

Ancient Arcadia

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Ancient Arcadia

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Erik Østby

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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.

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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 Klaus, 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 Achaia, 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 Achaia 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 Achaia (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 Achaia 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 Achaia 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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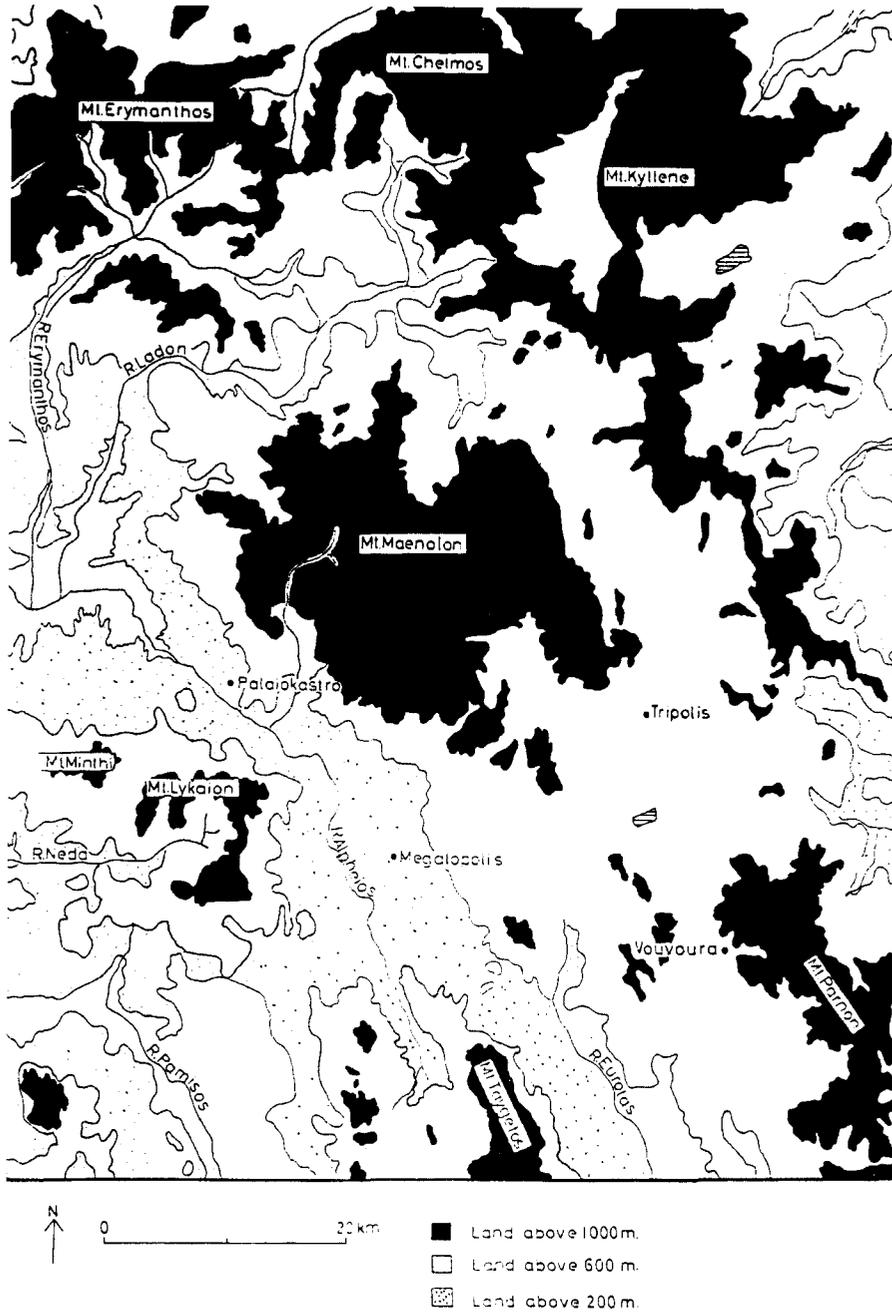


Fig. 1. Map of Mycenaean Arcadia. (After Mountjoy 1999, fig. 102.)

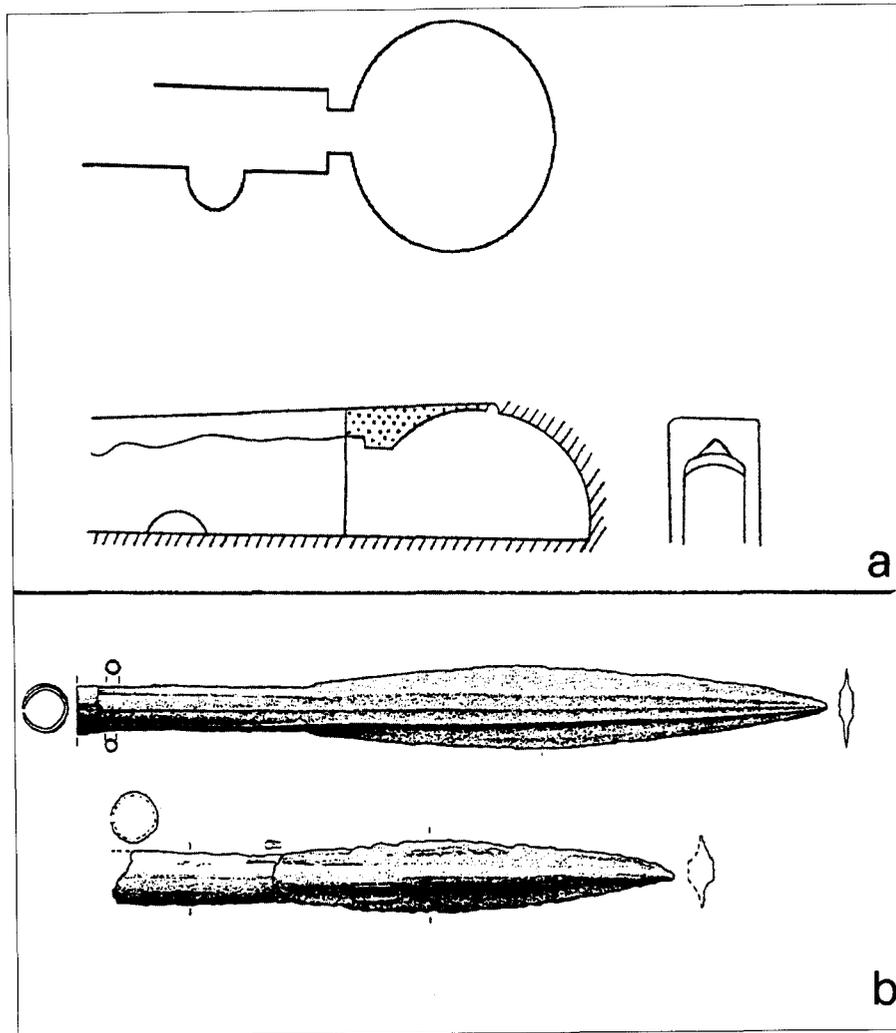


Fig. 2. a) Palaiokastro, Tomb 6: plans and sections (not in scale); b) bronze spearheads from Palaiokastro, tomb 6. (After Demakopoulou and Crowel 1998; a, fig. 5; b, figs. 7-8.)

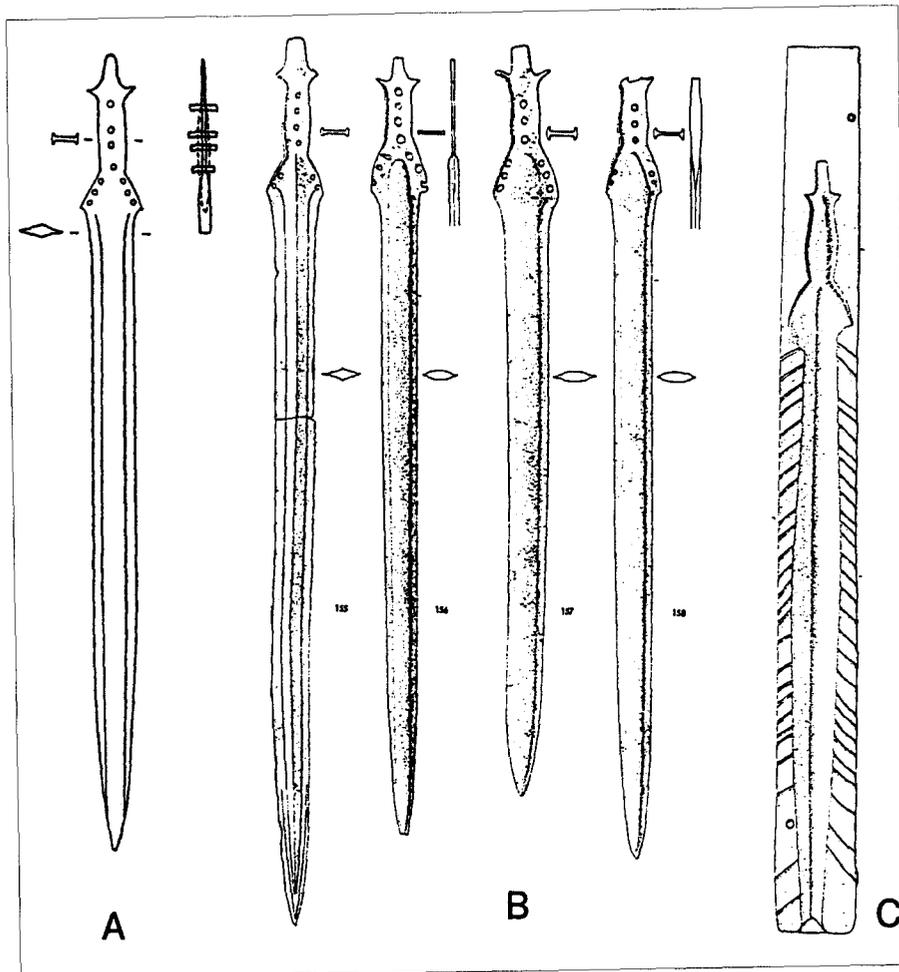


Fig. 3. a) Palaiokastro, Tomb 6: bronze sword (after Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, fig. 6); b) Allerona type swords from LBA Italy (after Bianco Peroni 1970, pl. 22.155-58); c) stone mould for casting Allerona type swords, from Piverone (Turin) (after Bianco Peroni 1970, pl. 25.170).

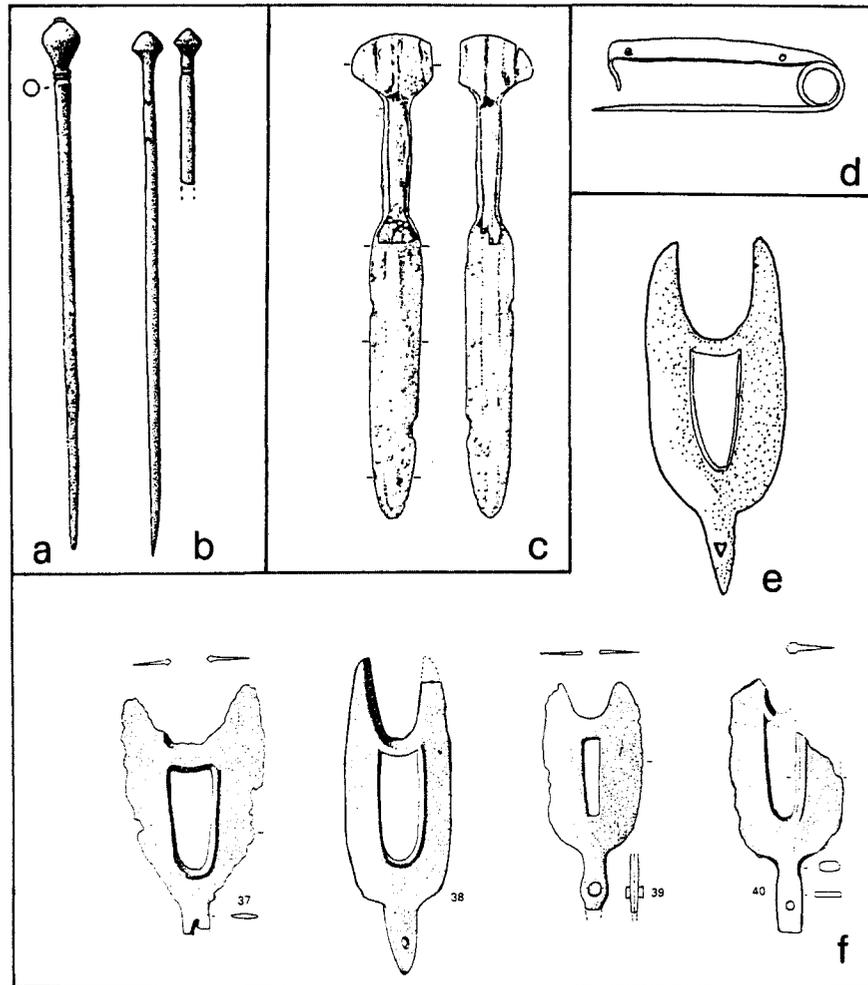


Fig. 4. a) Palaiokastro, tomb 6: bronze pin (after Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1998, fig. 9); b) bronze pins from LBA Italy (after Carancini 1975, pl. 52.1665); c) Teichos Dymaion, bronze dagger of Peschiera type (after Papadopoulos 1978-79, fig. 358); d) Lousoi, bronze violin-bow fibula (after Reichel 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).

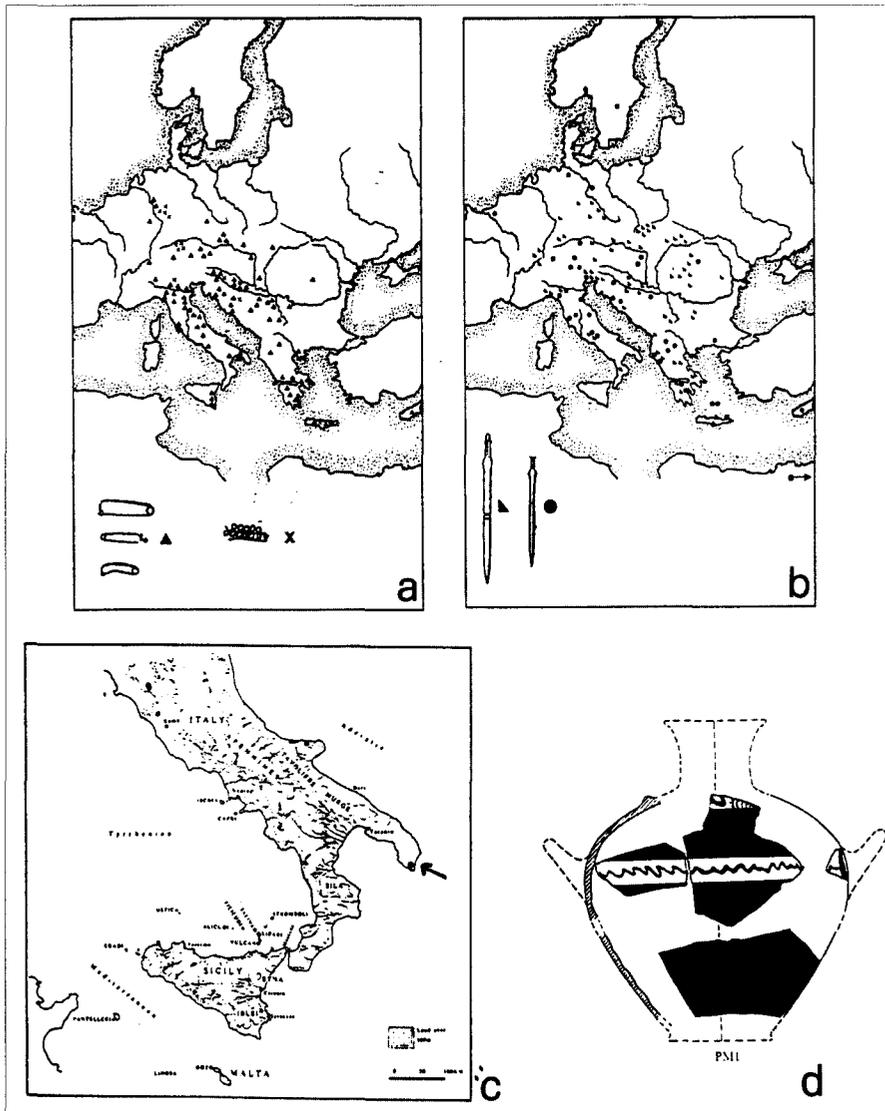


Fig. 5. a) distribution of European model fibulae in LBA (after Bettelli 2002, fig. 58.3); b) distribution of Naue II swords in LBA (after Bettelli 2002, fig. 58.4); c) map of South Italy with indication of Punta Meliso; d) LH IIIC belly-handled amphora from Punta Meliso, in the north-west Peloponnesian 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 Μαντίνειας 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 Καλαβρυτών 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 Επιδάυρου 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 bronzzeitliche 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 Akhour: 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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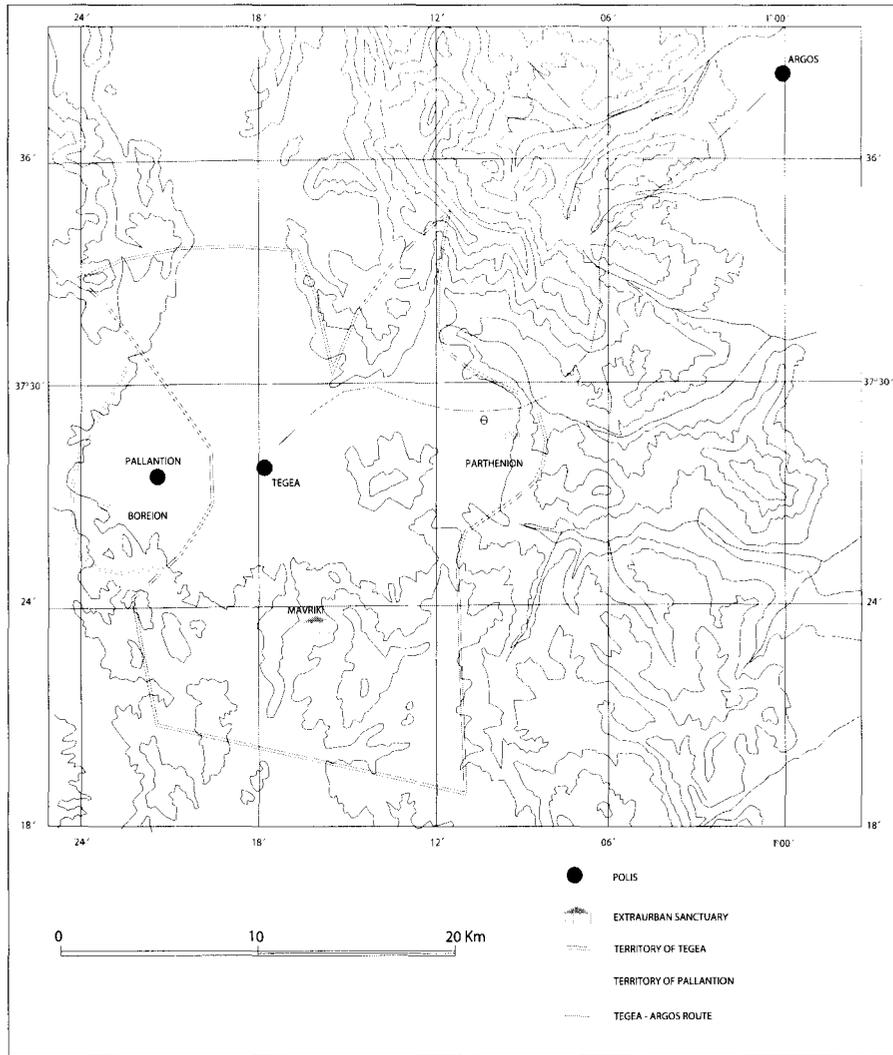


Fig. 1. Phigaleia and its territory. (Drawing: author, based on map from the Hellenic Statistical Service.)

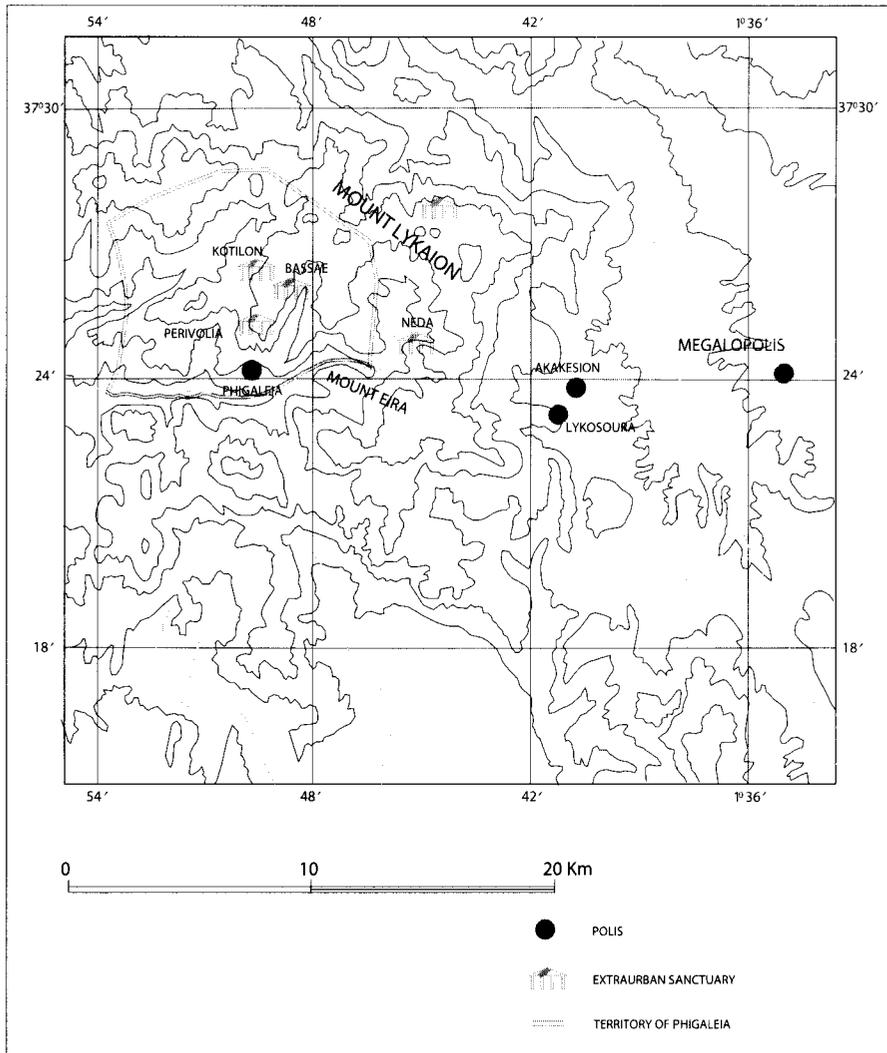


Fig. 2. The sacred area of Mount Parthenion. (Drawing: author, based on map from the Hellenic Statistical Service.)

**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 Sætersdal 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 Aigytian 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 ἄμαντις.

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.)

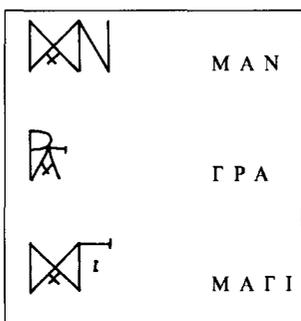


Fig. 5. Sparta museum: ligatures in the inscription *IG V.1*, 141 col. 1, lines 5-7: M A N, Γ P A, M A Γ I. (Drawing: author.)

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 VIe – 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 IVe : 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 IVe 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.

Plin 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.)

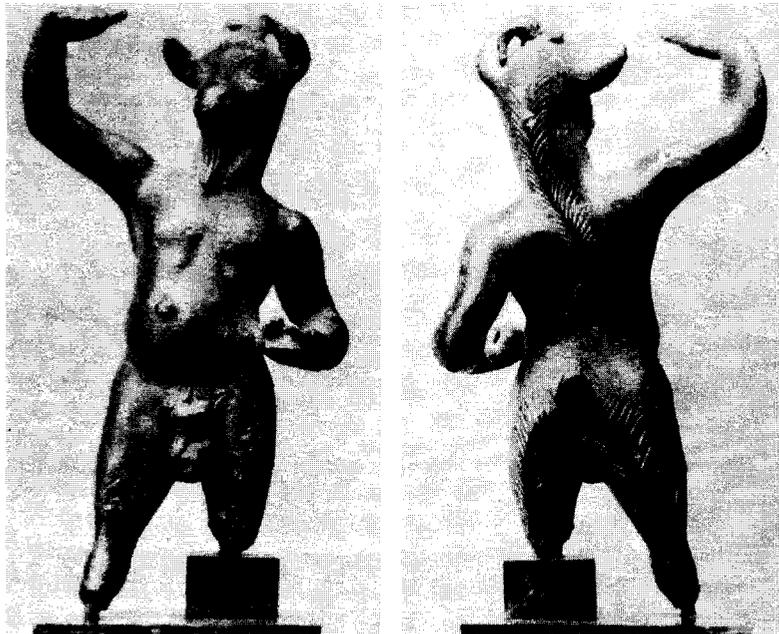


Fig. 2. Pan. Statuette en bronze de Lousoi. (D'après Neugebauer 1951, pl. 16.)



Fig. 3. Pan. Monnaie de la Confédération arcaïenne. (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,
professor Anna Ramou*

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 Lykaios is still under discussion.

According to the ancient descriptions, the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios 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 'Lykaios' for the Zeus who was previously worshipped there, as may be inferred from Pausanias' phrase.⁵ The earliest mention of the altar of Zeus Lykaios is in Pindar.⁶

The altar of Zeus Lykaios 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 ἱερὸν εἴσατο 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 ἑλάφος, 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 Ἑλλάφις in Elis and Ἑλαφηβολιών 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. Przyłuski 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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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.

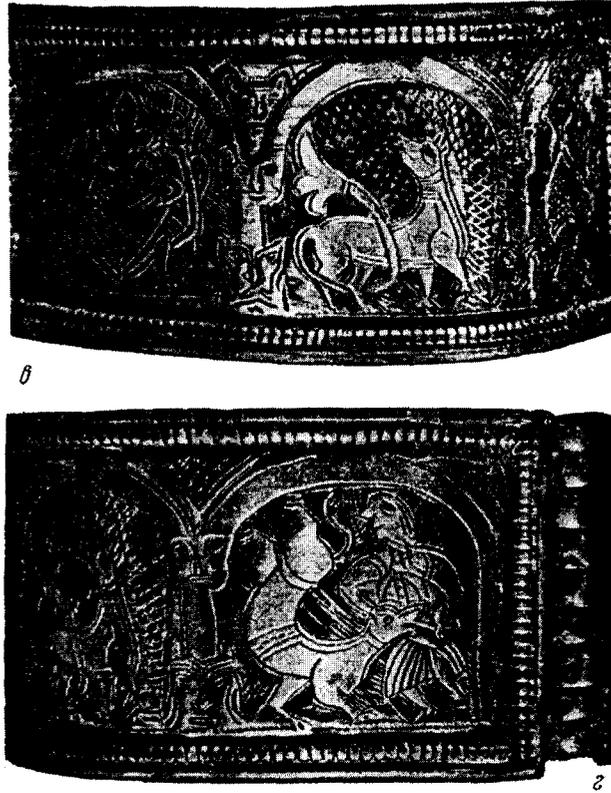


Fig. 4. Engraved representations on a silver bracelet from Gorodishche (Western Russia), 12th-13th century A.D.: a pagan werewolf-priest executing a ritual to stimulate the fertility of the fields. (After Rybakov 1987, 725, no. 2.)



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.)

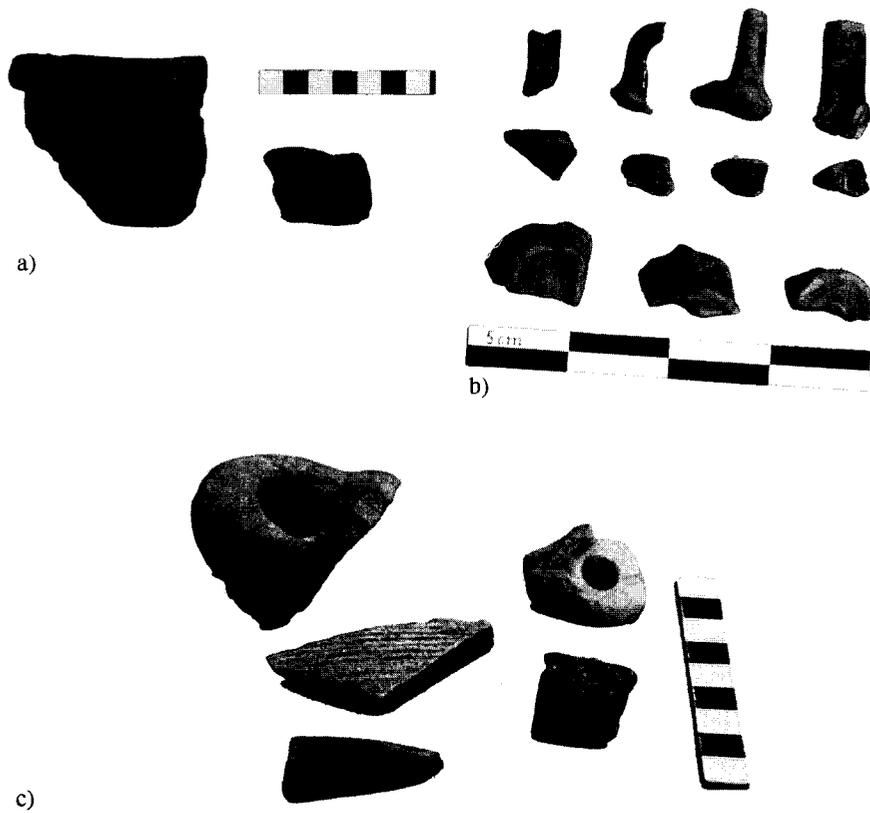


Fig. 2. Some fragments of Late Roman amphoras. a) Laconian fragments; b) pottery of the 5th and 4th century B.C.; c) late Roman sherds. (Photo: author.)



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



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

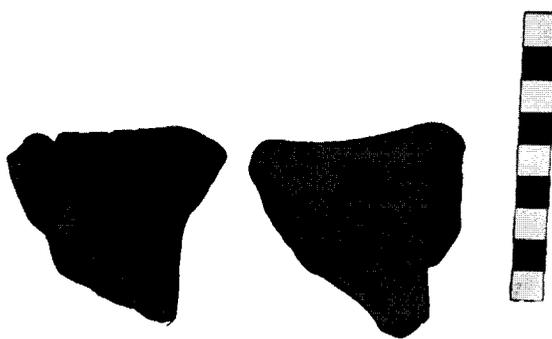


Fig. 5. Amphora fragments of local production. (Photo: author.)

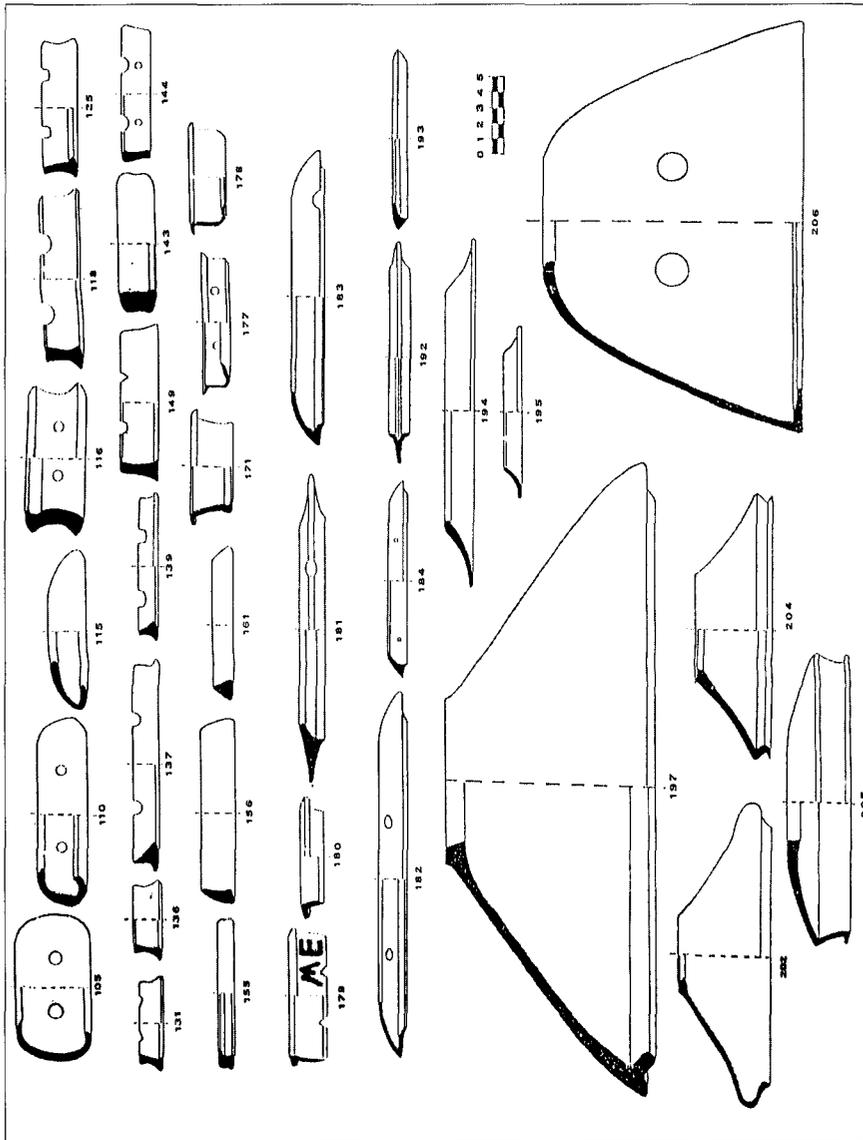


Fig. 6. Kiln firing supports from Metaponto. (Drawing: author.)

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 έλικας. 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 πηλινών 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 επικράνου 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 επικράνου 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 (Ραψομάτι),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.

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28 Οκτωβρίου 4
GR – 15 451 Νέο Ψυχικό, Αθήνα
Greece

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

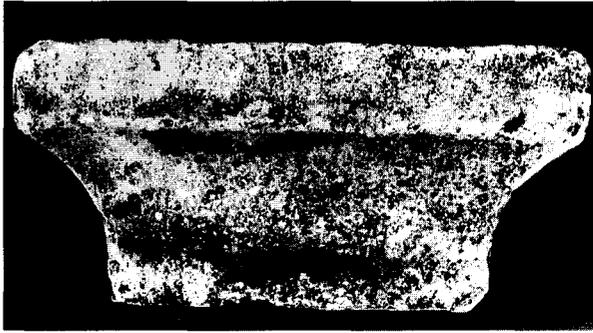
17. Καράγιωργα 1999, 127, 152.

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

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

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

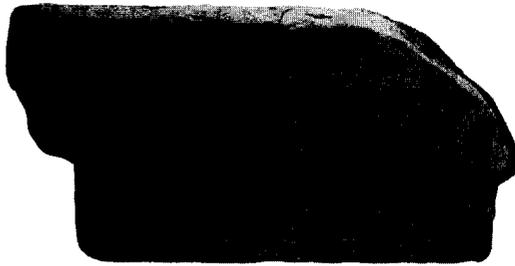
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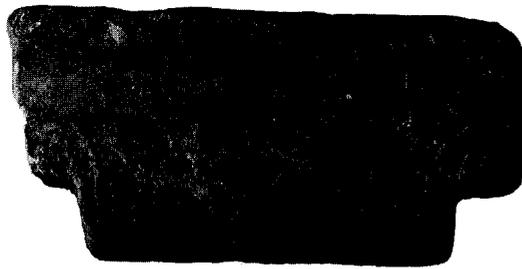
Εικ. 1. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Επίκρανο παραστάδος αριθ. 2963. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



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



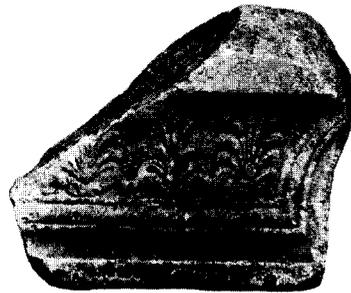
Εικ. 3. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Τεγέας. Επίκρανο παραστάδος αριθ. 283. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



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 ὥπλιζεν, 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 $\chi\omicron\iota\pi\alpha$ il significato di "sesso femminile",³⁶ attestato almeno per $\chi\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$: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. Zappeiropoulou 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 Naiskos 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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64. Voyatzis 1990.

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

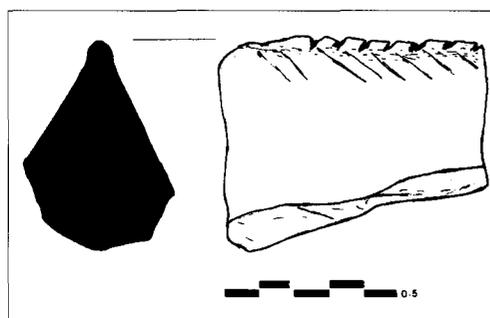


Fig. 2. Fragment of a house model, D1/4-19. (Drawing: author.)

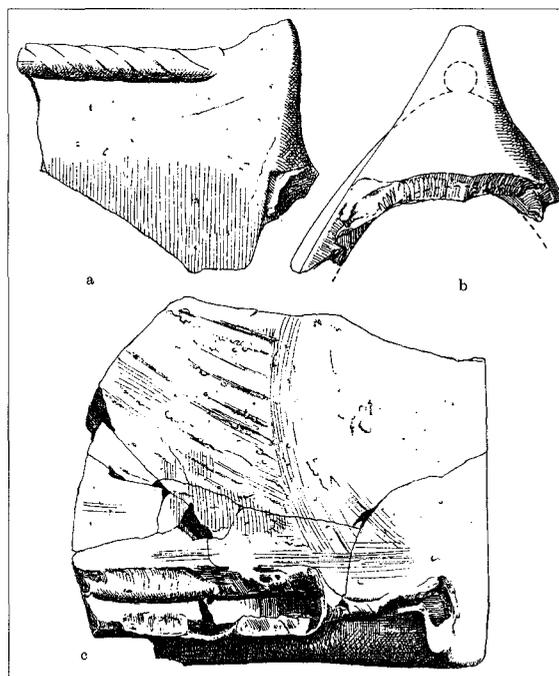


Fig. 3. Fragment of a house model from Perachora. (After Payne 1940, pl. 117.2.)

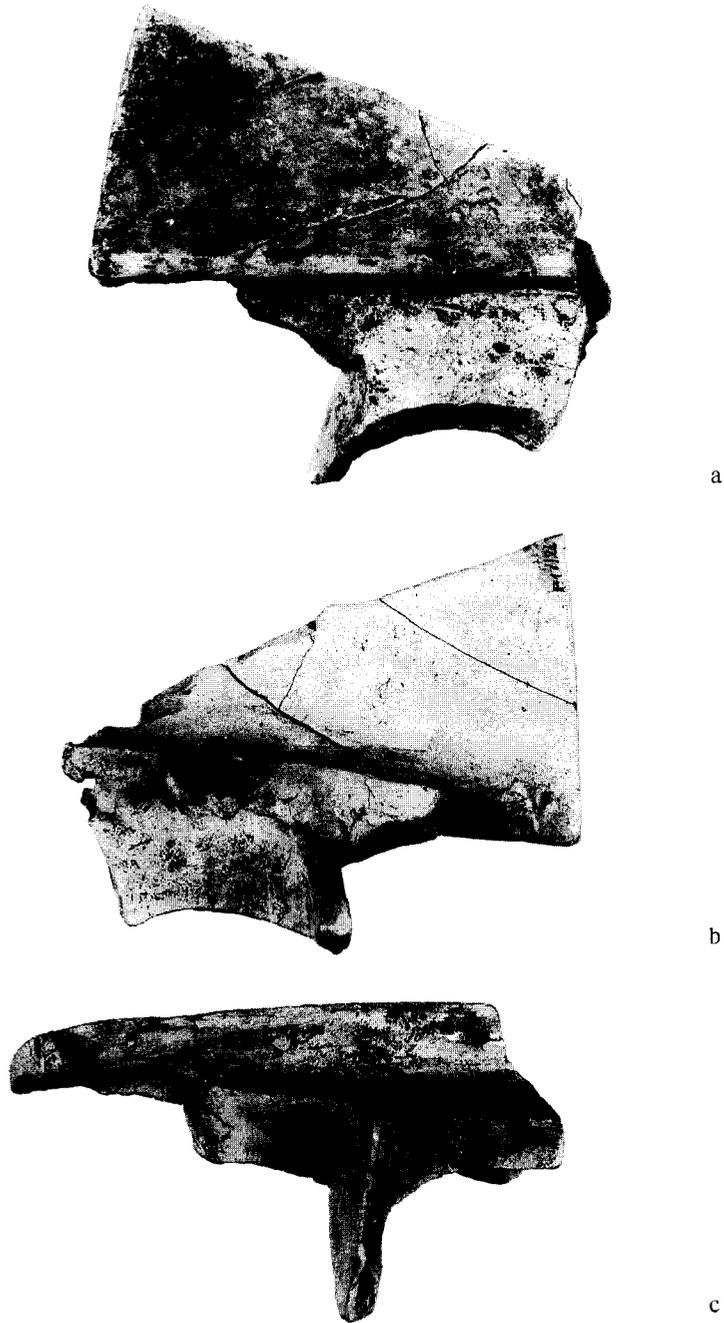


Fig. 4a-c. Fragments of house model D1/11-3. (Photos: M. Mauzy.)

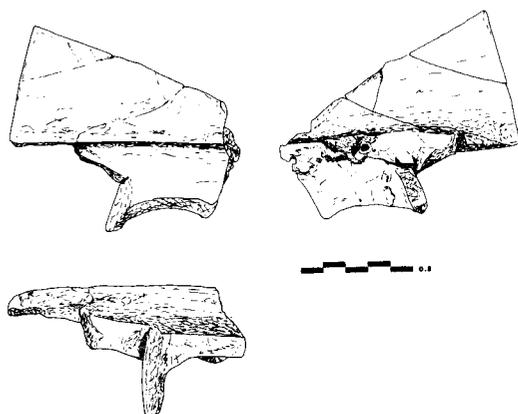


Fig. 5. Fragment of house model, D1/11-3. (Drawing: author.)

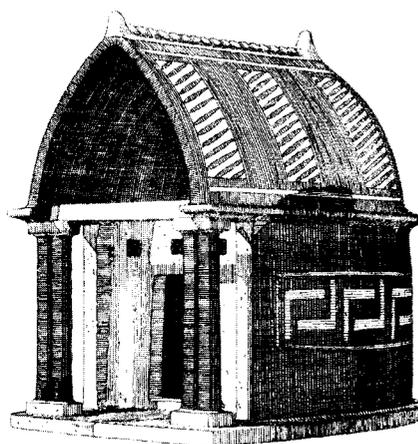


Fig. 6. The Perachora A model. (After Payne 1940, pl. 9 b.)

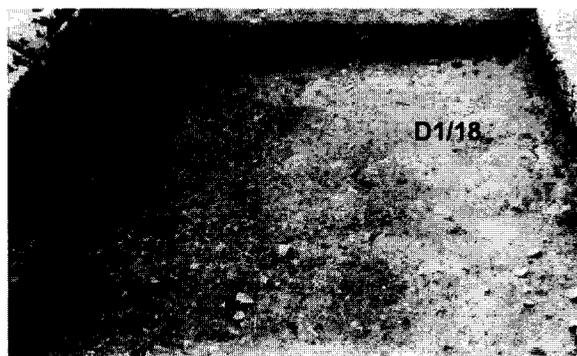


Fig. 7. The mixed layers, stratigraphical units D1/4 and D1/5. The cutting made by the early excavators is located to the left, the surface D1/18 to the right. (Photo: author.)

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

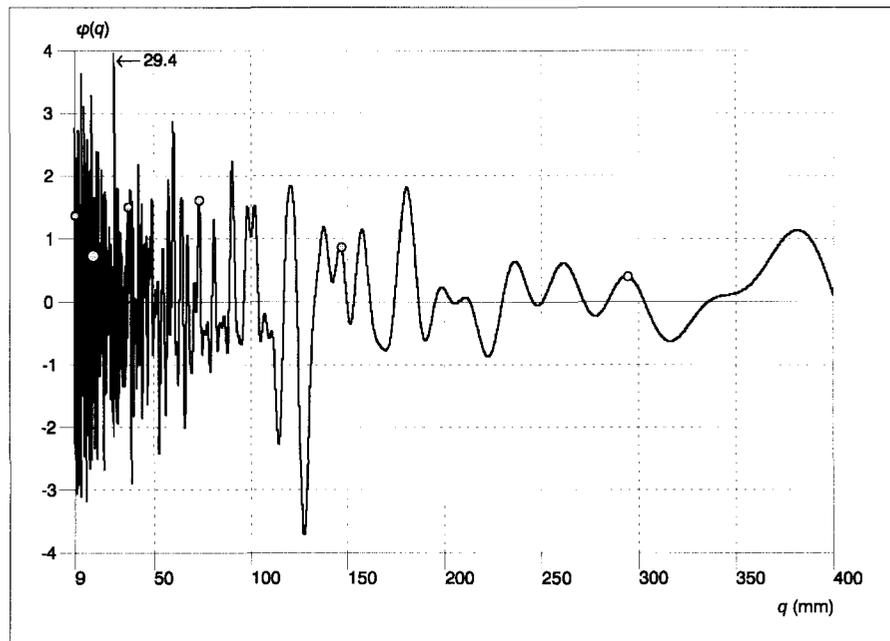


Fig. 2. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis of Bankel's data. The small, grey circles mark Bankel's foot-unit of 294 mm and its sub-divisions.

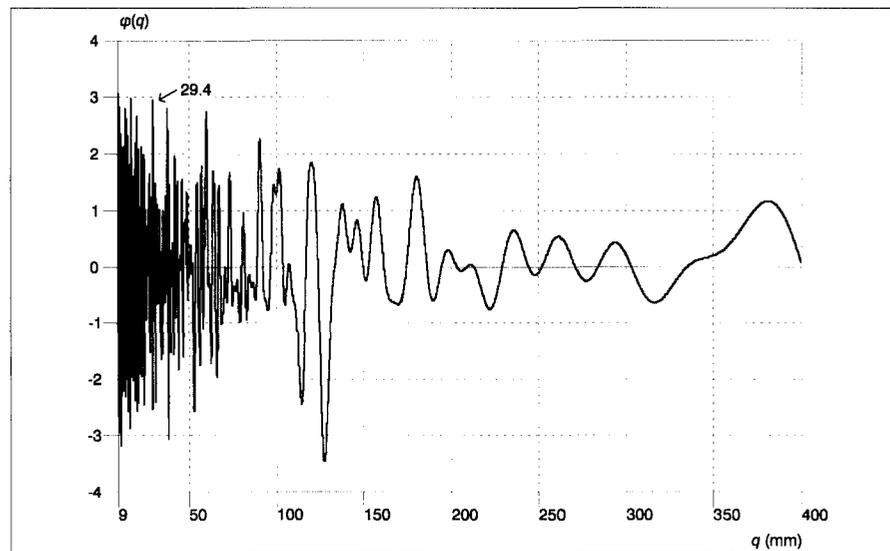


Fig. 3. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis with five new measurements.

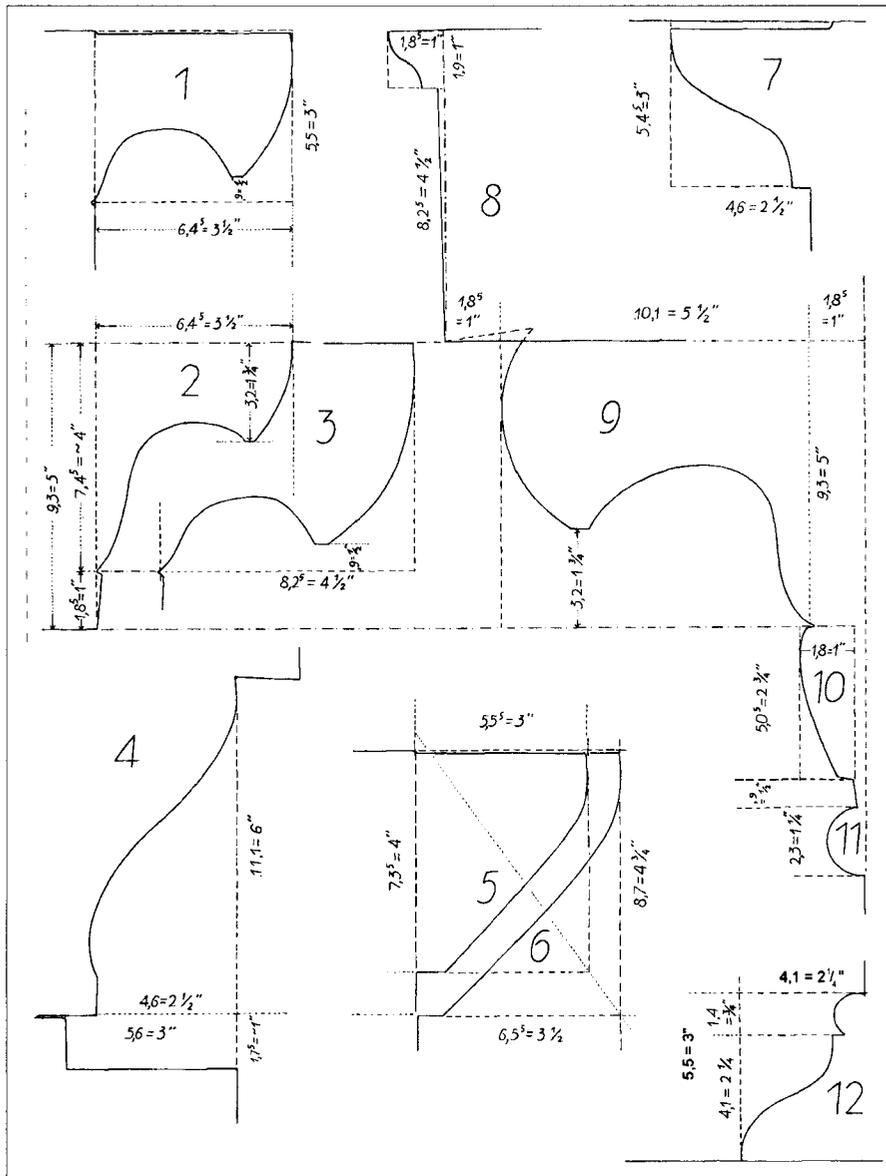


Fig. 4. Parthenon, Athens. Moulding profiles with dimensions used in cosine quantogram analysis. (After Korres 1994, fig. 4; two dimensions of profile 12 are corrected in the figure.)

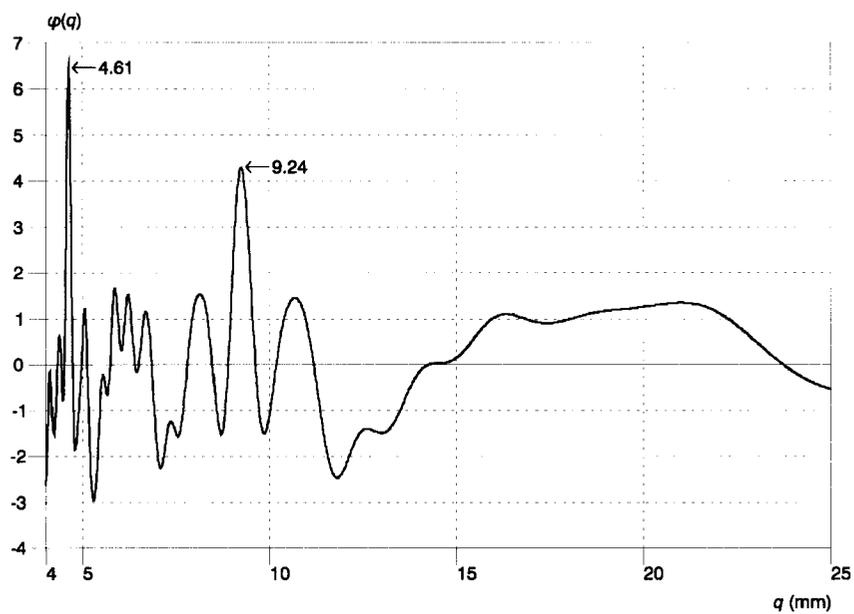


Fig. 5. Parthenon, Athens. Cosine quantogram analysis of moulding dimensions.

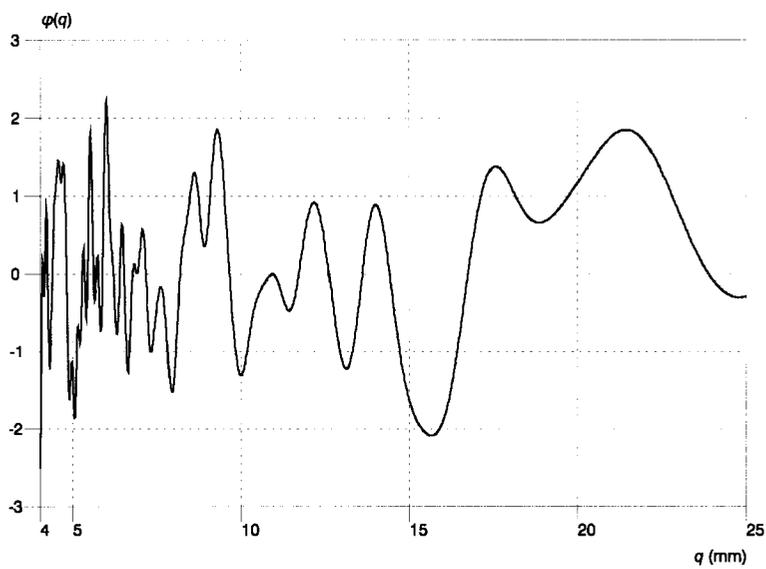


Fig. 6. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis of moulding dimensions.

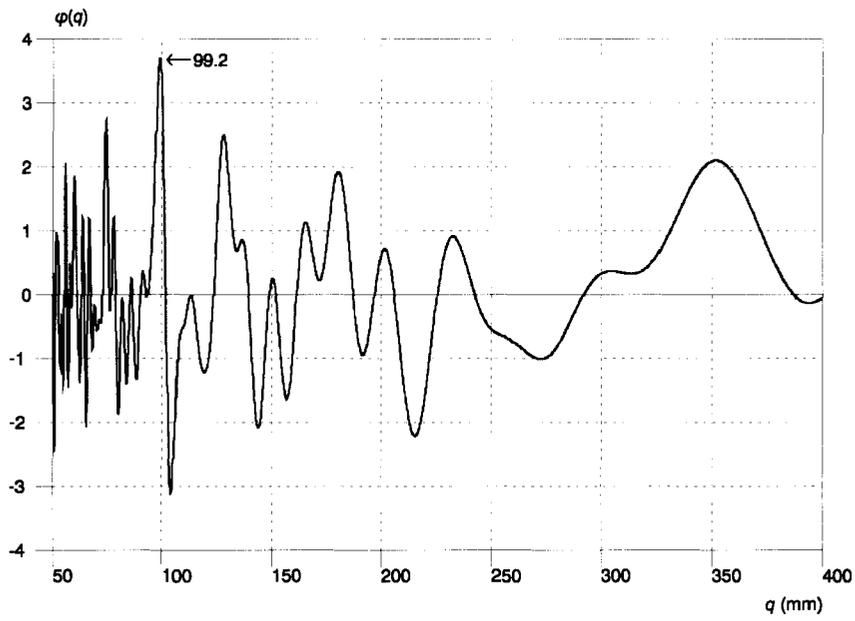


Fig. 7. Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea. Cosine quantogram analysis of building block dimensions.

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. cit.* (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 "ἐκτροπή" (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 Ἀρκαδία*, 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 Tripolitza 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 Tripolitza 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 της επανάστασεως των Ελλήνων, 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 schroften 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 περᾶσανε ...” (“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 Ἀρμακάς’.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, Ἀρχαϊκά 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. Ἀρμακάς (= heap of stone). Cf. the ancient ἔρμαξ = 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."

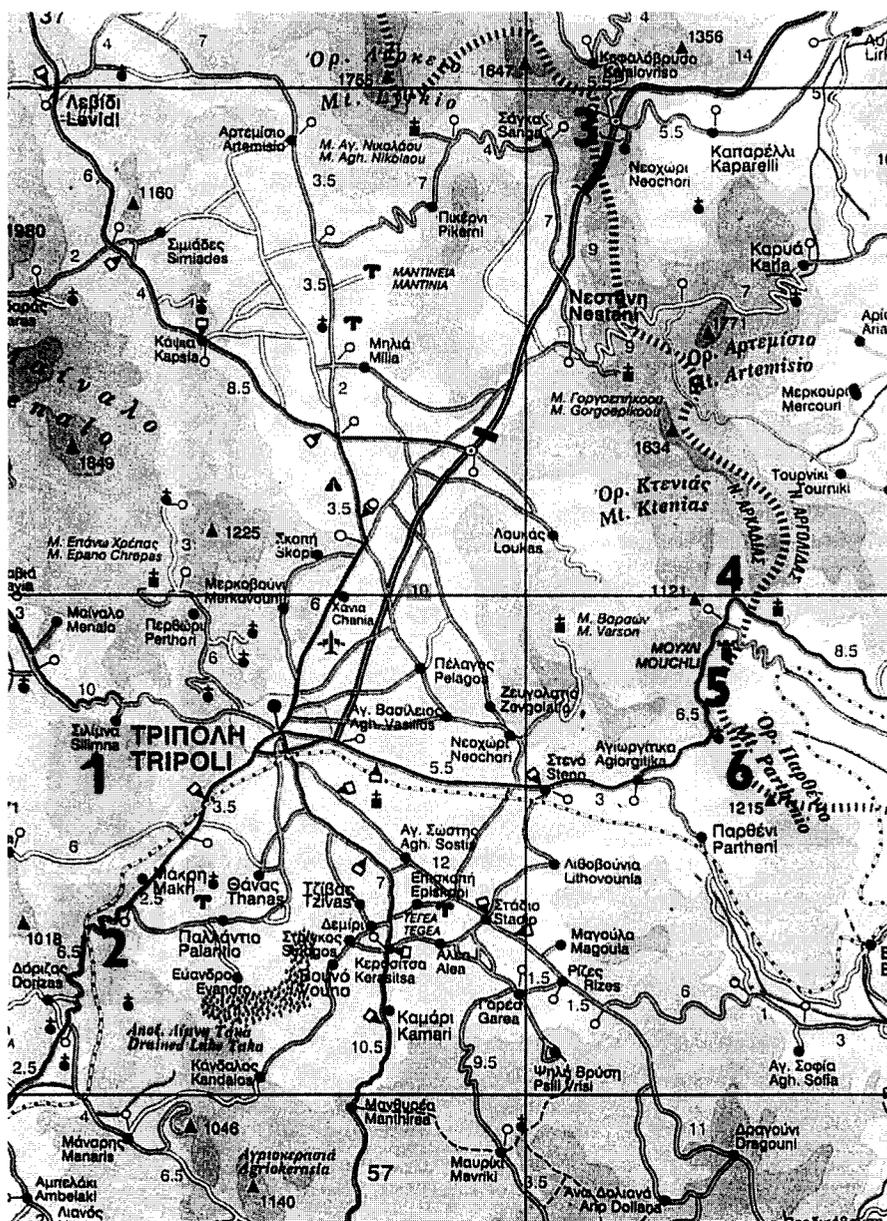


Fig. 1. Map of the central Arkadian plateau with diachronic passages. (From the *Map of the Peloponnese*, Road Edition, Athens n.d.)

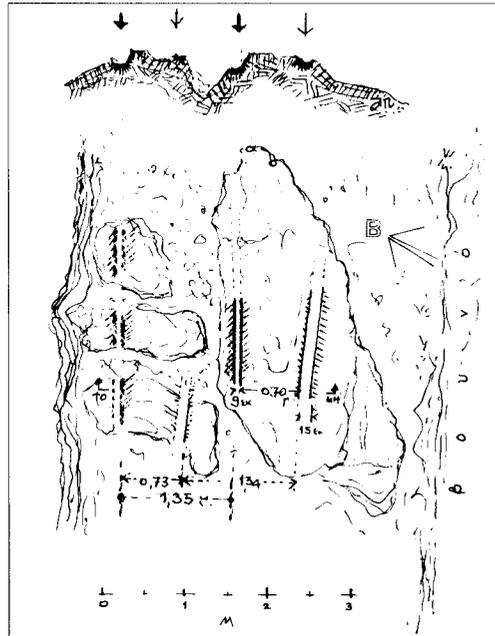


Fig. 2. Double tracks of ancient carriage wheels on the south road of the pass 'Partheni', commonly misnamed 'Skala tou Bey'. Top: section; bottom, plan; left, the gorge; right, the mountain. (Drawing: author.)

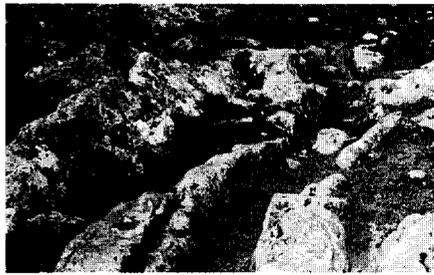


Fig. 3. Pair of ancient wheel-ruts on the road of 'Gyros', by Y. Alepis' sheep-cote. (Photo: author.)



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; Rhomaios, *supra* n. 2, 307.

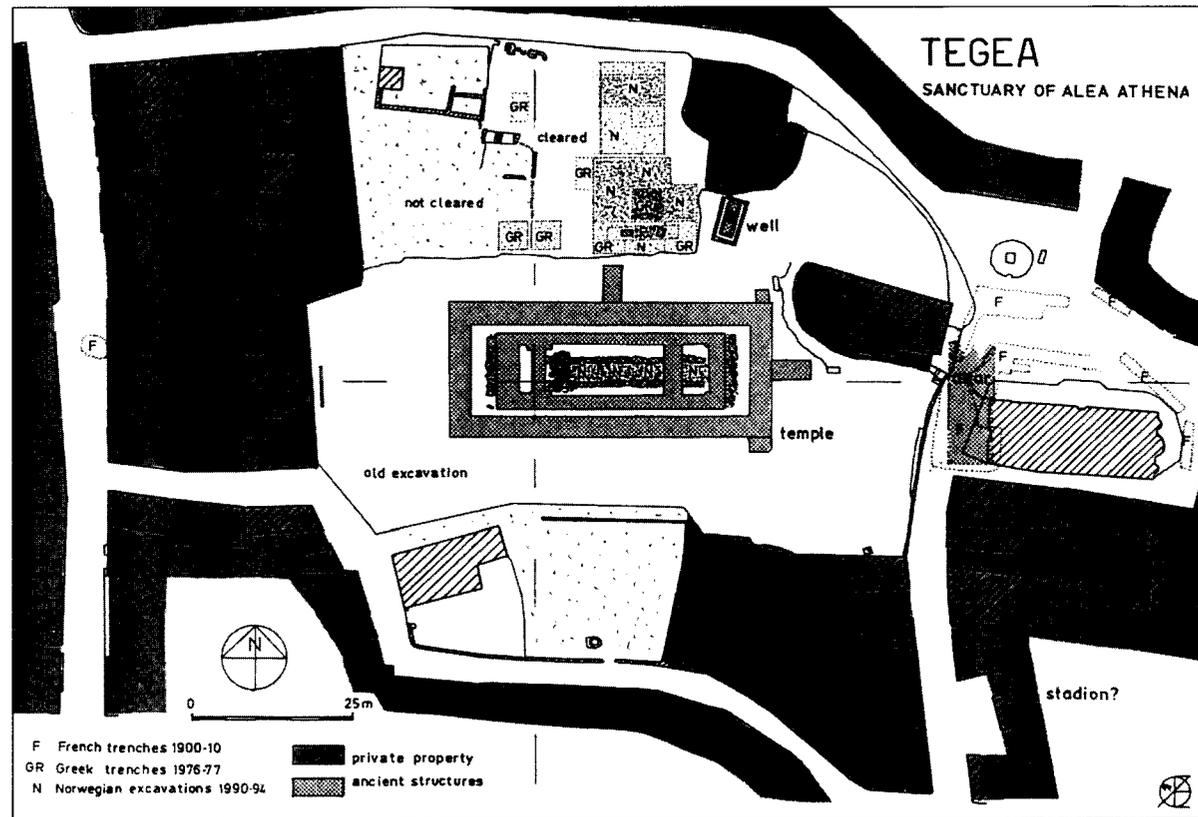


Fig. 1. The area of the sanctuary with the indications of the excavation area. (Drawing: E. Østby.)

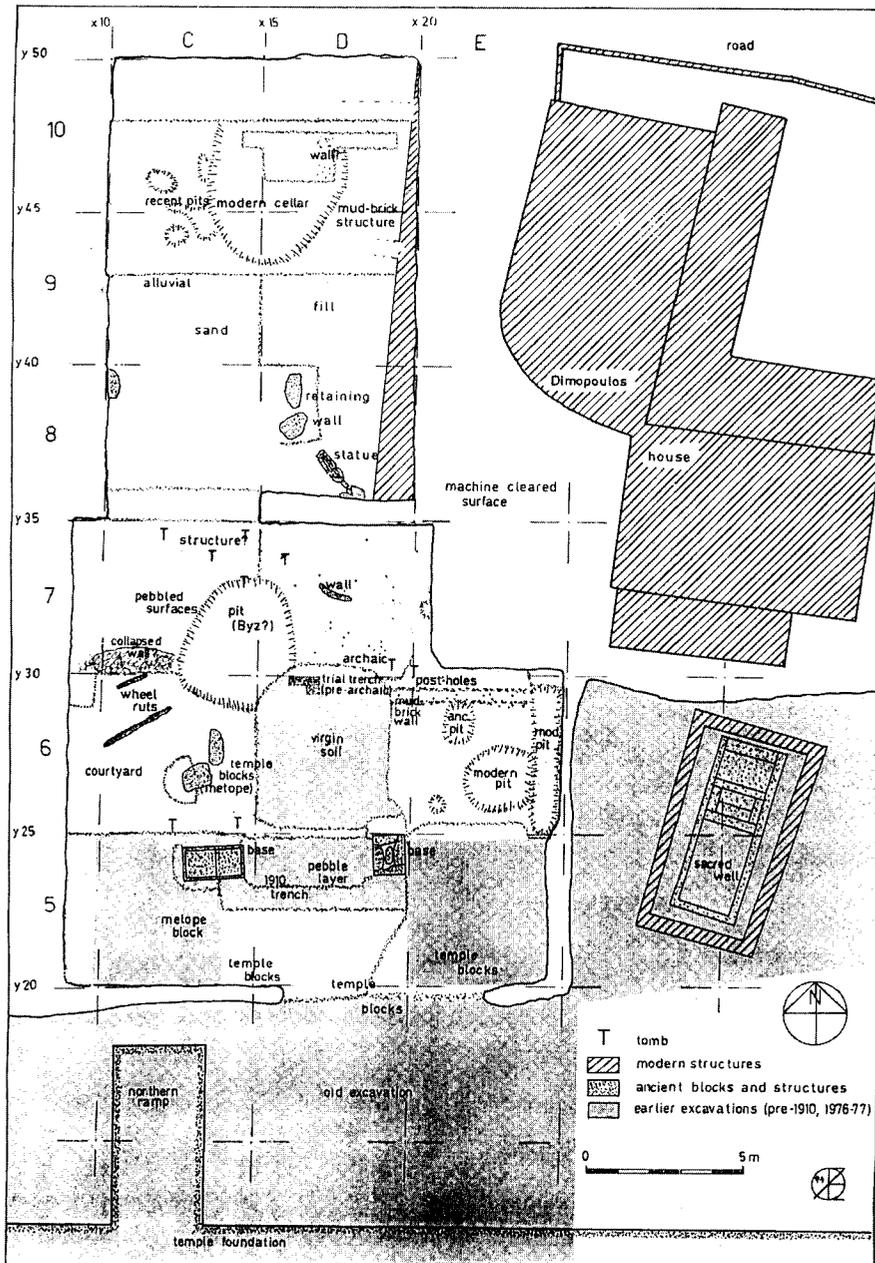


Fig. 2. Plan of the excavations in the northern area. (Drawing: E. Østby.)



Fig. 3. Surface of the early archaic layer in sector D7. (Photo: author.)

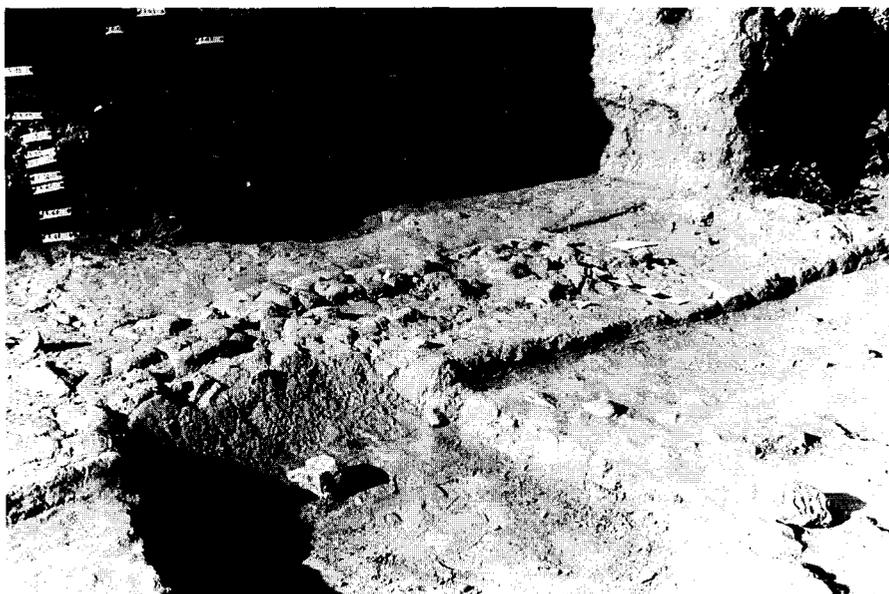


Fig. 4. Mud-brick wall in sector E6. (Photo: author.)

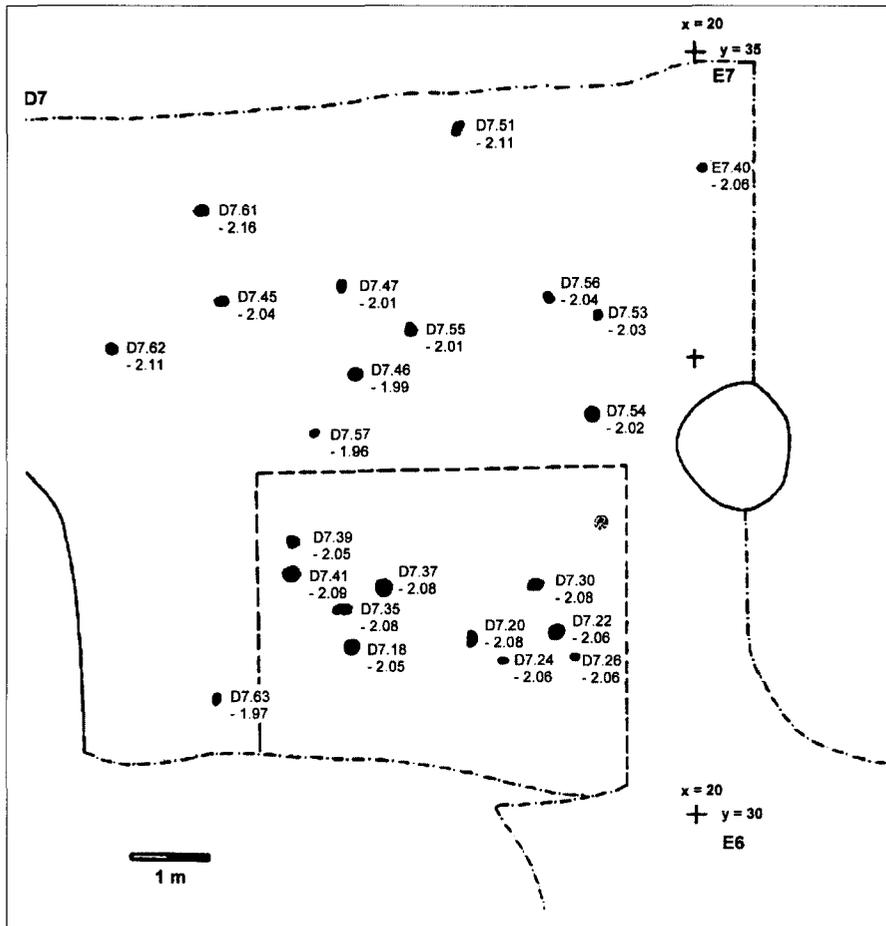


Fig. 5. Some of the post-holes in sector D7. (Drawing: author.)



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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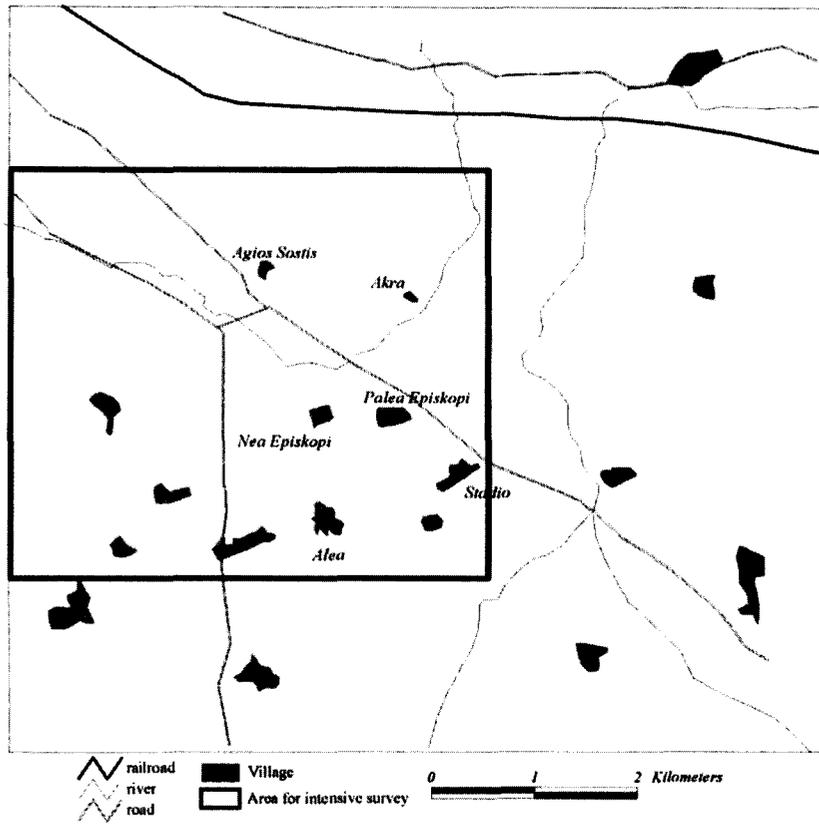


Fig. 1. The survey area of The Norwegian Arcadia Survey 1998 – 2001, including modern villages and infrastructure. (Map: NIKU – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Research.)

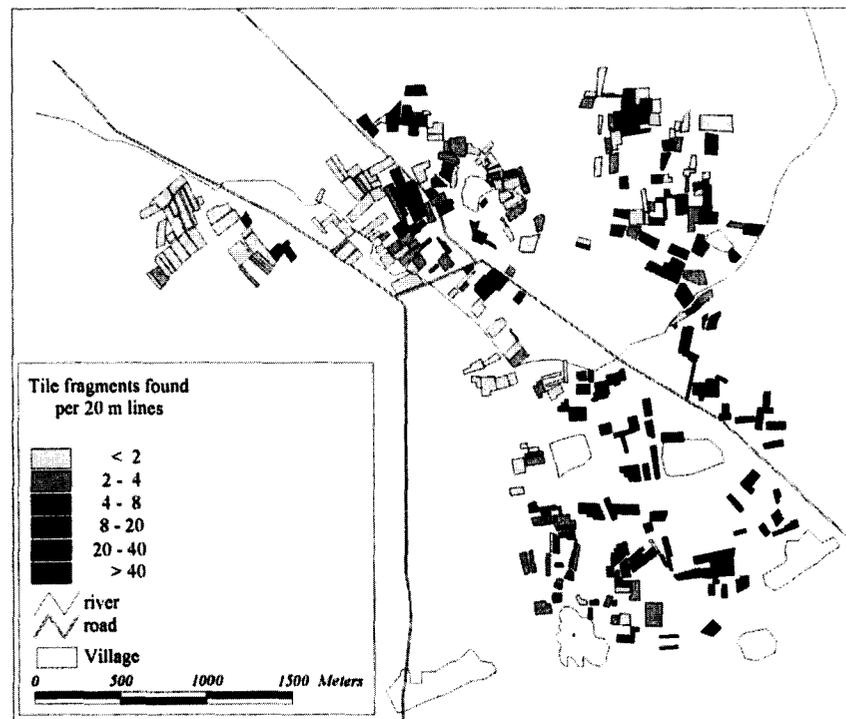


Fig. 2. The Norwegian Arcadia Survey. Density of tiles in surveyed fields. (Map: NIKU – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Research.)

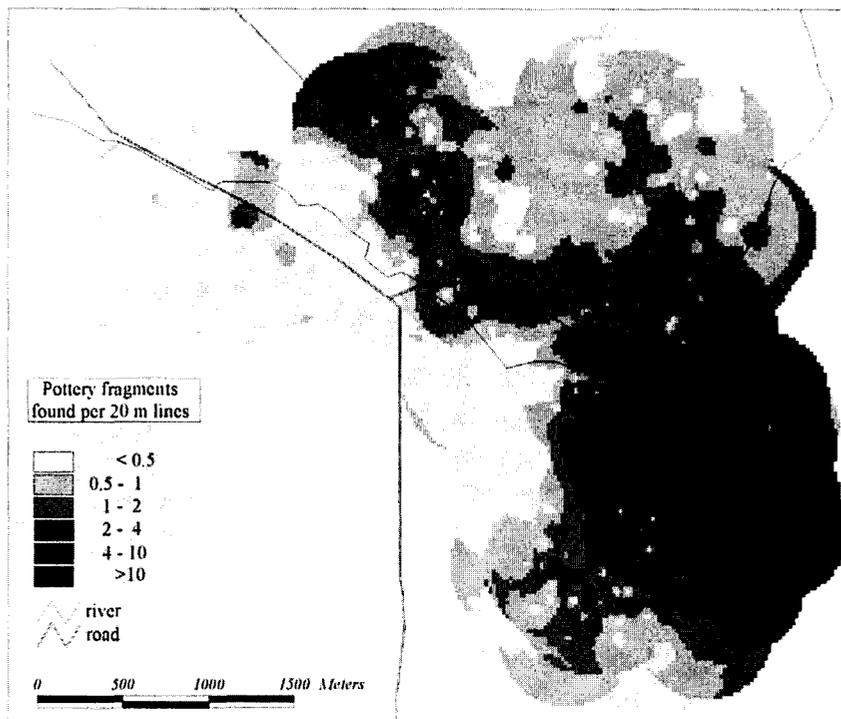


Fig. 3. Statistical interpolation of density of pottery fragments from surveyed fields, showing probable extension of the city of Tegea. (Map: NIKU – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Research.)

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 unbekanntenen 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, Damiorgengremium 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 Südsprung 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 Travertinit. 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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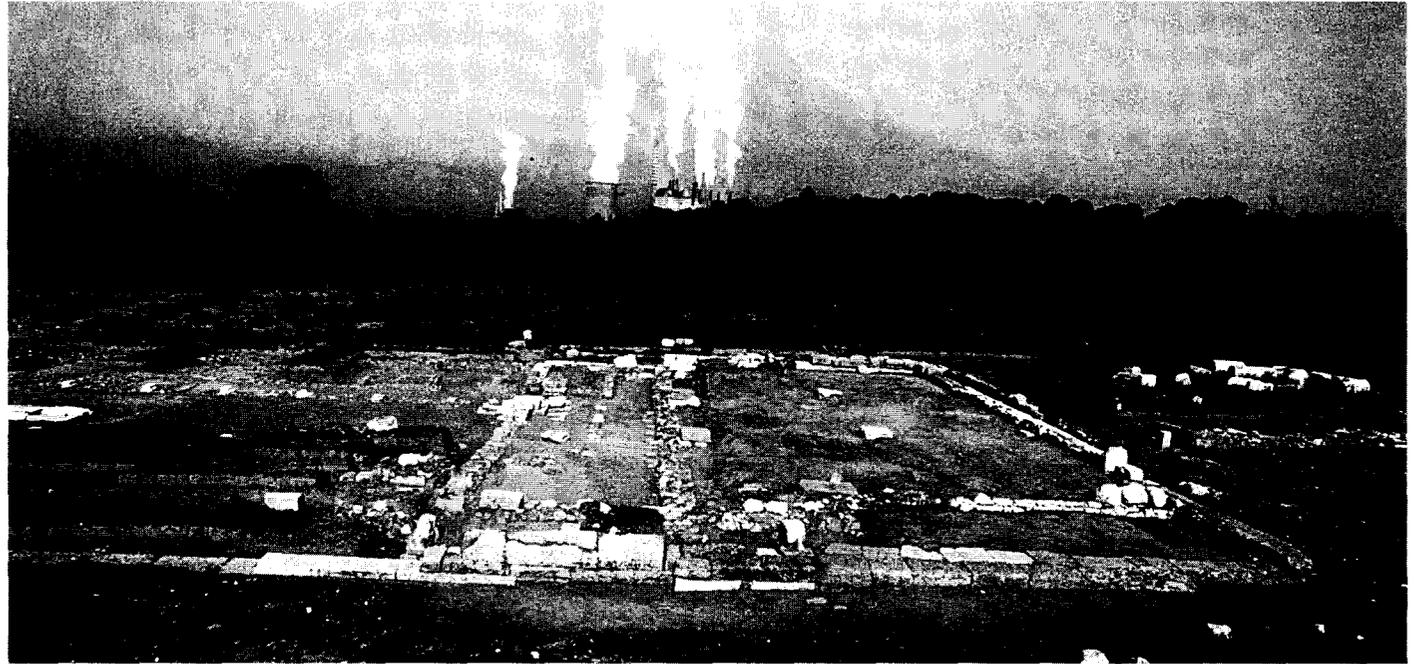


Abb. 1. Altes und Neues Bouleuterion von Osten; in der linken Bildhälfte das Pfeilerperistyl des Prytaneions. (Photo: Verf.)

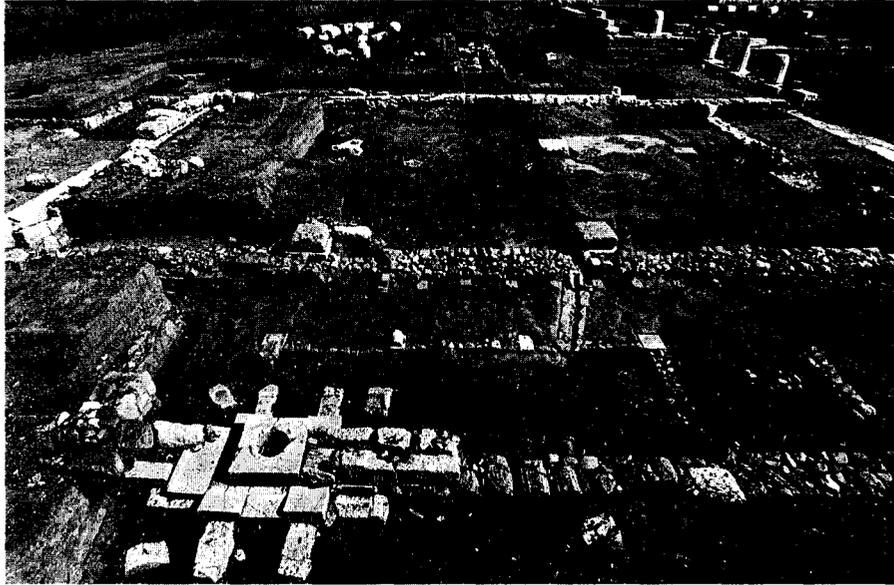


Abb. 2. Altes und Neues Bouleuterion von Süden. Im Vordergrund das überbaute Nordende des Alten Prytaneions (Pfeilerperistyl mit integriertem Brunnen). (Photo: Verf.)

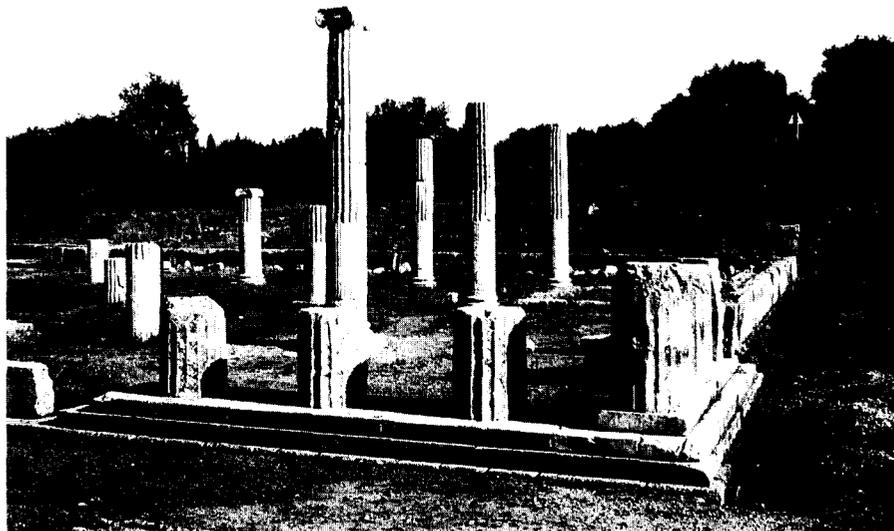


Abb. 3. Philippeios Stoa, Ostrisalis von Süd (Zustand 2001). (Photo: Verf.)

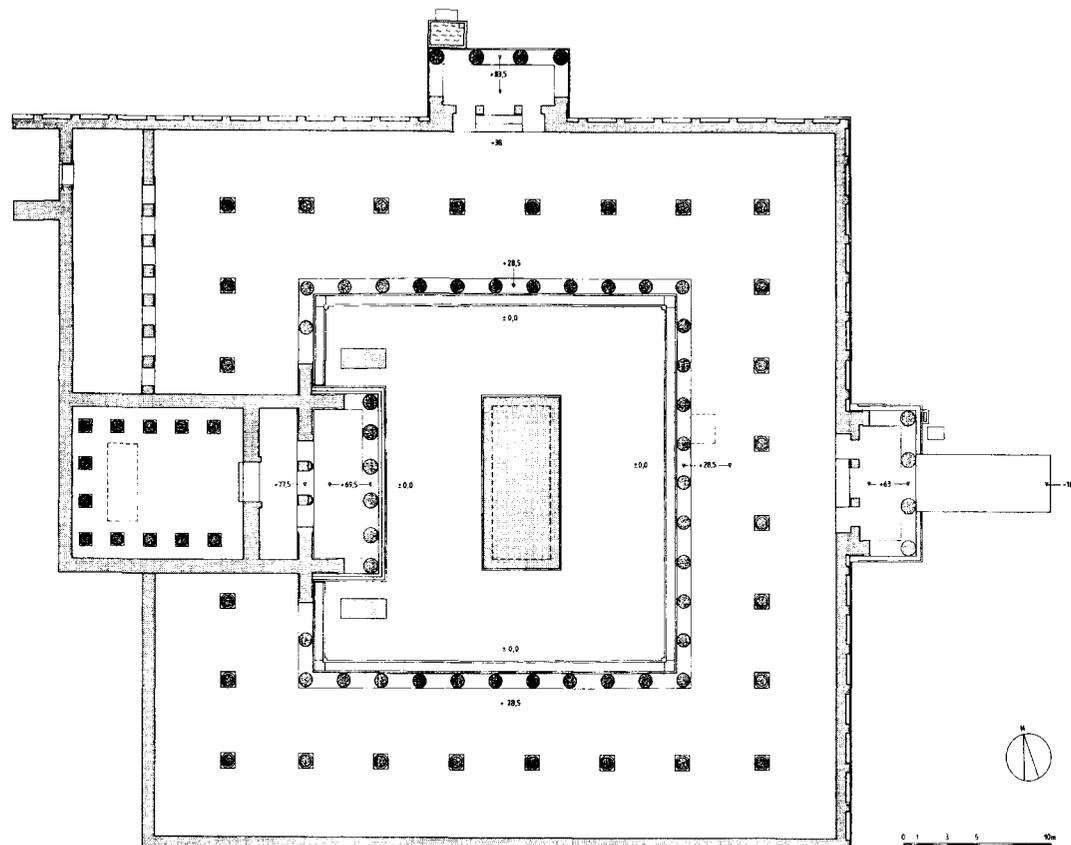


Abb. 4. Heiligtum des Zeus Soter. Wiederhergestellter Plan. (Zeichnung: Heide Lauter Bufe).



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'estrapolazione 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 τούτῃ, 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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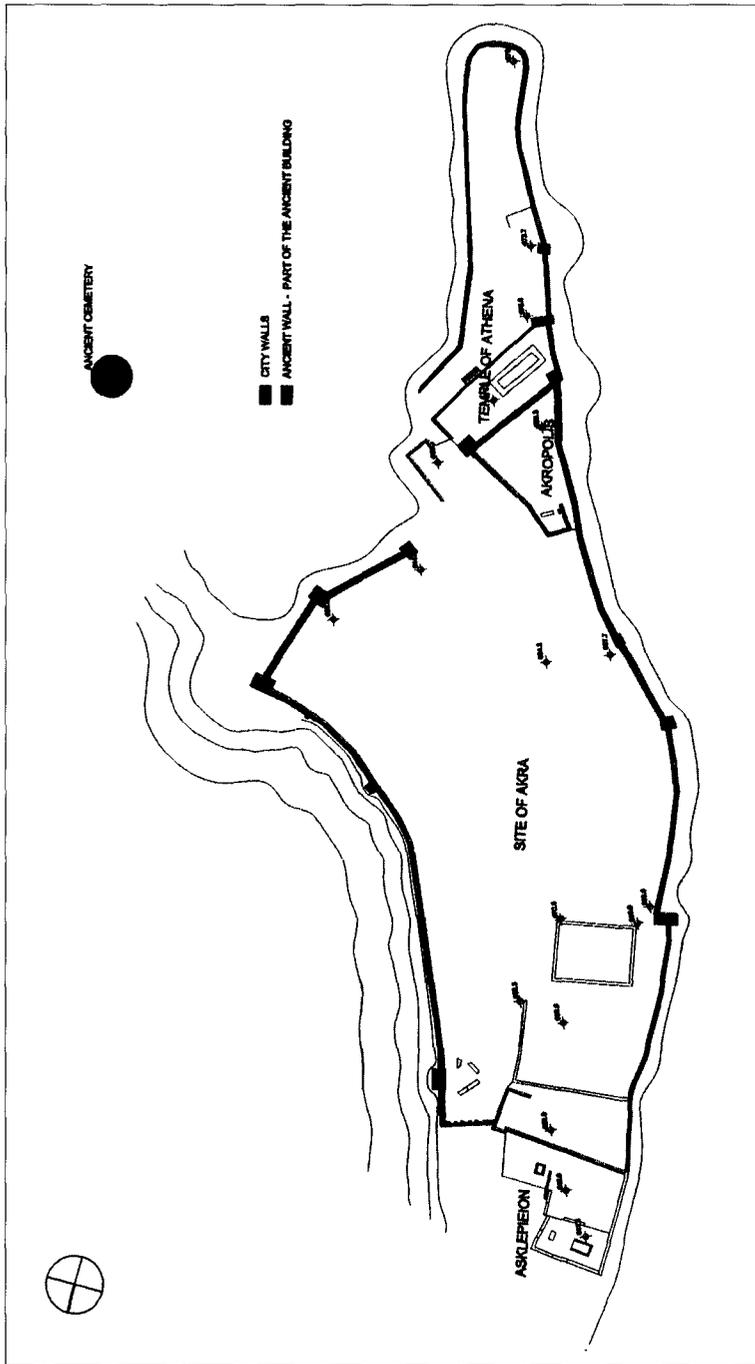


Fig. 1. General plan of the ancient town. (Reworked from Orlandos 1968, pl. 2.)



Fig. 2. The temple of Asklepios. (Photo: S. Alevridis.)



Fig. 3. The τετράγωνο κτίριο in the sanctuary of Asklepios. (Photo: S. Alevridis.)

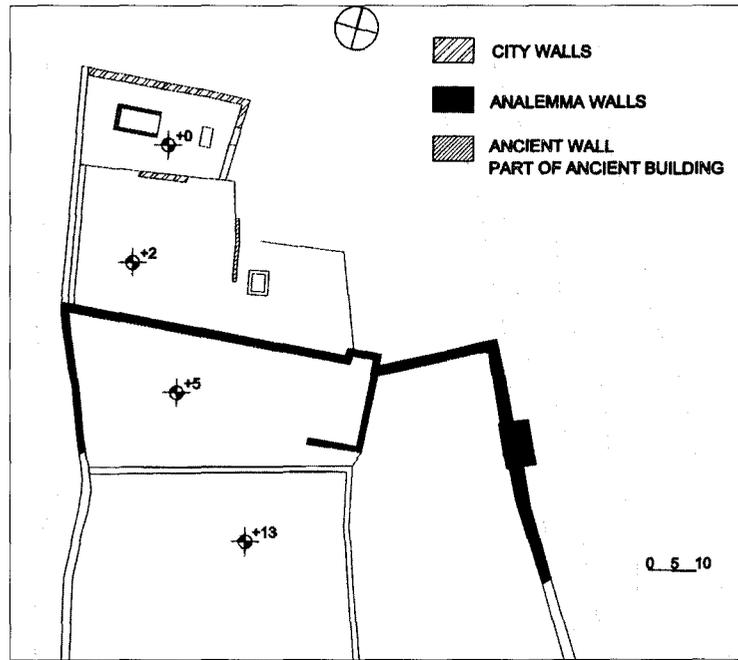


Fig. 4. Site plan of the sanctuary of Asklepios. (Redrawn from Orlandos 1968.)

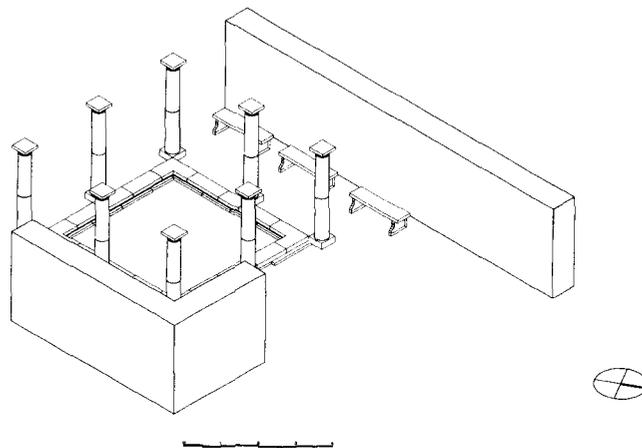


Fig. 5. Hypothetical restoration of the τετράγωνο κτίριο. (Drawing: S. Alevridis.)

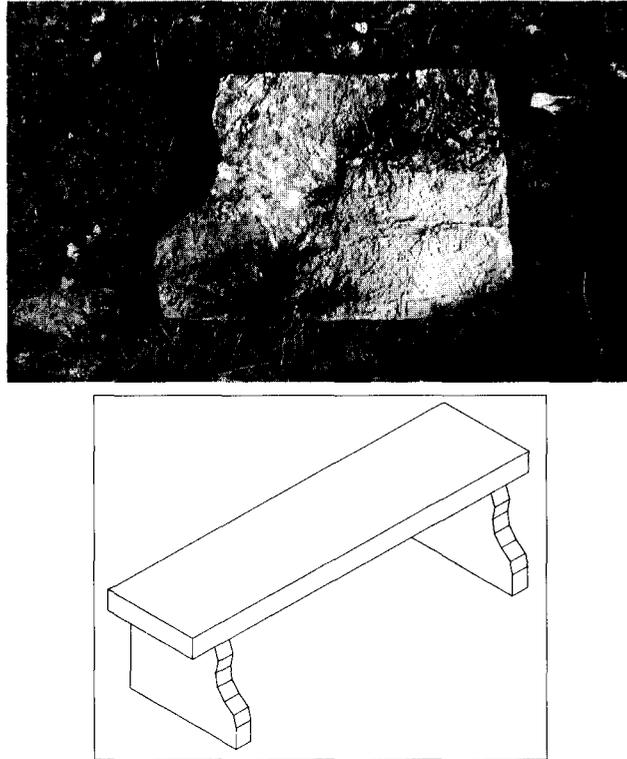


Fig. 6a-b. Foot of the bench and a hypothetical reconstruction. (Photo and drawing: S. Alevridis.)

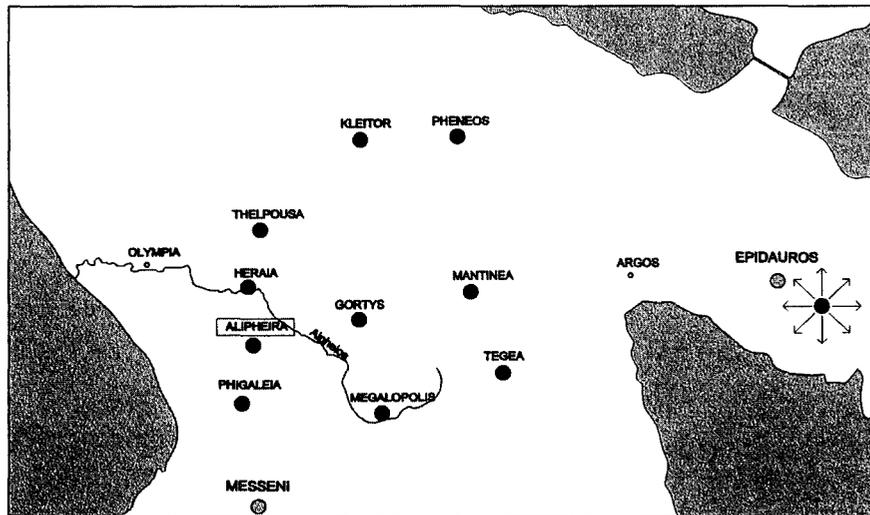


Fig. 7. Distribution map of Asklepios sanctuaries in Arcadia. (Drawing: S. Alevridis.)

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 διερευνησει 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 Ερυνκίνης 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 έρχονταν 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 κώνθαρος 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 εφθαρμμένη.

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. Α22), 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 ελληνοιστικών 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 στιλπνή 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 κεραμεική 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

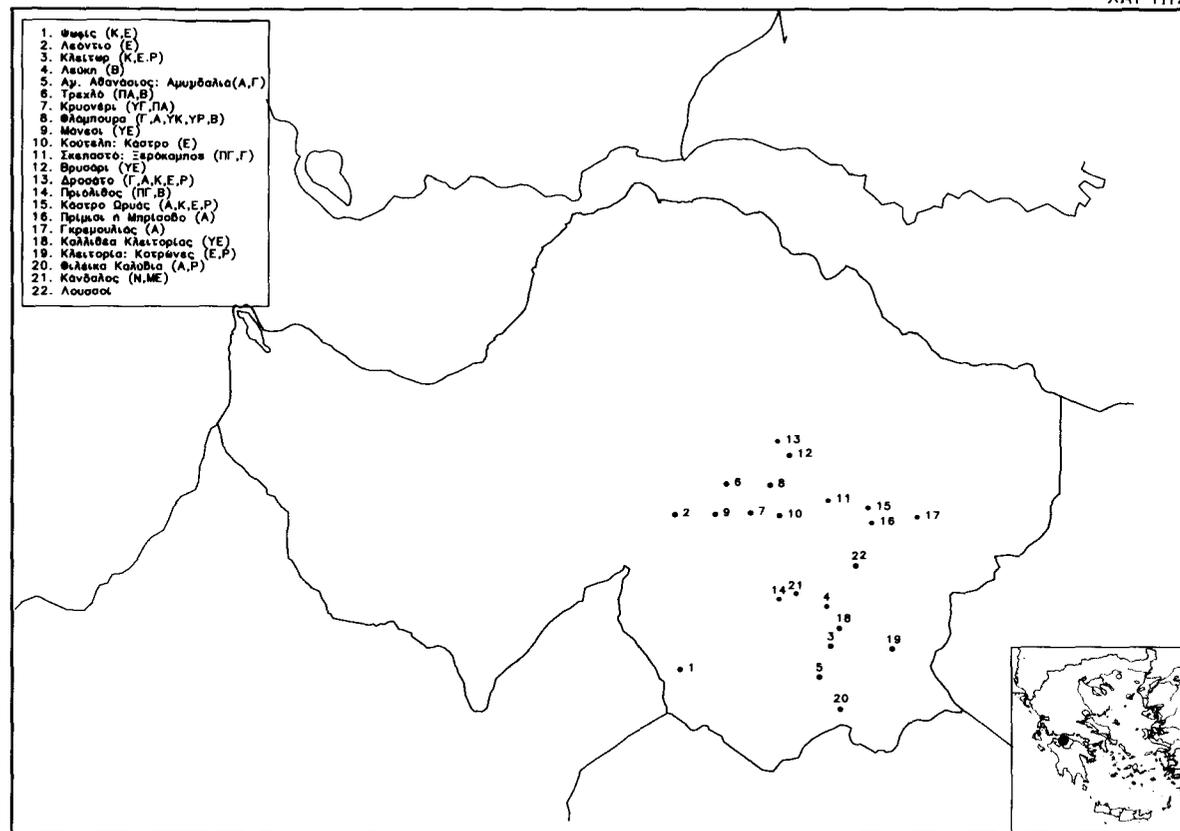
71. Αλεξοπούλου 2000β, υπό έκδοση.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

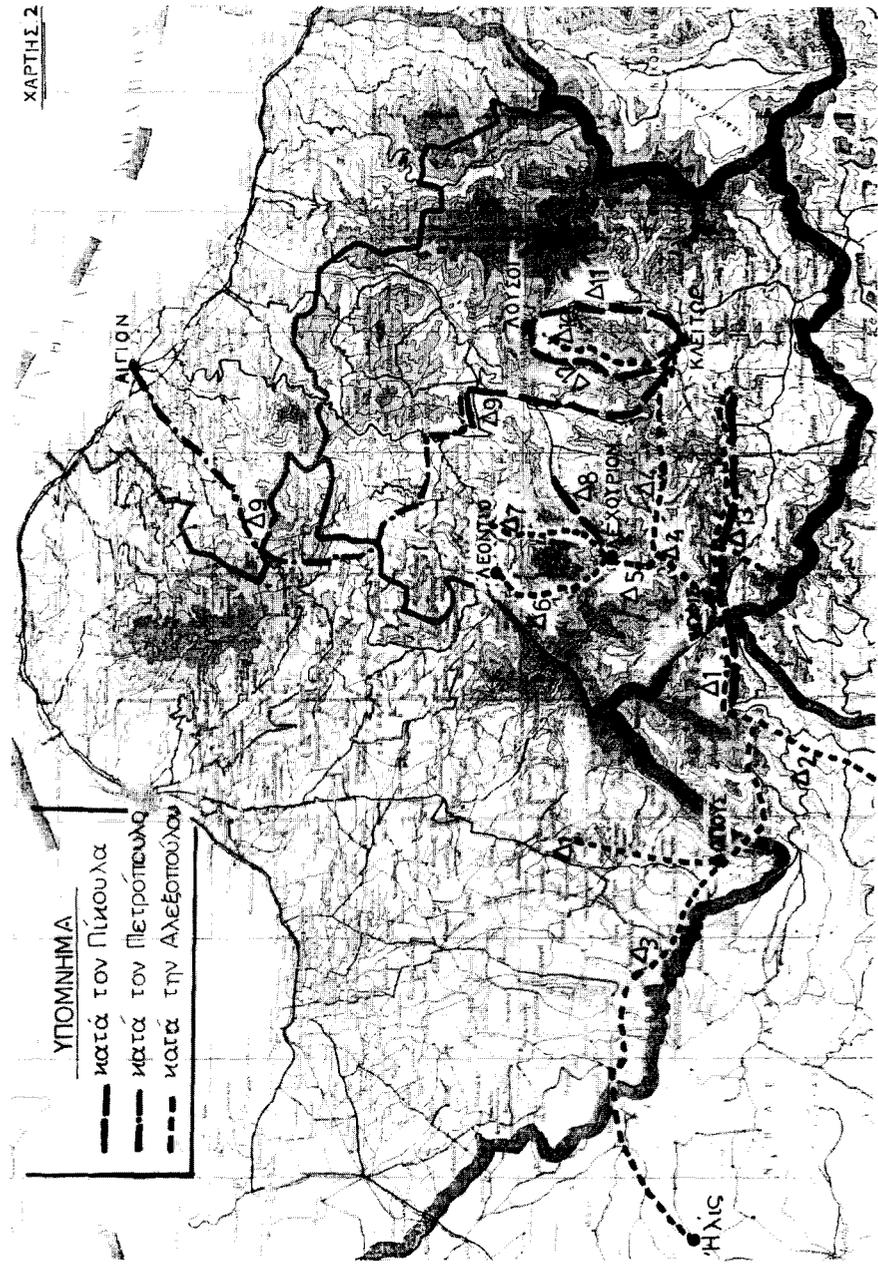
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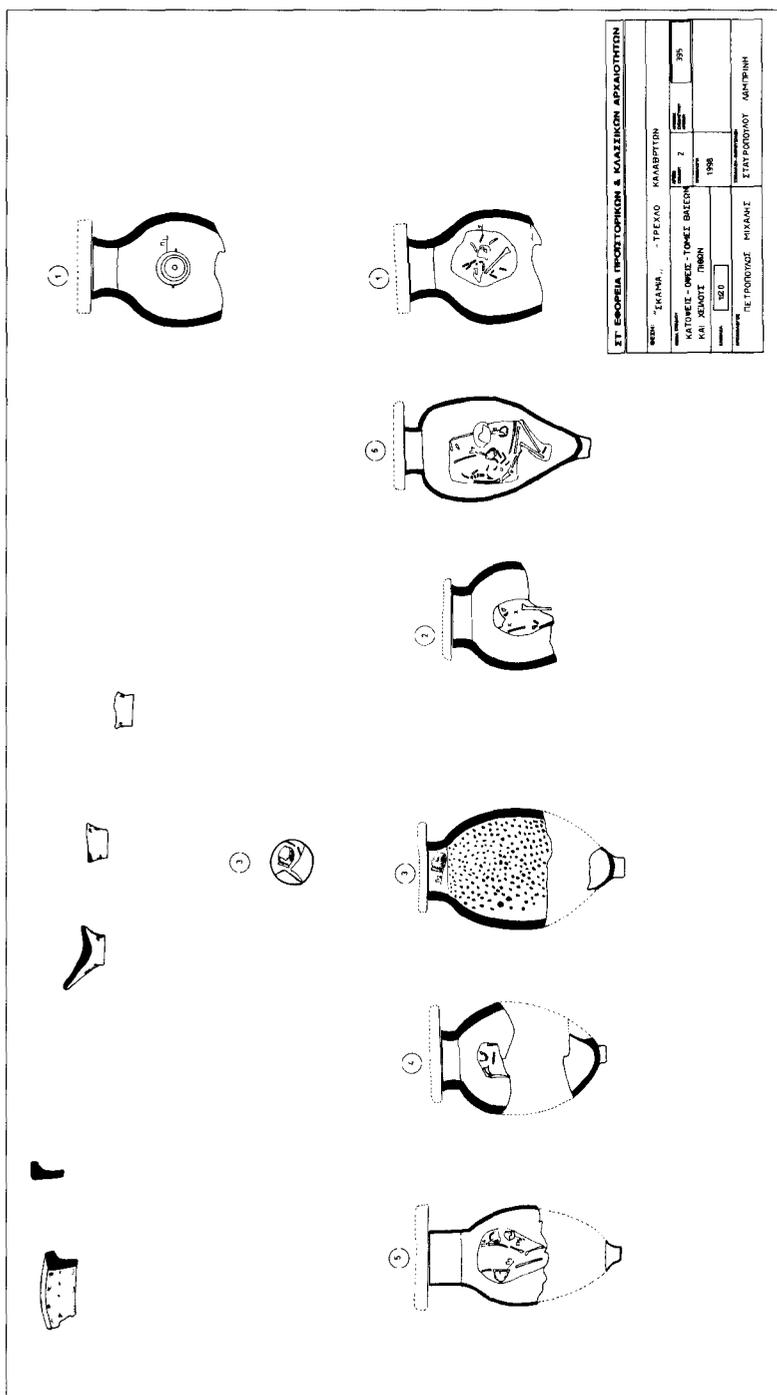
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Χάρτης 1. Κατάλογος θέσεων. (Επεξεργασία ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Χάρτης 2. Διαδρομές επικοινωνίας. (Επεξεργασία ΣΓ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Σχ. 1. Τρελό 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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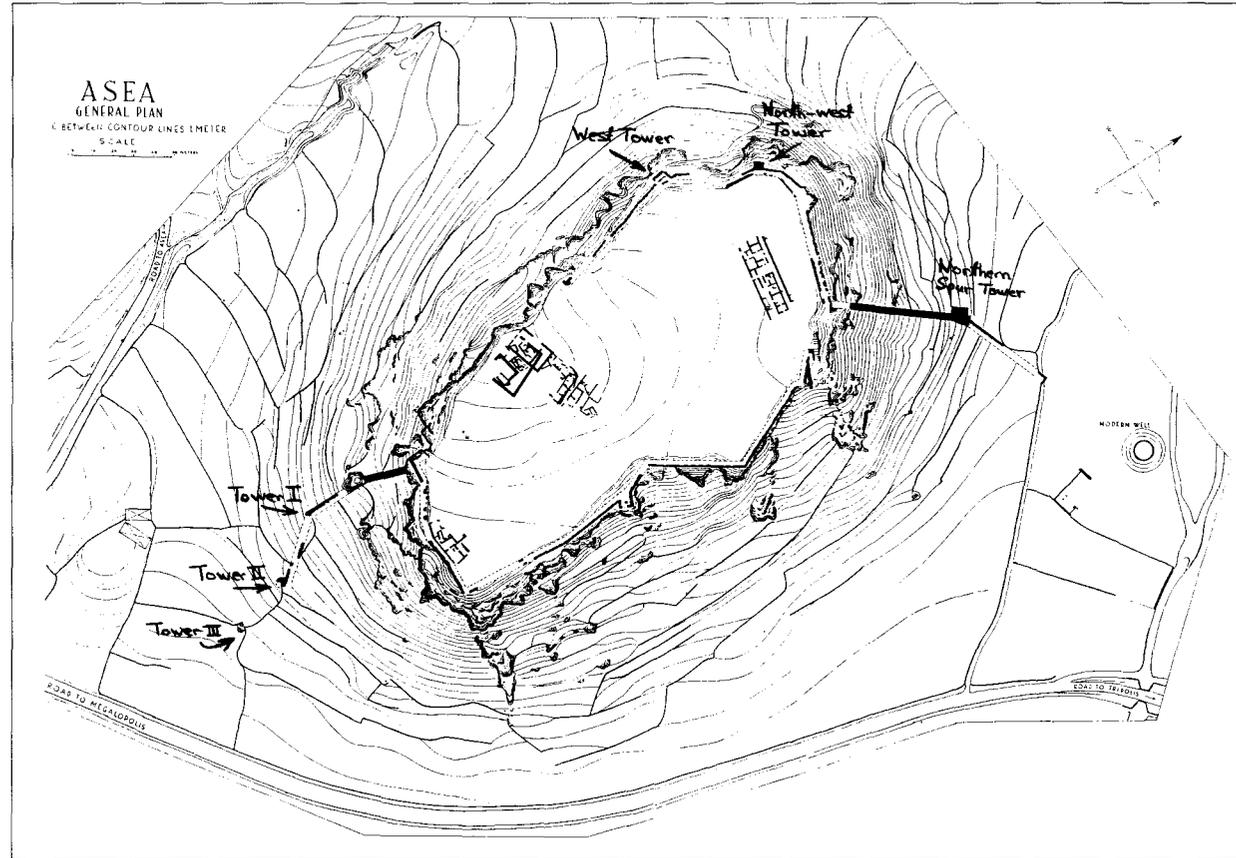


Fig. 1. Plan of the ancient walls and towers of Asea. (After Holmberg 1944, pl. 5.)



Fig. 2. The north-west tower with its projecting footing course seen from the north.
(Photo: authors.)

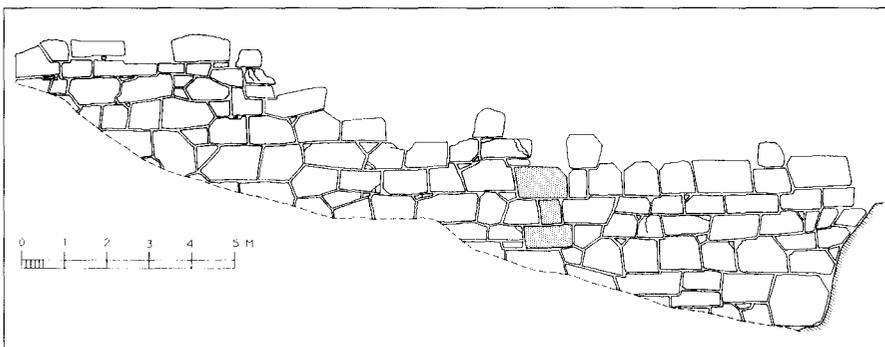


Fig. 3. The outer wall face of the southern spur wall with the masonry chain marked.
(Drawing: L. Karlsson.)

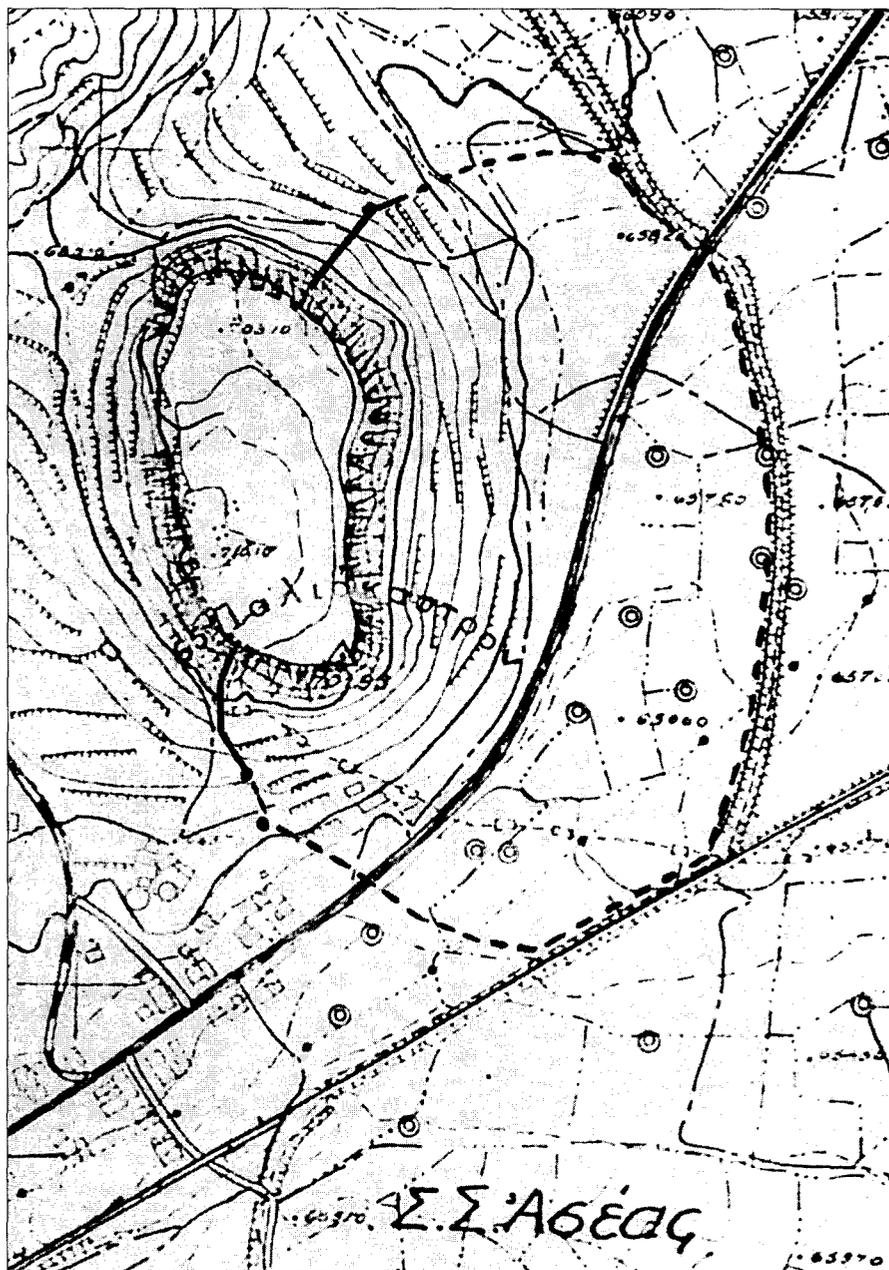


Fig. 4. The approximate stretch of the lower city wall. (Prepared by the authors.)

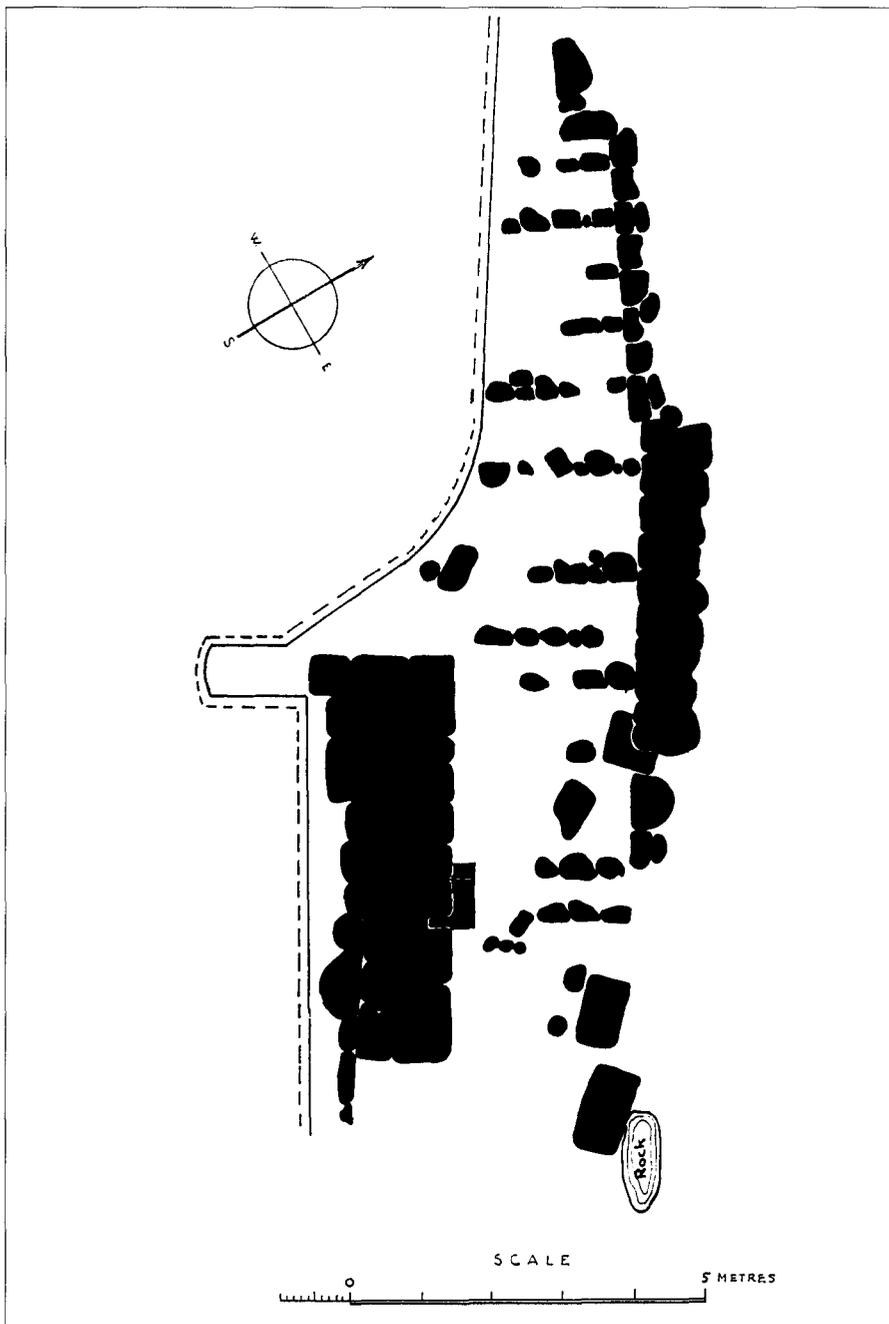


Fig. 5. The main gateway to the acropolis with Late Byzantine additions (new wall and steps). (After Holmberg 1944, fig. 128.)

