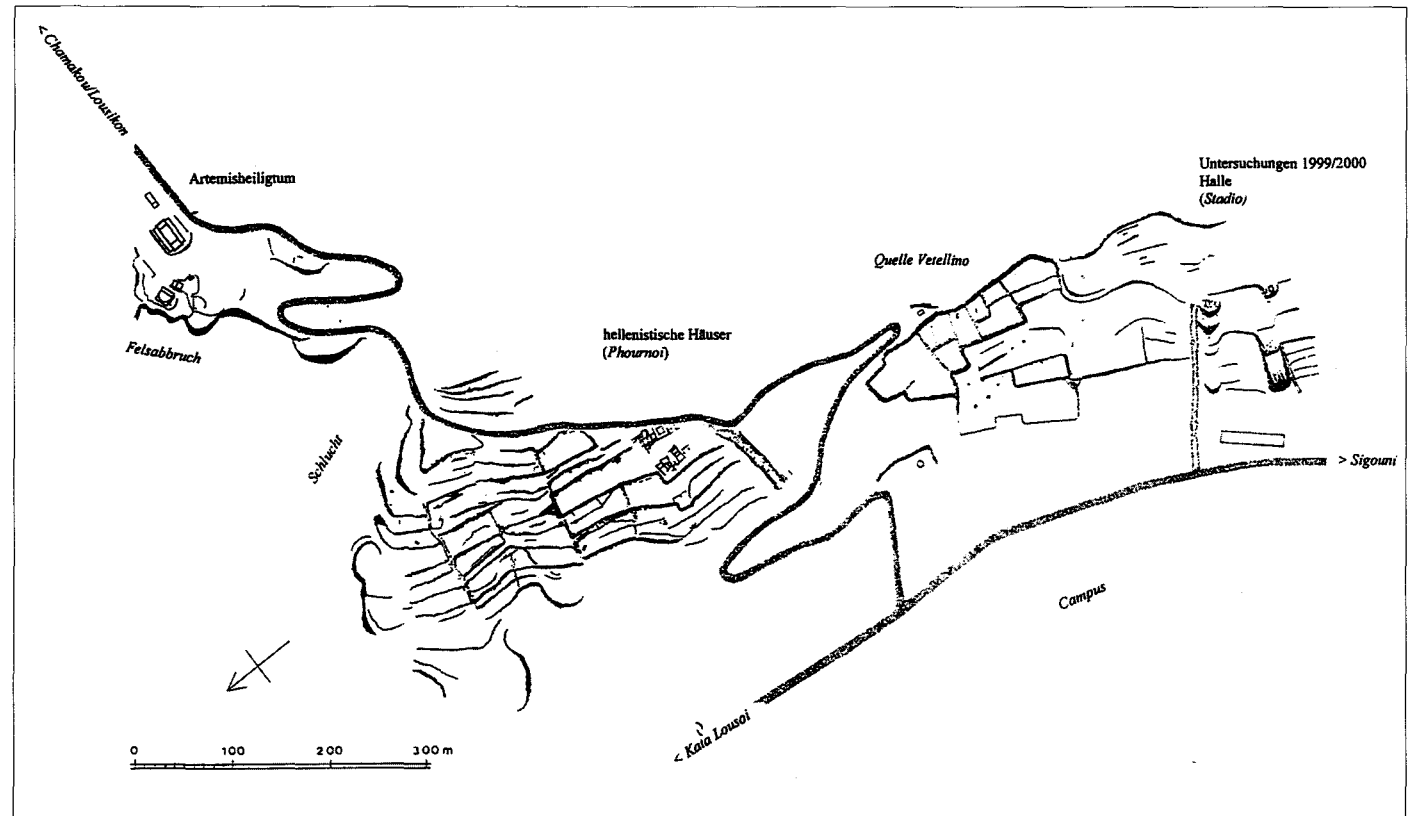


Fig. 1. The sanctuary, the area of the houses and the polis centre of Lousoi. (Based on the topographical map by Professor Franz Glaser (1983), updated by Dr. Georg Ladstätter (2001).)

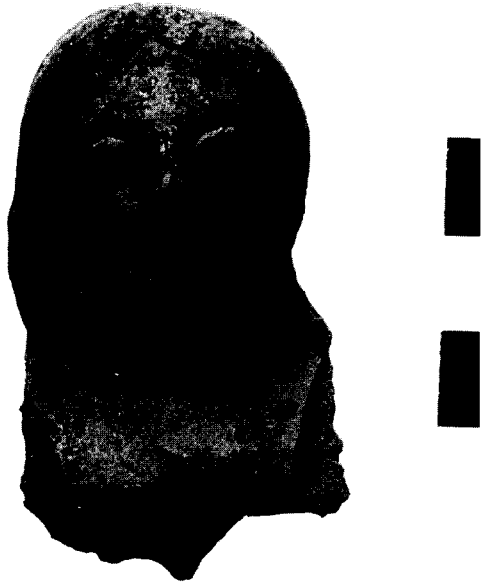


Fig. 2. Tk 1/2001. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)



Fig. 3. Tk 12/96 plus Tk 21/97. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)



Fig. 4. Tk 7/99. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)



Fig. 5. Tk 15/97. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)



Large Scale Clay Sculpture from Arcadia

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Size, technique and mainly the concept of the work as an *ἄγαλμα* are the criteria we need in order to study large scale clay sculpture. In this paper we are dealing with such works found in Arcadia. More specifically, a centre for production of clay sculpture was located in Arcadia in the 6th century B.C., working probably under the influence of the workshops of Olympia, which were very active at that time. More local products of clay sculpture appeared also later in the region, at the beginning of the 4th century B.C., but now the influence came from the contemporary, large-scale sculpture in stone, which was intended to decorate the temples in Tegea and Bassai. Local clay sculpture offers us in general another insight to Arcadia's artistic production, which is not yet so well known.

The aim of this paper is to present together the works of large scale clay sculpture from Arcadia; these are scattered in the bibliography, superficially published or not published at all.¹

Before dealing with the works, it is useful to define the term 'Large Scale Clay Sculpture', in order to facilitate the identification of the artifacts which belong to this group. These artifacts, which often reach dimensions of natural size,² differ from the small clay figurines; but size is not always a decisive criterion, since figurines can also be very large, some times coming close to 1/3 natural size,³ and some clay sculptures have the dimensions of figurines.⁴ One

1. I would like to thank the Norwegian Institute and its former director, professor Erik Østby, for doing me the honour to let me present this paper at the conference. The subject was suggested to me by my teacher, professor Yanis Pikoulas, to whom I owe infinitely more than my thanks.

2. Moustaka 1993, 57, regarding works from Etruria. See also Weinberg 1957, 304-17, regarding Corinthian clay statues.

3. Müller 1996, 332, regarding a figurine of 75 cm height.

4. Moustaka 1993, 146, regarding works of ca. 20 cm height.

useful distinguishing factor is the manufacturing technique. Clay sculptures are handmade and the artist used two kinds of clay, one for the hollow model of the figure, with inclusions so that it could be well fired, and another one of high quality for the surface of the model, on which the image of the figure was formed in every detail.⁵ Clay figurines, on the contrary, when handmade, are very small and solid; when they are larger, they are totally constructed with moulds and they are usually hollow; in any case, the clay used is of only one type.⁶ These differences, however, are not decisive when it comes to recognizing clay sculptures, since these are also sometimes made of only one type of clay – either coarse clay for the entire work⁷ or fine clay for specific, solid parts.⁸ Besides, moulds are also used for clay sculpture, but only for some parts and not for the whole artifact.⁹ Therefore, size and manufacturing technique, when considered together, are significant factors for defining ‘Large Scale Clay Sculpture’, but they are not always reliable. The decisive criterion is the concept of the work, its function and purpose. Large-scale clay sculptures are unique artistic creations, made for decoration; their aim is to capture the attention of people, they are *ἀγάλματα*. Technique and size serve this purpose. This is also the reason why these works are used as architectural decoration of temples, as statues of gods in sanctuaries and also as dedications in such holy places.¹⁰ Clay figurines, on the contrary, serve religious and burial customs; they are used as offerings in sanctuaries or graves.¹¹ That is why they are made in great quantities, and their technique serves the mass production. To conclude, size, technique and conception, all considered together, are the criteria for the determination of ‘Large Scale Clay Sculpture’.

The first work of this category to be discussed is the upper torso of a female figure of almost natural size, which was perhaps found in Asea and is now exhibited at the west wall of the “Room of Arcadian Sanctuaries” in the Tripolis museum. The work is made of light-brown clay in two layers; the inner layer contains inclusions, while the outer one is clean. The surface is coarse, which implies that it was covered by some kind of coating, traces of which are not visible any more. The figure stretches her left arm forward and towards her right side; a part of the dress, probably a chiton, can be seen near her elbow. On her left shoulder there is a snake-like curl from her hair. On the body of the dressed female

5. Moustaka 1993, 4-7, and Weinberg 1957, 293-301.

6. Higgins 1967, 1-5.

7. Moustaka 1993, 118-22.

8. Moustaka 1993, 4-7.

9. Weinberg 1957, 298.

10. Weinberg 1957, 303, and Moustaka 1993, 4-7.

11. Higgins 1967, 1-5.

the attention is drawn to the curved, thick lines in high relief, which meander over the breast and reach the waist, where three holes are aligned and normally spaced, probably for the attachment of a metallic part. The figure is moving towards its right (left for the spectator), as indicated by the turn of the left hand towards this side. Posture and dress date the statue to the second half of the 6th century B.C., reminding us of the Nike statues from Olympia, where of course the work is more careful and the result more luxuriant.¹² The fact that the nipples of the breasts are emphasized, does not indicate nudity, but it is an archaizing element, since it is used for female figures with Daedalic dress of the end of the 7th century B.C.¹³ The interpretation of the figure is problematic; in my opinion, the curved lines on the body cannot be anything else than snakes. If this is correct, the figure might well be a Gorgo, since this is the snake-daemon *par excellence*. She is dressed in a chiton as she normally is in the related iconography of the second half of the 6th century B.C.¹⁴ The presumed metal attachment at the waist might be the bronze belt of the creature, which would also have depicted snakes. Such a representation of Gorgo is not found elsewhere in the published material. I should mention, however, a Corinthian figure-vase of the first half of the 6th century B.C., which shows Gorgo on horse-back, with snakes covering her body in a way similar to the Gorgo in the Tripolis museum. Unlike the latter, however, the first Gorgo holds the snakes with her hands attached to the body.¹⁵

Another clay Gorgo, found in Sparta and published by Eleni Kourinou, also seems to hold the snakes on her body.¹⁶ The representation of Gorgo was very common in archaic Greek art¹⁷ and it must have been very popular especially in Arcadia: Pausanias says that a tentacle of Medusa was the amulet of Tegea,¹⁸ and in his description of the sanctuaries of the cities of Thelphousa,¹⁹ Lykosoura²⁰

12. Moustaka 1993, 64-97, especially 81-2, F46 (inv. no. K 181, Tc 1071), pl. 79.

13. Blome 1990, no. 169 (inv. no. Bo 96).

14. *ABV* 600 (London, British Museum 281), 271 (München 1555) and Carpenter 1989, 210 (Paris, Louvre G180).

15. Karagiorga 1970, 63, pl. 9 b (National Museum of Athens 52244).

16. Kourinou Pikoula 1987-88, 475-7, fig. 2 (museum of Sparta, inv. nos. 6887, 6888). Similar is the representation of the Gorgo in a plastic vase (Basel, Antikenmuseum Lu80), which depicts the daemon squatting and holding with her hands on the breast the snakes that meander on the body (*LIMC IV*, s.v. Gorgo, no. 262). See also a clay perirrhanterion (Metaponto, Mus. Arch. 125064), where the figure is depicted standing and holding the snakes, which are meandering on her body (*LIMC IV*, s.v. Gorgo, no. 255).

17. Goldberg 1982, 196-201.

18. Paus. 8.47.5.

19. Paus. 8.25.

20. Paus. 8.37.

and Phigalia,²¹ he hesitates to state the secret name of Despoina, a goddess of nature, daughter of Poseidon *Hippios* and Demeter. The representation of a riding Gorgo, as mentioned above,²² and also of a *Potnia Theron* Gorgo on an archaic pinakion from Rhodes,²³ makes the identification of Despoina as Gorgo quite probable. Gorgo is a goddess of fertility, closely connected with the earth as demonstrated by the dominant role of the snake.²⁴ The representations of her with daemonic elements in archaic Greek art are connected, of course, with influences from the East,²⁵ but this does not contradict her character, which is well known in Greece and reminds us of the cult of the Mother Goddess in the Minoan and Mycenaean period. The 'conservative' inhabitants of Arcadia²⁶ worshipped in their sanctuaries a goddess of similar character. Thus it is very probable that this goddess was depicted in the archaic period as Gorgo, with many snakes and emphasized nipples, elements strongly suggesting nature and fertility, as we can see in the case of the Gorgo in the Tripolis museum. Unfortunately, the unknown provenance and fragmentary character of this statue leave us only with assumptions about its original form and function. In any case, it seems to be the work of a local Arcadian workshop.

In consideration of this material, it is to be expected that the central acroterion of the temple of Poseidon *Hippios* at Mantinike should depict a Gorgoneion. The disc acroterion with a centrally placed gorgoneion is exposed at the north wall of the "Room of Arcadian Sanctuaries" in the Tripolis museum.²⁷ The disc acroteria are of Laconian inspiration, from the second half of the 7th century B.C. and onwards, and they are found mostly in mainland Greece.²⁸ However, no such acroterion found in Laconia has a gorgoneion in the centre. But clay gorgoneia are widely used in the architectural decorations of the temples of Southern Italy and Sicily from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. onwards,²⁹ and that is probably the origin of gorgoneia in the decorations of the Arcadian temples,³⁰ transmitted by western Greece and especially Olympia.³¹ The gorgoneion in the Tripolis museum has a diameter of ca. 20 cm, it is almost

21. Paus. 8.42.

22. See *supra* n. 15.

23. Phinney 1971, 446, and Karagiorga 1970, 77, pl. 6 a (London, British Museum A748).

24. Christou 1968, 136-47.

25. Marinatos 2000, 46-51, on the depiction of the Gorgo with snakes.

26. Burkert 1985, 47.

27. Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 1996, 42, and *eid.* 2000, 33.

28. Winter 1993, 101, and Goldberg 1982, 201-3.

29. Goldberg 1982, 208.

30. Orlandos 1967-68, 111-5.

31. Van Buren 1926, 136-8, and Moustaka 1993, 149.

hemispherical and has two holes, one at each side, so that it can be fixed to the centre of the acroterion. The clay is brown, and clean. The face of Gorgo is covered by dark brown paint with superposed white dots, which emphasize the leonine character of the figure. Eyes and teeth are white, and the tongue is brownish red. The gorgoneion has the familiar form of countless depictions in ancient Greek art, especially on vases.³² In the example in the Tripolis museum we should notice the wavy curls of the hair on the forehead, the rather humanized nose, the omission of the incisor teeth and of the beard under the mouth, and the totally schematized rendering of the ears. In general, the gorgoneion seems humanized, and this together with its specific characteristics brings it closer to the Corinthian pattern.³³ To conclude, keeping in mind that the disc acroteria are in use mainly in the first half of the 6th century B.C.,³⁴ the gorgoneion in the Tripolis museum should also be dated to this period. In the *Archeologikon Deltion* of 1891 it is reported that a thin, clay disc decorated with a gorgoneion was discovered among other material from a temple excavation in the village Divritsa,³⁵ near Kontovazaina.³⁶ Unfortunately we do not know anything else about this object, which might have been similar to the acroterion in the Tripolis museum decorated with the gorgoneion that we have just studied.

In the same region, Chr. Kardara has excavated the so-called sanctuary of "Aphrodite Erykina" on Mount Aphrodision, near Kontovazaina. Among the finds, published by her, we can pick out a clay female head.³⁷ The clay is buff, fine on the outside and with inclusions inside. A creamy coating covers the face, while traces of brown and red color can also be seen. The excavator believes that the head once belonged to a statue of a sphinx that decorated the roof of the "Telesterion", and dates it to the beginning of the 6th century B.C. Its resemblance to the head D1 from Olympia is, in my opinion, obvious not only regarding the eyes and lips but also the general modelling of the face.³⁸ The head from Olympia is dated to the last third of the 6th century B.C. and consequently it seems that the head from the "Aphrodite sanctuary" must also be brought down at least to the third quarter of the century. It is probably the work of a local workshop, strongly influenced by the workshops of Olympia, which were extremely active in the 6th century B.C.

Chr. Kardara has also published some more works of large scale clay sculptu-

32. Floren and Herfort 1983, 26-7.

33. Karagiorga 1964, 118-9, and Payne 1931, 82.

34. Goldberg 1982, 199.

35. Pikoulas 2001, no. 993; the old toponym was Divritsa, the new one is Dimitra.

36. Leonardos 1891, 99.

37. Kardara 1988, 140, no. 7, pl. 54.

38. Moustaka 1993, 46-52, D1, pl. 40.

re from the same sanctuary. One of them is more specifically a part of the upper torso of a female figure, dressed in a thin and wide fabric.³⁹ Judging by the drapery folds, the figure is probably depicted during an intense movement, in a style recalling the sculptures from the temple of Apollo at Bassai, near Phigaleia. The clay is buff and the surface is covered by a creamy coating. A part of a female head probably belongs to this figure.⁴⁰ In the same sanctuary, fragments have also been found of female drapery, of the hair of female heads, and also from the ear of a boar. All are made of the same clay, sometimes coarser and sometimes finer, and they have a creamy coating on their surface. The excavator dates them to the beginning of the 4th century B.C. and believes that they were parts of a pediment decoration.⁴¹ The clay is the same as the material used for the archaic head from the same sanctuary;⁴² it is obviously local, used by the workshops of the region. Nevertheless, since the production of clay statues in Olympia stops at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century B.C., the influence on the workshop of the "Aphrodite Sanctuary" could not have come from there, as was the case for the archaic head. The influence could have come at this period from Athens⁴³ or Corinth,⁴⁴ which were still active production centres of clay statues in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

Nevertheless, Arcadia can also offer some more works of large scale clay sculpture from this period, besides the ones from Mount Aphrodision. A drapery fragment, probably of a female dress, comes from the area of Asea.⁴⁵ The piece is too small for any conclusions concerning the entire figure to be drawn, but the resemblance to the drapery folds of the female torso from the "Aphrodite sanctuary" deserves attention.⁴⁶ A part of a female leg, of almost natural size, has been found in the village Zarakova, the ancient city Mainalos⁴⁷ near Tripolis. It is exhibited in a showcase at the east wall of the "Room of Arcadian Sanctuaries" in the Tripolis museum.⁴⁸ The statue was part of the architectural decoration of the temple of Athena. The piece is made of two layers of clay: the inner layer is pinkish and contains inclusions, while the outer one is red and clean. The surface is probably polished. The preserved part of the leg extends from the lower end of

39. Kardara 1988, 151-2, no. 11, pl. 64.

40. Kardara 1988, 152, pl. 64 b.

41. Kardara 1988, 153-4, nos. 13, 16, 17, 19, 34, 35, 110, 113, 140, 244, 185, 186, pls. 66-72.

42. See above, with n. 37.

43. Nicholls 1970.

44. Bookidis 1982, 239-47.

45. Pikoulas 1988, 56, pl. 6.9.

46. See *supra* n. 39.

47. Pikoulas 1999, 121 and 127.

48. Pikoulas 1999, 120, n. 20.

the thigh to the heel, where there are traces of a sandal. The figure wears a chiton and over it a thin peplos, both leaving the ankles naked. It can be identified as the right leg of a female, moving towards the right. Stylistically the Arcadian work can be placed between a Roman copy of Leto, from Attaleia, whose prototype dates around the middle of the 5th century B.C.,⁴⁹ and a marble Gorgo from Limyra in the Near East, which dates to the first half of the 4th century B.C.⁵⁰ The female figure of the Tripolis museum is characterized by the lively rendering of the body, which can be discerned quite clearly even under the relatively heavy dress, in a style recalling the sculptures from the temple of Apollo at Bassai. As mentioned above, the intense movement of the female torso from Kontovazaina also reminds us of the Phigaleia sculptures.⁵¹

To conclude, it seems that Arcadia was quite active in the first half of the 4th century B.C. as far as the production of clay statues is concerned. The local workshops would inevitably have been influenced by the large sculptural programs that were undertaken in the same period in the temples of Apollo at Bassai and of Athena at Tegea, and they would have served the needs of the smaller sanctuaries, which were located far from the larger habitation centers.

This general presentation of the works of large scale clay sculpture from Arcadia further illuminates the contribution of this region to ancient Greek art. Indeed, Arcadia has a lot more to offer to our knowledge of antiquity.

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49. Gulaki 1981, 100 (Burdur Museum, 7827), fig. 49.

50. Danner 1989, 27, no. 164 (Antalya Museum A 3429, A 3438), pl. 29.

51. See *supra* n. 39.

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Pottery at the Crossroads: Ceramic Trends in Southeast Arcadia*

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Ceramics found at Arcadian sites play a potentially important role in helping us to understand the extent of cultural uniformity in the region. This paper examines the nature of the pottery from various sites in Arcadia between the 10th and 7th centuries B.C. From the 10th to the early 8th centuries, we have limited ceramic representation in the region, with a large assemblage of ceramics known only from the southeastern part of the region, from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. It is not until the late 8th and early 7th centuries that we start to have significant ceramic remains from northern, southwestern, and eastern Arcadia. Interestingly there is very little uniformity between contemporary types of pottery from the different parts of the region. There is no 'Arcadian' style as such. Instead, what we see are cultural pockets of influence. In southeastern Arcadia in the Early Iron Age, for instance, we have ceramics that reflect an affinity with Argive Protogeometric and Geometric, as well as large amounts of a style known as Laconian Protogeometric. This mixture suggests influences coming to Tegea from both neighboring regions, *i.e.*, from the Argolid and from Laconia. By the late 8th – early 7th centuries, we see Corinthian influence in the ceramics from sites throughout Arcadia. In sum, the ceramic remains from Arcadia reveal little evidence for uniformity of style or for innovative local schools, between

* Many thanks to Erik Østby and the Norwegian Institute in Athens for offering me the opportunity to present my research at this very fine symposium. In the following analysis, I include the recently unearthed ceramics from Tegea, found in the Norwegian campaign at the site. I am currently preparing this material for publication. I am grateful to Erik Østby, director of the excavations at Tegea, for allowing me to include this information in my paper. I am also grateful to Lois Kain for her fine work on the archaeological illustrations of the ceramics and small finds from Tegea. I am indebted to the many students who helped us to sort through the finds, and to draw the pottery in the field, especially Theresa Moreno and Heather Russell. Finally I wish to thank Thomas Fenn, my research assistant, who has been invaluable in assisting me to create the plates and figures for this paper and for the final publication.

the 10th and 7th centuries. On the other hand, we see considerable diversity in the local adaptations of the regional pottery styles of the Peloponnese.

After many years of studying the archaeological remains from ancient Arcadia, I am struck once again by the great diversity observable in the material culture from the various parts of the region. Since one often encounters references to Arcadia that conjure up an image of a somehow culturally unified and uniform region, it is all the more surprising to discover considerable differences in the remains from the southwestern part of Arcadia compared to the eastern part, for example. Although this variety was most likely the result of numerous geographical, geological, and cultural factors that shaped the developments in the region, I believe it requires closer examination. In the present paper, I further explore this diversity with a focus on a particular class of artifact: ceramics. The evidence shows that despite the idealized version of a culturally uniform Arcadia that we may have in our minds, in reality there are many cultural pockets within the region that have greater affinities with areas outside of Arcadia than with the other 'pockets' within it.

We begin with the Early Iron Age pottery from the region. Until recently, virtually no Early Iron Age pottery was known from Arcadia, except for a handful of Protogeometric and Middle Geometric sherds from the southeastern part, from Tegea.¹ Although there is still virtually no evidence for early pottery from any other part of Arcadia to my knowledge, there is now significantly more evidence from the southeastern area. The Norwegian excavations at Tegea have uncovered a wealth of Early Iron Age material from this site, and a small amount has also been found in recent excavations at Asea.² By the late 8th century, there is ceramic evidence from other sites in the region as well, such as Mavriki and Mantinea in the southeast.³ Because of the continuous nature of the ceramic material from southeastern Arcadia, I focus on this area below. It is my hope that as more material is unearthed and published from the various parts of Arcadia, we shall gain a better sense of the ceramics throughout the region.

The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea has produced the most abundant ceramic remains from Arcadia to date. This material was found in the early excavations at the site by the French and the Germans, at the end of the 19th century, and more recently by the international team working at Tegea under the

1. Dugas 1921, 403-18; Voyatzis 1990, 65-71, pls. 2-9.

2. For Asea see Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, esp. 180. For Tegea see Østby *et al.* 1994, 126-8, figs. 97-105; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

3. Voyatzis 1990, 84-9, pls. 46-53, figs. 17-21.

direction of Dr. Erik Østby.⁴ The early excavations uncovered the 4th century temple, an altar, a fountain and considerable evidence of pottery and small finds going back to the 8th century B.C.⁵ A handful of earlier ceramics were also found in these campaigns.⁶ The recent excavations have confirmed that below the 4th century temple, there was a late 7th century temple and, below that, at least two 8th century temples. A huge amount of pottery was unearthed in the area of the 8th century temples, below the cella of the 4th century temple. This ceramic material is primarily Late Geometric and Protocorinthian, and 7th century in date.⁷ In the pronaos area of the 4th century temple, a metal workshop of 8th century date was found. Below the metal workshop, a *bothros*, or sacred pit, was uncovered containing evidence for cult activity going back to the 10th century. The material from the *bothros* ranges in date from Protogeometric through Middle Geometric II/Late Geometric I (with some Mycenaean mixed in).⁸ Although none of the Mycenaean material was found in context, it reflects likely activity in this vicinity in the Late Bronze Age.

There are now several hundred Early Iron Age sherds catalogued from Tegea. They consist of standard Protogeometric types with Argive and/or Attic affinities (Fig. 1), as well as large amounts of the very distinctive Laconian Protogeometric style.⁹ (Fig. 2) In addition, large amounts of standard Geometric pottery, Early Geometric through Late Geometric, and Protocorinthian ceramics were uncovered at the site. (Figs. 3-4)

Perhaps the most surprising fact about this recently uncovered selection of early pottery from Tegea is the great number of Laconian Protogeometric sherds found (over 1000 of both catalogued and uncatalogued pieces). Until recently, only one such sherd was known from the site.¹⁰ As we know from Coulson's fundamental study of this type of pottery, the hallmarks of the Laconian Protogeometric style (which he calls "Laconian Dark Age" pottery) typically consist of the following features: rectilinear ornament, often in registers, shiny metallic paint, distinctive, angular shapes, and horizontal ridges or grooves in the clay.¹¹ (Fig. 2) It is therefore fairly easy to distinguish this sort of pottery from the standard Protogeometric material.

4. Milchhöfer 1880; Mendel 1901, 256-7; Dugas 1921, 403-23; Voyatzis 1990, 62-84; Østby *et al.* 1994, 126-31; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

5. Dugas 1921; Voyatzis 1990, 20-8 and 69-84.

6. Voyatzis 1990, 62-9, pls. 1-4.

7. Østby *et al.* 1994, 126-31; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

8. Voyatzis 1997; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

9. Desborough 1952, 283-90; Coldstream 1968, 212-9; Cartledge 1979, 81-6; Coulson 1985.

10. Voyatzis 1990, 67 P9, pl. 4, fig. 8.

11. Coulson 1985, 33-4.

The question of chronology for Early Iron Age pottery found outside the Attic sequence is often problematic. As Desborough rightly asserted, Proto-geometric is a style, not a period.¹² For Athens, it is typically believed to range from about 1050 B.C. (or slightly later) through 900 B.C.¹³ Depending on the region of Greece, however, there is an enormous amount of variability in the dates of this type of pottery, with some areas beginning in the 10th century (Laconian Proto-geometric) and some ending well into the 9th century (Euboean Sub-protogeometric).¹⁴ When there are clear parallels to the Attic sequence, one can venture a date with some confidence, but, otherwise, it can be difficult to date material with any degree of certainty.

In the case of Tegea, the Early Iron Age pottery with Argive or Attic parallels can be assigned a relative date based on its style (*i.e.*, Proto-geometric/Early Geometric, ca. 950-850 B.C.), but the same is not necessarily true for the Laconian Proto-geometric found at Tegea. The stratigraphical information from Laconian sites for Early Iron Age ceramics is very limited. Amyclae is the only site in Laconia with any stratigraphy to speak of, and it is of limited value. What we know about Laconian Proto-geometric from Amyclae is that it is later than Mycenaean (though exactly how much later is debated) and that it lasts through the early 8th century (when Middle Geometric II is in vogue in other regions). By the mid-8th century it is replaced by a local Late Geometric style, but there is virtually no local Early Geometric/Middle Geometric pottery known from Laconia.¹⁵

Because of the mixture of material found in the *bothros* at Tegea, and the distinctive layers visible, we may now say a bit more about the relative chronology of the ceramics from this site. There are eight main levels in the *bothros*, and the lowest layer in the lowest level (B8b) can be dated to the late 10th century. It contains standard Proto-geometric and Laconian Proto-geometric material mixed together, as well as some Mycenaean mixed in as well. (Figs. 1-2) In the layer just above (B8a) we find a small amount of Early Geometric I as well. In layers B7 and B6, the latest material is Early Geometric II, and there is also Proto-geometric, Early Geometric I, and Laconian Proto-geometric. In layer B5, the latest ceramics are Middle Geometric I; there is also Proto-geometric,

12. Desborough 1948; *id.* 1972, 133-5. See also Coulson 1990, 8-12, for a discussion of the general confusion between 'style' and 'period' when discussing Proto-geometric.

13. For the most recent analysis of the chronology of the Proto-geometric style, see Lemos 2002, 24-6.

14. For Laconian Proto-geometric, see *supra* n. 9; for Euboean Proto-geometric, see Coldstream 1968, 164-5; Coldstream 1977, 40-5; Lemos 2002, 20-1.

15. Coulson 1985, 30-2. See also Lemos 2002, 194 n. 33, for a very brief synopsis of Laconian Proto-geometric and its date.

Early Geometric, and Laconian Protogeometric. In layers B4 to B2 the latest pottery is Middle Geometric II and there is also some earlier material (Early Geometric, Protogeometric, Laconian Protogeometric and Middle Geometric I), and in layer B1 the latest material is Middle Geometric II/Late Geometric I, with small amounts of Middle Geometric, Early Geometric, Protogeometric, and Laconian Protogeometric (Figs. 1-3). The surface of the *bothros* contains Late Geometric II material.¹⁶

The pottery unearthed inside the cella (and in the workshop area) at Tegea reflects a different pattern. The early material (Neolithic, Mycenaean, Protogeometric through Middle Geometric) is mixed in with later ceramics. The earliest secure date for the structures in this area is Late Geometric. The pottery found in association with the lowest surface of Building 3 may be as early as Late Geometric I. The smaller apsidal Building 2 can be dated to Late Geometric II (720-700) based on the ceramics, which include some Early Protocorinthian. The larger apsidal Building 1 may be dated to the very end of the Geometric/Early Orientalizing periods (700-675) on the basis of the Late Geometric II through Middle Protocorinthian I sherds found in the floor levels.¹⁷ (Fig. 4) The Geometric material reflects primarily Argive influence in shapes and decoration. The themes of horse-taming and dancing are very popular in Tegea, as in the Argolid.¹⁸ There is however, also an increasingly strong Protocorinthian presence at the site towards the end of the 8th century. Laconian imports and influences continue to be seen at Tegea at the end of the Geometric and Early Orientalizing periods; these pieces reflect a blending of Late Geometric and Protocorinthian elements, as one finds at Laconian sites as well.¹⁹

Overall the ceramic evidence suggests that Laconian Protogeometric co-existed at Tegea alongside standard Protogeometric, and that it continued in use through Middle Geometric II. A recent scientific analysis of the ceramics from Tegea indicates that the Laconian Protogeometric pottery from the site is chemically similar to pottery from Amyclae and chemically different from the standard Early Geometric/Late Geometric found at Tegea.²⁰ I thus conclude that the Laconian style pottery was brought to Tegea from somewhere in the region of Laconia, beginning in the late 10th century and continuing into the early 8th

16. Voyatzis 1997; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

17. Østby *et al.* 1994, 98-103; *Tegea I*, forthcoming. See also the paper by E. Østby in this volume.

18. For Tegea see Voyatzis 1990, pl. 11, P24, pl. 19, P40; Østby *et al.* 1994, 129 fig. 108. For the Argolid, see Coldstream 1968, 129-46, pls. 28-30.

19. Coldstream 1968, 215-9.

20. See T. Fenn, M. Ponting and M. Voyatzis on the ceramic analysis project in *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

century. On the other hand, the Early Geometric through Late Geometric material from Tegea was for the most part probably locally manufactured somewhere near the site, in a standard style related to the Argive. This seems to be the 'default' style as it were at Tegea, probably since Mycenaean times. Although it is not always easy to distinguish local fabric, I believe one can detect a consistent pattern of types of ceramics that persist from Protogeometric through the Archaic period. The evidence thus suggests that we have Argive-inspired locally produced pottery from Protogeometric through to the Orientalizing period (and most likely through the Archaic period as well, to judge from Dr. Iozzo's study of the later material from the site).²¹

It would be helpful now to take a brief look at the material from other southeastern Arcadian sites to put the Tegean ceramics into a context. From Mantinea we have some fine Geometric pottery from graves in the area (on display in the Tripolis museum). They consist primarily of large pieces of Middle Geometric/Late Geometric pots of Argive style, with some hints of Corinthian influence.²² From a sanctuary nearby, at Gortsouli, we have a fair amount of what appears to be locally produced 7th century pottery with some Argive elements and also strong Protocorinthian features.²³

From a sanctuary of Artemis above Mavriki, to the south of Tegea, we have some Late Geometric II sherds. This material reflects affinities with the ceramics from Tegea and seems to contain a blending of Argive and Laconian elements.²⁴ Given the location of the site, such a combination of traits is not surprising.

Recent excavations at Asea further west have produced a few Laconian Protogeometric sherds and large amounts of later Geometric and archaic material.²⁵ Two Late Geometric sherds were also uncovered from graves in this area, one with Laconian affinities (a *lakaina*) and one with Argive elements (a *kantharos*).²⁶

There is very little other ceramic material known from the rest of Arcadia from the 10th to the 7th centuries. Lousoi, in northern Arcadia, has yielded some Geometric and archaic sherds in recent excavations. These ceramics reveal both Corinthian and Achaean affinities and were probably locally produced.²⁷ From southwest Arcadia, there are virtually no early ceramics known. From Cretea a couple of Late Geometric sherds with Laconian affinities were found at a pos-

21. M. Iozzo in *Tegea II*, forthcoming.

22. For a brief mention of the excavations of the graves from Mantinea, see *AR* 1984-85, 23-4.

23. Karageorga 1963; *ead.* 1992-93; Voyatzis 1990, 87-9, figs. 19-21; *ead.* 1995, 277.

24. Rhomaios 1952, 1-27; Voyatzis 1990, 84-7, pls. 46-53; *ead.* 1995, 277.

25. See Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999.

26. Coldstream 1968, 364.

27. Schauer 1998, 268.

sible shrine of Apollo.²⁸ From Gortys, some Subgeometric sherds, with Corinthian affinities, were mentioned as coming from the sanctuary of Asklepios.²⁹ Finally, the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai yielded some Late Protocorinthian/Transitional pieces.³⁰

In order to make sense of the Arcadian ceramic evidence, let us take a closer look at the regions surrounding it: the Argolid, Corinthia, Laconia, and Western Greece (Messenia, Eleia and Achaëa). Coldstream's research on the development of Geometric pottery and the rise of the *polis* is relevant to this discussion.³¹ He identifies eleven distinct regional schools of pottery in the 8th century. Those that he identifies in the Peloponnese are the following: Argive, Corinthian, Laconian, West Greek, and Arcadian. Using his work as a model, I would like to look briefly at the ceramics from the regions surrounding Arcadia, from the 10th through the 7th centuries.

In the Argolid, a Protogeometric style developed, very similar to the Attic, with similar shapes and decoration, but some evidence for regional preferences.³² From 900 B.C. a Geometric style began to develop, based on the Attic sequence for Early Geometric/Middle Geometric, but more austere in decoration. By Late Geometric, an original, local style had emerged and carried on in a Subgeometric style in the 7th century B.C.³³

In the Corinthia, there was also a local Protogeometric style, based on the Attic.³⁴ The subsequent Geometric pottery was distinctive in terms of shapes and decoration from Early Geometric onwards. This was especially evident in the Late Geometric and Early Protocorinthian periods. The Protocorinthian style of pottery was widely dispersed throughout the Mediterranean by the 7th century B.C.³⁵ These ceramics typically had a fine, buff-colored fabric and were of high technical quality.

We have already discussed the development of Laconian pottery in the Protogeometric period. We noted that the Laconian Protogeometric style continued to be produced into the 8th century. By Late Geometric, a recognizable Laconian style had emerged with regional shapes, unique decorative elements, and some visible Argive and Corinthian influences.³⁶

Western Greece covers an enormous geographical region. For the purposes of

28. Kourouniotis 1903; *id.* 1910a, fig. 6 cols. 35-6; Voyatzis 1990, 90-1.

29. Courbin 1952, 245; Voyatzis 1990, 91.

30. Kourouniotis 1910b, 279-89, fig. 9; Voyatzis 1990, 90.

31. Coldstream 1983; Lemos 2002, 12-4, 17, 21-2.

32. Snodgrass 1971, 56-8; Desborough 1952, 204-12; Wells 1976-83.

33. Coldstream 1968, 112-47.

34. Snodgrass 1971, 58-61; Desborough 1952, 202-4; Weinberg 1943; Lemos 2002, 14, 200.

35. Coldstream 1968, 91-111.

36. Coldstream 1968, 212-9.

this paper, we limit ourselves to the Peloponnese. Achaea and Eleia had a distinctive Protogeometric style (called “Western Greek”), with local shapes (like the low-handled kantharos) that continued until Late Geometric. Finally, a distinctive and homogeneous Late Geometric style emerged with strong Corinthian influence.³⁷ Messenian Protogeometric pottery is related to Western Greek, but has distinct shapes and decoration. By Late Geometric, it too had developed its own style, primarily with Corinthian elements, but with some Argive traits as well.³⁸

Coldstream notes that the Corinthian, Argive and Laconian styles are the most creative schools in the 8th century, while the Western Greek and Arcadian are highly derivative. He concludes that the most original ideas are the most uniform and based on an urban center, whereas the more derivative styles are not related to any important urban center in the late 8th century. He sees a direct connection between the rise of the *polis* and the creation of an original and creative Late Geometric style. Coldstream notes that Arcadia belongs to the land of the *ethne*, where older tribal organization persisted. These areas were not so heavily populated, and their pottery was deeply influenced by the more progressive styles of the neighbouring *poleis*.³⁹

While I believe that there is truth in Coldstream’s conclusions about pottery of the *polis* versus the *ethnos*, I also think that the situation in the Peloponnese in general, and in Arcadia in particular, is more complex. The reason why Arcadian pottery seems ‘derivative’ probably has more to do with the region’s extensive and varied geographical terrain, than with its political groupings *per se*, although the political groupings were themselves likely shaped to a certain extent by the terrain.

The diffusion of Corinthian influence in the ceramics found throughout the Peloponnese at the end of the 8th century may explain the appearance of Proto-corinthian pottery in southwestern Arcadia at that time. Coldstream states that, “by 700 B.C., no Greek site of any consequence was without its Corinthian imports”. The Corinthian style was the most influential style in the Greek world at this time.⁴⁰

The picture which emerges from this study of early ceramics in Arcadia is thus the following. (Figs. 5 and 6) In the 10th and 9th centuries, when Proto-geometric, Early Geometric and Middle Geometric I pottery is typically in use, we have virtually no ceramic evidence from Arcadia at all, except from the southeastern part (mainly Tegea, with some activity at Asea). The ceramic influences at Tegea reflect strong Argive and Laconian presence at the site. (See Fig. 5) By the 8th and 7th centuries, there is considerably more evidence to be

37. Coldstream 1968, 225-32; Coldstream 1983, 23-4; Lemos 2002, 194-5.

38. Coulson 1986; Coldstream 1977, 182; Coldstream 1983, 23-4; Lemos 2002, 193-4.

39. Coldstream 1983, 24-5.

40. Coldstream 1983, 22.

seen at Arcadian sites. (See Fig. 6) In the southeastern part, we continue to have influence from Laconia and the Argolid, but we also see a Protocorinthian presence in the pottery assemblage. In eastern Arcadia, we see more Argive and Protocorinthian elements. In northern Arcadia, we see West Greek and Protocorinthian traits in the local pottery at Lousoi. In southwestern Arcadia, there is evidence for Protocorinthian types of pottery at Bassai and Gortys.

In conclusion, I believe that the ceramic evidence from Arcadia reflects considerable diversity between the 10th and 7th centuries B.C. There is little evidence for the existence of distinct and innovative, local schools of pottery. I suspect that this situation is the result of the limitations imposed on the region by its geography, geology, the nature of its political and economic systems, the lack of infrastructure, and so on. The limited and uneven amount of excavation in the region and absence of publications from excavations may also play a role. But, based on the existing evidence, what we do see in Arcadia is diversity of style, pockets of influence, and local adaptations of regional Peloponnesian ceramic styles.

Does this mean that the pottery from Arcadia is not worthy of our attention? On the contrary, I would argue that it invites us to explore the situation further, and that it potentially enriches our understanding of the development of early Greek ceramics. In order to benefit from such a study though, I believe we must broaden our definition of Protogeometric and Geometric styles of pottery and their distribution. Perhaps one should think in terms of various, overlapping, popular ceramic trends and spheres of interaction in Early Iron Age Greek ceramics instead of in terms of rigid, linear development with Athens as the perpetual leader. We should, in any case, avoid constant comparison to Attic pottery as the norm and guard against making value judgments or assuming that one trend is superior or 'more advanced' than another.

The mixture of ceramic material from southeast Arcadia in particular helps us to begin to see how regional styles developed and spread in this part of the Peloponnese. In a more in-depth study on the early ceramics in the Peloponnese as a whole, I hope to build on this knowledge to develop a model, which will enable us to better understand the nature and extent of the various regional trends in Greek ceramics generally. In this way, I hope we can come to appreciate the intricate, diverse, and complex tapestry of regional styles that comprised Early Iron Age Greek ceramics.

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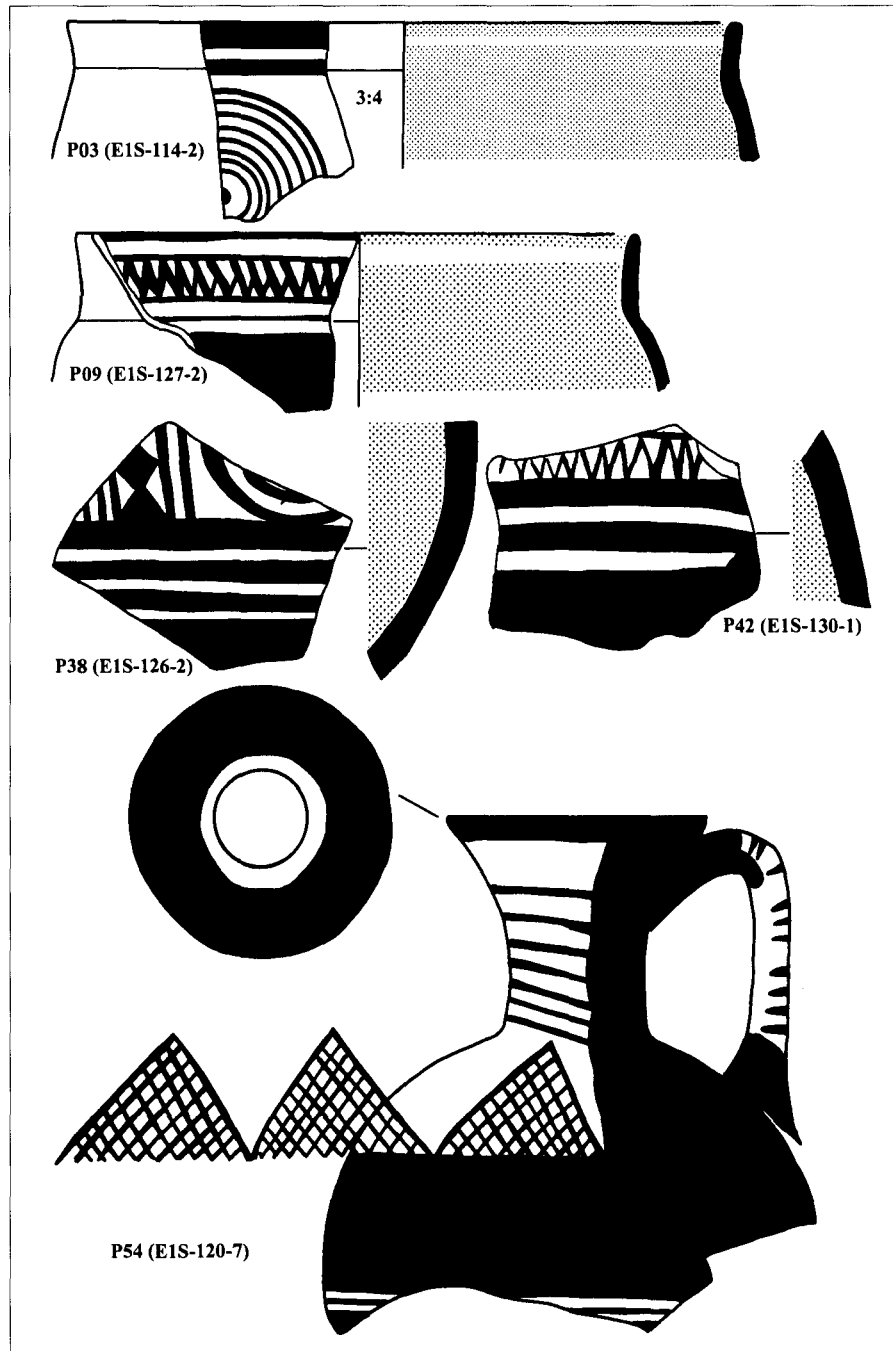


Fig. 1. Standard Protogeometric pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

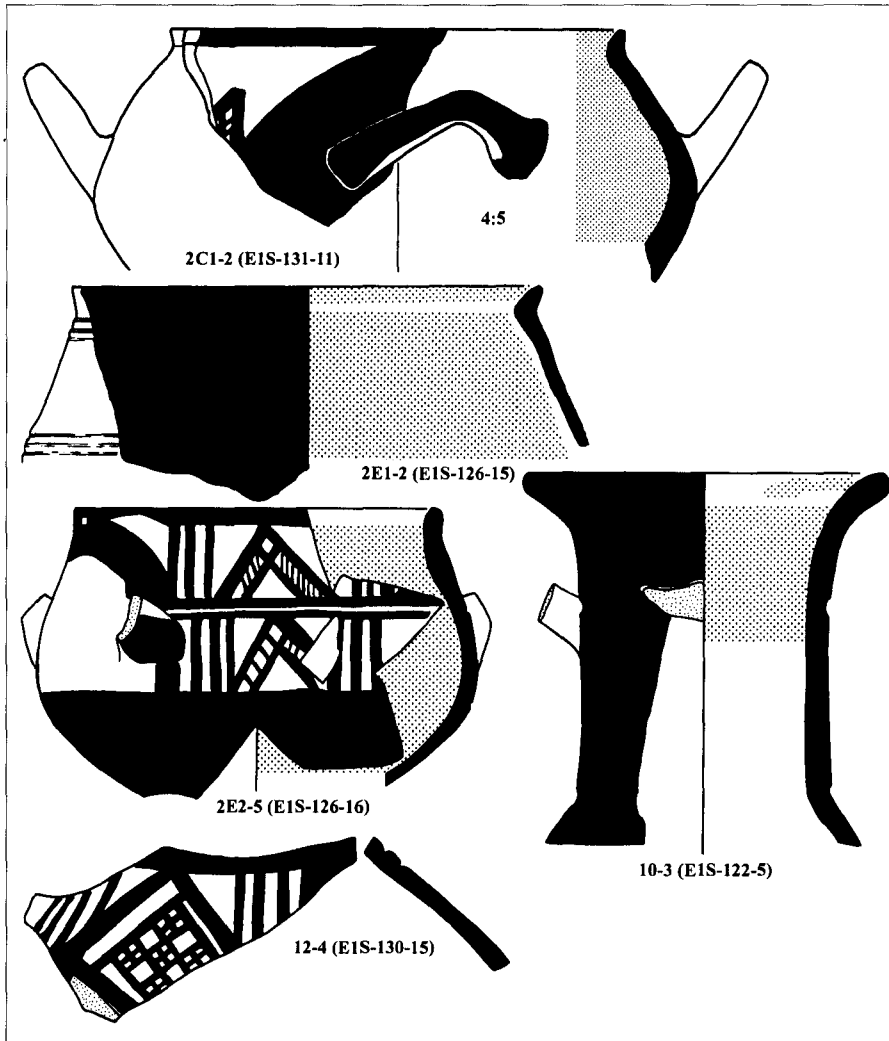


Fig. 2. Laconian Protogeometric pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

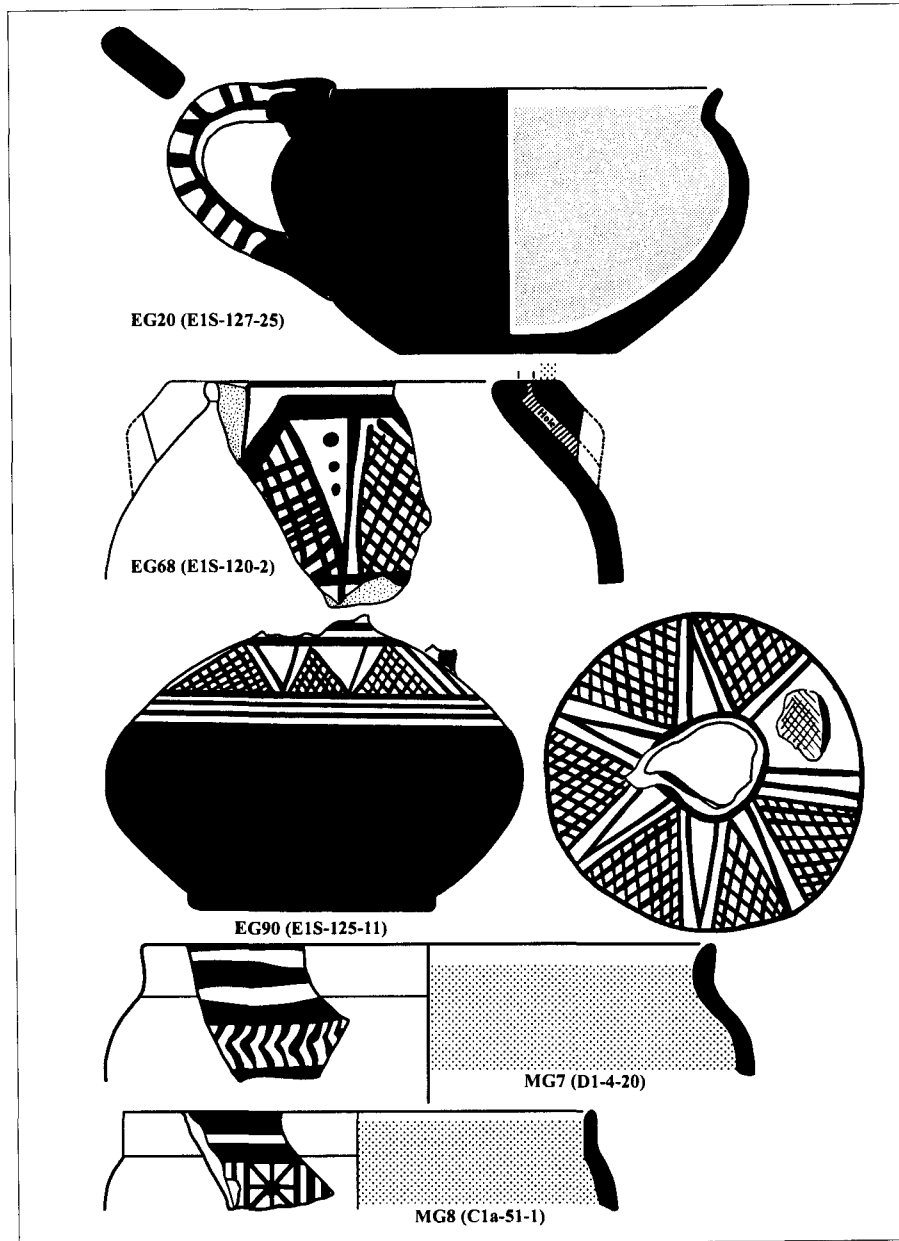


Fig. 3. Early and Middle Geometric pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

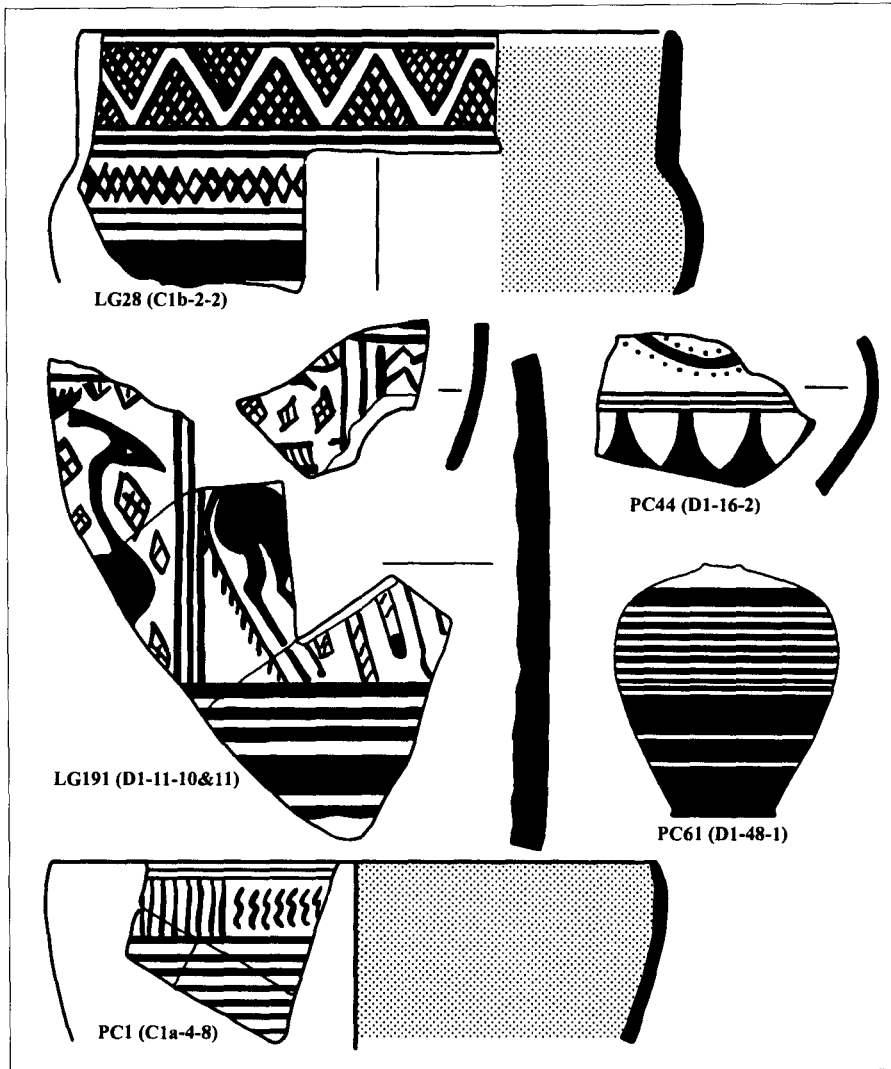


Fig. 4. Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

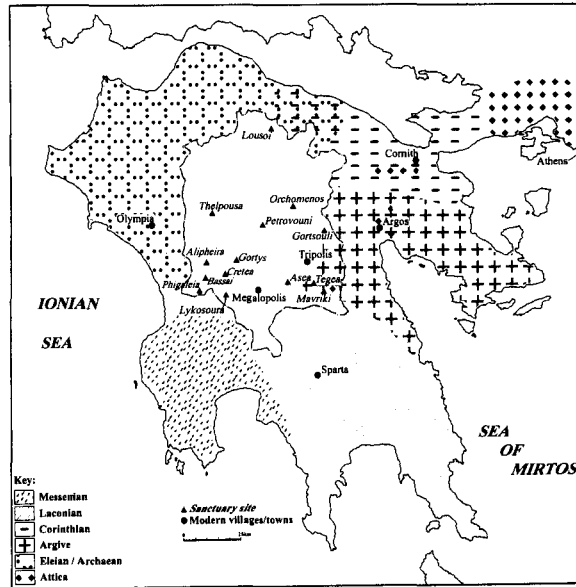


Fig. 5. 'Impressionistic' map of the Peloponnese with distribution of ceramics, 10th and 9th centuries B.C. (Map by L. Kain and T. Fenn.)

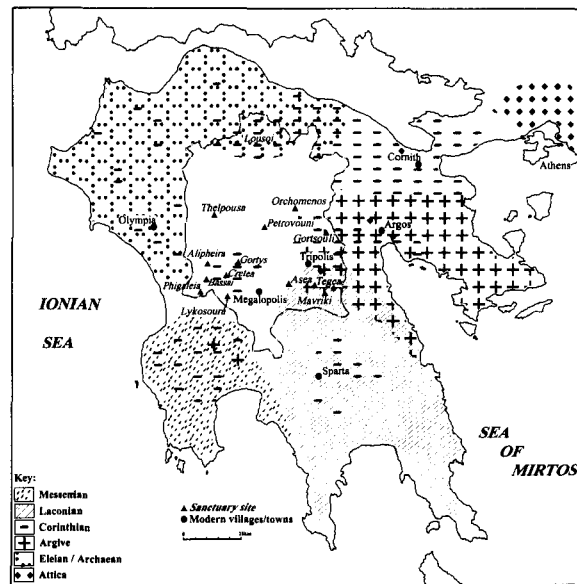


Fig. 6. 'Impressionistic' map of the Peloponnese with distribution of ceramics, in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (Map by L. Kain and T. Fenn.)

Arkadian Temple-designs

Frederick E. Winter

Many Arkadian cults and cult-places clearly go back to a very early period, and the popularity of individual deities was somewhat different from the rest of Greece. Artemis is by far the most frequently mentioned, followed by Demeter and Kore, and Pan and Apollo among the male deities. Many known Arkadian temples are small in scale, and sometimes unorthodox in design. The long, narrow plans seem to have been determined by basic structural considerations, being designed to avoid excessively long spans for the interior crossbeams; any enlargement of the overall area of the building was generally achieved by increasing the length more than the width. Small temples discussed are: the Psili Korphi temple above Mavriki, the successive temples of Artemis on the Gortsouli hill north of Mantinea, the temple of Artemis Mesopolitis at Orchomenos, the small temples on Mount Kotilon above Bassai, the temple above Kondovazena, and those near Dimitra and Vachlia and on the acropolis at Stymphalos. The narrow interiors of the peripteroi at Alipheira and Orchomenos, and in the early temple of Athena at Tegea, are also noted; and interpretations are suggested for the plans of the temple of Artemis at Lousoi and of the Asklepieion at Pheneos.

Several papers presented in this seminar have emphasized the fact that by the time of Pausanias, whose account of Arkadia is our best ancient source for the study of the region, many Arkadian cults and cult-places were already very old; and this often remains true even when the extant buildings are of more recent date, e.g. in the case of the Mount Aphrodision temple above Kondovazena and the temple, probably that of Athena, on the acropolis at Stymphalos.¹ Moreover, some of the extant temples, even if not themselves early, at least seem to have been influenced by early predecessors. Thus they can still assist in following the evolution of early Arkadian, and indeed of other early Greek temple-designs in the period prior to the appearance of large *peripteroi*; and this evolution, in

1. These sites are discussed in the papers by Y. Pikoulas and H. Williams in this volume.

Arkadia as elsewhere in the Greek world, seems to have been determined in large part by basic structural considerations. In short, these early temples were not yet "architecture, as distinguished from mere building";² the chief aim of the builders was to ensure, on the basis of practical experience rather than some abstract theory, that their buildings would remain standing for a reasonable length of time. We also encounter in Arkadia designs of quite unorthodox type; here too, I would suggest, practical considerations originally exerted a good deal of influence.³

Before turning to these aspects of my subject, however, I note that, at least for Pausanias, the precincts, temples, altars, sacred spots and revered statues of goddesses are considerably more numerous than those of male divinities. Among the goddesses, Artemis far outnumbers all other deities, of either sex; in next place numerically is Demeter, alone or with Kore, along with the Great Goddesses, whom Pausanias identifies with the Eleusinian pair,⁴ and after them Athena and Aphrodite, with Hera well behind these last two. Among the male divinities, Pan (perhaps not surprisingly in Arkadia) and Apollo head the list, followed by the cluster of Asklepios, Zeus, Hermes, Poseidon and Dionysos; these last five trail all the major goddesses except Hera. Moreover, many divinities appear in an unusual guise, for example, Demeter linked with Horse Poseidon, the Mistress at Lykosoura who was the daughter of Demeter and Horse Poseidon,⁵ as distinct from the Eleusinian Kore, daughter of Demeter and Zeus,⁶ and Black Aphrodite near Mantinea,⁷ the origin of whose name had clearly been long forgotten. Pan is said to be the most powerful of the gods in accomplishing men's prayers and requiting the wicked for their misdeeds.⁸ Again, among the interesting features of the *agora* at Megalopolis, Pausanias saw "an enclosure of stones and a *hieron* of Lykaian Zeus. There is no entrance into the *hieron*, but its contents, which can be seen, consist of altars of the god, two tables, two eagles, and a stone statue of Pan named Oinois".⁹ When we add to the above examples others such as the Strangled Artemis near Kaphyai and the statue of Athena at

2. G.G. Scott: "Architecture, as distinguished from mere building, is the decoration of construction"; quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary s.v. "Architecture."*

3. In this paper I am concerned chiefly with the proportions of early temple-plans and with plans of unorthodox or unusual type; the origin and earliest forms of the columnar orders belong to a later phase of the development of Greek temples.

4. Paus. 8.31.1.

5. Paus. 8.1.5-8 and 31.1. Horse Poseidon actually had an altar at Lykosoura: Paus. 4.37.10.

6. Paus. 8.37.9.

7. Paus. 8.6.5.

8. Paus. 8.37.11.

9. Paus. 8.30.2-5.

Teuthis with a purple bandage round her thigh (an expiation for the hero Teuthis having stabbed her in the thigh at Aulis),¹⁰ it is perhaps not surprising that Arkadian temple-architecture also falls outside the Greek mainstream.

In fact, in Arkadia what we may call ‘mainline temples’, that is, the ones that are likely to get into the handbooks (e.g., the Hagios Elias temple near Asea and those of Apollo at Bassai, Alea Athena at Tegea and Asklepios at Gortys), are the exception rather than the rule. Thus the small marble temple high up on Psili Korphi above Mavriki, excavated by Rhomaios, is certainly quite unlike the contemporary mid-6th century Doric that we find at Corinth; and the capitals with necking-mouldings are no more canonical than the triglyphs with ogival crowns and the regulae and mutules without guttae.¹¹ It has been remarked that some of these features find their closest parallels in the West Greek Doric of Sicily and Magna Graecia;¹² but I have argued elsewhere against any direct architectural connection between Arkadia and the Western Greeks, preferring to regard the many unusual features of the Mavriki temple as illustrations of a specifically Arkadian tradition in archaic Doric, to which early Ionic architectural decoration contributed several details.¹³ This Arkadian tradition continued to some extent in the temple of Athena and Poseidon at the top of the pass over Mount Gravari (Fig. 1), between the plain of Asea and the territories of Pallantion and Tegea.¹⁴ Here Rhomaios discovered both an original and a 5th-century replacement cornice of Ionic type;¹⁵ moreover, the Gravari temple, by virtue of its southward orientation toward the road over the pass and its noticeable deepening of the pronaos, has something of the strong emphasis on the front, or entrance, end of the building that we find in the second Pronaia

10. Paus. 8.23.6-8, 28.5-6.

11. Rhomaios 1952, 1-25; see also Winter 1991, 203-4 figs. 4-5, after Rhomaios. My discussion of the larger temples noted in this paragraph now needs to be modified in the light of Erik Østby's publication of the temples at Pallantion (especially Temple C, the large peripteros mentioned below: Østby 1990-91, 69-88 with figs. 31-50, 67 and pl. IV, and 109-18) and his discussion of early Arkadian temples (*ibid.* 285-391; see also his paper in this volume) with new photographs and detailed drawings of the Mavriki temple, which I now accept as prostyle rather than amphiprostyle (*ibid.* 309-27 and 306-9 figs. 177-80), and the *peripteroi* at Orchomenos (327-38 and 323-9, figs. 182-8), Gravari (338-50 and figs. 189-95), Hagios Elias (350-60 and figs. 196-8) and Alipheira (364-81 and figs. 199-207). Early Doric capitals are analysed in detail in Tables I-III following *ibid.* 192. I retain the term “Mavriki temple” rather than “temple of Artemis Knakeatis”, because the location of the temple, as Pritchett (1999, 134-6) has noted, is difficult to reconcile with the statement of Pausanias, 8.53.11.

12. See Barletta 1990 on her series of “Ionian Sea Doric” monuments.

13. Winter 1991, 213-8.

14. Rhomaios 1957, 125-44.

15. Winter 1991, 206 fig. 7.

temple at Delphi and the temple of Athena at Paestum.¹⁶ This frontal emphasis is, of course, a typical feature of Ionic temple architecture.¹⁷ In addition, in the Gravari temple, as at Mavraki, variety of detail rather than consistency was clearly the order of the day, for there were at least two patterns of necking-rings in the capitals and two forms of crown to the grooves of the triglyphs. Yet the proportions of the Gravari peristyle and cella are closer to those of the emerging canonical Doric than those of the Hagios Elias temple near Asea;¹⁸ and the Gravari cella is certainly quite different from those of the temple of Athena at Alipheira, the archaic temple at Tegea as interpreted by Prof. Østby, and the peripteros in the lower city of Orchomenos (length : width about 4 : 1 at Alipheira, even without the adyton, the other two both about 3 : 1).¹⁹ Incidentally, at Orchomenos the columns and capitals differed in both size and form, suggesting, though not proving, a period of construction extending over a considerable number of years.

It seems evident that earlier Arkadian temple-builders in general favoured long, narrow interiors, whether to simplify the construction of the ceiling and roof or for some other reason. Thus the temple of Artemis Mesopolitis, just to the south of the *agora* at Orchomenos,²⁰ consisted of a prostyle pronaos and long, narrow cella, the overall proportions being 3.33 : 1, very close to the 3.25 : 1 of the cella plus pronaos in the Orchomenos peripteros; and the proportions of the core of the temple of Athena at Alipheira (cella plus adyton), and of the unfinished peripteros at Pallantion,²¹ were even more elongated (some 4.78 : 1 and 4.33 : 1 respectively). Probably the builders of these two temples were trying

16. Gruben 2001, 95 figs. 71, 72, and 269 fig. 202.

17. Winter 1991, 217.

18. For the first detailed excavation see Holmberg 1941; plan reproduced as Winter 1991, 207 fig. 8.

19. Gravari, Rhomaios 1957; Alipheira, Orlandos 1968; Tegea, Østby 1986; Orchomenos, Blum and Plassart 1914, 81-4; see also Winter 1991, 201 fig. 2, 198 fig. 1, 202 fig. 3. My continuing reservation about the 18-column flanks of the early temple of Athena at Tegea proposed by Østby does not imply any disagreement with the logic of his arguments. If one grants the existence on the part of the Tegea designer of some direct acquaintance with the temple of Hera at Olympia (or *vice versa*), then Østby's interpretation is perfectly reasonable. If, however, one regards early Arkadian Doric as a series of strictly local experiments in Doric, devoid of any influence from Olympia, then the proposed arrangements at Tegea, while they may indeed still be correct, cannot be supported by analogies with Olympia; in other words, the question turns on the extent of inter-regional influences at this early period, when builders were not really trained architects, but simply master stonemasons or contractors who rarely, if ever, had reason to venture outside their home territory.

20. Blum and Plassart 1914, 74-9; Papachatzis 1980, 225 fig. 192.

21. Østby 1991, fig. 1 p. 45 (plan), fig. 4 p. 48 (photo).

to make the overall area and bulk as impressive as possible, by adding to the length of the buildings without increasing the width to the point where interior supports would be required. This explanation receives some confirmation from the study of three smaller Arkadian temples: two temples explored by Leonardos in 1891, near Divritsa (now Dimitra) and Vachlia,²² and the temple on the acropolis at Stymphalos (Fig. 2), first cleared by Orlandos in 1925 and recently excavated in more detail by the Canadian team.²³ The Stymphalos temple measured some 5.80 x 11.50 m, Leonardos' buildings ca. 5.50 x 16.80 m and 5.90 x 8.70 m respectively. Thus the overall area of the larger buildings was increased by extending the length : width ratio from less than 1.5 : 1 to more than 2 : 1, the Divritsa temple, the largest of the three, having a length about three times its width. In excavating the temple at Divritsa Leonardos unearthed a head of Athena and a bronze krater inscribed KOPAI, "to Kore".²⁴ On the basis of the latter find he identified the sanctuary as that of Eleusinian Demeter mentioned by Pausanias;²⁵ the head of Athena does not necessarily conflict with this identification.

Also small in scale and narrow (both probably over 2 : 1 in proportions) are the two successive temples of Artemis uncovered in the Greek excavations on the western flank of Gourtsouli hill to the north of Mantinea (Fig. 3); these two temples were of very simple construction, surely with mudbrick superstructure.²⁶ In this same group of relatively small buildings of simple construction may be included the two buildings in the depression on the summit of Mount Kotilion above Bassai, where again the larger structure is longer and narrower in proportion than the smaller.²⁷ In its extant form, the prostyle temple close to the modern highway in the territory of ancient Methydriion, long identified with the temple of Horse Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias, is a later, monumentalized version in canonical form of the earlier tradition of small temples.²⁸

Probably the most curious of known Arkadian temples is that of Artemis Hemera²⁹ overlooking the plain of modern Kato Lousoi, with the imposing mass of Mount Chelmos rising to the east. (Fig. 4) From Byzantine times onward, a series of churches and chapels was built over the ruins of the temple.³⁰ I have

22. Leonardos 1891.

23. Williams and Schaus 2001. See the paper by H. Williams in this volume.

24. Papachatzis 1980, 277-8 n. 6.

25. Paus. 8.25.2-3.

26. Karagiorga 1963; Papachatzis 1980, 218 fig. 184.

27. Kourouniotis 1903, pl. 11; Papachatzis 1980, 369-70 figs. 403-6.

28. Paus. 8.36.2; Papachatzis 1980, 327 figs. 319-20, after Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, figs. 7-8 p. 33.

29. Or Hemerasia, according to Paus. 8.18.8.

30. Original excavation: Reichel and Wilhelm 1901. The most recent investigations at

attempted elsewhere, on the analogy of Hekatompedon II at Samos and the archaic Didymaion, to explain the strange plan as derived from a shorter and narrower archaic predecessor, the mudbrick walls of which were reinforced by internal and external buttresses, the later and larger temple being then embellished with separate colonnades along the side walls.³¹

I now turn to two temples excavated more recently, and definitely *not* seen by Pausanias: the temples of Asklepios at Pheneos and (probably, according to Dr. Pikoulas) of Artemis on Mount Aphrodision, at the top of the pass between the Erymanthos and Ladon watersheds; both temples were uncovered in Greek excavations.³² The former sanctuary was presumably destroyed before Pausanias' time by the flooding of the Pheneos lake; the latter was not seen by him because his route from Psophis took him further west along the Erymanthos valley. Architecturally, the interesting aspect of the Mount Aphrodision sanctuary for the present discussion is that although it was clearly an important cult-centre, eventually, as Pikoulas has shown, boasting a peripteral temple as well as subsidiary buildings and a fountain, a cella of simple, and typologically early, plan served throughout the history of the precinct; the ruins of this cella are now in part covered by the chapel of Hagios Petros.

At the beginning of his tour of Mantinea, Pausanias³³ mentions "a double temple, divided just at the middle by a partition-wall. In one division of the temple," he says, "is an image of Asklepios by Alkamenes, while the other division is sacred to Leto and her children ... (with) images by Praxiteles ...". If the statue by Alkamenes was made for the temple seen by Pausanias, the building cannot have been later, and was quite possibly earlier, than the late 5th century. Pausanias does not say whether the partition-wall ran crosswise, as in the Athenian Erechtheion (also described as "double", 1.26.5), or lengthwise; however, it seems to me likely that the Arkadian building was divided lengthwise, so that the contents of both divisions could be seen from the common entrance porch. In that event the Mantineian building probably resembled the two rooms side by side in the Asklepieion at Pheneos. (Fig. 5) One of these rooms was the 'temple-room' proper, with colossal statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at the back, while the other room apparently also served some cultic purpose, and contained

Lousoi by V. Mitsopoulos-Leon and G. Ladstätter have shown that there were no columns at the western end of the temple, but rather the solid back wall of an adyton, which was entered from the cella through a door in the wall behind the base for the cult-statue.

31. Winter 1991, 212-3.

32. Pheneos: Protonotariou-Deilaki 1961-62; Mount Aphrodision: Kardara 1988. The identification as a temple of Artemis was proposed by Y. Pikoulas at the seminar; see the summary of his paper in this volume.

33 Paus. 8.9.1.

statues set on a pedestal at the back. In front of the statues in this second room stood a table for offerings, in the same pattern as that found by Orlandos in the Asklepieion at Alipheira.³⁴ For all we know, sacred buildings with rooms side by side, as at Pheneos and (in my opinion) at Mantinea, may have been fairly common in smaller communities which lacked the resources for building monumental temples and subsidiary structures. In any event the Asklepieion at Pheneos forms an interesting contrast to the Asklepieion at Gortys, which must have been a major centre for the worship of Asklepios, and so was rich enough to afford a temple of Pentelic marble and statues of Asklepios and Hygieia by Skopas.³⁵

I close by noting that from Byzantine times onward one, or a series, of churches or chapels, of various dates, have been built over the ruins of many of the temples mentioned in this paper, often in rather out-of-the-way locations. The choice of site for these successor buildings can of course be explained as providing a handy source of building materials, or as attempts to exorcise the pagan spirits, or as a combination of these considerations. Yet I think it likely that for these later builders their work was in some sense a fulfilment of two speeches of the Apostle Paul, who said to the Lykaonians of Lystra: "We are bringing you good news, telling you to turn from these worthless things to the living God who made heaven and earth and sea ... In the past he let all nations go their own way, yet he did not leave himself without testimony, ... giving you rain from heaven and crops in their seasons." And to the Athenians: "The God who made the world and everything in it...made the nations of men...and set the times and exact places for them. And he did this so that men would seek him and perhaps reach out for him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us."³⁶ I take my stand with Paul, and with what I conceive as the intent of those later builders.

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³⁴ Papachatzis 1980, 286 fig. 273, after Orlandos 1968, fig. 120 p. 180.

³⁵ Paus. 8.28.1.

³⁶ *Acta* 14.15-17, 17.24 and 26-27.

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Fig. 1. Mount Gravari temple from south. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 2. The acropolis temple at Stymphalos. (Photo: Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens, Stymphalos excavations.)

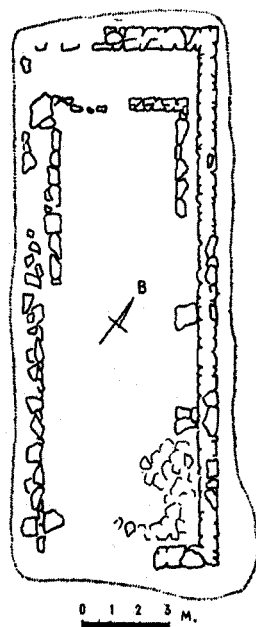


Fig. 3. Plan of the Artemis temples on Gortsouli hill, Mantinea. (After *ArchDelt* 18, 1963, B 1 Chron., fig. 1 p. 88.)

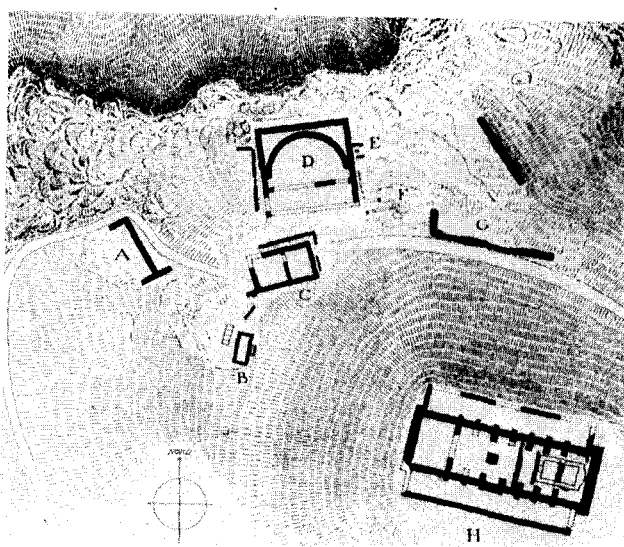


Fig. 4. Lousoi, state-plan of the Artemis precinct. (After *ÖJh* 4, 1901, fig. 6 p. 16.)

Archaic Temple Architecture in Arcadia

Erik Østby

A surprisingly rich tradition of monumental temple architecture, which has so far received little attention, existed in Arcadia in the archaic period. The impressive, late 7th century temple of Athena Alea at Tegea is now known to have been preceded by two simple cult buildings of Late Geometric date, of small dimensions and of simple materials reflecting, probably intentionally, early prehistorical architecture. Based on the early archaic temple, a fine tradition of Doric temples using local marble developed and can be traced through the 6th century B.C., coming to an abrupt end in the first half of the 5th century. Some of its characteristics, such as the open spacing of the colonnades and the avoidance of angle contraction, are significantly different from the mainstream of archaic Dorism, as exemplified *e.g.* in the temple of Apollo at Corinth.

The traditional view of Arcadia as a remote and backward district compared to the rest of the Greek world is today slowly giving way to more balanced views, thanks to recent research in the region. In this reassessment the rich and varied material of archaic temple architecture which is still preserved here must take an important part.¹ These temples precede the famous 5th and 4th century temples of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai and of Athena Alea at Tegea; both figure as key monuments in the general history of Greek temple architecture,² but according to Pausanias they were created by artists hired from abroad, Iktinos and Skopas,³ and for that reason they cannot easily be claimed as products of local traditions and influences. It is now clear, however, that there was a surprisingly rich activity of temple building in Arcadia in the archaic period, and those buildings are so numerous and distinct that a local tradition must certainly be claimed for them.

1. This material is more thoroughly described in the works Østby 1986, Østby 1990-91, and Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999. The contributions to this volume by Y. Goester, M. Petropoulos and Y. Pikoulas add more, previously unknown material.

2. For recent discussion of these buildings see Gruben 2001, 128-40.

3. Bassae, Paus. 8.41.9; Tegea, 8.45.5.

Recent research has provided some positive knowledge of the archaic temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which Pausanias mentions almost six centuries after its destruction in 396 B.C.⁴ This was an ambitious building fully abreast with the development of early archaic Doric architecture elsewhere in the Peloponnese, and it had a decisive influence on the building activity in the region later on.⁵ (Fig. 1) The preserved traces of this temple are sufficient for a satisfactory reconstruction of the cella, although some questions must remain open. There is very limited evidence for the reconstruction with a conventional pronaos, and that pronaos would have to be unusually shallow; several early archaic temples might offer parallels for the alternative reconstruction with an open cella front without any divisory wall between cella and pronaos,⁶ and this possibility cannot be rejected out of hand. But the difference of level between the foundations of the cella front and those for the inner colonnades in the cella clearly indicates that there was a similar difference between a lower floor level in the pronaos and a slightly higher one in the cella. This feature recurs in the Heraion at Olympia; but is otherwise unusual in Greece, and is one of several indications that the two buildings were closely connected.⁷ The few remaining blocks at the rear of the cella were first explained as toichobate blocks for a closed rear wall, but a different interpretation as blocks from the stylobate in an open opisthodom front has recently been suggested.⁸ If so, this opisthodom would precede the one in the Heraion at Olympia, which is usually considered an innovation there. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile this interpretation with the markings on the two remaining marble blocks, which cannot be understood as column traces and do not make any sense in the open spaces between columns. They are most easily understood as anathyrosis markings for orthostate blocks covering the lowest part of a mud-brick wall, with an additional, rectangular marking for a vertical, wooden post inserted between those blocks and projecting slightly in front of them so that it would remain visible as a sort of pilaster.⁹ According to

4. 8.45.4.

5. Østby 1986. The same conclusion was approached, but in less precise terms, by Norman 1984, 171. I cannot concur with the position expressed by F.E. Winter in this volume (p. 486, n. 19) that this temple can be seen as a purely local product, independent of outside influences; at the site of Tegea it represents a clear break from previous, far more modest building activity. The temple of Hera at Olympia is in any case clearly later. See below.

6. Several such buildings from Eretria, Kommos, Samos, etc. are presented together by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, Table I, but the open front is not ascertained in all those cases.

7. Østby 1986, 79-81 and 99 n. 110, with references to the temple at Olympia as well as Corfu and Samos. Temples in Sicily and Southern Italy often have the same feature.

8. Gruben 1996, 409 n. 41, and *id.* 2001, 136; Østby 1986, 86-91, for the evidence and the original interpretation as a toichobate.

9. Østby 1986, 88-90. See *ibid.*, 98, and Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 166 with n. 1190, for the

that interpretation the rear of the cella must be reconstructed with a closed adyton, rather than with an open opisthodomos which otherwise appears only once, and much later, in the series of archaic Arcadian temple buildings.

Probably this cella was surrounded by a peristasis, but it has been totally destroyed by the foundations for the classical temple; no evidence for it remains. But a hypothetical reconstruction of it can be attempted on the analogy with the Heraion at Olympia, where the positions of the columns in the flank colonnades correspond precisely with the cella columns, with the same axial spacings. The peristasis which can be reconstructed on these terms, turns out to surround symmetrically the cella not only crosswise, but also lengthwise. If those inner colonnades are direct reflections of a perfectly symmetrical overall plan, although asymmetrically placed within the cella building, this is at least a strong indication that a peristasis did exist, and from the outset, not as a later addition. In that case, the peristasis can only be reconstructed with 6 x 18 columns, as proposed in the first publication.¹⁰ There are strange and unexpected features in this building: marble appears here surprisingly early as building material, and this has been used as an argument for downdating the temple from the late 7th to well into the 6th century.¹¹ The recent investigations in the temple cella have proved beyond doubt that the remains we have are really of the archaic temple mentioned by Pausanias, but they have not provided material for a precise chronology.¹² Essentially the problem still rests on the comparison with the closely related temple of Hera at Olympia, whose date in the early 6th century is well established.¹³ In this context, the earlier date of the Tegea temple is well supported by the clear and immediate proportional relation between the two cellas: the proportion 4 : 15 is common to both, but at Olympia the dimensions are slightly increased, very probably in order to cite and also outdo the Tegean building.¹⁴ The reduction from 6 x 18 to 6 x 16 columns in the peristasis, assuming that it existed at Tegea, puts the Olympia temple at a later stage in this

early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, where a similar construction is used at the inside of the wall.

10. Østby 1986, 94-5. F. Winter 1991, 200 and n. 20 p. 199, and again in this volume, considers a shorter peristasis (6 x 16) and/or a peristasis added later, but does not consider these points. With 6 x 16 columns, the space between colonnade and cella would be narrower on the fronts than on the flanks, which is unlikely; moreover, the front colonnades would coincide with open areas inside the classical foundations, where they would probably have left traces.

11. Felten 1987, 32.

12. Østby *et al.* 1994, 99; Østby 1997, 95-6.

13. Gruben 2001, 51; Kalpaxis 1976, 56; Mallwitz 1972, 138 n. 81; Herrmann 1972, 93-4, ns. 368 and 373. Searls and Dinsmoor 1945 established definitively this date.

14. Ca. 10.00 x 37.50 m at Tegea, 10.72 x 40.21 m at Olympia. See Østby 1986, 93 with ns. 51-2.

generally acknowledged, typological development. The date for the Tegea temple in the late 7th century¹⁵ thus remains likely. Recent field-work in the sanctuary has added one element of importance: an early archaic tile of so-called Argive type,¹⁶ so large that it can hardly be connected with any other building. This indicates that the temple had a tiled roof from an early date, possibly from the beginning. But the object is isolated and found out of context, and should be treated with caution.

Recent field-work has shown that this temple, which in the late 7th century must have been at the very forefront of architectural development, was preceded by modest structures which must also be defined as temples, although of a somewhat unusual kind. Traces have been identified of two simple huts, one replacing the other, built of wattle and daub, without stone socles. (Figs. 2 and 3) This is a building technique which reminds more of the early Neolithic than of the Greek Iron Age.¹⁷ The archaeological material discovered in these buildings is clearly of votive character, ensures their function as cult buildings, and indicates the late 8th and early 7th century as their date. The earlier building, probably used in the last quarter of the 8th century, was hardly much more than 3 m wide (inner width between the walls, the only so far safely established, arriving at 2 m), and the length so far excavated is about 6 m and was originally somewhat more. The external dimensions of its later successor, of basically the same shape, were about 4 x 12 m. Both have a characteristic hair-pin shape with an apsidal rear end which follows a widespread typology of Geometric cult buildings – although that shape is by no means confined to religious structures.¹⁸ These buildings raise, however, functional problems which put them somehow apart from the various recent hypotheses concerning early Greek temples. They could not possibly be residential buildings: the open front which has been safely established for the more recent structure, the total lack of fire-places inside them, and the extremely cramped dimensions particularly of the early building make them totally unsuitable for such use.¹⁹ The vague character of the floor surfaces inside them can only be explained on the assumption that access to the interior

15. Østby 1986, 97-102.

16. For which see N.A. Winter 1993, 149-87. I thank her for identifying the piece during a visit to the site in 1998.

17. Østby *et al.* 1994, 98-103; Østby 1997, 54-60; Nordquist 2002, 150-1. Generally on the wattle-and-daub technique in Greek architecture: Fagerström 1988, 100; Sinos 1971, 10-3; and Perlès 2001, 180-93, for the technique in the early Neolithic context.

18. See for general discussions of this shape Drerup 1969, 92-4; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 111-3; Fagerström 1988, 106-10; and the important paper by Hiller 1996.

19. As admitted by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 80-2, who generally attempts to connect early temples with such functions.

was strictly limited; they must be understood as some kind of show-pieces, rather than functional buildings. Nor can they easily be understood as shelters for cult figures, which seem to be a late phenomenon in Arcadia generally; there are traces of simple installations in the apsis area of the early building, but no obvious explanation can be found for them. Probably the buildings were themselves conceived as some kind of visual manifestation of divine forces, related to the ideas which were otherwise mostly expressed by the cult figures; such ideas might also contribute to explain the old-fashioned and by this time absolutely obsolete wattle-and-daub building technique, which probably was chosen for its associations with ancient traditions rather than for its functionality. Religious ideas connected with the buildings as such, rather than with what they sheltered, may also be reflected in the two building models of terracotta, attested by fragments which have been found at the site.²⁰

The destruction of the second building can be safely dated about 680-70, thanks to a Protocorinthian aryballos discovered in a useful context;²¹ this leaves a time-span of at least half a century before the probable date of the archaic temple, which was based on radically different conceptions and increased ambitions. A radical change in the whole situation at Tegea must have taken place during this period, but the investigations at the site have so far not given any clear explanation for it. At the temple site, the evidence for building activity in this period is limited to a large platform or paved area which cuts off the apses of the early cult buildings, but is itself covered by the foundations for the inner colonnades of the archaic temple.²² There is also some evidence for a transversal trench probably from a building front approximately coinciding with the front of the Geometric cult building.²³ If these observations are correct, the structure must have been a good deal larger than the Geometric buildings, but smaller than the archaic temple. The real leap of quality must have come with the large, early Doric temple in the late 7th century, which introduced truly monumental architecture as it had by then developed probably in the Argolis. There must have been a background for this, at political, social and economical levels, which escapes us.²⁴

There can be no doubt that the late 7th century temple of Athena Alea set a model for later temples in Arcadia, and in some respects it remained unsurpas-

20. See the contribution by G.C. Nordquist to this volume.

21. Østby 1997, 95, and fig. 12 p. 100; Nordquist 2002, 152-3 with fig. 9; Voyatzis 2002, 163-4 with fig. 13.

22. Explained as foundation for the cult statue in the Skopadian temple by Dugas *et al.* 1924, 11, but certainly wrongly. See Østby 1986, 76-7 and 85, and *id.* 1997, 90.

23. Østby 1997, 96.

24. See Østby 1986, 97, for the connection with the early temple at Argos, and 101-2 for some preliminary considerations on the historical background.

sed: no later archaic temple in the region reached similar dimensions.²⁵ (See Fig. 1) But the use of local marble, which was as yet very cautious and limited in the Tegean temple – only in the stylobates and the toichobate, while columns and walls almost certainly were of wood and mud-brick – was quickly developed. The small temple near Mavriki, possibly dedicated to Artemis Knakeatis and entirely built of the local Doliana marble from the quarries near by, is one of the very earliest all-marble buildings anywhere in Greece; it was probably constructed somewhat before, rather than after, the middle of the 6th century.²⁶ There is no real evidence for the highly unusual amphiprostyle plan, proposed by Rhomaïos, which has created some perplexity; it has been demonstrated that the frieze-block on which this hypothesis rests, must belong to a different, later structure.²⁷ The prostyle tetrastyle front can be reconstructed quite precisely, and the traces of columns on the front stylobate demonstrate conclusively that there was no angle contraction here. Such a contraction was actually not needed, since the triglyph width was almost identical with the architrave thickness. This approach to the angle problem seems to remain with Arcadian architecture throughout the archaic period, in clear contrast to Corinthian and Attic Doric building tradition where the conventional angle solution with a single contraction was applied already in the first half of the 6th century;²⁸ the Arcadian model has its parallels in the archaic architecture of Sicily and Southern Italy.

In the large, peripteral temple at Orchomenos²⁹ mud-brick and wood seem still to have been the basic materials, marble appearing only in the fine series of capitals which probably rested on wooden shafts; they date the temple about 530. This temple is outstanding for other reasons: it is the first known temple in Greece to apply the classical 6 x 13-colonnade, with identical axial spacings on the fronts and the flanks, except for the angle intercolumniations which are contracted in the regular way. (Fig. 1) This is a pattern which is otherwise first attested in the temple which was under construction at Cape Sounion when the Persians destroyed it in 480,³⁰ and which became normative in classical architecture; by applying standard dimensions for the axial spacings, 5 x 12 in number, it allows the colonnade to be constructed as a Pythagorean triangle with

25. As conveniently demonstrated by the comparative drawings of their plans in Østby 1991, fig. 174 at p. 300, and *id.* 1999, fig. c p. 173.

26. Østby 1991, 309-27 (320-3 for the date); Rhomaïos 1952.

27. Roux 1961, 400-1; Østby 1991, 309-10.

28. With certainty in the early temple of Aphaia at Aegina, and in the temple of Apollo at Corinth; for the temple of Artemis at Corfu it is discussed. See Østby 1991, 385-6 with n. 803.

29. Østby 1991, 327-38. The first publication, Blum and Plassart 1914, 81-4, is superficial and contains some serious mistakes.

30. Gruben 2001, 230, for this temple; see also Østby 1991, 337.

5 and 12 units in the cathetes and 13 in the hypotenuse – with a small adjustment for the angle contraction, however, which was applied here for the first time in Arcadia. This planning system seems foreign to the region and premature in the 6th century development of the Doric order on the whole: unexpectedly, it pulls the introduction of some important innovations far back in time. But Arcadia can hardly take the credit for them, since they were not followed up in the successive buildings. They must reflect developments at another, important centre: possibly, but hypothetically, Corinth.³¹

The local tradition of marble architecture, introduced with the temple at Mavriki, was continued in the small temple for Athena and Poseidon at Vigla, at the frontier between Asea and Pallantion; several details of workmanship confirm the connection.³² The temple was built toward the end of the 6th century, replacing an earlier construction only attested by architectural terracottas. This temple continued the local tradition of external colonnades with 6 x 13 columns, which the temple at Orchomenos probably had introduced, but without the standardized axial spacings and probably also without the angle contractions, like the Mavriki temple. (Fig. 1) In other respects the temple shows considerable awareness of developments elsewhere: it is the only temple in the archaic Arcadian series where there is evidence for an open opisthodom, and the krepis with three steps appears here for the first time in this group. This temple clearly inspired a successive project at the near-by site of Pallantion, where an earlier *oikos* temple without external columns was now surrounded by the foundation for a peristasis.³³ Only the euthynteria blocks had been posed when the project was abandoned, but it is clear that another 6 x 13-colonnade with differentiated axial spacings was intended, probably to be executed in Doliana marble. (Fig. 1) The dimensions of this additional peristasis were clearly related to the Vigla temple, with practically identical width, but adding ca. 1.50 m to its length; evidently that temple, built by the neighbouring community, was considered a challenge to be outdone. An interesting feature of this building, which goes back to its initial phase, are the two column bases behind the rectangular base for the cult statues, which seem to divide the cella into an outer part and an inner adyton which remained visible behind the columns. If the disposition is correctly understood in this way, it may somehow be connected with the idea of inaccessible visibility which apparently was a feature of the early Tegean cult buildings, and it could also be considered a forerunner of the cella at Bassae where the famous Corinthian column sets off and defines an inner part of the interior in a similar way.³⁴

31. Østby 1991, 386.

32. Østby 1991, 338-50; Rhomaios 1957.

33. Østby 1991, 69-88 and 360-4.

34. Østby 1991, 297-9.

The temple at Vigla had another follower in the territory of Asea, located on the top of the Hagios Elias hill at about 1100 m above sea level, in a position so difficult that the transportation of the building material all the way from the marble quarries at Doliana must have been a major undertaking. A full investigation of its remains has taken place only recently.³⁵ (Fig. 4) It is clear that in spite of the difficult position, considerable pains had been taken to make this an impressive building, once more with the intention of outdoing the earlier temple at Vigla. This probably explains such developments as the peristasis with 6 x 14 instead of 13 columns,³⁶ and the krepis with four steps instead of the more normal three which seem to have been used at Vigla; there seem to have been specific references to this temple also in the increase of the external dimensions. There was no opisthodom, however, and the shape of the cella, with the closed rear wall and the unusually shallow pronaos, rather recalls the earlier temples at Tegea and Orchomenos. (Fig. 1) But some pains were taken to reduce the problems of transportation to this difficult site by using light and open architecture. Earlier Arcadian temples had regularly used columns with lower diameter only 1/3 of the axial spacing, but at Hagios Elias the spacing is still more open; and the remains of the epistyle, which is fairly well documented, also indicate a very light and low structure. This light-weight architecture continues a tradition from the earlier Arcadian stone buildings, but it is here carried to extremes. Axial spacings must still have been different on the flanks and the fronts, and an angle contraction would hardly have been necessary. A well preserved capital and other details of the superstructure date the building to the years about or immediately after 500; the capital repeats so closely the shape of the capitals from the slightly earlier temple of Apollo at Delphi, on a reduced scale, that it seems intentionally to have been copied from them.³⁷

The last building in the Arcadian series comes some twenty years later with the temple of Athena at Alipheira, at the western extremity of ancient Arcadia.³⁸ (Figs. 1 and 5) Local limestone was used here, instead of the Doliana marble; transportation of that material this far clearly was not feasible. In some ways the building seems to return to more archaic forms, with the unusually long colon-

35. Preliminary report: Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999; see also Østby 1991, 350-60, written and published before this project. The results of initial Swedish field-work at the building in 1939 are summarized by Holmberg 1941.

36. As originally proposed by Holmberg 1941, and confirmed by the recent field project; see Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 172-3. The alternative proposal of a colonnade with 6 x 13 columns (Østby 1991, 354-8) has now been disproved.

37. Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 175-6, fig. d; Østby 2000, 260-1, for the comparison with the capital from Delphi.

38. Østby 1991, 364-81; Orlandos 1967-68, 45-98.

nade with 6 x 15 columns and the long and narrow, unstructured cella of *oikos* type which closely resembles the cella in the unfinished temple at Pallantion and even repeats the same width, 5.20 m. There is actually some reason to believe that the interrupted project at Pallantion was consciously followed up here, but now with cella and peristasis planned and executed as a unit, not by surrounding an earlier *oikos* with a peristasis.³⁹ Typical Arcadian features remain in the open colonnade with differentiated axial spacings and the light epistyle, but the situation in the frieze would now make an angle contraction necessary – possibly even a double one, since the conflict to be neutralized has now suddenly become very large.

These Arcadian temples, which cluster particularly in the half century from about 530 to 480, must reflect a period of economical and artistic flowering whose historical background escapes us. They have been overlooked in general discussions of Greek temple architecture, but they provide a unique opportunity for studying the development of Doric temple architecture in a crucial period and a defined environment. As far as the Peloponnese is concerned, only the Arcadian temples illuminate this development in the period between the temples of Hera and Zeus at Olympia. The temple of Apollo at Corinth is the only exception; this temple clearly introduced the late archaic development toward the classical definition of Doric temple architecture, but it is radically different from the Arcadian buildings. It is for that reason not easy to establish to what extent the Arcadian temples may represent a specific, local tradition, or rather reflect influences from some Peloponnesian centre where the documentation is lacking; in this context, both Argos and Laconia come to mind. It is at any rate clear that the Arcadians felt temple building to be an important task for their communities, developed it in terms of interstate competition, and created impressive buildings surprisingly early. The end was abrupt; the temple at Alipheira has no sequel until the masterpieces at Bassai and Tegea appear after a break of several decades, and they were created by architects hired from outside and repeat only to a limited extent the distinctive, formal characteristics of the archaic buildings. But in the Arcadian landscape those temples must also in later centuries have been an impressive and a constant reminder not to neglect building in honour of the gods.

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39. The reasons for this are given Østby 1991, 381.

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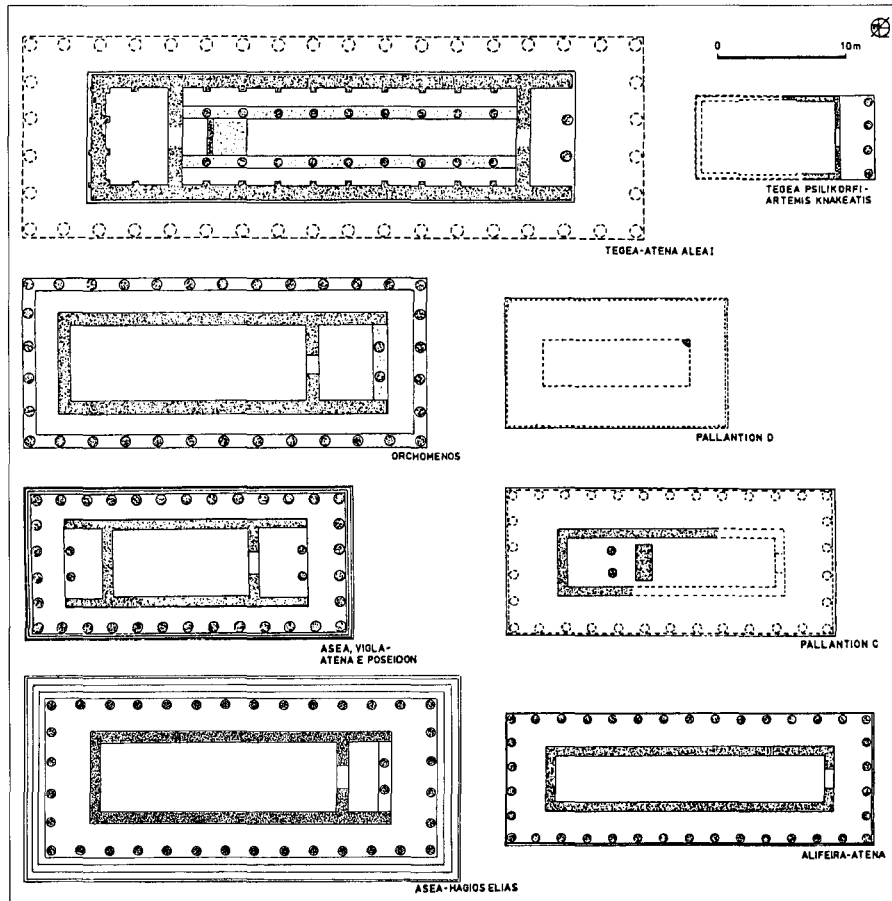


Fig. 1. Comparative plans of archaic temples in Arcadia, drawn to the same scale. (Drawing: author.)

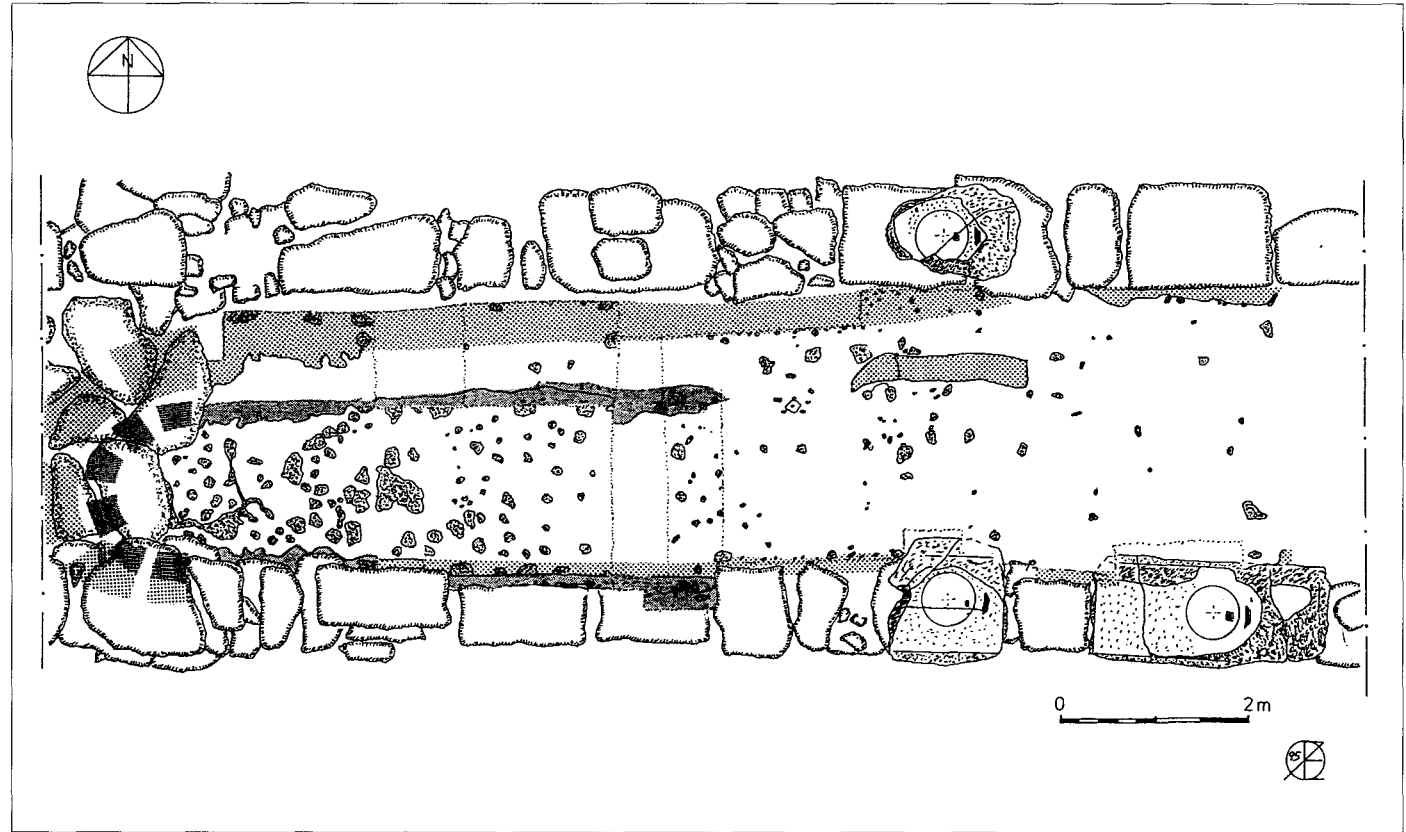


Fig. 2. Reconstructed plans and outlines of the early cult buildings in the cella of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. (Drawing: author.)



Fig. 3. Post-holes and other remains of the early cult buildings in the cella of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 4. The temple at Hagios Elias near Asea. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 5. The temple of Athena at Alipheira. (Photo: author.)

VII. ROMAN ARCADIA

The Theatres of Roman Arcadia, Pausanias, and the History of the Region*

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*Questo articolo, nato durante la Pasqua 2002,
è dedicato alla memoria di nonna Rosa.*

When studying Roman Greece, scholars often rely on the descriptions given by the ancient literary sources. Ancient sources, however, are very contradictory and sketch quite different images of the conditions of Arcadia during the imperial age. This paper examines different kinds of evidence: numismatic testimonia, various literary sources, epigraphical evidence, and archaeological data related to the history of Roman Arcadia. In particular, the archaeological evidence offered by the theatres of Roman Arcadia is emphasized. These monuments, in fact, have to be considered as one of the most revealing indicators of the economic, social and political conditions of a Roman city. The fact that several Arcadian centres certainly possessed a theatre must be, in its turn, combined with other kinds of evidence.

The general condition of Roman Arcadia, as well as of Roman Greece more in general, has often been deduced from the sole analysis of literary sources. These texts, remarkably heterogeneous as to their chronology, literary genre and cultural milieu,¹ sketch a quite negative picture.² Here we shall attempt to

* I am deeply indebted to professors S. Alcock and M. Moggi, who both generously helped me with many precious suggestions and comments. I also want to thank my husband Stavros for his multifarious ways of supporting me, as well as my friend Scott Burgess for reviewing my English.

1. The range is very wide: personal letters, novels, travel writings, orations, antiquarian books, historical descriptions. For a reading of the *Golden Ass* by Apuleius as a portrait of a provincial society see Millar 1981.

2. For a very well-balanced and complete analysis of literary sources regarding Roman Greece and their value for the reconstruction of the situation of the province, see Alcock 1993, 24-32 in particular.

reconstruct some aspects of the centres of Arcadia during the age when this region was part of a province of the Roman Empire, by combining the information given on one hand by the ancient sources and on the other hand by archaeological research, with special emphasis on a particular group of monuments: the theatres. A combined study of ancient sources and archaeological data turns out to be the most profitable approach in order to examine an ancient context in its entirety; but this should be done without trying to find a mechanical correspondence between the archaeological remains and the topographical description of a site or the data from the written sources.

The proposal to consider the theatres as a paradigm of study could be seen as a quite provocative choice. Nevertheless, in our opinion, the presence of a theatre must be considered as one of the most revealing indicators of the economic, social and political conditions of a city during the Roman imperial age. In this regard, we should consider a very eloquent remark made by Pausanias about the city of Panopeus. This city barely qualified for urban status: "Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain ..."³ It is quite evident that a Greek of the 2nd century A.D. was aware that a city could not lack certain pre-requisites: the presence of a representation of the political power, where official acts are held (*ta archeia*); a public place for the exchange of goods (*agora*); a place for physical exercise (gymnasium); a public fountain so that citizens can supply themselves for free with a primary good, the water; and finally, a theatre. The theatre, which by the Roman period had lost its function as an almost sacred place for dramatic representations, had become a place for various forms of performance: together with more traditional spectacles such as comedies and tragedies, we shall recall mime, pantomime, ballets, and rhetorical displays.⁴ Whereas in the West *ludi gladiatorii*, *venationes*, or *tetimimes*⁵ were performed exclusively in amphitheatres, in Greece, where these structures were almost never built *ex novo*,⁶ theatres

3. Paus. 10.4.1: Πανοπέας ... πόλις Φωκέων, εἶγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους, οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα, οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν, οὐ θέατρον, οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην ... In any case, Pausanias must admit that Panopeus can be considered as a city because of the presence of borders: "nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbours" (Paus. 10.4.1). See also Alcock 1993, 119.

4. A specific form of spectacle was called διασκευαί, consisting of remakes of classical comedies: Veyne 1989.

5. Mimes for Tethys, wife of Okeanos: water ballets or other plays, performed in the theatres by naked or half-naked actresses. See Traversari 1950 and *id.* 1952.

6. Only two amphitheatres are attested in Roman Greece, one located in the Roman colony of Corinth, and the other in Epirus, in the Roman colony of Dyrrachium (which was part of the

were adapted to accommodate these shows.⁷ Above all, in Roman city planning these buildings played a clearly defined political role, both as a symbol of the Emperor's munificence and at the same time as a place where the whole civic body used to gather, seated according to social rank and status on the basis of severe hierarchical rules.⁸ Large crowds of people used to meet in theatres on the occasion not only of performances, but also of public assemblies, feasts and processions related to the imperial cult.⁹ These various occasions offered the citizens an opportunity to pay tribute to the local and central power, or even to challenge it.¹⁰ Thanks to the architectural structure itself, theatres conveyed multiple and different messages to the public which gathered from neighbouring cities and villages of a greater or lesser proximity. Furthermore, central and local power was obsessed by the necessity of enjoying the favour of the citizens (*favor, gratia*), which was strictly related to the necessity of being generous in sponsoring spectacles and financing games and performances. And the *scaenae frons*, richly adorned with statues and inscriptions¹¹ celebrating the Emperor, the imperial house and local *euergetai*, transmitted 'reassuring' messages to the public, constantly calling to mind the presence of a central and a local power which could keep order and grant prosperity to all the *cives Romani*, to such an extent that we could characterize the theatre as an ancient form of 'mass-media'.¹²

In book 8 of his work, Pausanias provides us with one of the most exhaustive descriptions of Roman Arcadia. The Periegetes saw the theatre of Megalopolis,¹³ and characterizes it as the largest of all the theatres in Greece.¹⁴ In effect, with its

province of Macedonia): Golvin 1988, 138 no. 126 (Corinth) and 203 no. 178 (Dyrrachium). For the alleged amphitheatre of Patras see Papapostolou 1989, in particular 354-71.

7. About the transformations which took place in the theatres in order to adapt them to the performances in fashion during the imperial age, see Moretti 1992.

8. Zanker 2000. An attempt to find a correlation between the spatial arrangement of the *cavea* and the social structure of the relevant communities has been made by Small 1987.

9. An eloquent example is the case of Gytheion: Kougeas 1928, 16-43, figs. 4-5.

10. Hülsemann 1987. A description of the screaming and cheering crowd, gathered in the theatre of a Euboean city in order to decide the innocence of a citizen accused of having appropriated public land, is to be found in Dio Chrys. 7.23-42.

11. In Greece, the sculptural decoration of the *scaenae frontes* of Roman theatres was really abundant above all in Roman colonies, such as Corinth, where the Roman presence was particularly strong. On the contrary, in most cases the Roman phase implied only some further embellishment of the Hellenistic *proskenion*, which was provided with columns on its front, and the addition of some statues, often located in the *orchestra*.

12. See the proceedings of the colloquium published by Blänsdorf 1990.

13. On the city of Megalopolis see Roy *et al.* 1988.

14. Paus. 8.32.1. The writer concludes his account of Megalopolis with a moral digression: so many cities once rich and flourishing have collapsed, because the gods and Tyche overthrow

orchestra 30 m in diameter, its *cavea* 130 m in diameter, and an estimated capacity of around 20,000 spectators, it can really be defined as one of the largest in Greece.¹⁵ Created during the 4th century B.C., the theatre was connected with the adjoining Thersilion (the assembly hall of the '10,000' representatives of the Arcadian League) in terms of chronology, function and proximity. After some changes made in the Hellenistic period, a stone *proskenion* was built during the Roman age, with 14 columns on its front, and which cuts into the 4th century *orchestra*. Recent excavations have shed light on the later fortunes of the monument, which was partly dismantled as the area was first occupied by a Byzantine necropolis and then (especially in the area of the east *parodos*) robbed of its marble when a lime-kiln of the Ottoman period was in use.¹⁶

Pausanias also refers to the theatre of Mantinea. This building is closely related to the vital centre of city life, as it represents the monumental frame of one side of the city *agora*, studded with monuments built during the Roman period. In its final aspect, the huge space of the Mantinea *agora* must have been very impressive. It was constituted with the theatre as the background of the short west side, the *exedra* of Epigone and a stoa on its north side, another stoa and several buildings on its east side, the monumental *propylon* in the southeast corner, and finally the so-called *bouleuterion*, with many statues on its front, on the south side. The theatre, built during the 4th century B.C. and restructured in Hellenistic times, also had a Roman phase. At that time the scene building, built with blocks of white limestone, had a *proskenion* with 16 half-columns on its front.¹⁷

The theatre of Tegea, built during the 4th century B.C., acquired (probably during the imperial age) a scene building in *opus caementicium* with 10 or 12 half-columns on its front.¹⁸ Its decoration must have consisted, as Pausanias

human destiny, and Megalopolis itself is now in ruins: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν (Paus. 8.33.1).

15. Here I shall not consider the problem of its chronological relationship with the Thersilion, nor that of the existence of a movable *skene* which was stored in the so-called *skanotheka*. The existence of this storage place for the scenery, comparable to the similar one in the theatre of Sparta, has been doubted for both the theatres of Megalopolis and Sparta: Buckler 1986.

16. Most recently discussed by Karapanagiotou 2001.

17. Fougères 1890, 248-52, pl. 17; *id.* 1898, 165-74, figs. 36-41; Bulle 1928, 248; Arias 1934, 95-7, fig. 64; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 313.

18. Vallois 1926; Bulle 1928, 259-60; Arias 1934, 97-8, fig. 65; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 270. This theatre is partially covered by the metropolitan church of Paleo Episkopi, and many elements which decorated it have without doubt been reused for the construction of the church, which lies above the *cavea*. The monument was later occupied by a Palaeochristian necropolis, as the presence of many inscribed funerary *stelai* demonstrates: Vallois 1926, 169-73, fig. 26, pl. 10.

reports, of bronze statues, which by his time had disappeared: the Periegetes, in fact, could see only the remaining bases.¹⁹

It is not by chance that Pausanias mentions only these three theatres in the whole region of Arcadia: as a matter of fact, the remaining ones must have been reduced to ruins by his time. Thanks to the archaeological investigations, it is an unquestionable fact that there was a theatre also in the city of Kleitor, located on the north-west slopes of the hill today called Κόντρα. Although this building was in use during the Hellenistic age, we can suppose that it had disappeared by the Roman period, because some marble seats from the theatre have been found re-used in a Roman building.²⁰ The theatre of Orchomenos is located near the *agora*, on the acropolis of the city. Its *cavea* exploits the slopes of the hillside, and the *skene* was built not long before the city walls of the 4th century. Pausanias relates that the upper city had been abandoned by his time and that the population now lived at the foot of the hill. This information, which implies that also the theatre was no longer in use, is confirmed by the total absence on the acropolis of remains dating to the Roman age, which, on the contrary, are evident in the lower city.²¹ Finally, although there was a theatre also in Psophis, whose scanty remains had disappeared by the beginning of the 20th century,²² Pausanias, who passed through the city, does not mention the monument; it must already have been a ruin in his days.²³

A different case altogether is represented by Stymphalos, which had a very small theatre still in use during Roman times.²⁴ Pausanias, who dwells on the description of the famous marsh, makes no allusion to the monument. Pending further excavations, we cannot confirm yet his account of a change in the political status of the city (Stymphalos would have accepted that its territory was annexed by Argos) or of the ensuing removal elsewhere of the urban centre.

19. Paus. 8.49. See also Papachatzis 1980, 397-8, fig. 438.

20. Petritaki 2001; see also her paper in this volume. At the actual state of the research, it is not possible to determine if the theatre of Kleitor already existed in the 4th century B.C.

21. Paus. 8.13.1-3. See also Blum and Plassart 1914, 79-81, fig. 8, pl. 3; Karo 1914, 161; Bulle 1928, 248-9; Arias 1934, 83-4; Stainhauer 1973-74, 301, pl. 193 α-β; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 229.

22. Curtius 1851, 387; Frazer 1898, 282; Papandreou 1920, 135, fig. on p. 130. See the paper by M. Petropoulos in this volume for recent attempts to identify it.

23. It has still to be demonstrated that also the ancient city of Kaphyes had a theatre. Pending further excavations, we must remark that the recently discovered marble throne, now in the museum of Tripolis, comes from the theatre of Orchomenos (I want to thank Yanis Pikoulas, to whom I owe this information); see instead Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2000, 48-9, who claim for it a provenance from the theatre of Kaphyes.

24. For a first presentation of the excavations carried on at Stymphalos by the Canadian Institute, together with an analysis of the theatre, see the paper by H. Williams in this volume (with previous bibliography).

Having made these observations, we may draw some conclusions. First, concerning the ever returning question of Pausanias' trustworthiness. It seems almost beyond doubt that Pausanias made a selective description of each place he visited: "Pausanias' selection within monumental context, far from being the result of distractions or of superficial decision making, is more frequently the product of cultural and political choices, which can be both conscious and unconscious but always derive from a profound adherence to the values that monuments, be they mentioned or discarded, embody within the Hellenistic taste of this particular Greek of the second century A.D."²⁵ Everywhere in the 8th book of his *Periegesis*, dedicated to a long and precise description of Arcadia, the writer seems to dwell upon the abundance of ruins in this region. It has been calculated that in this book the term ἐρείπια, the verb ἐρημόω and the adjective ἐρημος occur more frequently than in any other sections in his whole work.²⁶ This attitude has been interpreted, in my opinion with good reason, as a possible proof of his contempt for what is modern and of his admiration for what is ancient: describing a monument as a ruin would therefore demonstrate that it is worthy to be considered as venerable.²⁷

It is a matter of fact that rhetors exaggerate when they describe Roman Greece as a quite poor country, insisting on purpose on its decline. In his famous speech at Corinth, when he presented Greece with 'freedom', Nero regretted that he could not make this generous gift at a more flourishing moment for the country,²⁸ while Dio Chrysostom describes, in the 7th Discourse, an inhabited city of Euboea whose monuments and official buildings are covered by corn and whose citizens have turned the gymnasium into a ploughed field, while cattle graze in the market-place.²⁹ It is also to be admitted that there is much evidence

25. Torelli 2001, 54. For Pausanias' selection in his work see also Moggi 1993, 405-18.

26. Pritchett 1999, 195-222, in particular 197-202.

27. Arafat 1996, in particular 36-42. The book dedicated to Arcadia is the longest of the whole *Periegesis*, after those describing Elis and Olympia. Of course, Pausanias' interest in this region being very strong, the frequency of the term ἐρείπια could be also explained considering the dimensions of the 8th book.

28. *ILS* 8794; *IG* VII, 2713⁷: "Would that I had been able to provide this gift when Greece was flourishing, so that more people might have enjoyed my grace, for that I blame the passage of time for having reduced in advance the magnitude of my favour." For further bibliography see also Moggi and Osanna 2000, 277-8. The official text of this speech has been found walled up in a small church at Akraiphia (Boeotia): Holleaux 1888.

29. On this oration see the comment by Larsen 1938, 479-81: "Dio's purpose was not to give an accurate account of any section in Euboea but rather to paint a utopian wilderness in which a countryman without capital could live in comfort, and Euboea was so far from Rome (where it is believed that the speech was thought to have been delivered) that his hearers would not question the details ... Dio's sketch of Euboea appears overdrawn."

to show that Achaia had marginal economic importance in comparison with other provinces of the Empire.³⁰ But it is of fundamental importance to realize the impossibility of measuring by the same standard all the regions of the Empire, which are characterized by an enormous variety of settlement patterns, natural resources, trade exchanges, geographical situations, as well as by the legacy of their pre-Roman political regimes. Greece, which always enjoyed a privileged status amongst the provinces of the Empire by virtue of its glorious classical past, seems to offer a picture where rural life is prevalent, and there are only a few larger cities. Those cities were nonetheless integrated within a wider communication system: first of all, thanks to the *cursus publicus*, the official communication system of the Empire, and secondly thanks to the network traced by Roman roads.³¹ In Arcadia, Tegea was a post-stage of the *cursus publicus*, being located almost half-way between Argos and Sparta;³² and both Mantinea and Megalopolis were junctions on major Roman roads, and thus had access to frequent communications and exchanges of all kinds.³³

ἔρημιά μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις. With these words Strabo characterizes Megalopolis, “the great city”, and one of the main centres of Arcadia, which would have been, by his time, “a great desert”.³⁴ His description of Arcadia as a desolate and abandoned land, whose once flourishing cities have disappeared, seems to coincide, at least to a great extent, with that of many other writers who lived during the imperial age and described Greece, directly or not. We shall recall here as an example a famous passage from an oration by Dio Chrysostom: “Does not the Peneus flow through a Thessaly that is desolate? Does not the Ladon flow through an Arcadia whose people have been driven from their homes?”³⁵ In ancient sources two recurring metaphors can be

30. Day 1942, 177-251, stresses that, apart from rhetorical exaggerations, Greece was anything but rich during imperial times.

31. In general, for the road system in the Roman provinces, see Purcell 1990, 12-4. For Greece see Pikoulas 1995, mainly 320-3.

32. In later times, Tegea is also mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*: Pikoulas 1995, 320-2.

33. Very little systematic work has been done on the Roman road network in Achaia. Nonetheless, no real imperial interest in road building seems to be indicated until the time of Trajan, in part because the province had no military importance. This aspect of Romanization is in any case to be stressed, as this urban network in fact “represented the expression of ideas from the centre of the Empire through to its periphery”: Jones 1987, 47.

34. Strabo 8.8.1. The chapter which he dedicates to Arcadia is – and not by chance – the most succinct of the whole *Geography*: only 5 paragraphs.

35. Dio Chrys. 33.25. Many other examples could be quoted regarding the poverty and desolation of Greece: for instance, Dio Chrys. 7 (the so-called ‘Euboean discourse’), Polyb. 36.17.5-12 and Plut., *De def. or.* 413 F. See also Alcock 1993, 24-32 in particular.

identified: *oliganthropia*, the scarcity of men (in contrast with past *polyandria*),³⁶ and the present obscurity and desolation (in contrast with past glory). These *topoi* have to be considered as mere rhetorical devices, stressing a strong perception of military and political insignificance of Greece under the Roman rule. In particular, the theme of *oliganthropia* is also connected with a situation of decline and, more in general, with a quite primitive and backward way of life.³⁷ But, on the contrary, many archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic testimonia attest the vitality of several Arcadian centres during Roman times. The fact that at least twelve Arcadian cities continued to mint coins at least until the age of Septimius Severus demonstrates that relatively consistent populations were still living in these centres.³⁸ And thanks to numerous inscriptions we are informed about works of rebuilding and improvements, as well as about donations and construction of new public and religious buildings, on the initiative of the imperial house or of local benefactors. For example, the *agora* of Mantinea benefited from the generosity of the biggest landowner in the Peloponnese, Caius Julius Eurykles Herculanus.³⁹ As is known, the fortune of a city during the first imperial period was strictly connected with its behaviour during the civil wars. Mantinea, for example, sided with the future emperor in the war between Octavian and Antonius, and its inhabitants took a prominent part in the battle of Actium. As a result, this city received a temple in honour of Aphrodite Συμμάχια, celebrating the happy event, possessed a cult for the goddess Roma⁴⁰ and was beyond doubt one of the centres most favoured by Hadrian when he visited the province of Achaia.⁴¹ On the contrary Tegea, having sided with Antonius,

36. For *polyandria* and *oliganthropia* see Gallo 1980.

37. *Oliganthropia* is for instance the main element within the picture of decadence presented by Polybius (36.17.5) as far as Greece is concerned: "In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit."

38. Heraia, Kaphyai, Kleitor, Kynaitha, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pheneos, Phigaleia, Psophis, Tegea, and Thelpousa: Gardner 1887, 178-204.

39. He ordered, in fact, the construction of a splendid marble porch, decorated with *exedrae*, which changed completely the aspect of the city *agora*: Fougères 1898, 184. This porch, constructed by the heirs of this famous benefactor, on his behalf, was dedicated to Antinoos, called ἐπιχώριος θεός: *IG* V.2, 281. About the figure of C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanus see Spawforth 1978.

40. *IG* IV.12, 629 (= Moretti 1953, 53): dedication from Epidauros, where feasts called *Rhomaia* are attested.

41. The philhellenic emperor restored the ancient name of Mantinea, which during the Hellenistic period had been changed to Ἀντιγόνη (Paus. 8.11.8), had the ancient temple of Poseidon *Hippios* rebuilt, though still respecting the venerable ruins of the older temple (Paus. 8.10.2), and following the local myth that Mantinea was the metropolis of Bithynion (making it

was robbed of its *palladium* (the ancient and venerable *xoanon* of Athena Alea), as well as of the mythical fangs of the Calydonian boar. Nonetheless, in the following years Tegea succeeded in flourishing again, as attested by the many monuments described by Pausanias as well as by the inscriptions which testify that in 124 A.D. the emperor Hadrian visited the city and had the baths rebuilt.⁴² Megalopolis, which did not suffer the wrath of the Romans perhaps because of the memory of Polybius' loyalty to Rome, demonstrated a strong vitality during imperial times: a bridge was built during the age of Augustus,⁴³ and Domitian paid for the reconstruction of a stoa burnt by a fire.⁴⁴ Furthermore, even after the disastrous earthquake which severely damaged Megalopolis about 200 A.D.,⁴⁵ a fragment of the edict of prices by Diocletian indicates the continuity of the commercial life in the city, at the beginning of the 4th century A.D., rather than its stagnation.⁴⁶

In conclusion, theatres represent only a 'fil rouge' to trace the history of Arcadia when the region was part of the province of Achaia. It is a meaningful coincidence that theatres are attested only in the few most important centres, located along Roman roads and integrated in a wider network of relations by means of the *cursus publicus*. Their presence in the larger centres of the region could be regarded as a proof that these buildings were considered objects of a particular concern by the central and local authorities, as places where messages of political and religious significance could be easily disseminated among the public. As we tried to stress above, theatres had a leading role in civic life, and the presence of a theatre in an urban centre implies that adequate economic sources must be available, in order to maintain them and organize performances and spectacles; this implies, in its turn, the presence of an active civic elite and, in some cases, also a direct interest from the emperor and/or the imperial house. In Roman times the rural landscape of Greece experienced a reduction in the number of sites, giving the impression of a considerable degree of rural abandonment,⁴⁷

the true mother country of Antinoos), presented the city with the penteterical games called Ἀντινόεια (*IG IV*, 590), a mystery cult in honour of Antinoos, a new temple dedicated to the young boy, and statues and portraits of Antinoos (Paus. 8.9.4-10).

42. Paus. 8.45-53; *IG V.2*, 51-2.

43. On the initiative of Titus Arminius Tauriscus: *IG V.2*, 456 (bilingual inscription).

44. *IG V.2*, 457 (bilingual inscription).

45. See the contribution by H. Lauter to this volume.

46. Loring 1890. Another fragment of this edict has been discovered in Kleitor, walled up in a house (*CIL III Suppl.* pars 2, p. 2328⁶¹⁻⁶³ FFF). This is safe evidence that here, as in Megalopolis, commercial life was still in existence at the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

47. Alcock 1993, chapter 2.

while on the other side only a very few large cities developed.⁴⁸ This situation must have negatively impressed rhetors and in general writers, especially those from richer regions (or, better, from regions which knew a different kind of rural and urban development), such as Pausanias, whose native place may have been Magnesia ad Sipylum.⁴⁹ If hunting and harvesting really seem to occupy a prominent place among the occupations of these times, this must not be interpreted as a return to uncivilized customs, but rather as the persistence of a traditional element of Greek rural economy.

Achaia was beyond doubt not the richest of the eastern provinces. It supplied products such as marble, oil and wine, but otherwise its production can be regarded as negligible; and, as far as marble is concerned, the richest marble quarries which were still in the possession of private people passed step by step into the *patrimonium Caesaris* through confiscation, purchase or inheritance.⁵⁰ In Arcadia, an inland rural region rich in mountains,⁵¹ a few larger cities did develop in such a context, and in particular Tegea, Mantinea and Megalopolis, while other centres continued their life, albeit on a different scale. It is beyond doubt, then, that this situation did not necessarily imply total depopulation, disastrous decline and abandon.

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48. Woolf 1997.

49. Habicht 1998, 13-7; Arafat 1996, 8-12; Bowie 2001, 24-5. As far as Strabo is concerned, it is almost beyond doubt that he never went to Arcadia, but knew the region only thanks to oral descriptions or those of other writers: Baladié 1980, 301-38.

50. And the same happened to those quarries which produced marbles particularly appreciated for their beauty: Dubois 1908, IX-XXV. A recent analysis regarding marble exportations and quarries in Greece is to be found in Pensabene 2001, with rich bibliography.

51. It has therefore been defined as "the Switzerland of Greece": Pritchett 1999, 204.

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Polybios to Pausanias: Arkadian Identity in the Roman Empire

Maria Pretzler

Many ancient statements about Arkadia date from the Roman period, and most of what we hear from Arkadians themselves, directly from Polybios, and indirectly via Pausanias, belongs in this context. This source material combines references back to earlier 'classical' texts with the new need to position the region in the Roman empire. A few aspects of Arkadian life and culture, such as poverty, piety and a very ancient ancestry, make up a stereotype that was recognisable and could therefore be put to good use. With few exceptions this Arkadian image is positive and it could give Arkadian communities an advantage in dealing with the outside world, especially because some outsiders were keen to have a part in this illustrious heritage.

The ancients knew what to expect of Arkadia and of Arkadians. Some of its most commonly known characteristics are already described in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*, which may well have defined how educated inhabitants of the ancient world saw the region.¹ This passage lists contingents from northern and western Arkadia, which is described as a mountainous area where men are good at fighting but not versed in using ships. The Arkadians themselves were well aware of how they were seen by outsiders, and the widely known stereotypes played a role in the definition of Arkadian identity.

The formation of Arkadian identity during the archaic and classical period has been thoroughly studied, most notably by Nielsen.² By the 4th century B.C., when Arkadian identity became the base for a new federal state, the boundaries of the region were somewhat better defined than they had been in the *Iliad*, although it was still possible to adapt Arkadian identity to include new areas, in

1. Hom. *Il.* 2.603-614. The passage includes Pheneos, Orchomenos, the three unknown cities Rhipse, Stratia and Enispe, and Tegea, Mantinea, Stymphalos and Parrhasia.

2. Nielsen 1999; *id.* 2002, 52-88.

particular Triphylia. Arkadian studies often cover the region only up to the late classical period, to the time of the short-lived Arkadian league. Arkadia never again functioned as a political entity, and after the battle of Mantinea, and especially with Alexander, the main focus of the historiographical texts shifts away from the Peloponnese and then from Greece as a whole, only to return for the few decades of the heyday of the Achaian league.

The real test of regional identity, however, came in the centuries that followed. Cities and regions were now faced with larger powers such as the Hellenistic kingdoms and the rapidly growing Roman empire. Identities became more fluid and the whole hierarchy of group identities that Greeks had always had at their disposal, for example families, local communities, civic subdivisions, cities, regions and tribes or ethnic subgroups of Greece such as Arkadia, or Dorians and Ionians, were now increasingly rivalled by entities that made sense on a 'global' scale, such as the generic Greek cultural identity or, increasingly accessible at least for the elite, Roman citizenship.³ Individuals and whole communities would make use of these different levels of identity if they had some meaning or, even better, if they could be seen as an advantage. Regional identity which is not connected with a political entity or with active participation in common activities was therefore at a greater risk of losing its significance.

In this paper I investigate how a sense of Arkadian identity survived well into the Roman imperial period and why the reputation of the region was an asset for its communities. Roman Arkadia is covered by two remarkable authors, Polybios and Pausanias, who both offer a special insight into Arkadian identity. Pausanias provides the latest extensive primary source for central and southern Greece, and, due to the history and political geography of Arkadia, his description of the region is especially rich in detailed information that reflects a variety of viewpoints. Much of the information collected by Pausanias is based on autopsy and local, oral tradition, and he therefore does record how at least some Arkadians of the 2nd century A.D. presented themselves to an outsider.⁴

The beginning of the Roman period in Greece is recorded by Polybios, an Arkadian who lived through times when regional identity, and especially his personal attitude towards Arkadia, was severely put to the test. In the late 3rd and early 2nd century the Achaian league, a federal state that outgrew its original 'ethnic' territory, dominated the Peloponnese before it was conquered by the Romans and the region became a Roman province.

Polybios in particular would have needed to reconsider his own identity, because during his long stay abroad he would have to explain his background to a variety of people. He clearly identified with the Achaian league and his work

3. Jenkins 1997, 40; Smith 1986, 62, 83-4.

4. Pretzler 2005.

reflects his pride in Achaian achievements, especially their success in uniting nearly the whole peninsula in one state.⁵ At times he takes sides with the Achaians against Arkadian cities, especially when he considers the actions of his compatriots morally untenable. For example, he disapproved of the cruel civil wars at Kynaitha and he was ready to accept the sack of Mantinea in 222 B.C. on the grounds that that city had treated the Achaians unfairly.⁶

Polybios' opinions, however pro-Achaian, still represent a specifically Arkadian point of view. The compliment for the achievements of the Achaian state, for example, is emphasized by a reference to the strength and importance of Arkadians (together with Lakonians). When he calls Triphylia Arkadian, based on a genealogical construction of the early 4th century, he makes territorial claims for Arkadia that were probably quite out of date in his own time.⁷ In spite of his strong sense of identity Polybios saw the benefits of including Arkadia in larger political units, and he criticises Demosthenes for his harsh words against the pro-Macedonian policy of Arkadia, Messenia and Argos.⁸ After all, this connection with Philip and Alexander gave them an advantage against their perpetual enemy Sparta. In Megalopolis, panhellenic patriotism looked different from the ideals of the 4th century Athenian.

Polybios was especially proud of Arkadian culture, and in his famous passage on Kynaitha⁹ he sets out some of its main characteristics. Typical regional traits are closely linked to the rough landscape and the rough climate.¹⁰ Arkadian life as described by the Arkadian Polybios is frugal and austere, and without considerable care the harsh conditions might result in an abandonment of Greek culture and a descent into savagery, just as in the civil war at Kynaitha. It seems that Polybios felt a real need to explain how fellow-Arkadians could resort to the worst atrocities, and his comments show that he identified with the whole region, not just with his own city, Megalopolis. He explains that Arkadians practiced music in order to keep the influence of their environment under control. Musical training and performance is shown as part of life in an Arkadian city, a cultural

5. Polyb. 2.38.

6. Polyb. 4.17-18, 20-21 (Kynaitha), 2.56-58 (Mantineia).

7. Polyb. 4.77.8; cf. Paus. 10.9.5-6 on the Arkadian monument in Delphi, see Bourguet 1929, 3.1.3-11; Paus. 5.5.3, Strabo 8.3.26; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26; Nielsen 1997; 2002, 229-69. Before the 5th century the region apparently belonged to Elis; the genealogical construction that makes Triphylos a son of Arkas was used by the Arkadians in the 360s and it may date back to the period before the battle of Leuktra.

8. Polyb. 18.14.1-9. Dem. 19.10-11, cf. 18.295.

9. Polyb. 4.20-21.

10. Cf. [Hippocrates] *On airs, waters and places*. For more references see Walbank 1970.1, 465-6, on Polyb. 4.20-21.

necessity rather than a luxury which, in Polybios' view, was closely linked to warfare and religion. Mountains, military strength, piety, simplicity and a frugal life are an integral part of Polybios' Arkadian self-image, and all these characteristics feature prominently in ancient references to Arkadia. In fact, it is common that communities fashion the 'public face' of their identity around stereotypes they expect outsiders to recognise as characteristic.¹¹

Polybios played an important part in the re-organization of Greece as a Roman province, although it is not clear whether the Arkadians specifically benefited from the exalted position of one of their compatriots. Over three centuries later Pausanias found a number of memorials in honour of Polybios in Arkadia, and, only there. Polybios himself reports honours he received from the Greeks, but if this was the case, it seems that in Arkadia his monuments were kept with more care than elsewhere.¹² It may well be that this famous Arkadian himself had become a significant and unifying part of regional history.

As part of a Roman province Arkadia had to function within a new framework. Regional leagues were initially prohibited, but when they were permitted again many cities joined such mainly ceremonial but symbolically important organizations. There was an Arkadian league in the Roman period, but, compared to the extensive epigraphic record of other such organisations, the evidence for its activities is extremely poor: it is mentioned in one inscription of the early 3rd century A.D.¹³ This does not, however, mean that Arkadia was no longer important. Pausanias' definition of the region provides good evidence for this. He refuses to define the region according to contemporary league divisions which included Stymphalos and Alea in the Argolid.¹⁴ For Pausanias Arkadia is so well defined that mere recent changes appear insignificant. It is not clear whether this particular decision depends on local information, since both cities were perhaps already abandoned when he visited the region.¹⁵ Classical literature, and in the case of Stymphalos particularly the *Iliad*, probably were a sufficient reason for including the two cities in his Arkadian book instead of presenting them as part of the Argolid. The western border is also defined in a conventional way that excludes Triphylia, although both Strabo and Pausanias

11. Cohen 1985, 74.

12. Polyb. 39.3.3-5.6. Paus. 8.30.8-9, 8.9.2, 8.37.2, 8.44.5, 8.48.8. Cf. *IG V.2*, 370 (Kleitōr) and 304 (Mantineia); Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, 302. Cf. Jost 1973, 259.

13. Paus. 7.16.9-10 notes that the Romans abolished the leagues in 146 but later allowed them to be re-established. Larsen 1955, 106-25; Bowersock 1965, 91-9; Deininger 1965, 88-91; Alcock 1993, 152-3, 165-6. The only epigraphical evidence for the Roman Arkadian league is Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, 473 (212/13 A.D.)

14. Paus. 8.22.1, 23.1.

15. Stymphalos: Williams *et al.* 1997, 43.

report that some Triphylians, especially the people of Lepreon, still claimed to be Arkadian.¹⁶

Pausanias' Arkadians clearly had a regional identity. Some cities had monuments that express a connection with the region¹⁷ and they all shared a common early history. Most Arkadian cities had an eponymous founder who was in some way connected to the family of Lykaon and Arkas. Even the many small places that were integrated in Megalopolis could claim such links and, as James Roy has shown,¹⁸ Pausanias' collection of founding heroes may well have been compiled from information he heard on his travels, which means that the locals were still telling these stories. Roman Arkadia as described by Polybios and Pausanias still shows all the characteristics of an ethnic group analysed by Nielsen for archaic and classical Arkadia.¹⁹ In fact, common culture and history appear even more strongly expressed than in earlier periods, but this is possibly due to the special interests of the two authors who provide most of the evidence. At the same time city identity is also very strongly developed,²⁰ but this coexistence of strong regional and local identities is typical for the Greek world and it is closely linked to the enduring importance of the *polis*. It is, however, intriguing that even without strong regional institutions, and squeezed between civic units and larger identities such as the entire Greek world, the Achaian league and the Roman empire, Arkadia remained so important that even some outsiders wanted to claim a part in it. The characteristics specifically linked to Arkadia by outsiders probably played a crucial role in this development. Arkadian stereotypes recur in many ancient texts and they can be grouped into a few main regional traits, some of which may well have developed from the short passage in the *Iliad*.

Ancient tradition more or less agrees that the Arkadians were aboriginals who did not share a common ancestry with other Greeks.²¹ The name of the earliest ancestor of the Arkadians, Pelasgos, conjured up associations of extreme antiquity. As a consequence Arkadians were seen as a primordial people, older than the moon even, with a suitable early history in Pausanias who reports how Pelasgos taught the Arkadians a number of primordial skills such as gathering food, building huts and wearing skins as clothing when agriculture was still a thing of the future. Lykaon, the son of Pelasgos, then took this a step further and

16. Paus. 5.5.3, Strabo 8.3.3 and 17.

17. *E.g.* Paus. 8.9.3-4, 36.8, 53.9.

18. Roy 1968.

19. Nielsen 1999, using the model suggested by Smith 1986, 24-31.

20. Pretzler 1999 on Tegea, using the same model.

21. Paus. 8.1.4-6; Hesiod, frgs. 9, 10 a (West); Apollod. 1.7.3; Strabo 8.8.1; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 76 (*Mor.* 282 A), 92 (*Mor.* 286 A); Luc. *Astrol.* 26; Nonnus *Dion.* 89-90; Apoll. Rhod. 4.261-266.

founded the world's first city, Lykosoura, and he was also among the first to worship the gods.²² In some way Arkadia could therefore claim to be the cradle of human civilisation, although Lykaon incurred the wrath of the gods by practising human sacrifice. These stories can be traced back at least into the classical period and they were still attractive at the time of the Roman empire. The reason for this long survival is that many stories remained relevant to communities, and others could be re-interpreted to fit new circumstances.²³ For example, during the long periods when Arkadians were in conflict with Sparta autochthony provided a good contrast to the 'recently' immigrated Dorians, while in the Roman period the emphasis could shift to exploit the increased interest in the past and the widely held awe of places with a long and illustrious history.²⁴

Arkadian religion was one of the features that distinguished a truly ancient, aboriginal people: Polybios is clearly proud of Arkadian piety, and Pausanias' description of cults and sanctuaries often betrays a reaction between awe and puzzlement. His extensive report shows what variety of active cults could be found in Roman Arkadia, and many had special Arkadian features.²⁵

Polybios was not the only ancient author for whom the mountainous landscape defined Arkadian culture and lifestyle. The life of a mountain people might seem romantic and blissfully simple, but it could also be presented as backward and unsophisticated,²⁶ and even Polybios thought that without careful education the influence of the environment would threaten Arkadian civilisation.²⁷ Outsiders who lived in less extreme areas had preconceptions about how one could eke out a living under such circumstances. A list of typical occupations includes cutting wood and herding goats, pigs, sheep, horses and oxen.²⁸ On the other

22. Paus. 8.1.4-4.2.

23. Cohen 1985, 99-102.

24. Autochthony as argument against Dorians: e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23-24. Dorians and Herakleidai: Hall 1997, 59-60; Malkin 1994, 38-43; Hdt. 8.73, 2.171; Thuc. 1.2.3; Diod. Sic. 7.9.1; Paus. 5.1.1-2, 5.4.1. Continued use of the myth under different circumstances: see Hall 1997, 51-6, on Athenian autochthony and Alty 1982 on Dorian and Ionian 'ethnic' stereotypes; on the importance of such claims in the Roman period see Alcock 1993, 162-4.

25. Special Arkadian festivals: Hdt. 2.171. Pausanias on Arkadian religion: book 8 *passim*, and see Jost 1985. Arkadian piety: Polyb. 4.20.1, cf. 4.21.3-4. 'Arkadian born' gods: Zeus: Paus. 8.38.2-4; Kallim. 1.4-40; cf. Paus. 4.33.1, and Jost 1985, 241-9. Hermes: Paus. 8.16.1, 8.17.5; *Hymn. Hom. Merc.*; Jost 1985, 443-4. Pan: Hdt. 6.105; Paus. 8.54.6, cf. 1.28.4; Borgeaud 1988, 48.

26. Philostr. *VA* 8.7.12; Joseph *Ap.* 1.21-22 (but note Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.33.4 where Arkadians bring civilisation to early Rome: letters, music, laws etc.); Ath. 13.607 c.

27. Polyb. 4.20.1-21.12.

28. Philostr. *VA* 8.7.12. On agriculture and pasture see Roy 1999. Bad land prevents immigration: Paus. 5.4.1, Thuc. 1.2.3.

hand, the simple pastoral life can also inspire romantic images, be it Dio who sets a part of his first discourse on kingship in an idyllic Arkadian landscape, or Vergil who introduces Arkadia into his *Eclogues*. Vergil's few references to the region inspired the tradition of the romantic Arkadia in European literature, but Arkadia as presented by ancient authors is harsher than the creations of Renaissance literature. In the ancient texts literary Arkadia is a wild and uncultivated mountain territory with inclement weather rather than a gentle pastoral landscape.²⁹

The poor and hardy Arkadians also had a special reputation as good warriors, a regional characteristic already mentioned in the *Iliad*. Arkadians were especially known for their mercenary services from the late archaic and early classical period onwards. At times, significant proportions of Arkadians were employed abroad. Polybios shows considerable pride in the military exploits of his region, while by the time of Pausanias this aspect of Arkadian life had become less significant, although it was still part of the glorious Arkadian past.³⁰

At the same time Arkadians were known to be inexperienced in naval matters. The *Iliad* reports that the Arkadians had to borrow ships even for the Trojan War. References to the Arkadian ignorance of ships, the sea and sea-food recur in the ancient literature, and it is clear that an author could expect an audience to understand. One of the most prominent Arkadians, Philopoimen, fully lived up to the stereotype when he was given a Roman fleet which he decided to use against the Spartans. He did not only lose a battle against the Spartans, but entered himself an old and leaky trireme and nearly lost his crew.³¹

It does, therefore, seem a bit surprising that we hear of a fairly large number of Arkadian overseas colonies in various places around the Mediterranean. In fact, the Arkadians claimed that they had founded the first colony ever, when Oinotros, son of Lykaon, moved to Italy. Although not all cities agreed with the Arkadian claim to their foundation, most were proud of this connection.³² Two

29. Vergil, *Eclogues* (only Eclogue 10 is set in Arkadia). Possible reasons for this choice: Levi 1967-68, Kennedy 1987, Jenkyns 1989. Cf. Snell 1975. Summary of the development of the romantic Arkadia: Beard and Henderson 1995, 99-119. Wild Arkadian landscape: e.g. Ael. *VH* 13.1.

30. For Arkadian mercenaries see Hdt. 8.26; Thuc. 7.57.9, see also 3.34.1-3, 7.19.4. Arkadian boasting: Hdt. 9.26; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23. The Ten Thousand: Xen. *An.* 6.2.9-12; Roy 1972.

31. Ath. 4.132 e; Lucian, *Navigium* 8; Ath. 7.283 a; *IG* V.2, 268, lines 23-27: the Manti-neans praise a fellow-citizen for sailing to Italy twice, and they point out that this was a special feat for a man from the inland. Philopoimen's failed attempt at a naval battle: Paus. 8.50.7; cf. Plut. *Phil.* 14.3.

32. Earliest colonisation: Paus. 8.3.5, cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.11.1-3 (he dates the event 17 generations before the Trojan War). Arkadian colonies: Cyprus, Paus. 8.5.2-3, 53.7, see also Hdt. 7.90; Kydon, Archedios and Gortyna in Crete, Paus. 8.53.4; Trapezous, 8.27.6; Phrygia,

of the most eminent cities of the Roman empire, Pergamon and Rome herself, claimed that their founders had come from this unlikely colonising region.

Ancient Arkadian stereotypes probably played an important role in the development and maintenance of these connections between various cities and mainland Greece. Simplicity, piety, valour and an illustrious past were a set of virtues that the ancients liked to claim for their ancestors. Both Strabo and Dionysios of Halikarnassos describe the life of the early Arkadian settlers in Rome. They conjure up images of an ancient people which showed its piety by founding a number of temples and leading a simple life while still enjoying the positive aspects of Roman lifestyle. Vergil's description of life in the settlement of Evander, the Arkadian foundation Aeneas encountered on the site of later Rome, also reflects this idea. It is surely no coincidence that the best evidence for traditions about Arkadians in Rome is supplied by three Augustan authors. The Arkadian stereotype was perfectly suited to the ideals propagated by Augustus since it made early Rome a place such as he wanted it to be.³³

Pergamon claimed the Tegean Telephos as its founder and this link was appreciated by both cities. At Tegea Pausanias found a number of monuments connected with the story of Telephos, and the Pergamenians of his time were proud of their share in the Arkadian aboriginal ancestry, in spite of the fact that even the most ancient people should lose its claim to autochthony when it leaves its original homeland.³⁴

Greeks and Romans took such relations between cities very seriously and they could prove very advantageous. A number of Arkadian cities benefited from fortunate 'colonial' connections. In the Hellenistic period Pergamon gave the Tegeans special privileges which included the grant of citizenship to Tegeans moving into their 'colony', which had become a great city and the centre of the Attalid kingdom. Pallantion had lost all significance when Antoninus Pius made it an independent city and, more important, granted it freedom from taxation because he saw it as the home of Evander and therefore the metropolis of Rome.³⁵

Paus. 8.4.3, 10.32.3. Also note Hdt. 1.146, unspecified Arkadian settlers in Ionia; Iambl. *VP* 2.3, Arkadian roots of Pythagoras and Samos. Not overseas: Elateia in Boiotia, Paus. 10.34.2; see Habicht 1985, 67-9; *SEG* 11.2, 1954, no. 1107; Täuber and Thür 1994, 18.

33. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.60.3-61.1, overview of immigration waves; see also 1.31.1-4. Trojans, 1.61.1-62.2. Arkadians as ancestors of some Italian mountain peoples, 1.13.3, cf. Strabo 6.3.8. See also Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 76 (*Mor.* 282 A). Verg. *Aen.* 8.51-55, 97-184, 306-396, 454-462; Jenkyns 1989, 36-7. See also Ov. *Fast.* 2.271-282.

34. Paus. 8.45.7, 48.7, 54.6; Curty 1995, 86-7, n. 41. Claim to autochthony: Aristeides 23.15, 26 (Behr); see also Paus. 1.4.6, and Strabo 13.1.69. Other Arkadians in Asia Minor: Aristeides 23.26, 23.60 (Behr). Cf. Hdt. 1.146.

35. Pallantion, Paus. 8.43.1-2; Tegea, Paus. 1.4.6, 5.13.3, 3.26.10; see Fränkel 1890, 156. Curty 1995, 86-87, n. 41. Cf. Kosmetatou 1995, 138-44, on myths employed by the Attalids.

This means that being Arkadian could bring real benefits, but the attractions of being part of this particular ethnic group clearly went beyond the rare occasions when local history became a factor in relations between cities, or in the communication with Rome. The traits that went with being Arkadian were attractive for individual Arkadians as well as for whole communities. This was a good incentive for keeping Arkadian identity alive. Different individuals and communities may have interpreted it in their own way, but all seemed confident that it was a great thing to be an Arkadian.

Acknowledgements

My gratitude in all Arkadian matters is due to the participants of the 1998 Arkadia Symposium in Copenhagen, especially Thomas Heine Nielsen and James Roy. I would also like to thank Knut Ødegård and his team at Tegea. Last, but not least, I am grateful to Erik Østby for all his efforts and support.

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VIII. BYZANTINE ARCADIA

Οχυρή Προτοβυζαντινή εγκατάσταση στην Αγία Κυριακή Μαντινείας*

Ευαγγελία Π. Ελευθερίου

The present paper attempts to give some new data concerning the area of east-northeastern Arcadia in the Early Byzantine period. It focuses on the Hagia Kyriake hill (alt. 1065 m), which rises at about 5 km east-northeast of Neochorion, Mantinea.

A small fort stands on the hilltop. It measures some 28.50 x 23-23.50 m externally. It is approximately rectangular, with its lengthwise axis parallel to the north-south axis; its east side has an ellipsoid shape, and the entrance is located in the southern side. Large parts of the fort have collapsed. Traces of buildings can be seen inside and outside of it. The structure is hasty, built with small irregular stones without use of mortar or crushed tiles. Traces of buildings (perhaps houses) are located at the western foot of the hill, near the modern church of Timios Stavros. Plenty of tiles and sherds of wheel-ridged and coarse pottery are scattered all over the fort and its western foot. A glazed sherd of the 12th-13th century A.D. has also been found, as well as an archaic sherd and a black-glazed tile. A particular discovery is that of a small bronze buckle, dated in the late 6th-7th century A.D.

The traces of buildings at the western foot of the hill, the pottery found around them and additionally the fertile valley to the east-northeast (known as Megale Lakka), indicate the existence of a rural settlement. According to the dating of the pottery and the masonry of the fort, which are ideally combined with that of the buckle, the fortified settlement can be dated in the Early Byzantine period (late 6th-7th century A.D.). We must point out that it occupied a crucial point on the road that led from the Mantinike and Nestane to the Tegeatike (remains of ancient wheel-tracks were found nearby); this pass should have been in use in later times as well. The turbulent period of the 6th-7th century A.D. (Slavic invasions, political, social, economic, demographic and climatic changes during the 'Dark Ages' of Byzantium) imposed the construction of the small fort, in order to control the pass and offer a refuge to the inhabitants of the settlement. The various finds prove the diachronic use and importance of the location.

* Ιδιαίτερα ευχαριστώ τον δάσκαλό μου Γ.Α. Πίκουλα για την υπόδειξη της θέσεως.

Η εικόνα που έχουμε τόσο για τον αστικό, όσο και για τον αγροτικό χώρο της Πελοποννήσου και μάλιστα της Αρκαδίας κατά τους πρωτοβυζαντινούς χρόνους έχει αλλάξει σημαντικά κατά τη διάρκεια των δύο τελευταίων τουλάχιστον δεκαετιών και συνεχίζει να διαμορφώνεται. Τα νέα δεδομένα της ανασκαφικής και, ευρύτερα, της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας συμβάλλουν ή και επιβάλλουν ακόμη τη νέα ανάγνωση, τόσο των παλαιότερων ευρημάτων, όσο και των ιστορικών πηγών, συμπληρώνοντας συχνά τα κενά των τελευταίων. Η παρούσα εργασία, 'αποκλίνοντας' κατά κάποιον τρόπο από τα τυπικά χρονολογικά όρια του Συνεδρίου, επιχειρεί να δώσει ορισμένα νέα στοιχεία στον χώρο και στον χάρτη της Αρκαδίας του 6ου-7ου αι. μ.Χ.

Ο χώρος

Το ενδιαφέρον εστιάζεται στην Α-ΒΑ Αρκαδία. Με αφετηρία το Νεοχώρι της Μαντινείας και κινούμενοι κατά την κατεύθυνση (Α-ΒΑ) του αμαξιτού δρόμου που οδηγεί στη Μονή Αγίου Νικολάου Βαρσών, πέντε περίπου χιλιόμετρα μετά το χωριό και 700 μ. πριν το μοναστήρι, φτάνουμε σε ορεινό ανχένα. Ακριβώς δεξιά της οδού στο σημείο αυτό βρίσκεται το σύγχρονο ναύδριο της Υψώσεως του Τιμίου Σταυρού. Ανατολικά της εκκλησίας και της στενής διάβασης υψώνεται ο λόφος της Αγίας Κυριακής (1065 μ.). (Εικ. 1)

Η σχεδόν κατακόρυφη κλίση της ανατολικής και, εν μέρει, της βόρειας κλιτύς του ασβεστολιθικού υψώματος του παρέχει φυσική οχύρωση. Η πρόσβαση είναι εφικτή απρόσκοπτα από τη δυτική πλαγιά. Σε απόσταση 250 μ. περίπου από τη σύγχρονη εκκλησία βρίσκεται οχυρό που καταλαμβάνει την κορυφή του λόφου.¹ Η αυτοψία στη θέση της Αγίας Κυριακής πραγματοποιήθηκε σε δύο φάσεις: το πρώτον, τον Ιούλιο του 2001, μαζί με τον Γ.Α. Πίκουλα και τον φίλο συνάδελφο Γεώργιο Πάλλη, και το δεύτερον τον Απρίλιο του 2002.

Το οχυρό²

Όσον αφορά στην κάτοψη του, το σχήμα του οχυρού εμφανίζεται σχετικά ακανόνιστο· η εικόνα αυτή δεν είναι δυνατόν να αποσαφηνιστεί περισσότερο λόγω των μεγάλων τμημάτων του που έχουν καταπέσει. Θα μπορούσε, πάντως, να χαρακτηριστεί αδρομερώς ως ορθογώνιο, με τον κατά μήκος άξονα παράλληλο προς τον άξονα Β-Ν και με ελλειψοειδή διαμόρφωση της ανατολικής πλευράς. (Εικ. 2)

Η δυτική μακρά πλευρά έχει μήκος 27,50 μ. και μέγιστο σωζόμενο ύψος 1,70 μ. Ξεκινώντας από το ΒΔ άκρο της, όπου και διαπιστώνουμε ότι στο με-

1. Πρώτη μνεία του οχυρού κάνουν οι Πετρονώτης και Βέμμος 2000, στον τοπικό τύπο.

2. Η περιγραφή του οχυρού γίνεται περιμετρικά ξεκινώντας από τα δυτικά.

γαλύτερο μέρος της έχει καταρρεύσει, παρακολουθείται για λίγα μόλις μέτρα (6 μ.)· ακολούθως ενσωματώνει ογκώδες ασβεστολιθικό έξαρμα και συνεχίζει για μερικά μέτρα προς Ν. Στη νότια πλευρά, μήκους 20 μ., βρισκόταν πιθανότατα η είσοδος του οχυρού. (Εικ. 3) Την διαπίστωση αυτή υποδεικνύει άνοιγμα πλάτους 3,20 μ. (διευρυνόμενο προς τα έσω κατά 0,60 μ.) στο ανατολικό άκρο της. Ορθογώνιο κτίσμα, με προσανατολισμό Α-Δ, εφάπτεται εξωτερικά και προς το δυτικό άκρο της ίδιας πλευράς. Οι διαστάσεις του είναι περίπου 3,50 x 8 μ., ενώ σώζεται σε ύψος 1 μ.

Η ανατολική ελλειψοειδής πλευρά, εκτεινόμενη σε μήκος 25 μ., έχει κατακρημνισθεί σχεδόν στο σύνολό της προς την απότομη πλαγιά. Εισέχει σε σχέση με τη νότια πλευρά κατά 2,70 μ., σχηματίζοντας ορθή σχεδόν γωνία με το ανατολικό τμήμα της εισόδου. Τέλος, η βόρεια πλευρά παρακολουθείται αδιάκοπα καθόλο το μήκος της των 23 μ. και σε μέγιστο σωζόμενο ύψος 1,50-2 μ. (Εικ. 4) Το πλάτος όλων των πλευρών ορίζεται, με μικρές διακυμάνεις, στα 2,10 μ.

Στο εσωτερικό του οχυρού επισημάνθηκαν λιθοσωροί κοντά στη νότια και δυτική πλευρά. Σε μικρή απόσταση από τη ΝΔ γωνία του εντοπίζεται κατασκευή κυκλωτερούς διαμόρφωσης, ακτίνας 1,20 μ. και ύψους 0,80 μ. Το κέντρο καταλαμβάνει κτίσμα ορθογώνιο, παράλληλο προς τον άξονα Α-Δ, με διαστάσεις 7,80 x 4,70 μ., διατηρούμενο σε ύψος 1,50 μ. Η ανατολική στενή πλευρά του παρουσιάζει ημικυκλική διαμόρφωση, ενώ σε απόσταση 2,30 μ. από αυτήν εγείρεται εγκάρσιος τοίχος. Προφανώς πρόκειται για τη νεώτερη εκκλησία της Αγίας Κυριακής.

Με βάση τα ανωτέρω δεδομένα υπολογίζεται ότι το οχυρό κατελάμβανε συνολικά έκταση περίπου 28,50 x 23,00-23,50 μ. (κατά τον άξονα Β-Ν και Α-Δ αντίστοιχα).

Ως προς την κατασκευή της οχύρωσης παρατηρούμε ότι έχουν, βέβαια, τηρηθεί οι γενικές βασικές αρχές οχυρωτικής κάθε εποχής, όπως η προσαρμογή στο εδαφικό ανάγλυφο³ και η εκμετάλλευση της φυσικής οχυρότητας του υψώματος. Ωστόσο, το κτίσιμο μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί ως αμελές και βιαστικό, με χρήση του άμεσα διαθέσιμου υλικού και συγκεκριμένα του επιχώριου γκρίζου ασβεστόλιθου Τριπόλεως. Μικροί ακατέργαστοι λίθοι αποτελούν το δομικό υλικό τόσο του οχυρού όσο και των κτισμάτων εντός και εκτός αυτού. Οι λίθοι έχουν τοποθετηθεί στοιχειωδώς, χωρίς επιμέλεια. Αντίθετα, στο σημείο όπου έχει διαμορφωθεί η είσοδος του οχυρού είναι τοποθετημένοι μεγαλύτεροι λίθοι, πιο προσεκτικά επεξεργασμένοι και σε σχετικά κανονική διάταξη. Δεν

3. Στοιχείο που φαίνεται χαρακτηριστικά από το ότι το ασβεστολιθικό έξαρμα κατά την πορεία της δυτικής πλευράς δεν παρακάμφθηκε, αντίθετα κατέστη αδιάσπαστο μέρος του συνόλου.

επισημάνθηκαν ίχνη ασβεστοκονιάματος, ούτε επίσης χρήση παρένθετων τμημάτων από κεραμίδες.

Στις δυτικές υπώρειες του υψώματος της Αγίας Κυριακής, κοντά και Β-ΒΔ από το εξωκκλήσι του Τιμίου Σταυρού, επίσης επισημάνθηκαν λιθωσοροί. Μπορούμε να πιθανολογήσουμε ότι ανήκαν σε κτίσματα/οικήματα (:), η ανέγερση όμως του ναυδρίου κατά τα έτη 1990-96 επέφερε αλλοίωση του γύρω χώρου, μην επιτρέποντας περαιτέρω συστηματική διερεύνηση.

Τα επιφανειακά ευρήματα

Υπάρχουν άφθονες κεραμίδες και πλήθος οστράκων αυλακωτών, χαρακτηριστικών των πρώιμων βυζαντινών χρόνων, καθώς και οστράκων από χονδροειδή χρηστικά αγγεία, τα οποία είναι εγκατεσπαρμένα όχι μόνον σε ολόκληρη την έκταση του οχυρού, αλλά και στους δυτικούς πρόποδες του υψώματος, τόσο κοντά στο εξωκκλήσι του Τιμίου Σταυρού, όσο και στο παρακείμενο προσκνητάρι, δίπλα σχεδόν στη σύγχρονη οδό. Επίσης, βρέθηκε ένα όστρακο με υποπράσινη εφύαλωση και ίχνη αδρεγγάρακτης φολιδωτής διακόσμησης, που μπορεί να χρονολογηθεί στον 12ο-13ο αι. Οφείλουμε να σημειώσουμε και την εύρεση ενός οστράκου αρχαϊκών χρόνων, καθώς και τμήματος κεραμίδας με μελανό γάνωμα.

Ιδιαίτερο εύρημα αποτελεί μικρού μεγέθους χάλκινη πόρπη. (Εικ. 5) Αποτελείται από ένα ορθογώνιο τμήμα με κοίλες πλευρές και αποστρογγυλεμένες αποφύσεις στις γωνίες, στο άνω τμήμα του οποίου διαμορφώνεται μεγάλος δακτύλιος με διάτρητη επιμήκη απόφυση στην κορυφή του. Η πόρπη έχει μήκος 28 χιλ. και πάχος 35 χιλ. Δεν φέρει γλωσσίδι. Παραδείγματα του τύπου αυτού έχουν βρεθεί στην Κόρινθο – σε σημαντικό αριθμό,⁴ όπου πιθανολογείται και η ύπαρξη εργαστηρίου κατασκευής τους⁵ – στη νησίδα Πλατεία του Αργολικού Κόλπου,⁶ στην Κύπρο,⁷ στην Κωνσταντινούπολη⁸ και στην Ιταλία.⁹ Με εξαίρεση αυτό της Κωνσταντινούπολης, τα υπόλοιπα έχουν χρονολογηθεί ασφαλώς – της Κύπρου με νομισματικό εύρημα Κώνσταντος Β' (641–668) – στα τέλη του 6ου και κυρίως στον 7ο αι.

4. Davidson 1952, 267-8, 272 αρ. 2197-2201, πίν. 114.

5. Robinson και Weinberg 1960, 235, πίν. 60 b. Σχετικά με τη χρονολόγηση του εργαστηρίου βλ. Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 2002, 134, σημ. 60.

6. Avraméa 1997, 90, πίν. IV c7.

7. Chavane 1975, 166 αρ. 475, πίν. 47, 69. Στην περίπτωση αυτή θεωρήθηκε πόρπη υποδήματος, λόγω του μικρού μεγέθους της, το οποίο όμως θεωρούμε ότι δεν αποκλείει την χρήση της ως πόρπη ζώνης, βλ. και Davidson 1952, 268.

8. Harrison 1986, 266 αρ. 579, πίν. 40 8.

9. *Necropoli* 1902, 248 εικ. 110.

Η χρονολόγηση των κεραμεικών ευρημάτων και της τειχοδομίας της οχυρής εγκατάστασης συνδυάζεται ιδανικά με αυτήν της πόρπης και υπαγορεύει την αναγωγή του οχυρού στους πρώιμους βυζαντινούς χρόνους, και πιο συγκεκριμένα στον 6ο-7ο αι.

Ιστορικό-γεωγραφικό πλαίσιο

Ποιό είναι, όμως, το ευρύτερο ιστορικό και γεωγραφικό πλαίσιο και πλέγμα, εντός του οποίου πρέπει να ενταχθεί η οχυρή εγκατάσταση;

Όπως είναι γνωστό οι ιστορικές πηγές είναι πενιχρές και μάλλον σιωπηλές όσον αφορά ειδικά στην Πελοπόννησο κατά τους λεγόμενους 'Σκοτεινούς Χρόνους', από τα τέλη του 6ου – αρχές του 7ου μέχρι και τα τέλη του 8ου αι. Κατά την περίοδο αυτή συντελείται ουσιαστικά η μετάβαση από την πρώιμη στην καθαυτό βυζαντινή εποχή, μέσα από τη διαδικασία πολιτικών, οικονομικών, κοινωνικών και πολιτιστικών αλλαγών. Γενικά, αλλά και ειδικότερα σε σχέση με την Πελοπόννησο, η μεταβατική αυτή εποχή συμπίπτει χρονικά με τις σλαβικές επιδρομές καθώς και με κλιματολογικές και δημογραφικές μεταβολές, συνέπεια επιδημιών και φυσικών καταστροφών.¹⁰ Το ζήτημα της καθόδου και εγκαταστάσεως των Σλάβων, άρρηκτα δεμένο με την ιστορία της, δεν δύναται να αποτελέσει αντικείμενο πραγματεύσεως στο πλαίσιο της εργασίας αυτής, καθώς ξεφεύγει από το ειδικό ενδιαφέρον της.¹¹ Θα περιοριστούμε στις ακόλουθες παρατηρήσεις.

Κατά την εξεταζόμενη χρονική περίοδο πολιτική και εκκλησιαστική διοίκηση παραμένουν αμετάβλητες, παρά τις ανακατατάξεις του κεντρικού διοικητικού συστήματος της αυτοκρατορίας. Η Πελοπόννησος υπαγόταν στην επαρχία Αχαΐας, κατόπιν (τέλη 7ου αι.) στο Θέμα Ελλάδος, με πρωτεύουσα την Κόρινθο, και παρέμεινε υπό τη δικαιοδοσία του επισκόπου Κορίνθου. Η εικόνα αυτή δεν άλλαξε παρά λίγο πριν τις αρχές του 9ου αι., με τη δημιουργία του Θέματος Πελοποννήσου και την εκκλησιαστική αναδιοργάνωση.¹² Τα άλλοτε μεγάλα αστικά κέντρα, Κόρινθος, Άργος, Μαντίνεια, Τεγέα, Ολυμπία, Μεσσήνη, Λακεδαιμονία, Πάτρα,¹³ παρουσιάζουν συρρίκνωση – όχι όμως και πλήρη κατάπτω-

10. Για την ιστορία και τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα στην Πελοπόννησο κατά την περίοδο από τον 6ο έως τα τέλη του 8ου και τις αρχές του 9ου αιώνα καθώς και για τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία βλ. Κόντη 1985, 92-3· Avraméa 1997· Αβραμέα 2000· Lambropoulou 2000· Kislinger 2001, 29-36, 72-101, Karte 1: Peloponnes mit byzantinischen Fundorten· Λαμπροπούλου κ.ά. 2001.

11. Γενικά για το ζήτημα βλ. Αναγνωστάκης και Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 1997 και Avraméa 1997, 67-104, όπου και προγενέστερη βιβλιογραφία· επίσης Αναγνωστάκης 2000.

12. Avraméa 1997, 35-8.

13. Kislinger 2001, 74-7 (Άργος), 82-6 (Κόρινθος), 88 (Μαντίνεια), 89-90 (Λακεδαιμονία), 92-3 (Μεσσήνη), 95-6 (Ολυμπία), 97 (Πάτρα)· Λαμπροπούλου κ.ά. 2001, 196-203

ση – των αστικών λειτουργιών τους. Παρά τα διάφορα προβλήματα, που προκάλεσαν οι σλαβικές επιδρομές και οι ποικίλες αλλαγές, τα περισσότερα επιβιώνουν, όπως υπαγορεύουν τα λιγοστά έστω λείψανα οικοδομικής δραστηριότητας και η ισχνή – ωστόσο με πιο δυναμική παρουσία απ' ό,τι υποστηριζόταν παλαιότερα – νομισματική μαρτυρία,¹⁴ και συνεχίζουν την ιστορική τους πορεία κατά τους μέσους βυζαντινούς χρόνους. Ανάλογες επισημάνσεις δύνανται να γίνουν και για τους μικρότερους οικισμούς και εγκαταστάσεις, όπου συναντάται επίσης δημογραφική και οικονομική συρρίκνωση και προσαρμογή σε έναν πιο απλό και ταπεινό τρόπο ζωής.¹⁵ Παράλληλα, ανιχνεύεται ο προσανατολισμός σε μία νέα, κλειστή, αγροτική οικονομία, γεγονός όχι μόνον όσον αφορά στην Αρκαδία και την Πελοπόννησο, αλλά και μεγάλο μέρος της βυζαντινής επικράτειας.¹⁶

Ας έλθουμε στην περίπτωση της εξεταζόμενης οχυρής εγκατάστασης. Από στρατηγική/στρατιωτική άποψη είναι αδιαμφισβήτητο ότι κατείχε καίρια θέση στην Α-ΒΑ Αρκαδία. Βρισκόταν στο διάσελο, απ' όπου διερχόταν αρχαία οδός που οδηγούσε από τη Μαντινική και τη Νεστάνη προς την Τεγεατική,¹⁷ εξασφαλίζοντας μία μοναδική δυνατότητα κατόπτευσης του ορεινού περάσματος και του γύρω χώρου. Ενδεικτικό είναι ότι, όταν οι καιρικές συνθήκες το επιτρέπουν και η ατμόσφαιρα είναι διαυγής, η θέση έχει οπτική επαφή ακόμη και με τον Αργολικό κόλπο. Δεν έχουμε λόγους να μη θεωρήσουμε ότι το σημαντικό αυτό ορεινό πέρασμα βρισκόταν σε χρήση και σε μεταγενέστερους χρόνους. Όπως προαναφέραμε οι δύο πόλεις, Μαντίνεια και Τεγέα, συνέχισαν διαπιστωμένα την ιστορική πορεία τους και κατά τη μεταβατική περίοδο την οποία εξετάζουμε.

Από οικιστική άποψη πρέπει να πούμε ότι τα λείψανα κτισμάτων σε συνδυασμό με την κεραμική που επισημάναμε στις δυτικές υπώρειες του υψώματος της Αγίας Κυριακής πιστοποιούν την ύπαρξη μικρού οικισμού. Το εδαφικό ανάγλυφο του ίδιου του τόπου ευνοεί πράγματι μία αγροτικού χαρακτήρα εγκατάσταση, εξασφαλίζοντας απαραίτητες προϋποθέσεις για την ύπαρξή της: στα Α-ΒΑ απλώνεται μεγάλη εύφορη κοιλάδα με άφθονες πηγές υδάτων,¹⁸ γνω-

(Κόρινθος), 203-6 (Αργος), 206-7 (Σπάρτη), 212-4 (Μεσσήνη), 214-6 (Ολυμπία), 216-8 (Πάτρα), 218-9 (Τεγέα), 219 (Μαντίνεια). Για τη Μεσσήνη βλ. επίσης Αναγνωστάκης και Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 1997 και Θέμελης 2002· για την Πάτρα βλ. και Μουτζάλη 2002.

14. Αβραμέα 1983, 49-90.

15. Αβραμέα 1997, 107-17, 164-203 σποραδικά.

16. Αβραμέα 1997, 121-44.

17. Κατά την αυτοψία της 21.07.2001 ο Γ.Α. Πίκουλας επεσήμανε ίχνη αρχαίας οδού (αρματροχιές), σε απόσταση 100 μ. περίπου από το προσκνητάρι, ανατολικά της σύγχρονης οδού. Σύμφωνα με τον ίδιο η διερχόμενη οδός συνέδεε τη Μαντίνεια με την Τεγέα.

18. Στις άφθονες πηγές της περιοχής κάνει αναφορά και ο Ross 1841, 122.

στή ως Μεγάλη Λάκκα,¹⁹ η οποία παρέχει δυνατότητες ύδρευσης και άρδευσης και όπου και σήμερα υπάρχουν καλλιέργειες.

Συμπεράσματα

Πρόκειται, λοιπόν, για μικρό ορεινό αγροτικό οικισμό, διατεταγμένο στους πρόποδες υψώματος ευρισκομένου σε κεντρικό σημείο της Αρκαδίας, με ζωτικό χώρο στην πέριξ εύφορη περιοχή. Οι ποικίλες αναστατώσεις της μεταβατικής χρονικής περιόδου των τελών του 6ου-7ου αι. επέβαλαν την εσπευσμένη ανέγερση μικρού οχυρού, ικανού να παρέχει προστασία στους λίγους κατοίκους και παράλληλα να ελέγχει έναν σημαντικό οδικό άξονα. Πρόκειται για θέση καίρια, που επιπλέον τα ευρήματα υποδεικνύουν τη διαχρονική χρήση της: τα δύο αρχαία όστρακα και τα παρακείμενα ίχνη της αρχαίας οδού αποτελούν ενδείξεις, ώστε να χαρακτηριστεί και ως αρχαία θέση· επιπλέον το εφραλωμένο μεσοβυζαντινό όστρακο συνδυάζεται με τις μαρτυρίες των ιστορικών πηγών που ανάγουν τον πρώτο πυρήνα της γειτονικής Μονής Βαρσών στα τέλη του 11ου αι.,²⁰ συνηγορώντας για τη συνέχιση, έστω και με διακοπές, της ύπαρξης ενδιαφέροντος και της ανάπτυξης οιασδήποτε δραστηριότητας στον ίδιο χώρο.

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Λυκούργου 4
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Greece*

19. Στον στρατιωτικό χάρτη της ΓΥΣ (*Τρίπολις* 1 : 50.000, 1991) σημειώνεται ως Βαθειά Λάκκα.

20. Κόντη 1985, 111. Το σημερινό καθολικό της μονής χρονολογείται στον 16ο-17ο αι.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

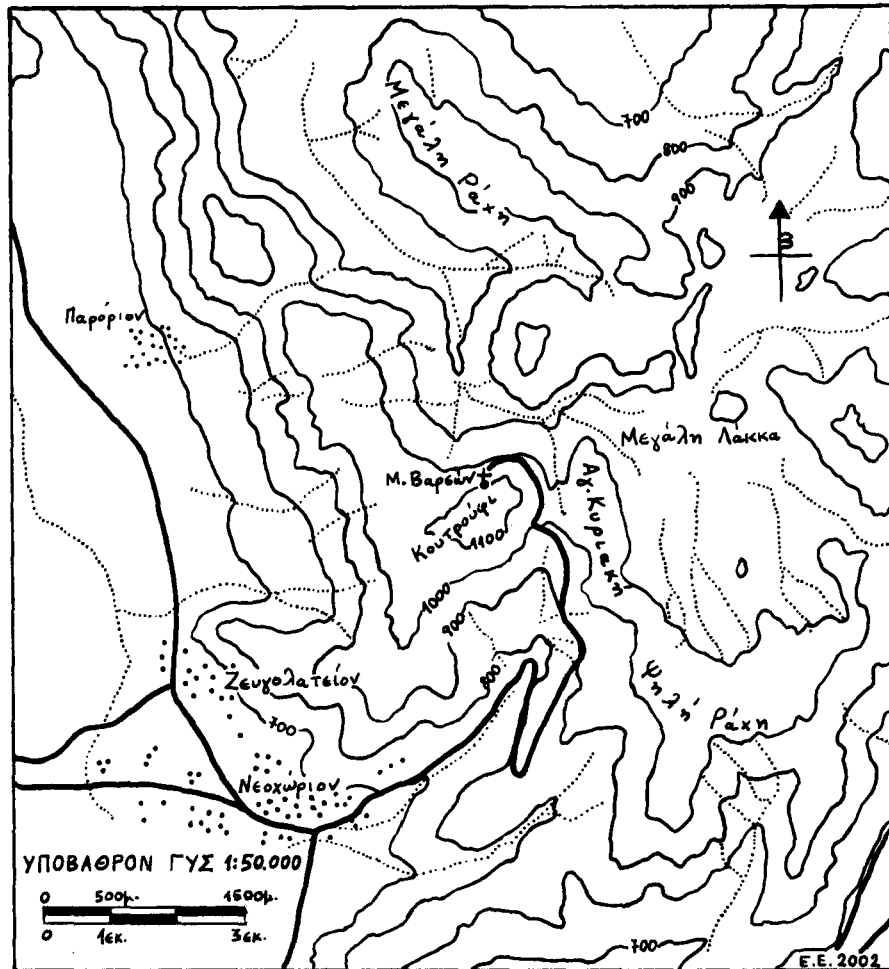
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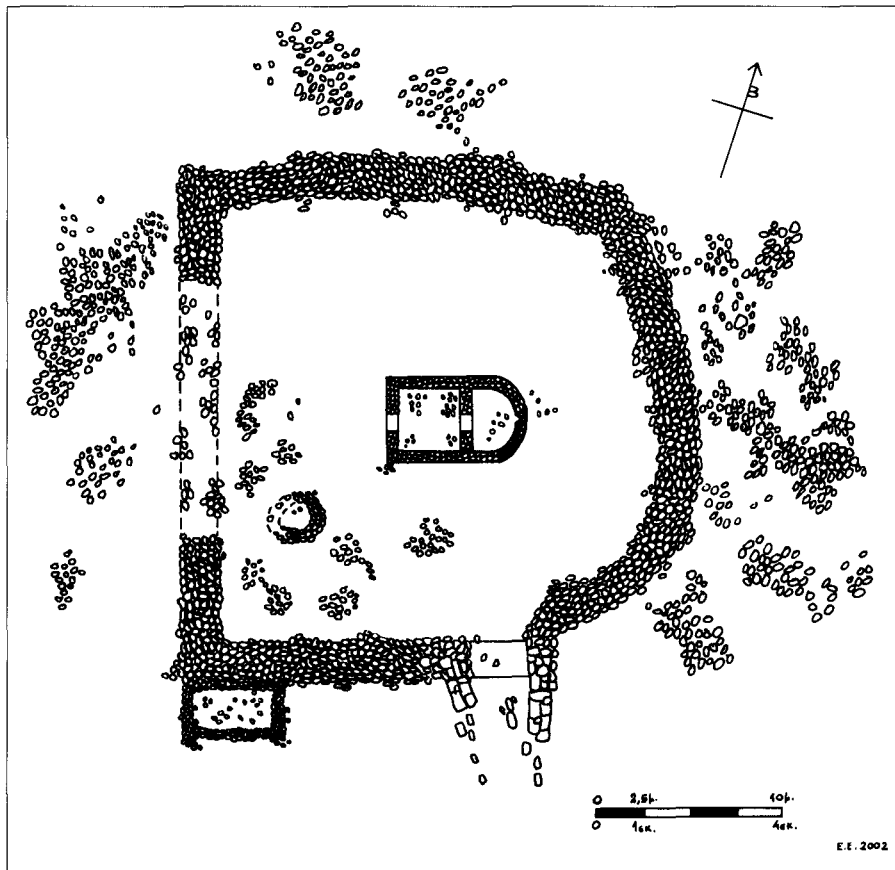
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Εικ. 1. Χάρτης: Το ύψωμα της Αγίας Κυριακής Μαντινείας και η γύρω περιοχή. (Υποβάθρο: ΦΧ ΓΥΣ Τρίπολις 1 : 50.000, 1991.) (Επεξεργασία της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 2. Σκαρίφημα του οχυρού στην Αγία Κυριακή. (Επεξεργασία της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 3. Η νότια πλευρά του οχυρού. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 4. Η βόρεια πλευρά του οχυρού. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 5. Η χάλκινη πόρπη του 6ου-7ου αι. που βρέθηκε στο οχυρό. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)

Δείγματα βυζαντινής γλυπτικής από το Μποβέρο Λυκαίου*

Γεώργιος Ν. Πάλλης

The small, mountainous plain of Boverko lies northwest of Megalopolis, near the summit of Mount Lykaion. The area preserves some remarkable examples of Byzantine architectural sculpture, either left or reused at small chapels and, especially, at the cathedral of the village Kastanochorion (former Krambovos).

Firstly, two impostes can be seen at the chapel of Hagios Georgios, on the top of the summit Psilos Ai-Giorgis. Their undecorated and roughly carved surfaces may date them to the Byzantine Dark Ages (7th-8th centuries A.D.).

Two other pieces are preserved at the chapel of Panagitsa at Kapeli, in the plain below. One white marble fragment decorated by simple floral patterns (Fig. 1), can be ascribed to the early Middle Byzantine period, maybe to the 10th century. The capital, which lies outside of the chapel (Fig. 2), can possibly be dated to the 6th century, according to the shape of the crosses and the leaves which fill the gaps between their arms, and the presence of an abacus on the top, which is decorated by a floral ornament in the centre of each side.

Numerous pieces have been reused in the cathedral of Kastanochorion, erected in 1894 and dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin (Κοίμησις της Θεοτόκου). They are all dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.

Looking first at those which belong to the 11th century, there is a door-frame reused at the small external door of the *bema*. Although undecorated, it has a shape common in simple door-frames of this period. The part of an architrave stands at the same place, decorated by a clearly designed *plochmos*, similar to dated examples from Asia Minor. Two pieces of a cornice have been placed over the main door of the

* Οφείλω θερμές ευχαριστίες στον αν. καθηγητή της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Ιστορίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, κ. Γ.Α. Πίκουλα, ο οποίος μου υπέδειξε τα γλυπτά του Καστανοχωρίου, που είχε επισημάνει από τα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1970. Εξάλλου, στα πλαίσια της ερευνητικής δραστηριότητάς του στην περιοχή, είχα τη δυνατότητα να δω και τα άλλα γλυπτά στο Μποβέρο.

church (Fig. 3), decorated with linear and floral patterns, executed in a way similar to the architrave mentioned above. A closure slab exists near them (Fig. 3); its decoration, with *komvia* and various inscribed floral patterns, is typical for the 11th century.

The pieces of another door-frame and an epistyle belong to the 12th century. The parts of the door-frame are reused at the main entrance of the church. Their inner surface is covered by a rich, stylized floral ornament (Fig. 4), common during this period.

The *templon* epistyle located over the same door (Fig. 3) is the most important of all these pieces. Its main surface is totally covered by sculptured patterns executed in the so-called 'two-level technique' (a complex of high and low relief elements), which flourished in the architectural sculpture of Greece during the 12th century. The centre is occupied by a cross inscribed in a high-relief *templon* element, which is symmetrically framed by stylized acanthus leaves, rounded bosses, crosses and *zodia* complexes. The one *zodia* complex which is still preserved, showing a lion grasping a smaller animal, has a rather high plasticity – it tends to be almost sculptured. (Fig. 5) The use of different techniques, the various stylized themes and their fine execution by skilled workers, give to the epistyle an extremely decorative impression. It can undoubtedly be attributed to the Samarina workshop, which created the *templon* of the Samarina church (ca. 1200), near Androussa, another *templon* now reused at two churches of Mystras and an epistyle at Nomia, in the region of Mani.

The existence of all this sculpture in such a small area is impressive; the pieces dated to the 11th and 12th centuries especially, lead to the hypothesis that they can be connected either to prosperous monasteries of the region, or to local governors and land owners who could call the best workshops in order to decorate their buildings. This is exactly the period when the central government collapses and powerful local families take the control over the provinces.

Η Αρκαδία μπορεί να επιφυλάσσει ακόμη εκπλήξεις για τομείς αρκετά εξειδικευμένους και ελάχιστα δημοφιλείς, όπως είναι η βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική γλυπτική. Στη μικρή και απομονωμένη κοιλάδα του Μποβέρκου, στο όρος Λύκαιον, διασώζονται ορισμένα αξιοσημείωτα γλυπτά αυτού του είδους, εγκατεσπαρμένα σε μικρά εξωκλήσια και στον καθεδρικό ναό της κοινότητας του Καστανοχωρίου.

Το Μποβέρκο βρίσκεται Δ-ΒΔ της Μεγαλόπολεως, μέσα στον ορεινό όγκο του Λυκαίου και κοντά στην κορυφή του. Πρόκειται για μία στενή κοιλάδα με άξονα ΒΔ-ΝΑ, στα Β-ΒΔ της οποίας δεσπόζει το ύψωμα του Ψηλού Άη-Γιώργη, με τον φερώνυμο ναΐσκο στην κορυφή. Το μοναδικό άνοιγμα της κοιλάδας βρίσκεται στα Ν-ΝΑ, προς την μεγαλοπολιτική πεδιάδα. Το άνοιγμα αυτό εποπτεύεται από το Καστανοχώρι, το οποίο ονομαζόταν αρχικά Κρα-

μποβός.¹ Η παρουσίαση του υλικού θα ακολουθήσει τη διαδρομή Ψηλός Άη-Γιώργης, κοιλάδα του Μποβέρκου, Καστανοχώρι.

Στον Ψηλό Άη-Γιώργη κατ' αρχήν, απόκεινται δύο επιθήματα αμφικιονίσκων, αδρά δουλεμένα σε τοπικό ασβεστόλιθο. Η ύπαρξη κυματίου στη μία πλευρά του ενός, μαρτυρεί ότι πρόκειται για αρχαίο μέλος που επαναλαξεύτηκε. Στο δεύτερο, διακρίνεται δυσανάγνωστη επιγραφή. Η απουσία γλυπτού διακόσμου και η αδρή, πρόχειρη λάξευση, επιτρέπουν ενδεχόμενη τοποθέτηση των δύο επιθημάτων στους λεγόμενους Σκοτεινούς χρόνους (7ος-8ος αι.). Καλύτερης επεξεργασίας είναι το απότμημα κορμού αμφικιονίσκου που βρίσκεται στον ίδιο χώρο, του οποίου οι μικρές αναλογίες οδηγούν ίσως προς τη Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο.²

Κατεβαίνοντας στην κοιλάδα, συναντούμε, ανάμεσα σε άλλα εξωκλήσια, την Παναγίτσα στη θέση Κάπελη, η οποία τιμά, ως Καφοχεροβολούσα, το Γενέσιο της Θεοτόκου. Ανάμεσα στα ευάριθμα *spolia* που έχουν εντοιχιστεί στο μικρό ναό ή απόκεινται στον γύρω χώρο, περιλαμβάνονται ένα μικρό τεμάχιο με ανάγλυφους ρόδακες και ένα κιονόκρανο. Το πρώτο (διαστ.: 0,18 x 0,20 μ.), σώζει τμήμα ανάγλυφου διακόσμου με τέσσερις εξάκτινους ρόδακες που πληρούν τετράγωνα μάλλον διάχωρα. (Εικ. 1) Το μικρό μέγεθος του σπαράγματος δεν επιτρέπει ασφαλή απόδοση σε συγκεκριμένο είδος αρχιτεκτονικού μέλους, αν και φαίνεται πιθανό να προέρχεται από θωράκιο. Το απλό σχέδιο και η λιτή εκτέλεσή του σε ανάγλυφο αβαθές, οδηγούν χρονολογικά στους πρώιμους Μεσοβυζαντινούς χρόνους, ίσως στον 10ο αι.³ Το κιονόκρανο (διαστ.: 0,24 x 0,25 x 0,14 μ.) σχηματίζεται από ένα ελαφρά κωνικό σώμα, στο οποίο υπάρχει σύμφυτος άβακας. (Εικ. 2) Το κύριο τμήμα κοσμείται με ισοσκελείς ταινιωτούς σταυρούς με διαπλατυσμένα άκρα· τα διάκενα των κεραιών πληρούνται με σχηματοποιημένους ταινιωτούς βλαστούς. Ο ταινιωτός άβακας φέρει στο κέντρο κάθε πλευράς από ένα σχηματοποιημένο ρόδακα. Ο τύπος του σταυρού, οι τρίφυλλοι βλαστοί, η ύπαρξη ρόδακα στο κέντρο του άβακα, καθώς και η χρήση τρυπανιού με τρόπο κάπως αδέξιο, τοποθετούν το συγκεκριμένο μέλος στην προχωρημένη παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, πιθανώς στον 6ο αι. Ένα παρόμοιο κιονόκρανο, συμφυές με πεσσίσκο τέμπλου, έχει επισημανθεί στην Καρύταινα.⁴

1. Πίκουλας 2001, 197, αρ. λήμ. 1588.

2. Αμφικιονίσκοι με ημικυκλικούς ημικιονίσκους συνηθίζονται κατά τους Παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους και ως τις αρχές της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου· στους επόμενους αιώνες δεν απαντούν συχνά (Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 526).

3. Πρβλ. θωράκια στη Γοργοεπήκοο στην Αθήνα (Χατζηδάκης χ.χ., εικ. 47) και στην Αγία Ειρήνη στην Κωνσταντινούπολη (Grabar 1976, 39, πίν. XVI c).

4. Καββαδία-Σπονδύλη 1989-90, σημ. 1, εικ. 21.

Τα περισσότερα γλυπτά έχουν διατηρηθεί εντοιχισμένα στην κεντρική εκκλησία του Καστανοχωρίου, που είναι αφιερωμένη στην *Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου* και ανεγέρθηκε το 1894, στη θέση παλαιότερου ναού. Για την προέλευση τους δεν υπάρχουν σαφείς ενδείξεις: σύμφωνα με μία προφορική παράδοση,⁵ μεταφέρθηκαν από την Παναγίτσα στην Κάπελη, όπου όμως δεν υπάρχουν, σήμερα τουλάχιστον, εμφανή σχετικά τεκμήρια – όπως οικοδομικά κατάλοιπα ή *spolia* σύγχρονα με αυτά της Κοιμήσεως. Κατά μία άλλη άποψη,⁶ ανήκαν στην εκκλησία που προϋπήρχε του νεώτερου ναού της Κοιμήσεως – πληροφορία που και πάλι δεν μπορεί να ελεγχθεί.

Τα γλυπτά στην Κοίμηση μπορούν με κριτήρια χρονολογικά να διαιρεθούν σε δύο ομάδες, σε αυτά που τοποθετούνται στον 11ο αι. και σε εκείνα που αποδίδονται στον 12ο.

Στα γλυπτά του 11ου αι. εντάσσεται κατ' αρχήν περίθυρο (διαστ.: ύψος δεξιού σταθμού: 1,88 μ.· αριστερού: 1,90 μ.· μήκος ανωφλίου: 0,74 μ.) από λευκό μάρμαρο, που έχει τοποθετηθεί σε δεύτερη χρήση στη μικρή εξωτερική θύρα του ιερού, στη ΝΑ γωνία του νεώτερου ναού. Σώζεται στις αρχικές μάλλον διαστάσεις του, και έχει βαθμιδωτή διατομή, με κυμάτιο και βεργίο στην εξωτερική γωνία. Το μικρό μέγεθος, η απουσία αναγλύφου διακόσμου και η καλή ποιότητα εργασίας, αποτελούν ένδειξη ότι το περίθυρο ανήκε μάλλον σε δευτερεύουσα πυλίδα ενός μνημειακού κτίσματος. Η διατομή με τα επάλληλα πλαίσια και το ισχυρό βεργίο, που απαντά κυρίως σε μνημεία του 11ου αι.,⁷ τοποθετεί το περίθυρο στον αιώνα αυτόν.

Στην ίδια περίοδο εντάσσεται τμήμα υπερθύρου (διαστ.: 0,105 x 0,78 μ.) από λευκό μάρμαρο, που έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί ως επίστεψη του προηγούμενου θυρώματος. Στην κύρια όψη κοσμείται με ταινιωτό πλοχμό, ο οποίος αποδίδεται με έντονες κοίλες κρυσταλλικές γλυφές και χρήση τρυπανιού στους οφθαλμούς. Στον 11ο αι. οδηγούν η άπλετη και σε μεγάλο μέγεθος ανάπτυξη του γεωμετρικού σχεδίου, σε συνδυασμό με τη λιτή απόδοση και την ακριβή χάραξή του. Μεγάλη ομοιότητα παρουσιάζει με πλοχμούς σε γλυπτά του ίδιου αιώνα από τη Σεβαστή (Sercikler) της Φρυγίας.⁸

Τα τεμάχια ενός κοσμήτη που έχουν εντοιχιστεί στο αέτωμα του θυρώματος της κεντρικής εισόδου της εκκλησίας (διαστ. μεγάλου τεμαχίου: 0,125 x 0,325 μ.· μικρού: 0,06 x 0,11 μ.), μπορούν επίσης να τοποθετηθούν στον 11ο αι. (Εικ. 3) Ο διάκοσμός τους αποτελείται από ταινιωτό πλέγμα που αναδι-

5. Μαρτυρία του γηγενούς Γιάννη Νικολόπουλου (1937).

6. Σημείωμα του Εκκλησιαστικού Συμβουλίου, "Ιστορία και Παράδοση του Καθεδρικού Ναού «Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου» Καστανοχωρίου-Κραμποβού," εφημερίδα *Νέα της Μεγαλόπολης*, Ιανουάριος 2001, 15.

7. Μπούρα 1980, 110.

8. Grabar 1976, 41-2, πίν. VII a και VIII a-b.

πλώνεται και σχηματίζει ημικυκλικά διάχωρα, μέσα στα οποία εγγράφονται πεντάφυλλα, ώστε να προκύπτει μία μορφή ανθεμίου. Η άνετη ανάπτυξη του θέματος, η προσεκτική χάραξή του, η χρήση κρυσταλλικής γλυφής και τρυπανιού στην εκτέλεση, είναι τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά του. Τα ίδια στοιχεία διακρίνουν το υπέρθυρο της μικρής θύρας του ιερού· πιθανώς και τα δύο είναι έργα των ίδιων τεχνιτών. Το διακοσμητικό θέμα του κοσμήτη απαντά σε πολλά γλυπτά από τη Μάνη, χρονολογημένα στον 11ο αι.: ενδεικτικά σημειώνονται ελκυστήρας, επιστύλιο και κοσμήτης στον Άγιο Θεόδωρο Μπάμπασκα, έργα του Νικήτα Μαρμαρά, του έτους 1075,⁹ γείσο από ρειπωμένο ναό στην Κίττα¹⁰ και στέψη θωρακίου από τον Ανώματο στο Κακό Βουνό.¹¹

Στο ίδιο σημείο έχει ενταχθεί ορθογώνιο μαρμάρινο θωράκιο (διαστ.: 0,735 x 0,28 μ.)· οι στενές κατά το ύψος διαστάσεις του δείχνουν ότι προέρχεται από φράγμα παραβήματος. (Εικ. 3) Ο διάκοσμος του αποτελείται από ταινιωτό πλέγμα με κόμβους, το οποίο στον κατακόρυφο άξονα σχηματίζει διάχωρα όπου εγγράφονται ρόδακες, σταυρός και πεντάφυλλο. Ο τύπος του πλέγματος με την πυκνή χρήση κόμβων και την έμφαση στον κύκλο, η ποικιλία των θεμάτων στα διάχωρα και η δήλωση του βάθους στους ακόσμητους χώρους, είναι χαρακτηριστικά που εντάσσουν το συγκεκριμένο θωράκιο στον 11ο αι.¹²

Στα γλυπτά του 12ου αι. ανήκουν κατ' αρχήν τα τμήματα ενός περιθύρου, που έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί ως σταθμοί στην κύρια είσοδο του ναού (συνολικό ύψος δεξιού σταθμού: 2,015 μ.· αριστερού: 1,995 μ.). Στη σημερινή του κατάσταση¹³ το περιθύρο έχει βαθμιδωτή διατομή. Η εσωτερική παρειά φέρει ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση από ελικοειδείς εφαπτόμενους βλαστούς, που απολήγουν σε ανακαμπτόμενα ακανθόφυλλα. (Εικ. 4) Η απόδοσή τους είναι χαρακτηριστική της γλυπτικής του 12ου αι., με τους πολυσχιδείς ταινιωτούς βλαστούς να καλύπτουν πυκνά κάθε διαθέσιμο χώρο του βάθους.¹⁴ Η βαθμιδωτή διατομή είναι γνωστή σε έργα επίσης του 12ου αι., όπως τμήμα περιθυρώματος από το Τηγάνι της Μάνης.¹⁵

Στο τέλος του 12ου αι. τοποθετείται το σημαντικότερο γλυπτό που βρέσκεται στο ναό. Πρόκειται για το επιστύλιο τέμπλου (διαστ.: 1,47 x 0,18 μ.) που

9. Δρανδάκης 2002, 4, 8, 9, εικ. 2-3, 9 α, 14.

10. Δρανδάκης 2002, 58-9, εικ. 94.

11. Δρανδάκης 2002, 71, εικ. 113.

12. Σκλάβου Μαυροειδή 1999, 135.

13. Η εξωτερική πλευρά, με τις τρεις βαθμίδες και το βεγγίο, δείχνει να έχει ξεστεί, άγνωστο μέχρι ποιο βάθος, πιθανώς κατά την επανατοποθέτηση των τεμαχίων στο ναό της Κοιμήσεως.

14. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 571-2.

15. Δρανδάκης, Γκιολές και Κωνσταντινίδη 1978, 189, εικ. 131 γ.

έχει εντοιχιστεί στο θύρωμα της κυρίας εισόδου της νεώτερης εκκλησίας. (Εικ. 3) Είναι δουλεμένο σε λευκό μάρμαρο και σώζεται ελλειπές κατά το δεξιό άκρο. Η διακόσμησή του αποτελείται από εναλλαγή στοιχείων σε χαμηλό και έξεργο ανάγλυφο, ανήκει δηλαδή στην κατηγορία των διπλεπίπεδων αναγλύφων, που κυριάρχησαν στην ελλαδική γλυπτική του 12ου αι.¹⁶ Με κεντρικό σημείο κιβώριο με επιπεδόγλυφο σταυρό, τα διακοσμητικά θέματα παρατίθενται συμμετρικά, καλύπτοντας πυκνά ολόκληρη τη διαθέσιμη επιφάνεια: κυκλικό ταινιωτό πλέγμα, διάτρητα κομβία, πλεχτοί σταυροί και συμπλέγματα ζώων. Οι λιγοστοί κενοί χώροι πληρούνται με σχηματοποιημένους ταινιωτούς φυτικούς βλαστούς, ενώ αστράγαλος περιτρέχει ολόκληρη την κάτω πλευρά του μέλους.

Με μεγάλη πλαστικότητα – τείνει σχεδόν στο ολόγλυφο – έχει αποδοθεί το σωζόμενο σύμπλεγμα με το λιοντάρι που επιτίθεται σε ήμερο ζώο. (Εικ. 5) Το ρωμαλέο θηρίο αρπάζει από τη ράχη και το στόμα το μικρό ζώο, που παριστάνεται σε συνεσταλμένη στάση. Εντυπωσιακή είναι η έμφαση στην απόδοση λεπτομερειών, όπως η δορά και το τρίχωμα του λιονταριού, ο κόμβος του Σολομώντος στον μηρό του, οι οπλές του αιχμαλωτισμένου βοοειδούς.

Τα διακοσμητικά θέματα περιέχουν πλήθος συμβολισμούς, που αφορούν με τη θέση του επιστυλίου στο τέμπλο του αγίου βήματος: το κιβώριο με τον σταυρό υποδηλώνει το πέρασμα σε έναν υπερβατικό κόσμο, έχοντας συγχρόνως και φυλακτήρια σημασία¹⁷ τα σπαρασσόμενα ζώα περιέχουν το συμβολισμό της πάλης και της νίκης της εκκλησίας ενάντια στο διάβολο¹⁸ το λιοντάρι ειδικότερα, μπορεί να συμβολίζει τον Χριστό, που αγρυπνά ως νοερός λέων για την προστασία της εκκλησίας¹⁹ ο μικρός κόμβος Σολομώντος στον μηρό του έχει χαρακτήρα φυλακτήριο και αποτρεπτικό.²⁰

Η χρήση πολλών και πλούσιων διακοσμητικών θεμάτων και η εναλλαγή διαφόρων τεχνικών στο ανάγλυφο (επιπεδόγλυφο, έξεργο ανάγλυφο, διάτρητη τεχνική), που διακρίνουν το έργο, αποτελούν βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της γλυπτικής του 12ου αι. στον ελλαδικό χώρο.²¹ Η μεγάλη δεξιοτεχνία με την οποία αποδίδονται τα θέματα, δείχνει τεχνίτες εξαιρετικά προικισμένους, με άνεση στην εκτέλεση και την ισόρροπη σύνθεση των πολύπλοκων στοιχείων.²² Το σύμπλεγμα των ζώων, προσθέτει, παρά τη σχηματοποίηση, μία εικόνα έντασης στο σύνολο. Το συνολικό αποτέλεσμα είναι ιδιαίτερα διακοσμητικό και εξεζη-

16. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 574-5.

17. Μπάρα 1967-68, 319-21.

18. Ουλάνδος 1972-73, 489-90.

19. Παζαράς 1988, 95.

20. Πάλλας 1960-61, 449 υποσ. 3.

21. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 580-1.

22. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 581.

τημένο, σε βαθμό που τείνει να εξουδετερώσει την υλική υπόσταση του μαρμάρου.

Το επιστύλιο στο Καστανοχώρι αναγνωρίζεται ως δημιουργία του εργαστηρίου της Σαμαρίνας, το οποίο έδρασε στο χώρο της νότιας Πελοποννήσου κατά τα τέλη του 12ου αι.²³ Έργα του σώζονται στο ναό της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής στο Σάμαρι της Μεσσηνίας,²⁴ τον γνωστό και ως Σαμαρίνα, σε δύο ναούς του Μυστρά,²⁵ σε δεύτερη χρήση, και σε μία νεώτερη εκκλησία στο χωριό Νόμια της Μάνης,²⁶ επίσης σε δεύτερη χρήση. Η επιλογή, η απόδοση και η σύνθεση των θεμάτων, η ανάμειξη διαφορετικών τεχνικών στην επεξεργασία του αναγλύφου και η υψηλή ποιότητα της εκτέλεσης, προφανώς από τα ίδια χέρια, είναι κοινά ανάμεσα στα παραπάνω έργα και το γλυπτό από το Καστανοχώρι. Το εργαστήριο της Σαμαρίνας κατέχει κορυφαία θέση στη γλυπτική της εποχής του, καθώς σε αυτό βρίσκουν την πλέον εξελιγμένη έκφρασή τους πολλά χαρακτηριστικά θέματα, τεχνικές και άλλα γνωρίσματα της ελλαδικής γλυπτικής, όπως το διπλεπίπεδο αναγλύφο και η τάση για ολοένα και μεγαλύτερη πλαστικότητα.

Το υλικό από το Μποβέρο καλύπτει ένα χρονικό διάστημα από τους όψιμους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους μέχρι τις παραμονές της φραγκικής κατακτησεως της Πελοποννήσου, και μαρτυρεί ανθρώπινη παρουσία στην περιοχή σε όλη σχεδόν ετούτη την περίοδο. Ο μεγάλος αριθμός υψηλής ποιότητας γλυπτών του 11ου και 12ου υποδηλώνει ιδιαίτερη δραστηριότητα κατά τους αιώνες αυτούς. Τίθεται εύλογα το ερώτημα, πώς μία απομονωμένη ορεινή κοιλάδα μπορεί να συγκεντρώνει αυτά τα δείγματα γλυπτικής, η παραγγελία και η εκτέλεση των οποίων ήταν υπόθεση κοπιώδης και δαπανηρή;

Οι πιο πιθανές εξηγήσεις στρέφονται σε δύο κατευθύνσεις: πρώτα, η παρουσία αυτών των γλυπτών μπορεί ενδεχομένως να αποδοθεί στην ύπαρξη και δραστηριοποίηση μοναστικών κέντρων στην περιοχή, τα οποία θα είχαν τη δυνατότητα να διακοσμήσουν τα εκκλησιαστικά οικοδομήματά τους με καλής ποιότητας γλυπτά σύνολα. Και όντως, στην περιοχή του Καστανοχωρίου, λίγο νότια του οικισμού και σε φυσικά προφυλαγμένη θέση, υπήρχε άλλοτε μοναστήρι, το οποίο ήταν αφιερωμένο στην Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου, ωστόσο σήμερα στη θέση του σώζονται μόνον ευτελή νεώτερα κτίσματα.

Μία δεύτερη εκδοχή αποτελεί η απόδοση των γλυπτών στην παρουσία ισχυρών οικονομικά τοπικών παραγόντων. Από τον 11ο, και κυρίως κατά τον

23. Bouras 1977-79, 70-1.

24. Bouras 1977-79, 68-71, πίν. 26-8.

25. Millet 1910, πίν. 569, 11-3· Bouras 1977-79, 70, πίν. 29-30· Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 249-52, εικ. 282-5.

26. Δρανδάκης 2002, 253-4, εικ. 384.

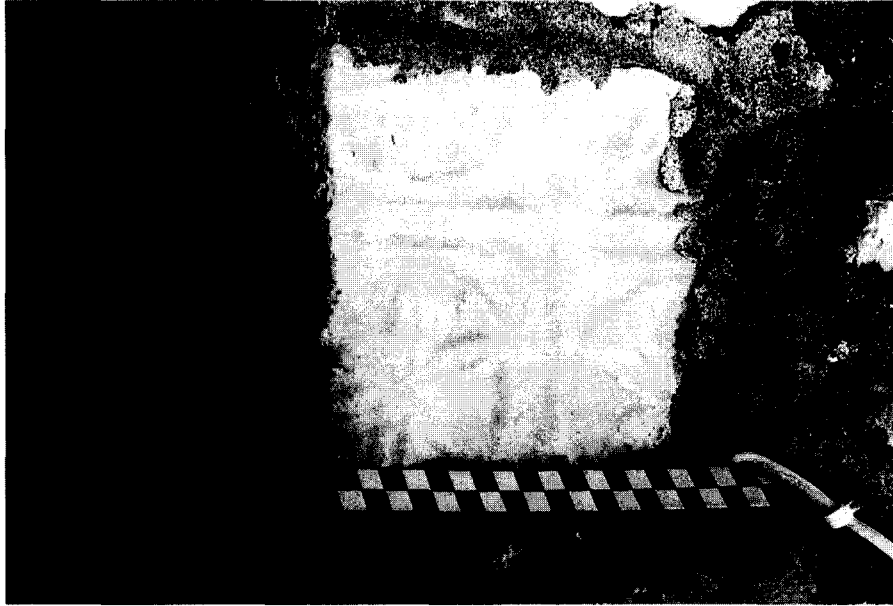
12ο αι., ο έλεγχος της κεντρικής διοικήσεως του Βυζαντινού κράτους στις επαρχίες χαλαρώνει, προς όφελος των ισχυρών κατά τόπους οικογενειών, που ισχυροποιούνται σε τέτοιο βαθμό, ώστε να δρουν σχεδόν αυτόνομα. Το φαινόμενο αυτό επηρεάζει και την καλλιτεχνική παραγωγή, καθώς οι ισχυροί τοπάρχες παίρνουν τη θέση του αυτοκράτορα στις χορηγίες για την ανέγερση και διακόσμηση μνημειακών κτισμάτων.²⁷ Έτσι, και στην περίπτωση του αρκαδικού Μποβέρκου, η ύπαρξη των γλυπτών μπορεί ίσως να οφείλεται στη δράση κάποιου ισχυρού τοπικού άρχοντα.

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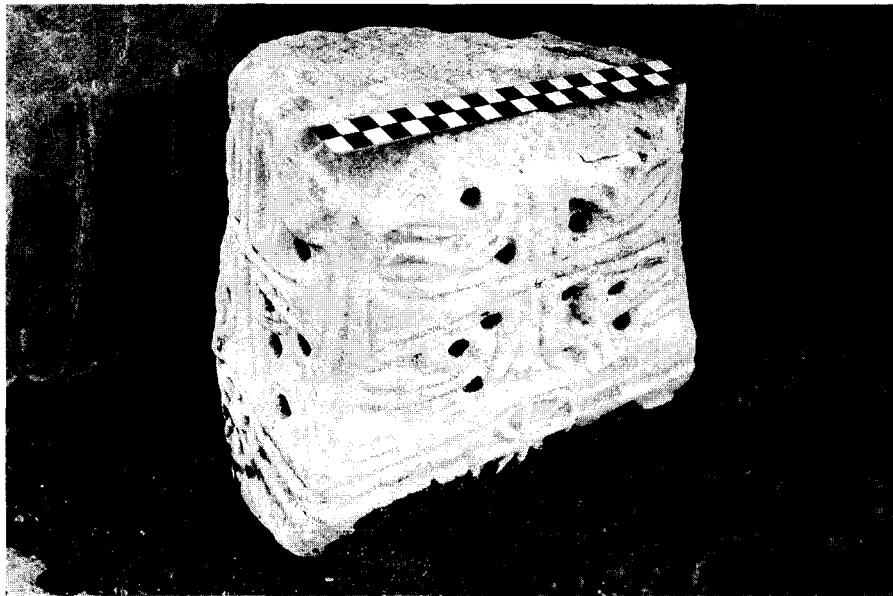
27. Bouras 1977-79, 71-2.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

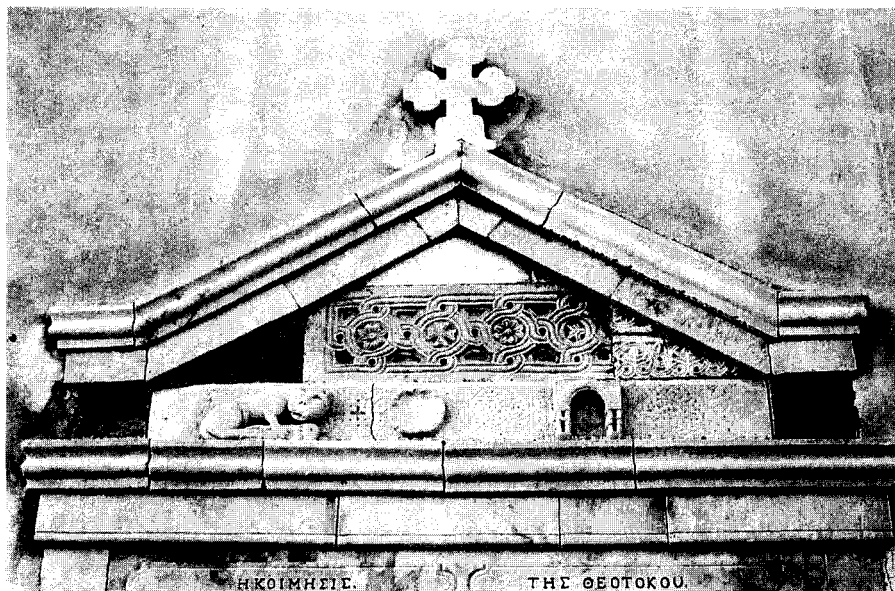
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Εικ. 1. Το ανάγλυφο τεμάχιο στην Παναγίτσα στην Κάπελη. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)
Fig. 1. The fragment of the relief at the chapel of Panagitsa, Kapeli. (Photo: author.)



Εικ. 2. Το κιονόκρανο στο ίδιο εξωκλήσι στην Παναγίτσα στην Κάπελη. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)
Fig. 2. The capital at the chapel of Panagitsa, Kapeli. (Photo: author.)



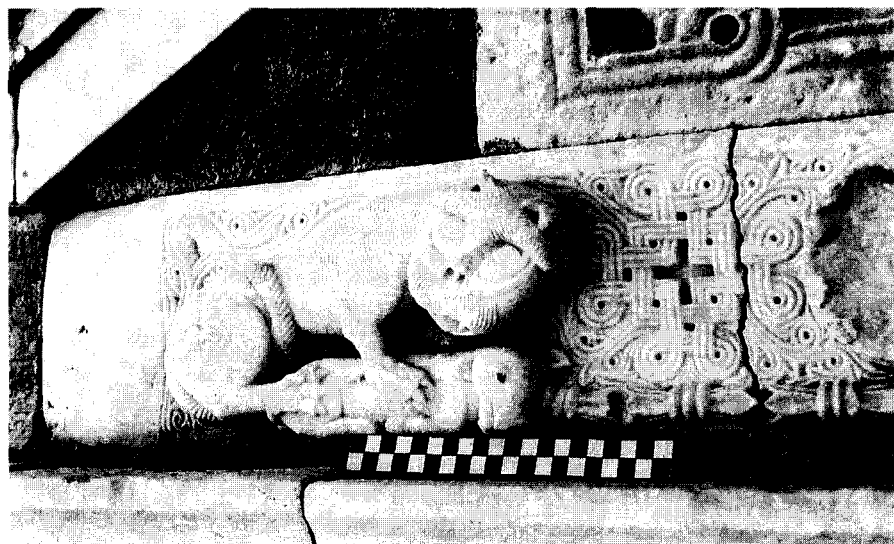
Εικ. 3. Γλυπτά εντοιχισμένα στο θύρωμα της κυρίας εισόδου του ναού της Κοιμήσεως στο Καστανοχώρι. Διακρίνονται το θωράκιο, δεξιά του τα τεμάχια του κοσμήτη και κάτω το επιστύλιο τέμπλου. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)

Fig. 3. Reliefs which have been reused at the doorframe of the main entrance of the church of the Dormition, Kastanochori. The closure slab can be observed on the top; the pieces of the cornice exist next to the slab; the *templon* epistyle has been placed under them. (Photo: author.)



Εικ. 4. Λεπτομέρεια του θυρώματος του 12ου αι., που έχει επαναχρησιμοποιηθεί στην κύρια είσοδο του ναού της Κοιμήσεως, Καστανοχώρι. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)

Fig. 4. Detail from the 12th century doorframe which has been reused at the main entrance of the church of the Dormition, Kastanochori. (Photo: author.)



Εικ. 5. Ναός της Κοιμήσεως, Καστανοχώρι. Το σύμπλεγμα των ζώων στο αριστερό άκρο του επιστυλίου. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)

Fig. 5. Church of the Dormition, Kastanochori. The animal complex at the left end of the epistyle. (Photo: author.)