

Lavda. The Architectural Remains

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To the memory of Huib Waterbolk who made the drawings at Lavda

In the years 1984-88 a team of Dutch archaeologists investigated the ancient remains on Lavda hill, above the modern village of Theisoa near Andritsena. The results of these campaigns were published in *Pharos*, the journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens. The objective of this article is to introduce the scattered architectural fragments lying about on the site. A general description is provided of the more than hundred catalogued limestone and marble blocks of Doric order (shafts, capitals, entablature). As no foundations of buildings were visible, an attempt is made to provide an interpretation of their use, function and date.

On 8 May 1805 Colonel William Leake set out from Andritsena to Karytena. On his way he visited, as he writes in his diary, "the steep and lofty hill of Lavdha upon which are the remains of a small fortified Hellenic town, now known by the name of the castle of St. Helene ... an enclosure near one side of the outer walls, but entirely separated from them. This citadel is about 150 yards in diameter. In it stood a temple, of which the lower parts of seven Doric columns of one foot eight inches in diameter, are still standing in a line in their original places".¹

The remains on Lavda hill have been visited by several other travellers and archaeologists since, but no serious investigations were carried out before the Netherlands Institute in Athens started to work in 1984. The aim of the project was twofold: to solve the problem of the location of ancient Theisoa and Lykoa, and to give the ancient settlement on Lavda hill a place in the geography and history of Arkadia. In the field the work consisted of mapping the visible remains and setting a number of trenches. One aim of the investigations, giving a name to the site, has been reached. The find of a tile with the inscription THIZ

1. W. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* vol. II, London 1830, 18.

makes it plausible that the remains on Lavda hill are those of ancient Theisoa. The location of Lykoa remains unknown. Most of the results of the campaigns in the years 1985-88 have been published in *Pharos*, the journal of the Netherlands Archaeological Institute in Athens.²

The study of the architectural remains may help to clarify the second objective. A subject that has not yet received the attention it deserves in publication concerns the loose finds of architectural remains. During the four campaigns at Lavda Mr. J.J. Feije has surveyed the slopes of the hill and the surface inside the circuit wall for loose architectural remains. The blocks were mapped and described, and characteristic fragments were measured and drawn.

The remains of Theisoa consist of a wall encircling the highest part of Lavda hill. The top of the hill is separated from the rest of the settlement by an acropolis wall. The acropolis thus formed is fairly flat. Only the north-western part inside this wall rises rather steeply and forms the actual top of the hill. On the western side of the acropolis the wall is still standing to a height of 4 m. Parts of the southern and eastern wall have collapsed. The terrain outside these walls is rather flat over some 50 m up to the point where the hill goes into a steeper slope toward the southern circuit wall. The northern face of the acropolis is very steep. Here also part of the wall has collapsed. Nearly all the blocks were found on the acropolis itself and on the south-eastern and northern slopes. A number of blocks have been reused and built into reparations of the acropolis wall, the circuit wall and other minor walls of later buildings inside the settlement.

We have seen that Colonel Leake assumed to have seen the remains of a temple *in situ*. For everyone who visits the site the row of nine columns standing on the acropolis is a conspicuous feature. But with the knowledge of today it is clear that these are not the remains of an original, ancient building. The distances between the shafts are too small in relation to their thickness and vary considerably. The columns were probably used at a later time to form or strengthen a wall.

Apart from these column shafts the visitor recognizes smaller fragments of columns, frieze blocks and other architectural parts lying scattered around. On closer inspection, however, it appears that many more blocks are to be found. It also appeared that not only blocks carved from the local limestone are present, but marble fragments were found as well. With the help of the representatives of the Ephorate of Olympia Mr. Feije has drawn up a list of the loose architectural remains, including 139 limestone and 46 marble fragments. The blocks belong to the Doric

2. G.-J.-M.-J. te Riele *et al.*, "Archaeological Investigations at Lavda in Arcadia, 1," *Pharos* 1, 1993, 177-208; *eid.*, "Archaeological Investigations at Lavda in Arcadia, 2," *Pharos* 2, 1994, 39-89; Y.C. Goester, "Archaeological Investigations at Lavda in Arcadia, 3," *Pharos* 3, 1995, 131-8; Y.C. Goester and D.M. van de Vrie, "Lavda, The Excavation 1986-88," *Pharos* 6, 1998, 119-78.

order: columns, capitals, architrave, triglyph/metope frieze and cornice blocks.

Columns

Mr. Feije's list includes 67 parts and smaller fragments of columns. The nine shafts on the acropolis are among the best preserved. They are standing to a height of 0.65 to 1.30 m. None has a worked upper surface, which means that their original length is no longer known. They have 20 flutes with sharp arrises and a diameter varying between 0.47 and 0.48 m. The diameter of some of the other fragments of columns could be measured or reconstructed, for the smallest one as 0.42 m, for the largest as 0.505 m. The width of the flutes varies from 0.07 to 0.08 m. The total length of fragments of columns found is ca. 33 m. Only three marble pieces of columns were found; they are too small and fragmentary to allow a comparison of measurements. Five fragments of engaged columns were found, two of which are marble pieces. The two well-preserved limestone pieces have identical dimensions with a diameter of 0.31 m if they were complete circles. The marble ones are larger, 0.42 m in diameter.

Bases

Seven fragments of column bases were found. All except one are small and incomplete pieces. The height of the bases varies between 0.095 and 0.107 m. The single, large piece is very damaged, so that the moulding is no longer clear. On one piece at least the arrises are not sharp, but all the flutes end straight on the basis. They are 0.075 to 0.08 m wide. (Fig. 1)

Capitals

24 capitals or fragments of capitals were recorded, 16 marble pieces and eight limestone ones. Many fragments, however, are too small to provide any useful information. It is also possible that several small fragments may belong to the same capital. The best preserved marble capital (LM45) has an echinus and an abacus of the same height, 0.075 m, flutes 0.07 m wide, three anuli and a dowel hole. The echinus and abacus have the same width. (Fig. 2) The anuli on all pieces are on the whole not very carefully executed. (Fig. 3) Some capitals incorporate the anuli and the upper part of the column in one block. In two cases the abacus is wider than the echinus. On one of the marble capitals an inscription AXAIKOY was found. This inscription has been published by G.-J.-M.-J. te Riele.³ One of

3. G.-J.-M.-J. te Riele, "A propos de deux inscriptions trouvées en Arcadie ancienne," *Hyperboreus* 1.1, 1994, 151.

the limestone capitals that could be measured has a lower diameter of 0.58 m. The limestone capitals are clearly larger than the marble ones. Two blocks that could be anta-capitals were discovered.

Architrave

12 architrave blocks or parts of such were described. The maximum preserved length measured at a broken block is 1.66 m. The block is rather damaged. The height of all blocks is 0.45 or 0.46 m and the depth 0.45 m. All blocks have at the back a recess where the second block could be placed. On several blocks grooves for T-clamps are visible. The architraves are all of the same type with a taenia and regulae with six guttae. The straight taenia is 0.065 to 0.075 m high. The regulae are 0.025 to 0.035 m high and between 0.40 and 0.42 m wide. The distance between the guttae is 0.08 m.

Frieze

20 frieze blocks were identified. The metopes are not sculptured. One complete block (LB90) provides useful information: length 2.16 m and height 0.577 m. It has two triglyphs and two metopes. Its metopes are 0.655 to 0.675 m wide; the triglyphs 0.41 m; the glyphs are triangular, 0.08 to 0.085 m wide, slightly rounded at the top and not undercut. (Fig. 4) The depth of this block could not be ascertained; others are 0.41 or 0.43 m deep. The other fragments have comparable overall measurements. In most cases the taenia is 0.08 m high. The frieze without the taenia is always 0.49 m high. Some blocks recede at the back for the second layer. Two of the pieces are corner blocks, one of them well preserved. It is 0.68 m long, 0.445 m wide and 0.555 m high. The taenia is 0.054 m high and protrudes 0.03 m. The block has no metope. The triglyph is 0.40 to 0.41 m wide; the glyphs are triangular, slightly rounded at the top, not undercut, 0.08 m wide and 0.022 m deep. The block has two rectangular holes and a T-shaped clamp hole.

Geisa

23 fragments of geisa blocks have been described. All are of marble. The height of the blocks varies between 0.175 and 0.22 m. Some have remains of mutuli and guttae, others show a projection with a simple profile. All hawksbeaks and drips are damaged. The depth of the mutuli is between 0.185 and 0.20 m, height 0.03 m. The length of the mutuli was nowhere preserved, nor could the total depth of the blocks be ascertained.

It is remarkable that capitals and geisa blocks are of marble while the other parts of the order, with a few exceptions, are of limestone. The limestone pieces are generally larger than the marble ones, except for the engaged columns, where the opposite is the case. There are, however, two marble capitals, which are somewhat larger than the other pieces. There is even a third type. Some 300 m down the southern slope of the hill three marble capitals and part of a marble column are lying in a reuma. They are very worn and could not be measured well, but it is clear that they are of a different, larger size.

Most of the architectural blocks recorded are so damaged that only a few complete dimensions are available for comparison. Therefore we have to limit ourselves to more general observations. The diameters of the limestone columns vary between 0.47 and 0.495 m. The lower diameters of the marble capitals vary between 0.36 and 0.44 m. It is, therefore, clear that the columns and the capitals cannot belong together. This leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with two different buildings. A third structure is also possible, since the large marble capitals on the south slope do not fit in either category. The relation of the material – limestone or marble – and the components of the order remains remarkable, however.

The mapping of the find places confirmed that most blocks are located on the acropolis and on the slopes directly underneath the acropolis walls. (Fig. 5) The distribution map of the blocks shows that precisely at the spots where the wall has collapsed architectural blocks have tumbled down the slope. Only a few have rolled further down. The marble fragments have not come down very far. We may safely assume that all the architectural blocks belonged to buildings that were standing on the acropolis.

On the acropolis three rubble heaps, of rectangular form, can be seen. They look like the remains of buildings whose walls have collapsed, leaving a hollow in the middle. Mr. Feije has made a trial trench at one of these rubble heaps in order to find out whether foundations were present underneath. This unfortunately was not the case and no indication was found concerning the character or age of these supposed buildings. This means that we do not have any indication for the foundations of the buildings the architectural blocks belonged to, and that it remains hypothetical what kind of buildings were standing on the acropolis. It is obviously tempting to suggest a temple, but this must remain a conjecture.

Suggested dates

The remains on Lavda hill are unfortunately in such a state that we have only the data provided by loose blocks at our disposal. The limestone capitals are too damaged for any conclusions to be drawn from their profiles. Some of the marble capitals are well preserved. One (LM30; Fig. 3) has a straight profile of

the echinus with a small curve inward where it meets the abacus, comparable to the capital from the temple of Hagios Elias near Asea⁴ and less steep than those at Lepreon.⁵ The temple of Hagios Elias is late archaic, the temple of Demeter at Lepreon is dated to the 4th century. Those of the Lavda capitals that have preserved the complete profile of echinus and abacus show that both are equally high. The echinus continuing below the anuli and cutting off the flutes seems to be a later feature.⁶

When we compare the height of the blocks of architrave and frieze it appears that the frieze is on the average about 0.10 m higher. The comparison of the width of the triglyphs and the metopes shows that the metopes are ca. 0.20 m wider than the triglyphs. The metopes are shaped as horizontal rectangles, not as squares.

On a number of blocks grooves for clamps have been preserved. With the exception of a few rectangular holes they are all T-shaped, a regular type in classical times.

The bases are unusual. The flutes end immediately and horizontally above the bases. At least in one case the arrises between the flutes are not sharp. Perhaps we may compare these 'based' columns with those mentioned by professor Winter at the peripteral temple of Kourno in the Mani. There their function and place in the construction is clear, which is not the case at Lavda. The peripteros of Kourno with its half-columns with bases is dated to the first half of the first century B.C.; the bases are explained as a feature introduced by Roman influence.⁷ We cannot, however, exclude the possibility of an Ionic order at Lavda hill. On the basis of these data we can reach a preliminary conclusion.

The marble pieces may belong to a structure dating from the classical to late classical period. The limestone pieces date from a later period. Although it is difficult to be more specific, a late 2nd or 1st century date cannot be excluded. It is equally impossible to be specific about the character of the buildings. Professor Lauter, who visited the site, suggested to me in a letter that there might be a marble temple and a later stoa or rather a second temple. At the moment of writing it had not yet been possible to discuss these matters further.

The initial aims of the investigations at Lavda have been fulfilled. We assume now that the ancient name of the settlement was Theisoa. The second aim was

4. J. Forsén, B. Forsén and E. Østby, "The Sanctuary of Agios Elias – Its Significance, and Its Relations to Surrounding Sanctuaries and Settlements," in Th.H. Nielsen and J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6, Copenhagen 1999, 176, fig. d.

5. H. Knell, "Lepreon. Der Tempel der Demeter," *AM* 98, 1983, 124, Abb. 6.

6. J.J. Coulton, "The Stoa at the Amphiareion, Oropos," *BSA* 63, 1968, 171.

7. J.E. Winter and F.E. Winter, "The Date of the Temples near Kourno in Lakonia," *AJA* 87, 1983, 10.

more demanding. When first visiting the site and seeing the remains it is clear to the visitor that a settlement of some importance was located here. This impression has only been confirmed and strengthened by Mr. Feije's research. The fact that – on a rather remote and elevated spot – marble was used as building material points to a certain wealth or motivation of the inhabitants. Marble is not known to occur in the neighbourhood and must have been brought from far away and up the hill. Although the results of our investigations at the moment do not allow any more extensive statements, we may assume that Theisoa was an important settlement during one or more periods in the classical and Hellenistic times. It is tempting to link these results with what we know from literary sources about Theisoa and how the town is mentioned in connection with the synoicism of Megalopolis. Too little is known about the role or fate of Theisoa in this context, however, and a discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of the present article.

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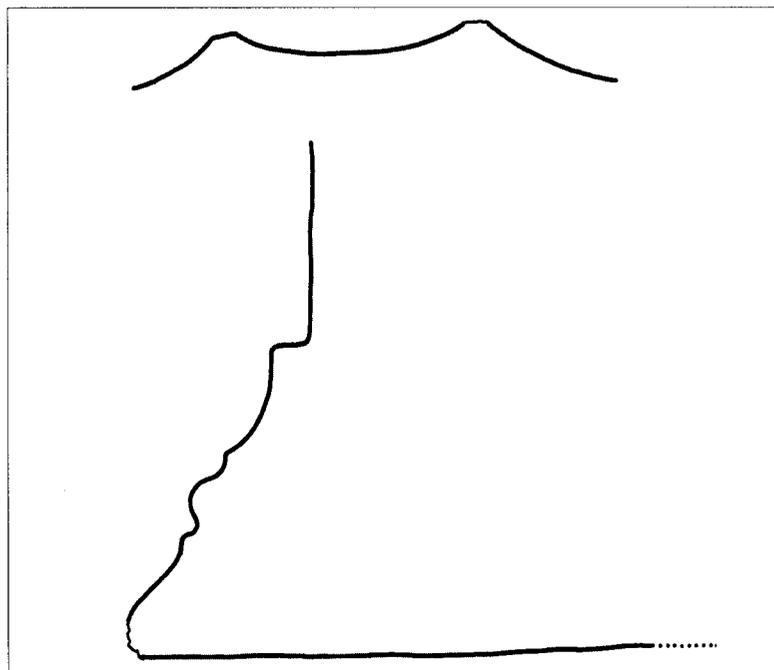


Fig. 1. Lavda, column basis LB31. (Drawing: J.J. Feije.)



Fig. 2. Lavda, marble capital LM45. (Photo: J.J. Feije.)



Fig. 3. Lavda, marble capital LM30. (Photo: J.J. Feije.)



Fig. 4. Lavda, frieze block LB90. (Photo: J.J. Feije.)

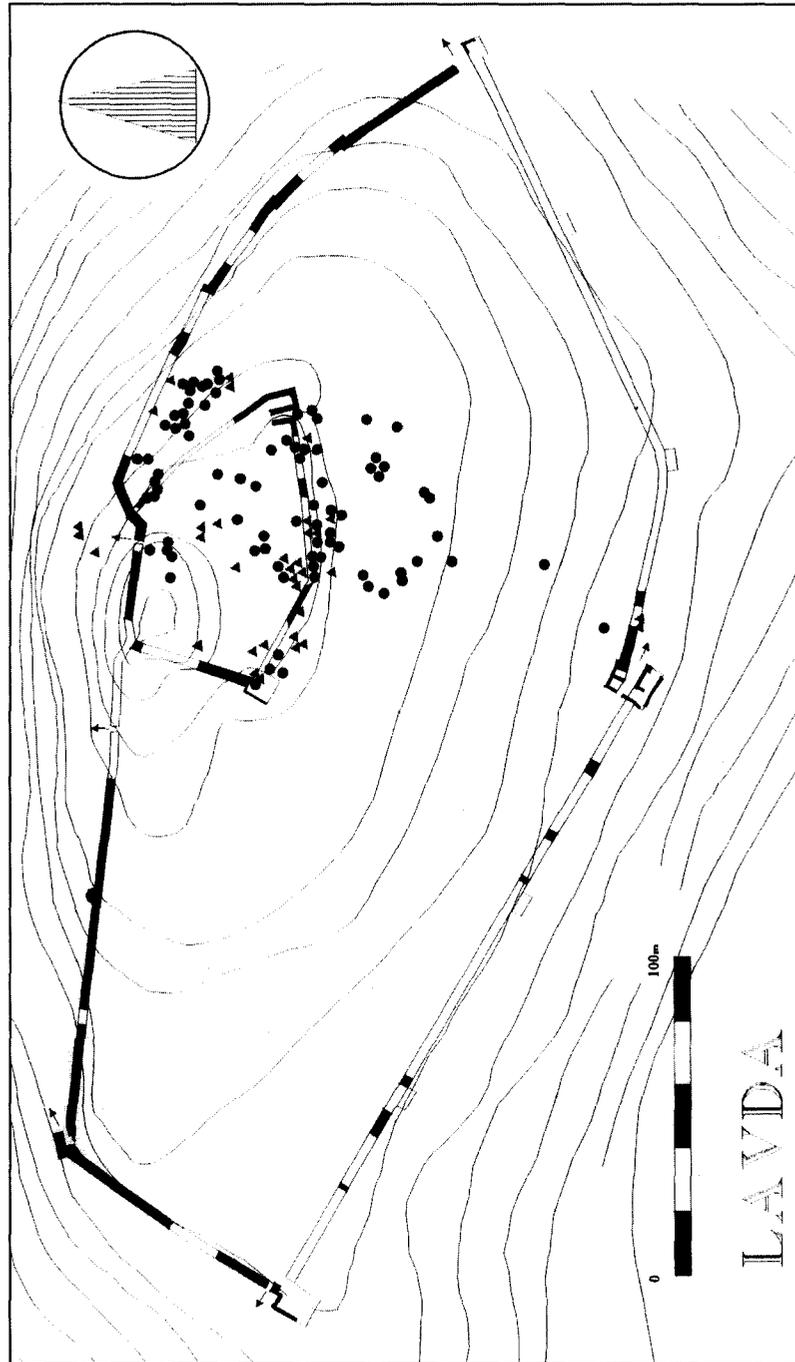


Fig. 5. Lavda, distribution map of the architectural blocks. (Drawing: D.M. van de Vrie.)

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

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

I. Introduction

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

* My warmest acknowledgements are offered to Prof. Hans Lauter and to my colleague Dr. Polyxeni Bouyia for their useful comments on the text. My gratitude is also expressed to the editor Prof. Erik Østby and to Dr. Chrysanthi Gallou for the translation of the original Greek text. This paper is a slightly changed version of the communication read at the seminar, with the addition of detailed data reports and the absolutely necessary footnotes. The processing and conservation of the material from the excavation have not yet been completed, therefore the evidence presented here is far from conclusive. See also the papers on the subject by Karapanagiotou 1997; *ead.* 1998; *ead.*, forthcoming.

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

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

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

II. The new excavations: 1998-2001

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

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

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

5. Bather and Yorke 1892-93, 229.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Despite the fragmentary character of our rescue excavation, a group of rooms at the southwestern zone of the settlement provides a clear picture of the arrangement of the houses and the function and use of individual spaces. (See Plan 2, north of street 5, and Fig. 4) The interior of the houses was accessible through a long narrow corridor, 3.5 m wide, which communicates directly with the main street. The main part of the house (ca. 400 m² large) extends to the east of the corridor.¹⁴ The corridor leads off to the courtyard that occupies the central part of the unit and divides the main (eastern) house into two wings: a) the northern wing occupied by the rooms shared by the family, and b) the south wing equipped with a hearth found *in situ*, where presumably cooking took place. In general terms, the plan of the Kyparissia houses is similar to those at Olynthos, although the presence of a portico or veranda (the so-called *pastas*) that gave access to the main rooms on the north side of the house, has not yet been confirmed at Kyparissia.¹⁵ The western part of the houses functioned as store-rooms, as suggested by a system of rectangular rooms, walls without openings in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. The organization of the town

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

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

22. Hejnic 1961, 99.

23. Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 299-301.

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

25. Boyd and Rudolph 1978; Rudolph 1984.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. The date of the town

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

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

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

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

41. See also Jost 1985, 170.

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

43. Hom. *Il.* 2.608.

44. Paus. 8.27.4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. Kyparissia: A case of synoecism?

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

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

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

52. Kirsten 1964.

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

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

55. Moggi 1976, 256-62.

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

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

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

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

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

VI. The name of the polis

Due to the absence of epigraphical evidence, the attribution of a name to the urban centre at Kyparissia is risky. Pausanias reports two ruined towns in the area, Trapezous and Basilis, which could give a name to our settlement.⁶² Although this study is based mainly on a preliminary study of the archaeological evidence, it is tempting to identify the settlement at Kyparissia with Arkadian Trapezous,⁶³ the only Parrhasian town attested in ancient sources⁶⁴ as early as the 6th century B.C.⁶⁵ Unlike Basilis, it was among the towns of Parrhasia that participated in the synoecism of Megalopolis. But Pausanias also states (8.27.5-6) that the people of Trapezous did not accept the decision taken by the tribal authorities of the Parrhasians to settle in the recently founded city of Megalopolis. Their reaction was not left unpunished by the rest of the Arkadians, and those of the Trapezountians who saved their lives, abandoned their city and went to Trapezous of Pontos, where they were accepted μετροπολίτας τ' ὄντας καὶ ὁμωνύμους.

The archaeological evidence from Kyparissia corresponds in the most

60. Nielsen 1996, 80-1 and 83.

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

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

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

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

65. Hdt. 6.127.

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

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

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

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

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



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



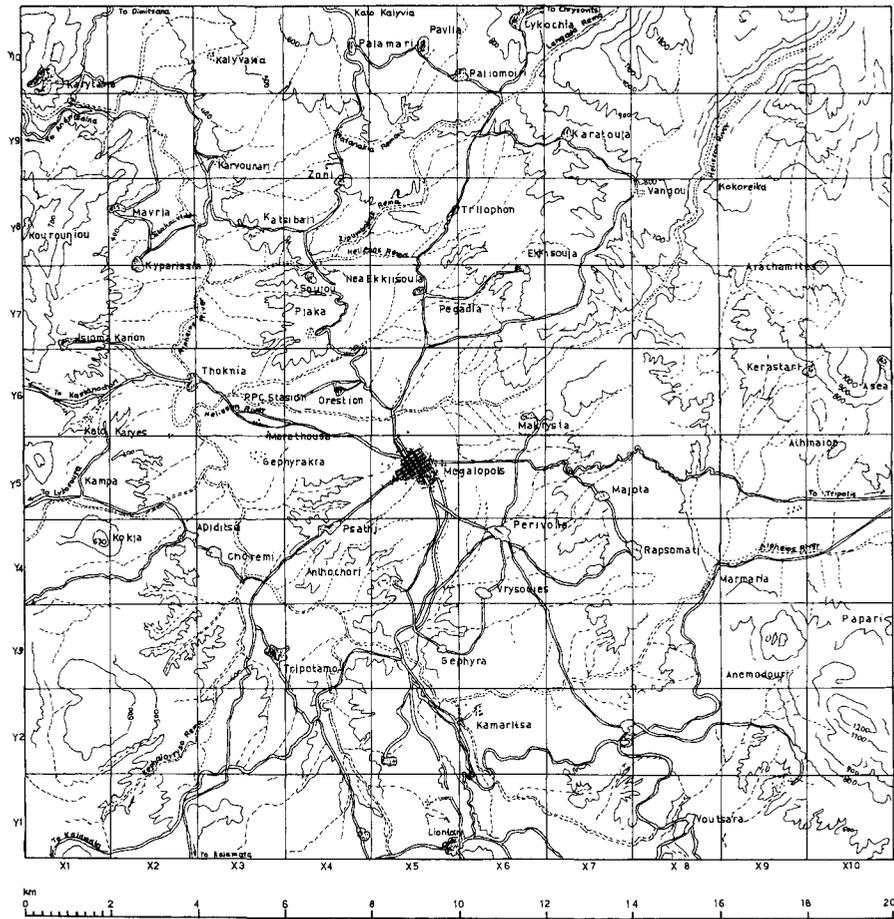
Fig. 3. Kyparissia. Detail of Street 3, with pavement, drainage channel and rooms behind it, seen from southwest. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)



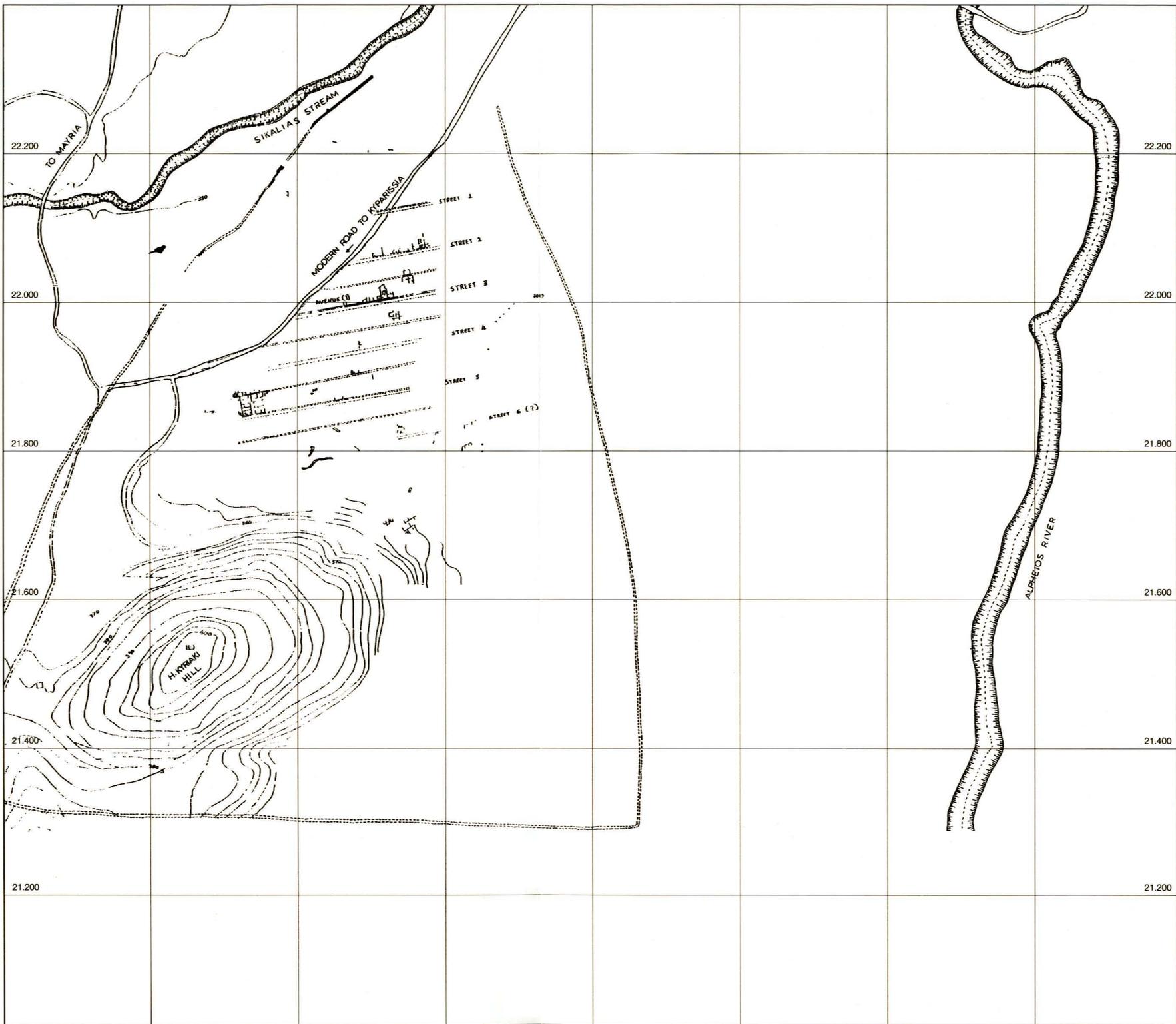
Fig. 4. Kyparissia. General view of the house-complex north of Street 5, seen from southwest. (Photo: E' Ephorate.)



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



Plan 1. Map of southwestern Arkadia. (Plan: based on Petronotis 1973, fig. 3.)



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

Κλείτωρ. Η πόλη υπό το φως των ανασκαφών **Γενική θεώρηση ανασκαφικών δεδομένων**

Μαρία Πετριτάκη

Excavations at the site of the city of Arcadian Kleitor began in 1987. To date, the main body of archaeological evidence lies in the finds from the systematic excavation in the area between the theatre and the SW gate as well as in those from an extensive rescue excavation, which preceded the installation of the irrigation system of the valley. From this and other relevant evidence, much information has been obtained concerning the building history of the ancient city. The fortification wall, which surrounded the city, was of an estimated length of ca. 2500-3000 m, and it enclosed an area of about 1.9 sq. km. The socle is built of stone, with the core-with-facings (*emplekton*) method, following the trapezoidal system. The superstructure consisted of mud-bricks. At the SW gate, two Hellenistic phases can be distinguished, while there are indications of an earlier, but not clearly identifiable one. The theatre lies at the SW end of the city, and evidence of a *diazoma* has been located. The theatre seems to have been used as a quarry already from the Roman period. At the crossing of the two main streets of the city, at the site of Frangokklesi, there is evidence of an organized settlement of the classical and Hellenistic periods. During the Roman period, the settlement extended considerably outside the city walls, where rural structures of this period have been located. Organized cemeteries lie outside the gates. There are burials dating from the Late Geometric period until the Late Roman. Excavation and surface finds lead to the conclusion that Frangokklesi was built on the site of an Early Christian basilica. Activity in the city seems to have ceased in the 4th century A.D. In all probability, it was transferred to the west, to the site of the modern village of Kleitoras, known under this name since medieval times.

Finally, it must be added that prehistoric artefacts found in excavations or collected on the surface, suggest activity in the valley in the pre-Mycenaean period with dwellings on the surrounding hills.

Η ανασκαφική έρευνα στην πόλη του Αρκαδικού Κλείτορα άρχισε να δρομολογείται στα 1987. Η προσπάθεια μας συγκροτήθηκε μέσα από την ΣΤ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων με συντελεστές στο εγ-

χείρημα ένα τοπικό Σύλλογο,¹ και τη Νομαρχία Αχαΐας. Με σταθερό βηματισμό, υπερβαίνοντας ένα σύνθετο πλέγμα εμποδίων, μετά τις πρώτες τοπογραφικές εργασίες,² και ένα σύντομο προκαταρκτικό δοκιμαστικό έλεγχο, διαμορφώνουμε συστηματική ανασκαφή στο ΝΔ τμήμα της πόλης στον μεταξύ της νοτιοδυτικής πύλης και του θεάτρου χώρο. Παρ' ότι οι ανασκαφικές περιόδους που ακολούθησαν, αθροιστικά, είναι ελάχιστες, αναζητώντας παράλληλα με τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα τα ίχνη της μέσα στη διάσταση του τοπίου της, αρχίζει να αποτυπώνεται κλιμακωτή η γνώση του ιστορικού παρελθόντος της. Στα 1991, με την έναρξη στην περιοχή του μεγάλου αρδευτικού έργου της κοιλάδας του Αροαρίου, το οποίο εφαρμόζεται και σε τμήμα της πεδιάδας της αρχαίας πόλης, ο στόχος μας υπηρετείται με πλούτο αρχαιολογικών πληροφοριών. Η πόλη αρχίζει πλέον να ανασυντίθεται και να αφηγείται την οικοδομική της ιστορία, μέσα από τα σκάμματα των νέων αγροτικών δρόμων, των σωληνώσεων και των αποστραγγιστικών τάφρων του έργου.³

Η χάραξη της πορείας του οχρωματικού περιβάλλοντος προσαρμοσμένη στο πεδινό έδαφος της περιοχής το ανάγλυφο του οποίου εκμεταλλεύεται, είναι πλέον γνωστή και υπολογίσιμη σχεδόν σε όλη την περίμετρο του ακόμη και στην ανατολική πλευρά, όπου το τείχος είναι αφανές. (Σχ. 1) Το ορατό μέρος του διατηρείται σε κάτοψη στο επίπεδο της επιφανείας του εδάφους, αλλού καθ' όλο το πάχος, αλλού ενδεικτικά. Καλύπτει μια συνεχή απόσταση περίπου 1500 μ. και φέρει 14 ημικυκλικούς πύργους. Το μόνο εξέχον υπέργειο τμήμα του είναι ένας ημικυκλικός πύργος στην ενσωματωμένη στο τείχος φυσική ακρόπολη, στη θέση Κόντρα, απ' όπου επιτυγχάνεται ο έλεγχος όλης της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Από την περαιτέρω συνέχεια του άξονά του, τμήματα

1. Καθοριστική υπήρξε στην υλοποίηση του στόχου μας η υποστήριξη του Συλλόγου Κλειτορολευκασίων Πάτρας. Η ισόρροπη συμβολή του, ηθική και οικονομική, αποφασιστική και καρποφόρα, αποτέλεσε την αφετηρία μακράς συνεργασίας επί του θέματος του αρχαίου Κλείτορος.

2. Η τοπογραφική αποτύπωση των επιφανειακών αρχαιολογικών ενδείξεων άρχισε στα 1987 με συνεργείο της Τεχνικής Υπηρεσίας του Υπουργείου Γεωργίας. Εκκινώντας από τα δυτικά, κάλυψε μέρος της αρχαίας πόλης μέχρι την περιοχή του Φραγκοκκλησιού. Η ολοκλήρωση της καταγραφής των τοπογραφικών στοιχείων μέσα από τα οποία ανιχνεύεται η πόλη συμπερίλαμνομένων και των ενδιάμεσως αναδειχθέντων ανασκαφικά λειψάνων, συντελέστηκε πολύ αργότερα στα 1993-94, επ' αφορμή του μεγάλου αρδευτικού έργου της κοιλάδας του Αροαρίου και πραγματοποιήθηκε υπό την διεύθυνσή μας από τον τοπογράφο αρχιτέκτονα Χαρ. Μπαρμπόπουλο. Πρόκειται για την πρώτη τοπογραφική αποτύπωση της αρχαίας πόλης. Όπως είναι γνωστό, προσπάθεια σχετικής σκιαγράφησης του γενικού περιγράμματός της έχει γίνει στο παρελθόν από τους Reinach και Lebas 1888, 34, με πλησιέστερη αυτή του Παπανδρέου 1920, 113.

3. Για μια πρόδρομη συνοπτική αναφορά στην πόλη υπό το πρίσμα των ανασκαφών βλπ. Πετριτάκη 1996. Επίσης, Πετριτάκη 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993.

του οποίου εντοπίσθηκαν κατά τόπους ανασκαφικά, υπολογίζουμε ότι περιέτρεχε την πόλη σε συνολικό μήκος γύρω στα 2500-3000 μ. ορίζοντας την έκτασή της στα 577 στρέμματα περίπου. Τα τμήματα του ανατολικού και βόρειου σκέλους του τείχους, όπως φάνηκε, έχουν δεχθεί τις καταστροφικές συνέπειες του ποταμού Καρνεσίου. Ο ποταμός, ενώ κατά την αρχαιότητα έρεε εκτός των τειχών, διασχίζοντας στην σύγχρονη εποχή την καρδιά της πόλης με κατεύθυνση Α-Δ, με τη συχνή μεταβολή και τις διακλαδώσεις της κοίτης του, τις υπερχειλίσσεις και την ορμητικότητα του νερού του κατά την χειμερινή περίοδο, διαβρώνει και επιχωματώνει τα αρχαία κατάλοιπα αενάως. Μέσα στην ενεργή στις μέρες μας κοίτη του ποταμού Καρνεσίου, θαμμένα κάτω από τις μεγάλου πάχους αποθέσεις του αποκαλύψαμε ένα ημικυκλικό πύργο⁴ και μεσοπύργιο τμήμα του τείχους στην προέκτασή του, ΝΑ. Διατηρείται η λίθινη κρηπίδα δομημένη κατά την έμπλεκτη τεχνική. Στις εξωτερικές επιφάνειες φέρει τοίχους με εφαρμογή του τραπεζιόσημου συστήματος,⁵ από πλίνθους ντόπιου ασβεστόλιθου αδρά δουλεμένους και στο μεταξύ αυτών κενό κροκάλες και λατύπη. Η τοιχοδομία του συμπληρώνεται με κατά διαστήματα εγκάρσιους τοίχους, τα ζεύγματα, οι οποίοι έδεναν τις εξωτερικές παρειές. Στον πύργο (Εικ. 1) επισημαίνεται δομική ανεξαρτησία από το τείχος και φαίνεται πως ανήκει σ' αυτούς οι οποίοι αντιπροσωπεύουν την επονομαζόμενη νέα γενεά, η οποία κατά τον Winter μετά δυσκολίας θα μπορούσε να χρονολογηθεί πριν το 300 π.Χ.⁶ Εντελώς άλλη είναι η εικόνα των τμημάτων του ΒΑ σκέλους του οχυρωματικού περιβόλου, όπου διαπιστώθηκε ανατειχισμός. Το τείχος έχει αναμορφωθεί και οι εξωτερικοί τοίχοι έχουν αντικατασταθεί με άλλους από λογάδες λίθους αναμειγμένους κατά διαστήματα με λιθοπλίνθους. Το επικοδόμημα του λιθολογήματος φαίνεται πως ήταν από πλίθρες. Το συμπεραίνουμε και επιβεβαιώνεται από την ανασκαφική έρευνα στην οχυρωματική εγκατάσταση της ΝΔ πύλης, όπου εντοπίσαμε τα κενά από τους προϋπάρχοντες εγκάρσιους ξύλινους ενδέσμους που συγκρατούσαν το σώμα των ώμων πλίθρων σε συνδυασμό με την χρήση ξύλινων οριζοντίως και κατά μήκος τοποθετημένων στοιχείων, των θράνων.

Η εν εξελίξει ευρισκομένη έρευνα τμήματος του ΝΔ πυλώνα απέφερε ένα αξιόλογο δείγμα οχυρωματικής αρχιτεκτονικής και μια κύρια πύλη ελέγχου

4. Προφανώς δεν είναι ο πύργος ο μνημονευόμενος από τον Παπανδρέου 1920, 103-4. Επίσης, Winter 1989, 198.

5. Πρόκειται για ένα σύστημα κυμαινόμενο μεταξύ πολυγωνικού και τραπεζιόσημου με επικράτηση του τραπεζιόσημου. Κατά τον Winter, χωρίς αμφιβολία υπάρχει ένας σημαντικός αριθμός ελληνιστικών παραδειγμάτων πολυγωνικού συστήματος. Ωστόσο, το τραπεζιόσημο, βελτίωση του πολυγωνικού και λέσβιου, από την άποψη της ταχύτητας και της οικονομίας προσφερόταν για την κατασκευή των τειχών. Winter 1979, 90-1, και Jost 1999, 203.

6. Winter 1989, 199, και Winter 1979, 193, n. 110.

εισόδου της πόλης, προσαρμοσμένη σε κεντρική αρτηρία του οδικού δικτύου με Α-Δ κατεύθυνση. Η πύλη διαμορφώνεται σε εσοχή του τείχους. Εξωτερικά ελέγχεται από ισχυρό ορθογώνιο πύργο με ημικυκλική προεξοχή σε τμήμα της πρόσοψης του. Εσωτερικά η εγκατάστασή της αποτελείται από δυο διαδοχικούς αύλειους χώρους, ένα τετράγωνο για την παγίδευση του επιτιθεμένου, ένα άλλο ορθογώνιο αμυντικό και δυο διαδοχικές εσωτερικές θύρες. Η προς τα έξω διατηρεί τους επιχάλκωμένους όλμους των στροφών της. (Εικ. 2) Η προς τα μέσα είναι τριπλή. Τέσσερις βάσεις πεσσών παραστάδων διαμορφώνουν μια κεντρική είσοδο για τα άρματα και δυο πλευρικές για τους πεζούς. Ένα ακόμη άνοιγμα εισόδου πιθανόν για διευκόλυνση του χειρισμού των μεγάλων καταπελτών, εντοπίζεται στο τείχος νότια του τετραγώνου αύλειου χώρου και δεξιά του επιτιθεμένου, το οποίο έκλεισε σε δεύτερη οικοδομική φάση. Το εντοπισθέν τμήμα της πύλης συνιστά το νότιο ήμισυ της. Μας επιτρέπει να συμπληρώσουμε το υπολοιπόμενο για την ολοκλήρωση και διαμόρφωση του μορφότυπου της.

Με βάση την στρωματική διαδοχή, επισημαίνονται δυο φάσεις των ελληνιστικών χρόνων με υπερυψωμένα δάπεδα και μετασκευή και ορίζεται ένα ακόμη δάπεδο χρήσης χαμηλότερα στο επίπεδο έναρξης του θεμελίου το οποίο δεν σώζεται, αλλά αντιστοιχεί στην αρχική φάση της οχύρωσης. Η ιστορική διασύνδεση με την μαρτυρούμενη από τον Πολύβιο⁷ ανεπιτυχή απόπειρα των Αιτωλών το 220/19 π.Χ. να καταλάβουν την πόλη στηρίζοντας τις κλίμακες τους στο τείχος, τεκμηριώνει την ύπαρξή της σε μια περίοδο όπου η καμπύλη εξέλιξης της στρατιωτικής τεχνολογίας είναι ιδιαίτερα υψηλή επιβάλλοντας αντίστοιχα οικοδομική εξέλιξη στις οχυρώσεις. Ο ακριβής όμως καθορισμός του χρόνου της αρχικής κατασκευής της είναι δύσκολος, τουλάχιστον με την ελλειμματική εικόνα της έρευνας που διαθέτουμε προς ώρας. Συγκρίσεις ως προς τις αρχές της τυπολογίας και διαμόρφωσης της πύλης, όπως η τοποθέτηση σε εσοχή και η διαδοχή αυλών, στοιχεία εξελιγμένης κλασσικής οχυρωματικής, που υπαγορεύονται από την διάδοση της χρήσης και εξέλιξη του καταπέλτη και των πολιορκητικών μηχανών, καθώς και η τειχοδομία, φαίνεται να οδηγούν με επιφύλαξη την αρχική φάση στον 4ο π.Χ. αιώνα.⁸

Μια ακόμη πύλη εντοπίστηκε στα ΒΔ με κατάλοιπα δυο πύργων διαφορετικών οικοδομικών φάσεων, προσανατολισμένη στην κατεύθυνση προσπέλασης της πόλης με άξονα Β-Ν. Είναι αξιοσημείωτο, ότι και οι δυο παραπάνω αναφερθείσες βασικές αρτηρίες της πόλης, οι οποίες διασυνδέονται με τις πύλες, επιβίωσαν στις μέρες μας στην πορεία δυο παλιών αγροτικών δρόμων που διασχίζουν το χώρο της. Εμμέσως, από την συνεκτίμηση στοιχείων της

7. Πολύβιος, 4.19.2-5.

8. Λόγος διεξοδικός επ' αυτού θα γίνει στην επικείμενη αναλυτική δημοσίευση για την ΝΔ πύλη και τον οχυρωματικό περίβολο εν γένει.

πορείας του τείχους και εντοπισθέντος νεκροταφείου, σηματοδοτείται η ύπαρξη και τρίτης πύλης ΝΑ.

Στο ΝΔ τμήμα του πολεοδομικού ιστού της πόλης πολύ κοντά στο πέρας της οχύρωσης προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση, βρίσκεται το θέατρο, το οποίο είναι προφανές ότι είχε εξαρχής περιληφθεί στο σχεδιασμό της. Η επισήμανση της θέσης του είχε γίνει από παλιά με αναφορά σε αυτό από τους W.M. Leake, J.G. Frazer, E. Curtius και Γ. Παπανδρέου. Προκαταρκτικός δοκιμαστικός έλεγχος⁹ ο οποίος πραγματοποιήθηκε μέχρι τούδε μόνο στο κοίλο, εξαιτίας πρακτικών δυσκολιών εκ του ιδιοκτησιακού καθεστώτος, απέφερε λείψανα επτά συνολικά σειρών εδρών μετατοπισμένων, αλλά με λογικοφανή πλοκή και σύνολο συσσωρευμένων αρχιτεκτονικών μελών και δομικών στοιχείων όλων των ειδών, από επιφανειακό καθαρισμό.

Η πρόσθια πλευρά των ασβεστολιθικών εδωλίων είναι κατακόρυφη με εξοχή οριζόντιας ταινίας στο επάνω μέρος. Στην επιφάνεια εδράσης διαμορφώνουν άπεργο κατά το κέντρο και χαμηλότερα επεξεργασμένα άκρα. Όπως φαίνεται δεν εδράζονταν απευθείας στο έδαφος, αλλά η προσαρμογή τους σ' αυτό γινόταν με ιδιαίτερη υποθεμελίωση. Το στοιχείο αυτό εξάγεται από τους μικρούς πλακοειδείς λίθους που βρέθηκαν ανάμεσά τους, ορισμένοι των οποίων φέρουν μοχλοβόθρια και οι οποίοι λειτουργούσαν ως κραυγές. Ακόμη σε απόσταση από την ορχήστρα διαπιστώθηκε τμήμα μετατοπισμένης σειράς θρόνων της προεδρίας (Εικ. 3), το οποίο θεωρούμε ότι στοιχειοθετεί την ύπαρξη διαζώματος. Τούτο τεκμηριώνεται και ενισχύεται από την εύρεση κατά χώραν δυο πλακοειδών λίθων οι οποίοι υποβάσταζαν ένα τέτοιο θρόνο της προεδρίας, προφανώς της πρώτης σειράς του επιθεάτρου. Οι θρόνοι επιφανειακά ορατοί και εξ ανασκαφής προερχόμενοι, ανήκουν στον μονόλιθο συνεχόμενο τύπο, αλλά και τους μεμονωμένους αυτοτελείς, οι οποίοι συνδέονται μεταξύ τους. Δεν είναι δυνατόν να προσδιορίσουμε το εύρος του θεάτρου, πριν επεκταθούμε στην ορχήστρα. Εξίσου αδύνατο είναι να μιλήσουμε για τη χρονολόγηση του. Στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους βρίσκεται σε λειτουργία και αυτό μπορεί να αντιστοιχισθεί με το ιστορικό γεγονός της συνόδου της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας που μας μεταφέρει ο Λίβιος¹⁰ ότι έλαβε χώρα στην πόλη του Κλείτορα το 184 π.Χ. Στα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια ήδη έχει αρχίσει η λεηλασία και διαρπαγή του αρχιτεκτονικού του υλικού. Έδρανα του θεάτρου βρέθηκαν κτισμένα σαν δομικό υλικό σε δεύτερη χρήση σε κτίσματα της περιόδου αυτής κοντά στην περιοχή του, ενώ η κατασκευή ενός κεραμεικού κλιβάνου απέναντι από το λόφο του μνημείου, στο λόφο Καταρράχη, επισφραγίζει την υποβάθμιση του χώρου.

Το οικιστικό πλέγμα της κλασικής-ελληνιστικής πόλης από την διασπορά των ορατών ενδείξεων και τα λιγοστά ανασκαφικά δεδομένα φαίνεται να δια-

9. Βλ. Πετριτάκη 2001α.

10. Livius 39.36.3-4.

χέεται παντού. Το σταυροδρόμι δυο οδικών αρτηριών της πόλης στην θέση του Φραγκοκκλησιού, συνηγορεί για την ύπαρξη συγκροτημένης οικιστικής ζώνης στην περιοχή του. Η πόλη από τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα υφίσταται τον 1ο αιώνα π.Χ. και το μεταφερόμενο από τον Στράβωνα¹¹ "... οὐκ ἐτ' εἰσίν, ἢ μόλις αὐτῶν ἵχνη φαίνεται καὶ σημεῖα ..." δεν ανταποκρίνεται στην αλήθεια για την πόλη του Κλείτορα. Αργότερα στους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, όπως διαπιστώθηκε, η οικιστική φυσιογνωμία της περιοχής αλλάζει. Γίνονται μεταθέσεις μέρους της εγκατάστασης περιφερειακά και η κατοίκηση εξαπλώνεται εκτός των τειχών, γεγονός το οποίο υπαγορεύτηκε από τις μεταβλημένες βιοτικές συνθήκες, τους κοινωνικούς και οικονομικούς μηχανισμούς της εποχής αυτής. Έτσι, έχουμε αγροτικές δομές αυτής της περιόδου οι οποίες αναπτύσσονται κατά μήκος του δρόμου στην έξοδο από την ΝΔ πύλη, στην περιοχή του Αγίου Πέτρου και σε δυο ακόμη οικιστικούς πυρήνες στην εξωτερική ζώνη του οικισμού ανατολικά. Στον Άγιο Πέτρο διαπιστώθηκε κτιριακό συγκρότημα (Εικ. 4), το οποίο συνιστά αγροτικό συνοικισμό, όπου κατοικούσε πιθανόν περιοδικά ή ευκαιριακά μια κοινωνική ομάδα από γαιοκτήμονες της περιοχής, μάλλον αμπελουργούς. Εμφανίζει κοινό σύστημα οργάνωσης με την ζωή επικεντρωμένη σε φυσικό θύλακα γόνιμης πεδινής έκτασης και στο χώρο βοσκής και υλοτόμησης που τον περιβάλλει. Η θέση του οικισμού επέτρεπε να ασκούν την γεωργία η οποία αποτελούσε μια από τις βασικές εισοδηματικές πηγές των κατοίκων και παράλληλα να απολαμβάνουν τα οφέλη που εξασφάλιζε η γειννίαση με την πόλη. Παρά την αποσπασματικότητα, την κακή διατήρηση και την ελλιπή ανασκαφική έρευνα, διακρίνουμε δυο ομοιόμορφες ιδιοκτησίες μικρού μεγέθους διαχωριζόμενες από ένα διάδρομο. Αποτελούνται από ένα δωμάτιο εντός περιβόλου, όπου περιλαμβάνεται εγκατάσταση ληνεώνος, μέρος του οποίου συνιστά κτιστή δεξαμενή,¹² επιχρισμένη με υδραυλικό κονίαμα, δάπεδο με πήλινες πλάκες και συλλεκτήρα για την καθίζηση του γλεύκους. Η αμπελοκαλλιέργεια είναι διαδεδομένη στην περιοχή. Ληνοί εντοπίζονται και στις άλλες αγροικίες, όπως ΝΑ επίσης έξω από τον βραχίονα του τείχους. Η εύρεση μάλιστα στον Κλείτορα τρίστηλου ελληνόγλωσσου αποσπάσματος του Διοκλητιανού προστάγματος,¹³ το οποίο αναφέρεται κυρίως στις τιμές διατίμησης του μούστου και του κρασιού ενισχύει την εικόνα οργανωμένης εμπορικής δραστηριότητας για την εκμετάλλευσή του στο επίκεντρο της οποίας ήταν η πόλη.

Τα εκτός του άστεως οργανωμένα συστηματικά νεκροταφεία, άμεσα συσχετιζόμενα με το τείχος εντοπίζονται έξω από τις πύλες που ήδη προαναφέραμε, καθώς και ΝΑ εκεί όπου, κατά τη γνώμη μας, υπολανθάνει, δίνοντάς μας

11. Στράβων, *Γεωγραφικά*, 8.8.2.

12. Πρβλ. Κουρκουτίδου-Νικολαΐδου 1973, και Μητσοπούλος-Λέον 1992-93.

13. Giacchero 1974, vol. 1, 71-2, vol. II *Imagines*, tav. I, II. Επίσης, Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III, suppl. 2, 2328⁶¹.

σημείο αναφοράς του ορίου της οχύρωσης προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση, μια ακόμη πύλη του. Ωστόσο, επισημαίνονται και άλλες συστάδες τάφων ή μεμονωμένες ταφές, καθώς με την παρακμή της πόλης και την συρρίκνωσή της η ταφική χρήση γενικεύεται και εξαπλώνεται παντού.

Ιδιαίτερης σημασίας αποδείχτηκε μεμονωμένος ταφικός πίθος των υστερογεωμετρικών χρόνων, ο οποίος βρέθηκε εκτός των τειχών, στην χώρα της πόλης ΒΔ και περιείχε ένα χάλκινο κράνος (Εικ. 5) και δυο αγγεία. Είναι προφανές ότι πρόκειται για τάφο πολεμιστή συνοδευόμενο από την αμυντική του σκευή. Το κράνος είναι κωνικό. Αποτελείται από κωνικό πύλο, ο οποίος με την παρεμβολή ανάγλυφου δακτυλίου συρράπτεται με προμετωπίδα, επαυχένιο και παραγναθίδες καμπύλου περιγράμματος. Το χείλος περιθέει ανάγλυφη γραμμή και η ακραία παρυφή φέρει οπές για την στερέωση της επένδυσης. Σε σχέση με τα κράνη της περιόδου αυτής σύμφωνα με την ταξινόμηση του Borchhardt¹⁴ ανήκει στην κατηγορία δ'. Τα κωνικά κράνη χωρίς λοφίο, αλλά με ιδιαίτερα τονισμένη την ψηλή κορυφή του κώνου, που είναι η απλούστερη μορφή κράνους και ο τύπος τους είναι γνωστός από την αγγειογραφία. Παράλληλά του αποτελούν το κωνικό κράνος της Βουδαπέστης, άλλα από υστερογεωμετρικούς τάφους του Άργους και κράνη από την Ολυμπία.¹⁵

Ο ενταφιασμός σε πίθους εμφανίζεται ιδιαίτερα διαδεδομένος τρόπος ταφής. Με εξαίρεση την προαναφερθείσα υστερογεωμετρική ταφή, από μια πρώτη εκτίμηση, οι πιθοταφές εκκινούν από τον 6ο π.Χ. αιώνα και φτάνουν στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους. Ανάμεσα στους πίθους περιλαμβάνονται και δυο ενδιαφέροντα δείγματα με ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση. Το ένα είναι διακοσμημένο με σύστημα τριπλής ανάγλυφης σχοινοειδούς ταινίας στο λαιμό, το άλλο φέρει γραμμική διακόσμηση αποτελούμενη επίσης από σχοινοειδείς ταινίες στοιχημένες και συμπλεκόμενες, που στολίζουν περισσότερες ζώνες του αγγείου.

Κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους κυριαρχεί ο κιβωτιόσχημος και κεραμοσκεπής τάφος. Όπως διαπιστώθηκε στους κιβωτιόσχημους τάφους είχαν χρησιμοποιηθεί σαν δομικό υλικό σε δεύτερη χρήση, επιγραφές προγενέστερων περιόδων, προερχόμενες κυρίως από επιτύμβιες στήλες. Στήλες κοινές, με επίπεδο κορμό, με ή χωρίς πλαισίωση, με αετωματική επίστεψη και με την στερεότυπη έκφραση “χαίρε”. Ιδιαίτερη ομάδα ανάμεσα στις επιτύμβιες στήλες αποτελεί ο τύπος με ιωνικό ανακλιντροειδές επίκρανο (*sofa capitelle*), γνωστός ως τύπος της δυτικής Ελλάδας, δείγμα του οποίου βρέθηκε σε βιοτεχνική περιοχή, στην χώρα της πόλης, ανατολικά. Τμήματα επιτύμβιων στηλών του ίδιου τύπου έχουν και παλαιότερα βρεθεί.¹⁶

14. Borchhardt 1972, 39-40.

15. Courbin 1957, 365, fig. 48. Πρωτονοταρίου-Δεϊλάκη 1982, 44, 36, εικ. 2. Kunze 1958, 123-4.

16. Fraser και Rönne 1957, 202.

Γνωρίζουμε ότι τα χρόνια που ακολούθησαν την καταστροφή της Κορίνθου πολλοί Ρωμαίοι πραγματευμένοι κατοικούντες ή παρεπιδημούντες ανάπτυξαν στην Πελοπόννησο εμπορική δραστηριότητα. Ανάμεσα στους τόπους που εγκαταστάθηκαν μαρτυρείται επιγραφικά η παρουσία τους και στον Κλείτορα με τα ονόματα Ρασιπίη – Γεμίνιη,¹⁷ η μνεία των οποίων χωρίς αμβολία υποδηλώνει την ύπαρξη ρωμαϊκής κοινότητας στην πόλη. Επιτύμβια δίγλωσση επιγραφή αναφερόμενη σε Ρωμαίο, η οποία βρέθηκε στο ανατολικό νεκροταφείο σαν δομικό υλικό κιβωτιόσχημου τάφου, επιβεβαιώνει την ύπαρξη της κοινότητας αυτής.

Στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της πόλης επισημαίνουμε και την βιοτεχνική της δραστηριότητα. Στη θέση Φιλομάτη, στα χαμηλά προνή του λόφου του συνοικισμού της Καλλιθέας αποκαλύφθηκε τμήμα κεραμεικού κλίβανου ορθογωνίου τύπου του α΄ μισού του 4ου π.Χ. αιώνα. Ανάμεσα στα θραύσματα των αγγείων που περισώθηκαν στο εσωτερικό των δυο συρίγγων του θαλάμου θέρμανσης, βρέθηκε μια ενδιαφέρουσα μήτρα ανάγλυφου πλακιδίου με απεικόνιση του ήρωα Ακταίωνα (Εικ. 6) που κατασπαράσσεται από τα σκυλιά του. Γνώμη μας είναι, όπως έχει διατυπωθεί και σε ιδιαίτερο άρθρο που αφορά στο συγκεκριμένο εύρημα,¹⁸ ότι η διαχείριση του μύθου, στην κατασκευή του συγκεκριμένου αντικειμένου πιθανόν αποτροπαϊκού χαρακτήρα, υπαινίσσεται λατρεία της Αρτέμιδος στην περιοχή, παρ' ότι δεν μαρτυρείται αυτή στις κατατιθέμενες από τον Πανσαμία.

Κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους όταν η πόλη συρρικνώθηκε, η βιοτεχνική δράση μεταφέρθηκε και εντός του κλασικού πυρήνα της. Στο λόφο Καταράχη αποκαλύφθηκε ένας ακόμη κεραμεικός κλίβανος ορθογωνίου τύπου, με πολύ καλή διατήρηση.

Πολλοί μελετητές υποστήριξαν ότι το εκκλησάκι της Παναγίας, το Φραγκοκλήσι που δηλώνει το πέρασμα των Φράγκων από το χώρο της πόλης καταλαμβάνει τη θέση κάποιου αρχαίου ναού. Στοιχεία τα οποία απορρέουν από το δομικό υλικό της κατασκευής του και τα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη που βρίσκονται συγκεντρωμένα στο εσωτερικό του, σε συνδυασμό με άλλα ανασκαφικά από την διενέργεια δοκιμαστικών τομών στο χώρο περιμετρικά του, οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι βρίσκεται στην θέση προϋπάρχοντος χριστιανικού ναού.

Τα οικιστικά λείψανα του 3ου π.Χ. αιώνα, και τα κατάλοιπα του 4ου π.Χ. αιώνα, τα οποία συνιστούν το αρχαιότερο στρώμα υποκάτω του, ακολουθούν δομές των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων και ταφική χρήση των ρωμαϊκών και υστερορωμαϊκών χρόνων, η οποία φαίνεται να πλαισιώνει μια υπολανθάνουσα παλααιοχριστιανική βασιλική. Η διέλευση αποστραγγιστικής τάφρου ανατολικά του ιερού του Φραγκοκκλησιού αποκάλυψε πλην της επέκτασης της οικιστικής και

17. Hatzfeld 1919, 149-50, Index 399, και *CIL* III, 95, 495.

18. Πετριτάκη 2001β.

ταφικής χρήσης, μέρος της ασίδας του ναού. Αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη, θραύσματα γυαλιών από τους φεγγίτες των παραθύρων του ναού και νομίσματα του 3ου-4ου μ.Χ. αιώνα στηρίζουν προς το παρόν τη θέση μας. Βέβαια, η έρευνα και η αποκάλυψη του ίδιου του μνημείου θα το προσδιορίσει επαρκέστερα.

Ο Κλείτωρ δεν αναφέρεται στον νηών κατάλογο, όπως γειτονικές αρχαδικές πόλεις. Όμως, προϊστορικά ανασκαφικά ευρήματα, μια λίθινη αξίνα και μια λεπίδα οψιανού, σε συνδυασμό με άλλα από επιφανειακή περισυλλογή, ενισχύουν την άποψη για πολύ πρώιμη χρήση του χώρου στους προμυκηναϊκούς χρόνους. Μια τόσο μεγάλη και πρόσφορη για καλλιέργεια πεδιάδα, που την περιβάλλουν δυο ποτάμια δεν ήταν δυνατόν να μείνει ανεκμετάλλευτη. Η κατοίκηση κατά τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους φαίνεται να εστιάζεται στους γύρω λόφους και έρχεται σε άμεση σχέση με τη διασπορά των ΠΕ και ΜΕ θέσεων της ευρύτερης περιοχής.

Η ταφική μαρτυρία των υστερογεωμετρικών και υστεροαρχαϊκών χρόνων προς το παρόν δεν επιβεβαιώνεται οικιστικά. Τεκμηριώνεται η συνέχεια της ζωής της στους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, γεγονός το οποίο μαρτυρείται και επιγραφικά με την παρουσία της σε ένα κατάλογο πόλεων της Πελοποννήσου του 2ου-3ου μ.Χ. αιώνα. Τον 4ο μ.Χ. αιώνα η πόλη φαίνεται πως υφίσταται τις συνέπειες της γενικής καταστροφής που υπέστη η Πελοπόννησος από τον Αλάριχο και εμφανίζεται ανακοπή στην πορεία της.

Η αναφορά επισκόπου Κλήτορος στο Τακτικό του Παρισινού Κώδικα 1555 Α των αρχών του 8ου αιώνα που κατά τον Γ.Ι. Κονιδάρη¹⁹ αποτελεί αυθεντικό αντίγραφο απολεσθέντος πρωτοτύπου Τακτικού των Εικονομάχων των χρόνων των Ισαύρων (732–746), η ύπαρξη του σημερινού χωριού Κλείτορα με το όνομα της αρχαίας πόλης 4 χιλιομέτρα περίπου δυτικότερα, με το οποίο απαντά από το Μεσαίωνα, η εύρεση θησαυρού²⁰ νομισμάτων του 6ου-7ου μ.Χ. αιώνα στην ίδια περιοχή, στη θέση Κουβούκλι, και η παρουσία του τοπωνυμίου Επισκοπή στην περιοχή Κλείτορα-Καστελλίου, πιστεύουμε ότι επιτρέπουν την υπόθεση, ότι η ζωή της πόλης δεν διακόπτεται, αλλά μετατοπίζεται δυτικότερα στην περιοχή του σημερινού Κλείτορα. Μετά το πέρασμα των Φράγκων, εμφανές από τις οχυρώσεις αυτής της περιόδου, σιώπησε. Το διάδοχο σχήμα του κάμπου της είναι ένα τοπίο που δεν έχει εκπονηθεί χάριν της αναπτύξεως του οικοδομικού επεκτατισμού. Αισιοδοξούμε, ότι θα μπορέσουμε σταδιακά μέσα από την ανάσα της φύσης να ενσωματώσουμε την ιστορία του τόπου στο παρόν.

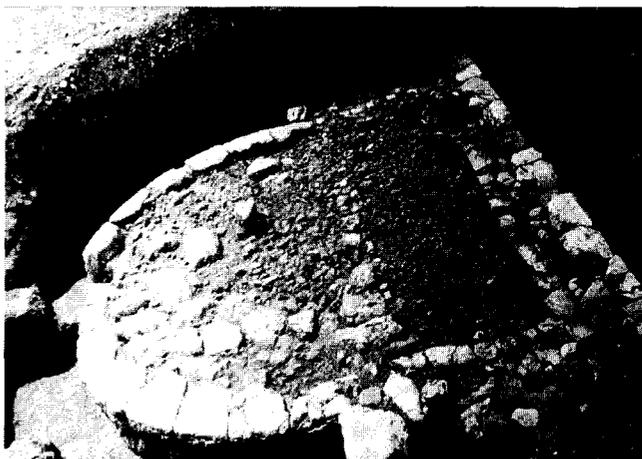
Μαρία Πετριτάκη
ΚΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ
Αλιβιάδου 229
GR – 285 36 Πειραιάς
Greece

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Εικ.1. Κάτοψη του πύργου στην κοίτη του ποταμού Καρνεσίου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



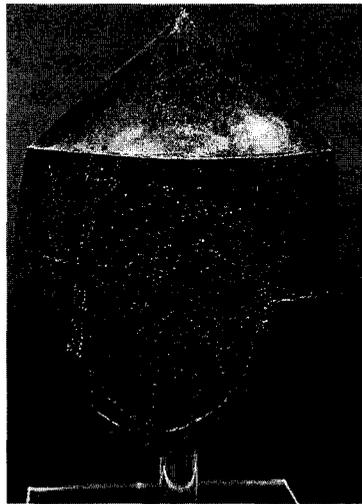
Εικ. 2. Η προς τα έξω εσωτερική θύρα της ΝΔ πύλης. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 3. Μερική άποψη της έρευνας του θεάτρου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 4. Γενική άποψη του αγροτικού συνοικισμού του Αγίου Πέτρου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 5. Το χάλκινο κράνος του υστερογεωμετρικού τάφου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)

Εικ. 6. Η πήλινη μήτρα με απεικόνιση του ήρωα Αχταίωνα. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Έρευνες για την αρχαία Ψοφίδα

Μιχάλης Πετρόπουλος

The project “Investigations in ancient Psophis” started to materialize in 2001, initiated by the 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Patras with the financial support of the Region of Western Greece through the program ΕΠΤΑ and with the help of the municipality of Aroaneaia.

The aims of our project were the following:

- A) the cleaning of the ancient fortification wall,
- B) the cleaning of the visible public buildings,
- C) trial pits for the localization of the ancient theatre,
- D) the locations of the ancient temples of the city.

The cleaning of the wall brought to light almost its whole perimeter. It was established that there were towers in every part of the wall. A new gate was located in its western part.

The most important public building is known as ‘Helleniko’. A large wall supports the building, which consists of a central court and rooms around it, and its excavation will take place during the next period.

The initial trial pits in the western part of the city did not bring to light the ancient theatre, but many walls, which belong to different, probably public, buildings. The trial pits will be continued in this part of the city, because the discovery of a theater mask and of theater tickets during the cleaning of the west wall show that the theatre must be located here.

A trial pit in the court of the monastery of the Virgin Mary brought to light a large Doric capital. G. Papandreou had also found large drums in 1920 in the same area. These elements show that the most important temple of the city, for Aphrodite Erykine, must be located here and not in Ag. Petros by Aphrodision, as Chr. Kardara believes. Numerous architectural members, such as capitals, columns, drums etc. in the neighbouring house of Sp. Taktikos show that in this part of the city we must search for its *agora*.

In 2003, some more trial pits will offer elements for the chronology of the walls, for the location of the theatre, for the identification of the large building ‘Helleniko’ and perhaps for the relations between Psophis and Sicily.

Μία από τις σημαντικότερες πόλεις της Βόρειας Αρκαδίας, περιοχή που σήμερα ανήκει στο νομό Αχαΐας, ήταν και η Ψωφίς, “... παλαιὸν Ἀρκαδῶν κτίσμα τῆς Ἀζανίδος,” κατά τον Πολύβιο (4.70.3). Τα ερείπια της αρχαίας πόλης καταλαμβάνουν μια μεγάλη έκταση 800 στρεμμάτων και, παρά το γεγονός ότι ήταν ανέκαθεν ορατά, εντούτοις δεν είχαν τύχει καμιάς συστηματικής ανασκαφικής έρευνας. Βεβαίως, όλοι οι επιστήμονες που έχουν ασχοληθεί με την Αρκαδία και ιδίως με το βορειότερο τμήμα της την Αζανία,¹ της αφιερώνουν το αναλογούν μερίδιο,² αλλά στηρίζονται προπάντων στις πληροφορίες των αρχαίων πηγών³ και των ορατών της λειψάνων. Βασική και συστηματική αναφορά γίνεται στις μελέτες του, σπουδαίου για τις πληροφορίες που διέσωσε και τις εκτεταμένες περιγραφές των ορατών λειψάνων στην εποχή του, Γυμνασιάρχη Γεωργίου Παπανδρέου. Η πρώτη, ήδη από το 1886 στο βιβλίο του “Αζανιάς”⁴ και η δεύτερη το 1920 με τίτλο “Έρευναι εν Καλαβρύτοις”, στα Πρακτικά της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.⁵ Είχε μεσολαβήσει κατά το 1906 μικρό κεφάλαιο στο βιβλίο του “Καλαβρυτινή Επετηρίς”.⁶ Έκτοτε μόνον ελάχιστες και μικρής έκτασης ανασκαφές έγιναν, κυρίως σωστικού χαρακτήρα, που δεν μπόρεσαν, όμως, να προσφέρουν τίποτε καινούργιο στις γνώσεις μας.⁷

Το 2001, ύστερα από προεργασία δύο ετών, ξεκίνησε το έργο “Έρευνα και Ανάδειξη της Αρχαίας Ψωφίδος” μέσα από το Πρόγραμμα ΕΠΤΑ, που χρηματοδοτήθηκε από την Περιφέρεια Δυτικής Ελλάδος. Στις προσπάθειές της η Εφορεία είχε την αμέριστη συμπαράσταση του Δήμου Αροανίας και προσωπικά του Δημάρχου, με τον οποίο η συνεργασία υπήρξε άριστη.

Το Πρόγραμμα είχε τέσσερις στόχους:

Α) τον επιφανειακό καθαρισμό των τειχών, ώστε να διευκρινισθούν σαφέστερα τα όρια της αρχαίας πόλης και για πρώτη φορά να αποτυπωθεί η περίμετρος τους σωστά,

Β) τον καθαρισμό των σημαντικότερων ορατών δημόσιων κτηρίων, χωρίς ανασκαφή στην πρώτη φάση,

1. Για τα όρια της αρχαίας Αζανίας βλ. Πίκουλας 1981-82, 269-81.

2. Π.χ. οι πλέον πρόσφατες μελέτες, όπου μπορεί κανείς να βρει όλη την παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία είναι των Roy 1999, 333, Morgan 1999, 422-4, Nielsen 1999, 37 κ.ε., Voyatzis 1999, 136, 157, και Jost 1999, 198-9, 220-1. Βλ. ακόμη Jost 1985, 53-60 και 513-4.

3. Πολύβ. 4.70.3, Πανσ. 8.24.1-14.

4. Παπανδρέου 1886, 14-28.

5. Παπανδρέου 1920, 130-46.

6. Παπανδρέου 1906, 139.

7. Μικρή δοκιμαστική έρευνα είχε γίνει το 1926 από τον Ν. Κυπαρίση, ο οποίος εντόπισε τη δυτική πύλη του τείχους απέναντι από τη γέφυρα του Ερυμάνθου, που οδηγούσε στην Ηλεία, Πετρόπουλος 1985, 63. Για το μη εντοπισμό αρχαίων οδών στην Ψωφίδα, που να σώζουν αρματοτροχιές, βλ. Píkoulas 1999, 302.

Γ) δοκιμαστικές τομές στο χώρο, όπου ο Γ. Παπανδρέου, ακολουθώντας τον Κούρτιο, είχε τοποθετήσει το αρχαίο θέατρο της πόλης, και

Δ) προσπάθεια εντοπισμού και ταύτισης των ιερών της πόλης, και ιδιαίτερα του ιερού της Αφροδίτης Ερυκίνης.⁸

Από τα τείχη της πόλης καθαρίστηκε ή παρακολούθηθηκε σε μεγάλο μήκος το δυτικό σκέλος κατά μήκος του Ερύμανθου ποταμού. (Σχ. 1.A) Το πλάτος του έφθανε τα 2,50 μ. Η άποψη του Γ. Παπανδρέου ότι στην πλευρά αυτή δεν υπάρχουν πύργοι αποδείχθηκε λανθασμένη. Εντοπίστηκαν έξι πύργοι, μέχρι στιγμής, σωζόμενοι σε πολύ χαμηλό ύψος. (Εικ. 1) Προφανώς οι λίθοι τους είχαν χρησιμοποιηθεί στα νεότερα σπίτια, μια και το τείχος και τα άλλα ορατά αρχαία κτήρια απετέλεσαν την εύκολη λύση για τον προσπορισμό των αναγκαίων οικοδομικών υλικών του σύγχρονου οικισμού των Τριποτάμων.

Στη δυτική πλευρά εντοπίστηκε και μία δεύτερη πύλη (Σχ. 1.4), άλλη από εκείνη που είχε εντοπίσει ο Γ. Παπανδρέου (Σχ. 2), που έφερε από τον ποταμό Ερύμανθο. Η πορεία του τείχους, αν και παρακολουθεί λίγο-πολύ εκείνη του ποταμού, εντούτοις απέχει από την αριστερή του όχθη αρκετά και σπάνια την προσεγγίζει σε πολύ μικρή απόσταση. Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι το τείχος κτίζεται επάνω σε μια φυσική οφρύ του υπερυψωμένου πλατώματος της πόλης πριν αυτό κατέλθει απότομα προς το ποτάμι. Είναι κτισμένο αλλού κατά το ψευδοϊσόδομο σύστημα, και όχι κατά το ισόδομο, όπως το περιγράφει ο Γ. Παπανδρέου, και αλλού με ένα μεικτό σύστημα, όπου ανάμεσα στο ψευδοϊσόδομο παρεμβάλλεται πολυγωνικό. (Εικ. 2) Σε ένα μέρος του έχει επισκευαστεί στο ανώτερο τμήμα από μικρότερου μεγέθους λίθους, σε στρώσεις που δεν είναι ενιαίες σε όλο το μήκος τους, διότι χρησιμοποιούνται ανάμεσά τους και μεγάλοι μεγέθους λιθόπλινθοι. Αυτές προφανώς ανήκαν στην αρχική φάση και ξαναχρησιμοποιήθηκαν κατά την επισκευή. Ίσως η επισκευή αυτή να έγινε μετά από την πολιορκία και καταστροφή της πόλης από τον Φίλιππο Ε΄ το 219 π.Χ. Παρατηρήθηκε επίσης πυκνή διείσδυση ριζών στους αρμούς, οι οποίες έχουν προκαλέσει μετακίνηση των λίθων.

Δημιουργήθηκε παράλληλα με αποψίλωση ένα μονοπάτι κατά μήκος της εξωτερικής πλευράς του, ώστε να μπορεί ο επισκέπτης να το περιηγηθεί άνετα.

Από το βόρειο σκέλος του τείχους (Σχ. 1.B) καθαρίστηκε σημαντικό τμήμα του. Και εδώ εντοπίστηκαν ορθογώνιοι πύργοι, μέχρι στιγμής οκτώ, τους ο-

8. Το έργο ανατέθηκε στη μόνιμη αρχαιολόγο κ. Γ. Αλεξοπούλου, την οποία θα ήθελα και από τη θέση αυτή να ευχαριστήσω, διότι το έφερε σε πέρας με μεγάλη επιτυχία. Στις διάφορες εργασίες βοήθησαν επίσης οι έκτακτοι αρχαιολόγοι Χριστίνα Κατσαρού και Κωνσταντίνα Μεσσιακάκη, ενώ τα σχέδια εκπόνησαν ο τοπογράφος της Υπηρεσίας κ. Α. Μαρινόπουλος και η σχεδιάστρια κ. Μαρία Γκολφινόπουλου. Μεγάλη βοήθεια προσέφεραν επίσης οι φύλακες αρχαιοτήτων κ. Νάνσυ Γουλιάμη και κ. Χρ. Τεμπέλης.

ποιούς επίσης δεν σημειώνει ο Γ. Παπανδρέου, ο οποίος μάλιστα επισημαίνει ότι το βόρειο σκέλος του τείχους σώζεται μόνον κατά την ΒΔ και τη ΒΑ γωνία του. Οι έρευνές μας απέδειξαν το αντίθετο. Το τείχος καθαρίστηκε και αποκαλύφθηκε χωρίς διακοπή σε ολόκληρο σχεδόν το μήκος του.

Για τη χρονολόγηση της κατασκευής του τείχους δεν έχουμε ακόμη επαρκή στοιχεία. Το μόνο σίγουρο είναι ότι κτίστηκε πριν από το 219 π.Χ., αφού τότε ο Φίλιππος Ε΄ πολιορκεί την πόλη. Τα ελάχιστα κινητά ευρήματα δεν κρίνονται ακόμη ασφαλή για την οριστική χρονολόγηση της κατασκευής του. Αποφεύγουμε τον πειρασμό να στηριχτούμε στις κατασκευαστικές ομοιότητες με άλλες αρκαδικές οχυρώσεις και να προσεγγίσουμε κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο τη χρονολόγηση, αφενός μεν γιατί παρόμοιες συγκριτικές χρονολογήσεις δεν είναι πάντοτε ασφαλείς,⁹ αφετέρου δε γιατί στο Πρόγραμμα της Εφορείας περιλαμβάνονται και μικρές δοκιμαστικές τομές σε όλες τις πλευρές του, ώστε με τεκμηριωμένα στοιχεία να έχουμε την οριστική χρονολόγησή του. Με τη διαδικασία αυτή θα διαπιστωθεί επίσης αν οι τέσσερις πλευρές του τείχους κτίστηκαν ταυτόχρονα ή ανήκουν σε περισσότερες οικοδομικές φάσεις, όπως φαίνεται τουλάχιστον από το εσωτερικό τείχος που θα δούμε παρακάτω. Για την καταστροφή του τείχους, επίσης δεν έχουμε ανασκαφικές πληροφορίες. Θα μπορούσαμε να την αποδώσουμε στην επιδρομή και εγκατάσταση των Βησιγόθων το 396/97 μ.Χ. στην Αρκαδία, όταν μετά από την κατάληψη της Πελοποννήσου παρέμειναν στην περιοχή του Ερυμάνθου, του Αλφειού, του Λάδωνος, του Μαινάλου και του Λυκαίου επί ενάμισυ σχεδόν έτος, πριν τους εκδιώξει ο Στιλίων.¹⁰

Στην επόμενη ερευνητική περίοδο, για την οποία υπάρχει η υπόσχεση για χρηματοδότησή της πάλι από το Πρόγραμμα ΕΠΤΑ το 2003, θα προχωρήσει η αποκάλυψη του τείχους σε μικρό τμήμα ακόμη της βόρειας πλευράς, στην ανατολική και προπάντων τη νότια, κατά μήκος του Αροάνιου ποταμού, εκεί όπου τα επιφανειακά ίχνη του είναι ελάχιστα. Στο ανατολικό σκέλος (Σχ. 1.Γ) ο Γ. Παπανδρέου είχε εντοπίσει επτά ορθογώνιους πύργους, για τους οποίους μάλιστα σημειώνει ότι είναι οι μόνοι που έχει το τείχος. Στη θέση δε Πόρτες (Σχ. 1.8), υποθέτει την παρουσία μιας πύλης του τείχους, πιστεύοντας ότι η λέξη Πόρτες οφείλεται ακριβώς στην παρουσία της πύλης. Αλλά στο τμήμα αυτό το τείχος είναι κατεστραμμένο από το δρόμο Ψωφίδος – Καλαβρύτων. Οι έρευνές μας, πάντως, απέδειξαν ότι και στις άλλες τρεις πλευρές, τη βόρεια, τη δυτική και τη νότια υπήρχαν πύργοι. Το νότιο σκέλος (Σχ. 1.Δ), ευρι-

9. Η οχύρωση της Ψωφίδος έχει συγκριθεί π.χ. με εκείνην της Γόρτυνος, του Κλείτορος, της Ασίνης, του Ακροκορίνθου και του Βουφαγίου και η κατασκευή της τοποθετείται στον 4ο αι. π.Χ., Martin 1947-48, 125. Αλλά η οχύρωση του Κλείτορος τοποθετείται τώρα από την ανασκαφέα στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους, Πετριτάκη 1996, 84.

10. Χρυσός 1981-82, 188 και σημ. 3.

σκόμμενο στο πεδινότερο και ομαλότερο μέρος της πόλης απετέλεσε το κατεξοχήν λατομείο του νεότερου οικισμού. Σήμερα σώζονται ελάχιστα ίχνη του, κυρίως κατά το δυτικό τμήμα του, στη συμβολή του με το δυτικό σκέλος. Δυστυχώς τα σωζόμενα τμήματά του έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί από τα σπίτια του νεότερου οικισμού ως μέρη των τοίχων τους, ενώ επάνω του πατεί και μέρος του περιβόλου του Δημοτικού Σχολείου (Σχ. 1.5), για την απομάκρυνση του οποίου καταβάλλει συνεχείς προσπάθειες η Εφορεία από εικοσαετίας. Το ΥΠΠΟ είχε θέσει χρονικό όριο για τη μεταφορά του, αλλά δυστυχώς αυτή δεν επετεύχθη ως σήμερα.¹¹

Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι από την *εσωτερική ακρόπολη* της αρχαίας πόλης (Σχ. 1.2), ελάχιστα ίχνη των τοίχων της είναι ορατά στη βόρεια πλευρά, διότι στη θέση της κτίστηκε το μεταγενέστερο Φράγκικο Κάστρο, το οποίο είτε κατέστρεψε τα αρχαία λείψανα, είτε τα εξαφάνισε με τεχνητή επίχωση. Η 6η ΕΒΑ έχει στόχο τη διερεύνηση της μεσαιωνικής ακρόπολης, επομένως ασφαλώς θα έχουμε περισσότερα στοιχεία μετά από την ολοκλήρωση του έργου της. Ο πρώτος καθαρισμός της και δοκιμαστικές τομές έγιναν από τη συνάδελφο κ. Α. Μουτζάλη, και τα αποτελέσματά τους δημοσιεύθηκαν πρόσφατα από την ίδια.¹² Από τη ΝΔ γωνία της ακρόπολης ξεκινά ένα *εσωτερικό τείχος* (Σχ. 1.10, Εικ. 3), του οποίου η νοητή απόληξη καταλήγει στο μέσον περίπου του δυτικού εξωτερικού σκέλους του τείχους. Είναι σαφές ότι δεν πρόκειται για διατείχισμα, αφού διακρίνονται δύο τουλάχιστον πύργοι, αλλά για τμήμα της αρχικής περιμέτρου του τείχους. Προφανώς σε κάποια εποχή, που δεν γνωρίζουμε προς το παρόν, η πόλη επεκτάθηκε προς τα ΒΔ και κατασκευάστηκε η ΒΔ τριγωνική προσθήκη του τείχους. Ενδεχομένως σ' αυτή τη φάση να χρησιμοποιήθηκε το αρχικό τείχος ως *εσωτερικό διατείχισμα*.

Στη δυτική πλευρά της πόλης και εντός των τοίχων από παλαιότερους περιηγητές και από τον Γ. Παπανδρέου τοποθετείται το *αρχαίο θέατρο*, χωρίς ακριβή τοπογραφική ένδειξη. Ο τελευταίος μάλιστα λέγει ότι αν και δεν εντόπισε κανένα ίχνος από το εδώλιά του, εντούτοις αυτό θα πρέπει να τοποθετηθεί σε ένα φυσικό κοίλωμα του εδάφους, το οποίο ταιριάζει για κοίλο θέατρο. Στην περιοχή αυτή υπάρχουν τρία φυσικά κοιλάματα, που θα μπορούσαν να ανήκουν σε θέατρο. Οι δοκιμαστικές τομές ξεκίνησαν από το βορειότερο, στη θέση Άγιος Ιωάννης (Σχ. 1.3), αυτό που δείχνει στο τοπογραφικό του σχέδιο, αλλά δυστυχώς δεν έφεραν στο φως κανένα ίχνος του θεάτρου. Εντοπίστηκαν, όμως, τμήματα τοίχων σημαντικών κτηρίων, πιθανώς δημόσιου χαρακτήρα. (Εικ. 4) Η ανεύρεση, πάντως, σε τομή στο εσωτερικό του δυτικού σκέλους

11. Με την αρ. ΥΠΠΟ/ΑΡΧ/Α1/Φ06/18894/877/8.5.1990 Υπουργική Απόφαση εδίδετο προθεσμία στην τότε Κοινότητα Τριποτάμων για την μετεγκατάσταση του Σχολείου έως το 1994.

12. Μουτζάλη 2004.

του τείχους πήλινης θεατρικής μάσκας και εισιτηρίων θεάτρου,¹³ δείχνει ότι πράγματι, κάπου εδώ θα πρέπει να αναζητηθεί το θέατρο. Στην επόμενη ερευνητική περίοδο θα πραγματοποιηθούν δοκιμαστικές τομές στα δύο άλλα φυσικά κοιλώματα.

Από τα ορατά δημόσια οικοδομήματα καθαρίστηκε εξωτερικά το σημαντικό κτήριο, γνωστό ως 'Ελληνικό', ορατών διαστάσεων 23 x 15 x 3 μ. την εποχή του Γ. Παπανδρέου (Σχ. 1.1), ο οποίος το συνέδεε με το νότιο σκέλος του τείχους της πόλης. Ο καθαρισμός απέδειξε ότι δεν έχει καμία σχέση με το τείχος, το οποίο διέρχεται λίγο νοτιότερα, άρα το κτήριο αυτό βρίσκεται εντός της πόλης. Είναι σαφές ότι δεν πρόκειται για πύργο του τείχους, του οποίου πραγματικός πύργος εντοπίστηκε μεταξύ του 'Ελληνικού' και της ΝΔ γωνίας του τείχους. Η προς νότον πλευρά του φαίνεται ότι λειτουργεί ως αναλημματικός τοίχος και είναι προφανές ότι χρησιμεύει για τη δημιουργία ενός τεχνητού ανδῆρου. Ενδεχομένως προς Ν του ανδῆρου να βρισκόταν κάποιος αστικός δρόμος. Ο επιφανειακός καθαρισμός στο εσωτερικό του αποκάλυψε την πάνω επιφάνεια αρχαίων τοίχων, που ορίζουν δωμάτια γύρω από μία κεντρική αυλή. Τι είδους οικοδόμημα στήριζε και άλλες κατασκευαστικές λεπτομέρειες, θα έχουμε μετά από την ανασκαφή του που θα πραγματοποιηθεί, ελπίζουμε, στην επόμενη ερευνητική περίοδο.

Λίγο χαμηλότερα προς τα ΝΑ, κάτω από το δρόμο προς Λειβάρτζι, και κοντά στην κοίτη του Αροάνιου ποταμού, καθαρίστηκε μία νεότερη κρήνη, το Παλιομάγγανο (Σχ. 1.9), για την κατασκευή της οποίας, όμως, έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί άφθονο αρχαίο υλικό. Μεταξύ αυτής και του κτηρίου στο Ελληνικό καθαρίστηκε τμήμα του νότιου σκέλους του τείχους, στο οποίο εντοπίστηκε ένας δεύτερος ορθογώνιος πύργος. (Εικ. 5) Άρα είναι πλέον σαφές ότι πύργοι υπήρχαν και στις τέσσερις πλευρές του τείχους.

Λίγο ανατολικότερα βρίσκεται η *Μονή της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου* (Σχ. 1.7), που κτίστηκε από τον Παπουλάκη κατά το 1825-26. Περιβάλλεται από υψηλό οχυρωματικό περίβολο, στο εσωτερικό του οποίου είχαν κατασκευαστεί πρόχειρα και ακαλαίσθητα στέγαστρα για τις ανάγκες του τοπικού πανηγυριού που γίνεται στις 23 Σεπτεμβρίου. Με την ευκαιρία της δραστηρικής επέμβασης της 6ης ΕΒΑ, η οποία απομάκρυνε όλες τις πρόσθετες πρόχειρες κατασκευές, έγιναν στο εσωτερικό του περιβόλου και δύο δοκιμαστικές τομές από την Εφορεία μας. Στη μία τομή βρέθηκε και μεγάλο ασβεστολιθικό δωρικό κιονόκρανο, διαμέτρου μεγαλύτερης του ενός μέτρου, το οποίο προέρχεται από σημαντικότερο αρχαίο ναό. Ο επιστημότερος ναός της πόλης ήταν αφιερωμένος στην Αφροδίτη Ερυνίκη, με τον οποίο η Χρυσούλα Καρδαρά πιστεύει ότι πρέπει να ταυτιστούν τα ερείπια που ανέσκαψε στο Αφροδίσιο, στη θέση

13. Γ. Αλεξοπούλου, "Η Αρχαδική Ψωφίς", ΑΑΑ υπό εκτύπωση.

Άγ. Πέτρος, αρκετά μακριά από την Ψωφίδα.¹⁴ Όμως η πληροφορία του Πανσανία είναι σαφέστατη. Όταν αναφέρεται σ' αυτόν ομιλεί για το ναό της Αφροδίτης Ερυκίνης “*ἐν τῇ πόλει*”.¹⁵ Άρα η ταύτιση με το ναό του Αφροδισίου είναι ατυχής, άλλωστε δεν επιβεβαιώνεται και από καμία επιγραφική μαρτυρία, αν και ανασκάφηκε συστηματικά.¹⁶ Αντιθέτως από τον επισημότερο ναό της πόλης θα αναμέναμε αρκετές επιγραφές, τόσον αναθηματικού, όσο και πολιτικού χαρακτήρα, ψηφίσματα π.χ., συνθήκες, κλπ.

Και εδώ πιστεύουμε ότι πρέπει να αποδεχθούμε την άποψη όχι μόνον του Γ. Παπανδρέου, αλλά και αρκετών άλλων προγενεστέρων και μεταγενεστέρων του,¹⁷ ότι ο ναός της Ερυκίνης πρέπει να βρίσκεται στη θέση της μονής της Κοίμησης Θεοτόκου. Είναι τόσα πολλά τα διάσπαρτα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη και μέσα στην αυλή της Μονής, αλλά και εντοιχισμένα στους τοίχους της, ώστε είναι σίγουρο ότι στην περιοχή αυτή βρισκόταν τουλάχιστον ένας αρχαίος ναός. Οι μεγάλες διαστάσεις του δωρικού κιονοκράνου που εντοπίσαμε εμείς, αλλά και σπόνδυλοι κιόνων, επίσης μεγάλης διαμέτρου, που έφθανε τα 0,80 μ. και είχαν εντοπιστεί από τον Γ. Παπανδρέου, είναι μία σαφής ένδειξη για το μέγεθος του αρχαίου ναού, που λογικά πρέπει, λόγω ακριβώς του μεγέθους του, να ανήκε στον σπουδαιότερο ναό της πόλης, δηλαδή το ναό της Ερυκίνης Αφροδίτης. Υπάρχουν, όμως, και άλλων διαστάσεων, μικρότερων και ποικίλων, αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη στον περίξ χώρο. Αμέσως προς Δ της Μονής, πολλά από τα αρχαία αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη έχουν συλλεγεί και χρησιμοποιηθεί στη νεότερη οικία ιδιοκτησίας Σπυριδωνος Τακτικού¹⁸ (Σχ.1.6), και σε λειτουργική σχέση με το νεότερο οίκημα, αλλά και ως απλά διακοσμητικά στοιχεία των τοίχων και της αυλής του. Η ποικιλία των αρχιτεκτονικών μελών, τόσο ως προς τις διαστάσεις, όσο και ως προς το υλικό τους, μάρμαρο και τιτανόλιθος, υποδηλώνουν την παρουσία και άλλων αρχαίων ναών στην περιοχή. Ο συνδυασμός τους με το μεγάλο οικοδόμημα ‘Ελληνικό’ λίγο δυτικότερα δείχνει ότι εδώ βρισκόταν η αρχαία αγορά της πόλης. Άλλωστε είναι το πλέον επίπεδο τμήμα της αρχαίας πόλης, πράγμα που βοηθεί στην χωροθέτησή της.

Ένα ενδιαφέρον στοιχείο που πρέπει να διερευνηθεί είναι η σύνδεση της Ψωφίδος με τη Σικελία. Σύμφωνα με έναν από τους μύθους της ίδρυσής της, η Ψωφίδα έλαβε αυτό το όνομα από την ομώνυμη θυγατέρα του βασιλιά της

14. Καρδαρά 1988.

15. Πανσ. 8.24.6.

16. Για το ναό της Ερυκίνης Αφροδίτης, βλ. και Jost 1985, 53-60 και προπάντων 513-4. Βλ. επίσης την ανακοίνωση του Γ.Α. Πίκουλα στον παρόντα τόμο.

17. Παπαχατζής 1980, 273, σημ. 4. Βλ. και Πετρόπουλος 1985, 63.

18. Δυστυχώς οι προσπάθειες της Εφορείας για την απαλλοτρίωση του συγκεκριμένου ακινήτου δεν έχουν μέχρι στιγμής καταλήξει σε επιτυχές αποτέλεσμα.

Σικελίας Έρως, την οποία αγάπησε ο Ηρακλής και κατέλιπε έγκυο στην ως τότε ονομαζόμενη Φηγία και λίγο παλαιότερα Ερύμανθος. Οι δύο γιοι της Ψωφίδος και του Ηρακλή, Εχέφρων και Πρόμαχος, μετονόμασαν την Φηγία σε Ψωφίδα προς τιμήν της μητέρας τους. Η σύνδεση, λοιπόν, κατά το μύθο με τη Σικελία, όπως και το επίθετο της Αφροδίτης *Ερυνκίνη* από τον Έρως, αλλά και η παρουσία ομώνυμου και διάσημου ναού στον Έρως της Σικελίας,¹⁹ δεν μπορεί να είναι τυχαία. Πρέπει να υποκρύπτονται πρώιμες σχέσεις των δύο περιοχών και αυτές να ανάγονται πιθανότατα στην ύστερη γεωμετρική περίοδο, την εποχή δηλαδή του αποικισμού. Η αναφορά επίσης του Πανσανία, ότι η ακρόπολη της Ζακύνθου ονομαζόταν Ψωφίς, πρέπει να συνδέεται με τα γεγονότα αυτά.²⁰ Ίσως η Ζάκυνθος απετέλεσε τον ενδιάμεσο και πρώτο σταθμό εγκατάστασης των Ψωφιδίων προς τη Δύση. Είναι ενδιαφέρον, λοιπόν, αν κατά την ανασκαφή βρεθούν στοιχεία που θα επιβεβαιώσουν τη σύνδεση αυτή των δύο περιοχών.

Τα παλαιότερα ονόματά της, και ιδίως το όνομα Ερύμανθος με την προελληνική καταγωγή του,²¹ δείχνουν ότι η πόλη είναι παλαιότατη και ιδρύθηκε εκεί λόγω της στρατηγικής της θέσης. Υπήρξε πάντοτε κομβικό σημείο επικοινωνιών. Συνόρευε με τη ΝΔ Αχαΐα και την Ηλεία και αποτελώντας πέρασμα και προς αυτές και προς την Αρκαδία, εκμεταλλεύτηκε άριστα το πλεονέκτημα αυτό, ώστε να αναδειχθεί σε σπουδαίο κέντρο της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Τη στρατηγική της θέση ενίσχυαν τόσο τα τείχη της, το μήκος των οποίων υπολογίζεται σε 2,5 χλμ. περίπου, και η εσωτερική της ακρόπολη, όσο και οι τρεις ποταμοί που την περιέβαλλαν και κατέληγαν στον Ερύμανθο, παραπόταμο του Αλφειού. Η στρατηγική θέση της έδινε το δικαίωμα να επιλέγει τις κατά καιρούς συμμαχίες της, που όμως δεν υπήρξαν πάντοτε επιτυχείς. Έτσι συνέβη το 219 π.Χ., όταν ο Φίλιππος Ε΄ της Μακεδονίας, σύμμαχος της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας και των Αρκαδών στο Συμμαχικό Πόλεμο (220-217 π.Χ.), επετέθη κατά της Ψωφίδος, που την περίοδο εκείνη ήταν σύμμαχος της Αιτωλικής Συμπολιτείας και των Ηλείων. Η επιλογή της να συμμαχήσει με τους εχθρούς του Μακεδόνα βασιλιά είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την πολιορκία της μεσούντος του χειμώνα. Ο Φίλιππος στρατοπέδευσε στα προς νότον ευρισκόμενα χαμηλά υψώματα της Μπαρμπανίτσας, διότι πίστευε ότι αν καταλάμβανε την πόλη, η στρατηγική της θέση θα μπορούσε να του προσφέρει πολλά για την επίτευξη του τελικού σκοπού του, δηλαδή τη νίκη των συμμάχων του Αχαιών και Αρκαδών. Η Ψωφίς τελικά κατελήφθη ύστερα από έφοδο και απετέλεσε έκτοτε

19. Για τον Έρως της Σικελίας βλ. *EAA* III, 1960, 413-4, s.v. Erice (I. Bovio Marconi).

20. Πανσ. 8.24.3.

21. Δεν πρέπει να διαφύγει της προσοχής μας ότι και το αρχαιότατο όνομα της Ψωφίδος *Ερύμανθος*, αλλά και το όνομα *Ζάκυνθος* φέρουν την προελληνική κατάληξη -νθος.

μέλος της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας.²² Η πόλη εντούτοις εξακολουθεί να υπάρχει τουλάχιστον ως το τέλος του 3ου αι. μ.Χ., όπως δείχνουν επιφανειακά ευρήματα και προπάντων τα νομίσματα. Στα μεσαιωνικά χρόνια ονομαζόταν Χόζοβα και στα νεότερα Τριπόταμα, λόγω των τριών ποταμών. Και μόνον η συνεχής αλλαγή των ονομάτων της, Ερύμανθος, Φηγία, Ψωφίς, Χόζοβα και Τριπόταμα, δείχνει την αδιάλειπτη παρουσία της πόλης από τα προϊστορικά χρόνια έως σήμερα.

Θα ήθελα να κλείσω την ανακοίνωσή μου με ένα απόσπασμα του Γ. Παπανδρέου από το άρθρο του “Ερευναί εν Καλαβρύτοις”,²³ του 1920, ως οφειλόμενο χρέος στη μνήμη του:

Καί ἐν τῇ σημαντικῇ λοιπὸν ταύτῃ πόλει τῆς Ψωφίδος δέον ὅπως γίνωνται εὐρεῖαι ἀνασκαφαί, ἰδίως δὲ εὐρύταται ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς μονῆς, κατὰ τὴν θέσιν Ἑλληνικὴ καὶ καθ’ ἅπαντα τὸν χῶρον τῆς κάτω πόλεως ..., ἔτι δὲ δοκιμαστικαὶ σκαφαὶ κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Μετὰ ἀπὸ 82 χρόνια, λοιπὸν, φαίνεται ὅτι τὸ ὄραμα τοῦ Γ. Παπανδρέου ἀρχίζει νὰ υλοποιεῖται.

Μιχάλης Πετρόπουλος

ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ

Αλ. Υψηλάντου 197

GR – 262 25 Πάτρα

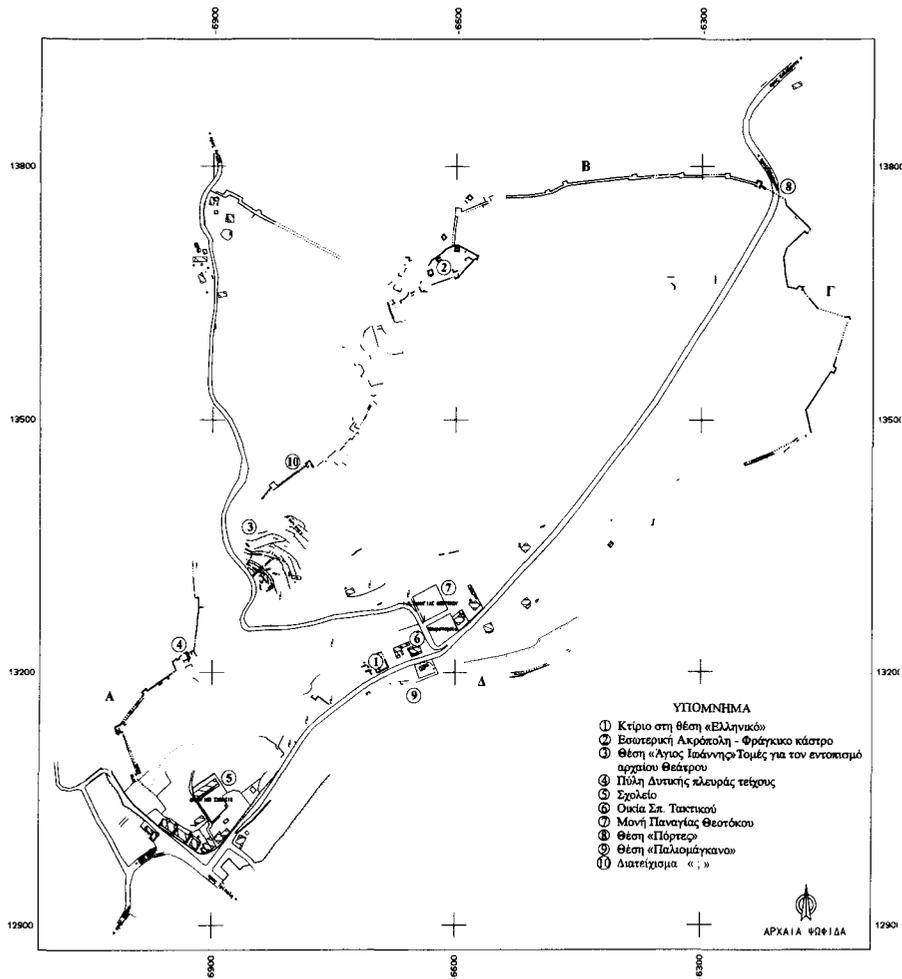
Greece

22. Η είσοδος της στο Αχαϊκό Κοινό επιβεβαιώνεται και από επιγραφική μαρτυρία, SEG 15, 1958, 67 αφ. 254.

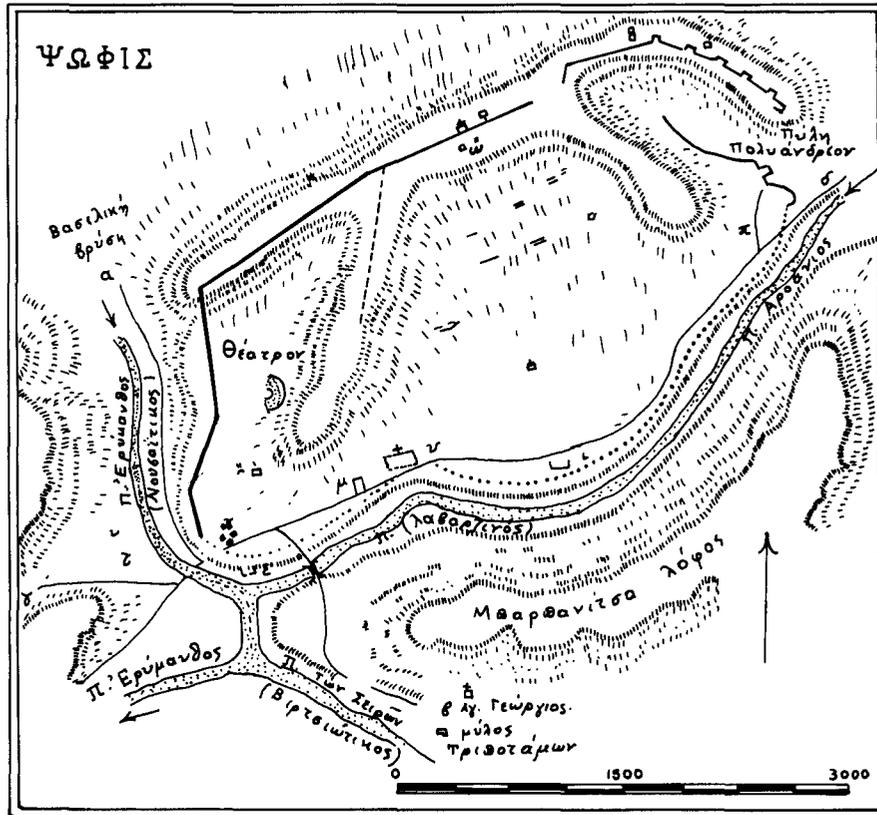
23. Παπανδρέου 1920, 146.

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Σχ. 1. Σχέδιο της περιμέτρου των τειχών της Ψωφίδος μετά από την έρευνα. (Σχέδιο ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Σχ. 2. Σχέδιο της περιμέτρου των τειχών της Ψωφίδος κατά τον Γ. Παπανδρέου. (Σχέδιο ΣΤ' ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 1. Το δυτικό
τείχος και τμήμα
ορθογώνιου πύρ-
γου. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄
ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 2. Λεπτομέρεια του τείχους της
δυτικής πλευράς. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄
ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 3. Εσωτερικό τείχος.
(Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 4. Αγ. Ιωάννης. Τμήματα τοίχων, πιθανώς δημόσιων κτηρίων. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)



Εικ. 5. Πύργος του Νότιου σκέλους του τείχους στη θέση Παλιομάγανο. (Φωτογρ. ΣΤ΄ ΕΠΚΑ.)

“Aphrodite Erykina”, 25 Years After: The Interpretation of the Sanctuary Revised

Yanis Pikoulas

Summary

My paper deals with the well-known sanctuary of “Aphrodite Erykina” according to Chr. Kardara’s interpretation, who excavated it in 1968-69 and 1980-81 and published it with admirable promptness: *Ἀφροδίτη Ἐρυκίνη. Ἱερὸν καὶ μαντεῖον εἰς τὴν ΒΔ Ἀρκαδίαν*, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας vol. 106, Athens 1988. The sanctuary was situated on the saddle of Hagios Petros (about 1155 m above sea level) on Mount Aphrodision, in the modern prefecture of Gortynia, between Erymanthos and the Ladon valley, just on the frontier between Psophis and Thelphousa. Today a new road leads to Kontovazaina (12 km), branching off from Highway 111 (Tripolis – Patra), and reaches the saddle with the sanctuary after 8 km.

I present the data of the excavation and I propose a new interpretation of the remains of the buildings of the sanctuary, 25 years after my participation in another excavation at the same territory under the auspices of Prof. Chr. Kardara and the study of the finds from the sanctuary in the museum of Olympia (1977). I also present a new plan of the sanctuary complex. (Fig. 1)

According to my interpretation the “altar” and the “sacred road” are remains of the main entrance to the sanctuary, like a propylon. The “telesterion” was actually a double stoa and the “temenos” was in fact the temple, today partly preserved (not excavated) under the modern church of Hagios Petros; the temple was Doric and peripteral. The so-called “omphalos”, inside the cella, was a typical *thesauros*. The complex of buildings to the east consisted rather of workshops, guest-houses etc. There is no evidence for the existence of a “stadium” or an “odeion”. It is more probable that the sanctuary was an Artemision than an Aphrodision, and not specifically an oracle/*manteion*, as Kardara argued. Pausanias did not mention this sanctuary or the surrounding area.

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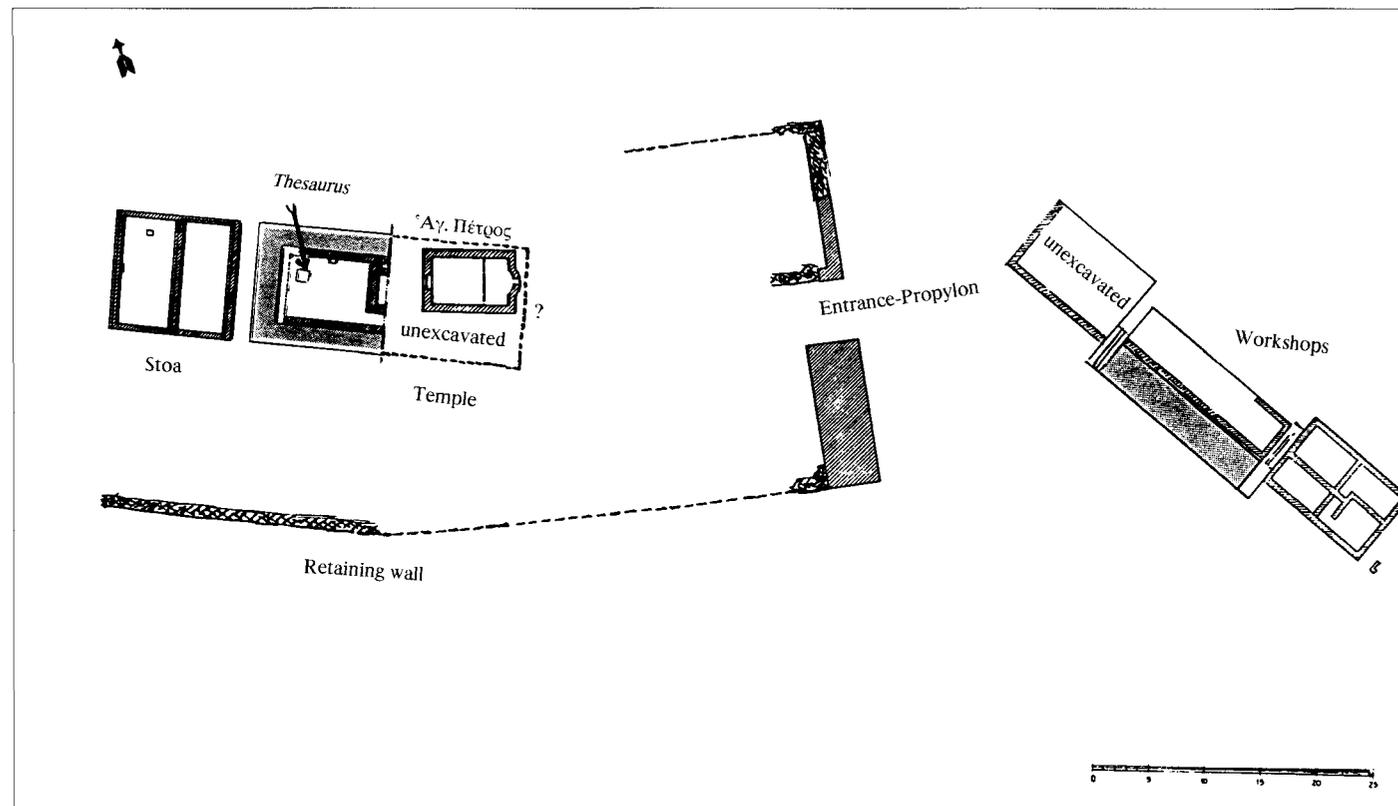


Fig. 1. The plan of the sanctuary at Mount Aphrodision. (After Kardara 1988, pl. 1, with new identifications of the various structures added.)

A New Topographical and Architectural Survey of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion

David Gilman Romano

During the summer of 1996 a team from the Mediterranean Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology undertook a computerized above-ground topographical and architectural survey of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion. The objective of the survey was to create, by means of an electronic total station survey, a new and highly accurate map of the above ground and visible architectural components of the sanctuary including the areas of the ash altar, the *temenos* and the bases for the columns of Zeus on the southern peak of Mount Lykaion. Also included were the monuments, buildings and structures of the high mountain plateau located below the southern peak, including the *xenon*, stoa, area of seats and statue bases, fountain houses, hippodrome, stadium and bath facility. The survey has been keyed to the 1 : 5000 topographical maps from the Geographical Service of the Greek Army (ΓΥΣ). The survey project has produced an accurate map of the sanctuary and has also generated questions and thoughts for future work.

During the summer of 1996 a team from the Mediterranean Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology undertook a computerized above-ground topographical and architectural survey of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion.¹ This mountain-top sanctuary was famous

1. The work was undertaken with the permission of the Ephor of Antiquities of Arkadia and Lakonia, Dr. Theodoros Spyropoulos, whom I thank for his assistance. I also thank the Director of the American School of Classical Studies at the time, Professor William D.E. Coulson, for his encouragement and assistance with this project. From the Arcadian village of Ano Karyes, I would thank Mr. Nikos Kostopoulos who was extremely cordial and helpful and who was responsible for arranging various critical logistical aspects of the project. I thank Annette Merle-Smith of Princeton, New Jersey and the Women's Committee of the University of Pennsylvania Museum for financial support that made the work at Mount Lykaion possible. The survey team consisted of Ms. Demi Andrianou and Mr. Kostis Kourelis of the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Osama Tolba of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Miss Katy

in antiquity for its ash altar and sacred *temenos* dedicated to Zeus. On a lower mountain plateau was the area where the Lykaion games were held. The purpose of this article is to describe the work that was done, to present several new maps of the sanctuary in the context of its topographical setting, and to pose several questions for future research.²

The objective of the survey was to create, by means of an electronic total station survey, a new and highly accurate map of the above ground and visible architectural components of the sanctuary of Zeus, specifically the area of the ash altar, the *temenos* and the bases for the columns of Zeus on the southern peak of Mount Lykaion, as well as the monuments and structures of the high mountain plateau located below the southern peak. This lower area is where Pausanias (8.38.5) tells us that the Lykaion games were held before his time. A further objective of the research project was to put the new survey drawings into the context of the landscape and topography of Mount Lykaion.³ (Fig. 1)

Methodology

The electronic total station survey was keyed to the topographical maps of the area in scale 1 : 5000 from the Geographical Service of the Greek army (ΓΥΣ). This meant that we were able to utilize the geodetic pins of the ΓΥΣ and the associated co-ordinate system for all our survey data. As a result our survey was oriented to true north and we were able to accurately associate the topographical features of the maps, including contour lines, with the surveyed monuments and structures.⁴ The electronic total station provides for a highly accurate topo-

Romano of the Episcopal Academy and the undersigned as Director. I thank the students for their long hours, hard work and dedication to the project.

2. My original interest in the mountain-top sanctuary is due to Professor Eugene Vanderpool of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, who first introduced me to the site in 1976 and who generously shared with me his knowledge, notes and hand-drawn plans of the Zeus altar and the upland sanctuary. My University of Pennsylvania dissertation included a chapter on the evidence for a stadium on Mount Lykaion. See Romano 1981, 172-7.

3. During the past 15 years or so there has been considerable development at the site of the sanctuary of Zeus at Mount Lykaion. There is now a quadrennial summer recreation of aspects of the ancient Lykaion games, the Lykaia, for children and youth that attracts participants and tourists to the location. A portion of the area of the ancient hippodrome is now being used in the summer as a track for the modern Lykaion games and there is also a parking facility near the south end of the hippodrome. There is a paved road that leads almost all the way to the lower sanctuary and there exists a modest dirt road up to the ash altar.

4. For a discussion of the methods of such a survey see Romano and Schoenbrun 1993, 177-90. The 1 : 5000 maps that we digitized included portions of the Megalopolis series, 7207-4 and 7207-6. I thank the ΓΥΣ for permission to use the co-ordinates of the geodetic pins in this area.

graphical and architectural survey that generates location as well as orientation and distance for the diagnostic features of a building, structure or monument. During the course of several academic terms in Philadelphia, following the summer survey, aspects of the 1 : 5000 topographical maps of the surrounding area were digitized.⁵ The resulting survey of the buildings and structures together with the digitized 1 : 5000 map is shown as Fig. 2 and a digital terrain model of a slightly larger area is seen as Fig. 3.

Historical background

In the 19th century the sanctuary was observed, reported and drawn by several early travelers. Abel Blouet drew a sketch of the valley and included a detailed drawing and plan of one of the buildings at the southern end of the valley.⁶ A few years later Ernst Curtius drew a sketch of the site including the outline of a portion of the hippodrome.⁷ The sanctuary was investigated briefly in 1897 by K. Kontopoulos, of the Greek Archaeological Society, who dug a few trial trenches in the area of the altar and the hippodrome.⁸ In the early 20th century K. Kourouniotis, also of the Greek Archaeological Society, continued work at the site and uncovered in a series of campaigns a portion of the ash altar and the *temenos* at the southern peak of Mount Lykaion as well as the general outline of the sanctuary in the upland valley below the peak. At the lower site Kourouniotis revealed several noteworthy buildings, including a *xenon*, a stoa, two fountain houses and an exedra.⁹ In addition a series of blocks and stele beddings were found to the east of the stoa as well as 4 rows of seats which lie to the north of it. To the southwest of the stoa was found an exedra. Two fountain houses were found in the area of the upland valley, one close to the *xenon* and another approximately one quarter of the way to the ash altar.

5. I thank the Director of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Dr. Jerry Sabloff and the Curator-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Section, Dr. Donald White for their support. We utilized the laboratory and the resources of the Corinth Computer Project in the Mediterranean Section of the museum for the mapping and analytical work of this research. For the support of the laboratory and the work of the Corinth Computer Project I thank the 1984 Foundation.

6. Blouet 1833, pl. 33.

7. Curtius 1851, pl. vii.

8. Kontopoulos 1898.

9. Kourouniotis 1903, 1904a, 1904b, and 1909.

Ancient testimonia

Our best source for the description of Mount Lykaion is Pausanias who in Book 8 gives us the following information:

Paus. 8.38.5:

“There is on Mount Lykaion a sanctuary of Pan and a grove of trees around it, and a hippodrome in front of which is a stadion. In former times they used to hold the Lykaion games here. Here there are also bases of statues, now with no statues on them. On one of the bases is an elegiac inscription that declares that the statue was a portrait of Astyanax of the race of Arkas.”

Paus. 8.38.6:

“Among the marvels of Mount Lykaion the most wonderful is this. On it is a *temenos* of Lykaian Zeus, into which people are not allowed to enter. If anyone takes no notice of the rule and enters, he must inevitably live no longer than one year.”

Paus. 8.38.9:

“On the highest point of the mountain is a mound of earth, forming an altar of Zeus Lykaios and from it most of the Peloponnesos can be seen. Before the altar on the east stand two pillars on which there were of old gilded eagles. On this altar they sacrifice in secret to Lykaian Zeus. I was reluctant to pry into the details of the sacrifice; let them be as they are and were from the beginning.”

(Translation W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library.)

Area of the ash altar and temenos (Figs. 3 and 4)

The top of the altar of Zeus is 1383 m above sea level; in linear distance the altar is 510 m to the southwest of the *xenon* and in vertical distance approximately 200 m above the *xenon* and the lower sanctuary. The ash altar was the site of human sacrifice according to several ancient authors.¹⁰ The two extant column bases, once for the columns holding the golden eagles of Zeus, are located 100 m to the southeast of the summit of the ash altar and 20 m in vertical elevation below the top of the altar. The north-south axis between the two column bases is between 2-3 degrees west of north, which would create the likely orientation of the two columns as close to due east.¹¹ The *temenos* mentioned by Pausanias and

10. Pl. *Resp.* 8.565 d; in the Pseudo-Platonic *Minos*; Theophrastus (quoted in Porph. *Abst.* 2.27.2); Paus. 9.38.7. See for the religious traditions of the sanctuary the paper by O. Zolotnikova in this volume.

11. The exact orientation of the axis between the centers of the two column bases is N2°

excavated by Kourouniotis is an area to the south of the ash altar and to the west of the bases for the columns of Zeus, at an elevation of approximately 1364 m. It is a flat area and it has no other characteristic features in the modern day.¹² The excavator gives the measurement of the area as 120 x 55 m and having the outline of the area ringed with stones. I have indicated the approximate area as a rectangle on the accompanying Figs. 3, 4.¹³

On the high mountain plateau located below the ash altar are buildings and structures that are associated with the staging of the Lykaian games. The survey was carried out where we were able to measure the excavated foundations and architectural features visible above ground.

Xenon (Figs. 3 and 5)

The *xenon* was measured as 35.7 m north-south and 18.5 m east-west and having a north-south orientation of 13-16 degrees northwest.¹⁴ The northeast portion of the building is preserved to six courses of masonry. The entrance to the building appears to have been on the south. To the northeast of the building and at a lower elevation were surveyed two 'corridors' that appear to link the area of the *xenon* with an area to the northeast. It is not completely clear now where the original ground level was in this area.¹⁵

Stoa (Figs. 3 and 5)

The nearby stoa to the east was measured as at least 65 m long and 13 m deep although the original overall measurements of the building are difficult to determine.¹⁶ The orientation of the length of the stoa is 38 degrees northeast; the stoa would have faced northwest.¹⁷ The interior details of the building are not at all clear and many wall blocks and architectural members are found in the general area.

24° 30' W creating the orientation of the two columns N87°35'30" E. The distance between the centers of the two column bases is 8.51 m.

12. Kourouniotis 1904b, 159-62, fig. 1.

13. This area was not surveyed since the stone limits of the *temenos* were not visible.

14. Kourouniotis 1909, 192-6, figs. 10-2, indicates the dimensions of the building as 38 x 20 m.

15. Kourouniotis 1909, 193.

16. Kourouniotis 1909, 187-9, figs. 2-4, states that the stoa has a length of about 70 m but was originally longer because the place where the stoa and the stairs meet has been destroyed. He also mentions that the depth of the stoa is 11 m.

17. See Coulton 1976, 252-3. Coulton states incorrectly, I believe, that the stoa would have faced south.

Area of seats, statue bases and stele beddings (Figs. 3 and 5)

A series of four rows of seats with a maximum length of 38 m are located approximately 21 m to the north of the stoa and at a similar orientation of 35 degrees northeast.¹⁸ At the southwestern end of the steps, there is a slight and subtle curve of the seats toward the west from a more southwesterly orientation. Approximately 27 m to the northeast of the preserved end of the series of steps a group of stele beddings and cuttings were measured and were found to have approximately the same orientation as the steps. These stelai and statue bases come within approximately 5 m from the projected southern limit of the hippodrome. Kourouniotis also excavated a single row of seats to the north of the four rows of seats that would be immediately adjacent to the southeastern limit of the hippodrome. These lower seats were not visible during our survey.¹⁹

Fountain houses (Figs. 3 and 5)

Elements of the lower fountain A were surveyed, 30 m to the southwest of the *xenon* and were found to be 17 degrees northwest. The fountain associated with the one mentioned by Pausanias, Agno, is located 267 m from the northwest corner of the *xenon* and at an elevation of 1236 m, 60 m above the level of the buildings below and 140 m below the ash altar.²⁰

Hippodrome (Figs. 1, 3 and 5)

According to Pausanias (8.38.5) there exists in the upland valley of Mount Lykaion a hippodrome "in front of which" is a stadium. He adds that in former times they used to hold the Lykaion games here. It is clear even in the present day that the eastern long side of the hippodrome has been created by the building of a massive stepped retaining wall. The wall is 3-4 m high in places and stretches a distance of ca. 140 m north-south. Some elements of the same retaining system continue around the curved northern end of the hippodrome in the rough shape of an arc although the stone of the retaining wall is missing. On the west side of the hippodrome the artificial retaining system ends where the terrace of the

18. Kourouniotis 1909, 189-90.

19. Kourouniotis 1909, 189-90, fig. 6.

20. Kourouniotis 1909, 198-200, fig. 1.

21. Frazer 1913, 382, has a description of the remains of the hippodrome as well as the remains of a building to the north of the structure.

hippodrome meets the sloping hillside.²¹ Here there is a low hill that limits on the west side the flattened and available area for a hippodrome. At the south end of the terrace the leveled area approaches the stele beddings, the statue bases, the seats, and a point where there is a slight rise in elevation. The maximum north-south dimension of the hippodrome is 320 m and the maximum available width of the structure is 104 m. The orientation of the structure is 8-9 degrees north-west. Spectator facilities for the hippodrome would have consisted of the neighboring low hills that border the flat hippodrome terrace to the east, north and west.

In the modern day the artificially flat hippodrome has been terraced for farming purposes. As a result the ancient ground level of the hippodrome has been modified especially towards the northeast. It is possible that some of the monuments from the hippodrome may have been dragged downhill towards the east and the stepped retaining wall. In March 1979, during an earlier visit to the site, I recorded six tapering column drums that I found in the area of the hippodrome. Three were found near the north end of the retaining wall at the level of the base of the wall, one was found in the field to the east of the hippodrome retaining wall, and two additional column drums were found near the southeastern limit of the hippodrome near where the dirt road approaches it. Although it cannot be certain, these tapering column drums may have been used as component parts of the turning posts at the north and south ends of the hippodrome.²² No elements of starting facilities for the hippodrome have been recognized from the area of the hippodrome.

The hippodrome at Mount Lykaion is the only extant and visible hippodrome in the Greek world. The measurement of the size of the hippodrome is important and the fact that a stadium was probably located inside the limits of the hippodrome is, to my knowledge, unique in the Greek world.²³

Stadium (Figs. 1, 3, 5)

Pausanias (8.38.5) mentions that there is a stadium "in front of" the hippodrome, *καὶ ἵππόδρομος τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον*, and Kourouniotis mentions that several stadium starting line blocks were observed towards the middle of the

22. I suggest this based on the find spots of the column drums and the fact that turning posts, *metae*, in Roman circuses were typically tapered. See Kourouniotis 1909, 190, fig. 7, where he discusses several columnar elements that may be related to the turning posts of the hippodrome.

23. For purposes of comparison, the arena of the Augustan circus at Bovillae, outside of Rome, measures approximately 328.5 m length and 60 m width. See Humphrey 1986, 561-6. In Roman times, circuses were also commonly used for Greek athletics. See for instance Humphrey 71-2.

hippodrome.²⁴ Blouet made the suggestion that a flat area to the northeast of the hippodrome may have been used as the stadium and he indicated this area on his drawing.²⁵ In 1956 Eugene Vanderpool reported seeing seven starting line blocks and during our survey in 1996 we were able to identify six of them. Four were found close together within 8.5 m, more or less in an east-west line within the interior space of the hippodrome.²⁶ Another two are found at a lower level on the embankment wall 60 m to the east and 16 m to the south. If the four closely spaced starting line blocks from the hippodrome terrace are near to their original position at the north end of the *dromos*, it may be possible to restore the *dromos* of the stadium to the south and within the area of the hippodrome. There is room for a stadium racecourse of approximately 170-180 m length and ca. 20 m width.²⁷ If correct, this would have meant that the racecourse for the horses would likely have had to run around the *dromos* of the stadium or at least around the starting line blocks. This would also have meant that one end of the *dromos* of the stadium would have come within approximately 40 m (presuming a length of ca. 180 m for the *dromos*) to the area of the seats and the stele beddings at the south end of the hippodrome terrace.²⁸

It is known from a series of inscriptions of the late 4th century B.C. concerning the Lykaion games that athletic and equestrian contests were held during the same festival year. For instance *IG V.2, 549*, dated to 320 B.C., records that victors in the Lykaion games were recorded in several equestrian events, the two and four horse chariot races and horse race as well as in a series of athletic events for boys and men.²⁹ This would suggest that the facility was used for equestrian as well as for athletic contests during the same days.

Bath facility (Figs. 1, 3, 5)

At the northeast end of the hippodrome and at the approximate level of the base of

24. Kourouniotis 1909, 190-2, fig. 8.

25. Blouet 1833, fig. 33.

26. Kourouniotis 1909, 190-2, fig. 8, discusses the stadium and several starting blocks.

27. The original length and width of the *dromos* of the stadium at Mount Lykaion is not known for certain. It could have been shorter than 170-180 m. The total length of the six known starting line blocks equals approximately 5 m.

28. This explanation would be in keeping with the description of Pausanias (8.38.6) if he was standing at the south end of the upland valley near the stoa, looking to the north and seeing the great expanse of the hippodrome in front of him. In this case the south end of the stadium *dromos* would have come fairly close to the south end of the hippodrome and the valley.

29. This would contradict the idea of Harris 1972, 163, that "a sill with grooves for runners' feet half-way along its length shows that after ceasing to be used for horse-racing it was adapted as a stadium". The inscription *IG V.2, 549* was found in the southern sector of the hippodrome.

the stepped retaining wall exists a building that is likely to have served at least partially as a bath building. Several elements of this structure, located about 35 m north of the northeast aspect of the hippodrome terrace, were surveyed. The eastern aspect of the building appears to be a large cistern whereas in the center of the building and at a higher level several large stone wash basins are still visible. The walls of the bath are constructed of polygonal masonry of the hard local limestone. The east-west length of the exposed structure is measured as 22.7 m and the north-south measurement is approximately 20 m.³⁰ The east-west length of the building appears to continue to the west, although this aspect of the building remains mostly below ground level.³¹ From the orientation of several surveyed walls within the bath it is clear that the orientation of the bath is within one degree of the north-south orientation of the nearby hippodrome.

Observations, conclusions and thoughts for future work

The current research has succeeded in creating an accurate map of the visible, above-ground structures and monuments of the mountain-top sanctuary of Zeus and the lower mountain plateau where the Lykaion games were held. The map is accurate with respect to orientation and location of the currently visible buildings and structures and in the context of the mountain topography of the site. Aspects of the same buildings and structures that are either underground or covered by vegetation have not been surveyed.

Based on the work of the completed survey it is possible to make a few observations about the layout of the upper and lower sanctuaries. On the southern peak of Mount Lykaion, at 1383 m above sea level, the area of the ash altar, the 120 x 55 m *temenos* to the south and the columns supporting the eagles of Zeus towards the east serve as a focal area for the cult. The stone bases for the columns supporting the golden eagles are oriented on an axis of 2-3 degrees north of east. There is a fairly flat mountain top plateau to the south of the ash altar and the *temenos* that extends for over 200 m. (Figs. 3, 4) It would be interesting to know what function, if any, this area had in the Zeus festival.

In the upland valley to the northeast of the ash altar, several of the buildings and structures of the sanctuary appear to have been planned with respect to other structures. For instance the *xenon* and the lower fountain A, the stoa and the stele beddings to the east and the stairs or seats to the north, all would seem

30. Kourouniotis 1909, 191-2, fig. 9.

31. The drawing from Blouet 1833, pl. 33, indicates that much more of the bath building was visible in the 19th century and that it should be approximately twice as long as what we have surveyed in the modern day. Blouet's drawing indicates a total length of the building of approximately 50 m.

to have been constructed in relation to one another. The hippodrome and the stadium appear not only to have been constructed with respect to each other but the *dromos* of the stadium appears to have been located within the space of the hippodrome. The size of the hippodrome, 320 x 104 m, is of great interest and importance since it is the only hippodrome anywhere in the Greek world that can actually be visualized and measured. The construction of the hippodrome terrace must have been a massive project involving the transport of large quantities of earth fill to level out the valley and build the stepped retaining wall to support the earth.

Pausanias (8.2.1) claims that the Lykaion games were older than the Panathenaic games in Athens, and Pindar in the 5th century makes several mentions of the Lykaion games.³² Pausanias says that these games used to be held at the mountain sanctuary, and in his description of the *agora* at Megalopolis (8.30.2-3) he mentions the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus that is located there, although he says that there is no entrance into it.³³ Madeleine Jost has suggested that the sanctuary of Zeus had been transposed to Megalopolis probably at the same time as the synoecism of the city of Megalopolis in the 4th century (371-368 B.C.). She argues that this would not have been a transfer of the cult to the city but rather the creation of a 'doublet cult.'³⁴ It is known from the victor inscriptions found at the mountain location of the games that the festival continued at Mount Lykaion after the synoecism of Megalopolis, and it would be interesting to know how long they continued at the mountain sanctuary as well as when the cult of Zeus Lykaios began and what its relationship was to other Arkadian cults and communities.

A new program of excavation and research would be welcome at Mount Lykaion for a number of reasons. Such new research would lead to a better understanding of the history of the sanctuary, its origins and development into a major Greek sanctuary by the classical period. Renewed excavation would lead to further understanding of the dating and functions of the excavated buildings and structures as well as the possible discovery and excavation of additional ones. Geophysical techniques of remote sensing applied to the lower sanctuary might reveal the locations of buildings and structures that have not yet been discovered as well as further details of the buildings and structures that are already well known. Modern GIS and remote sensing studies might shed light on ancient routes of communication in and around the mountain sanctuary. A modern geological study of this part of Mount Lykaion could provide clues as to the possible reasons for the location of the sanctuary in this place. New excavations of the ash altar and

32. *Oi.* 7.153; *Oi.* 9.102; *Nem.* 10.48.

33. This situation is of course similar to the description of Pausanias above, 8.38.6: "the *temenos* of Lykaian Zeus into which people are not allowed to enter."

34. Jost 1994, 226-7.

subsequent scientific osteoanalysis of the bone fragments could produce further evidence as to whether human sacrifice was practiced at the sanctuary of Zeus.

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Altar of Zeus



Fig. 1. Photograph of the the upland valley as the location of the Lykaion Games with some of the buildings labeled. The altar of Zeus on the southern peak of Mount Lykaion is in the distance. (Photo: author.)

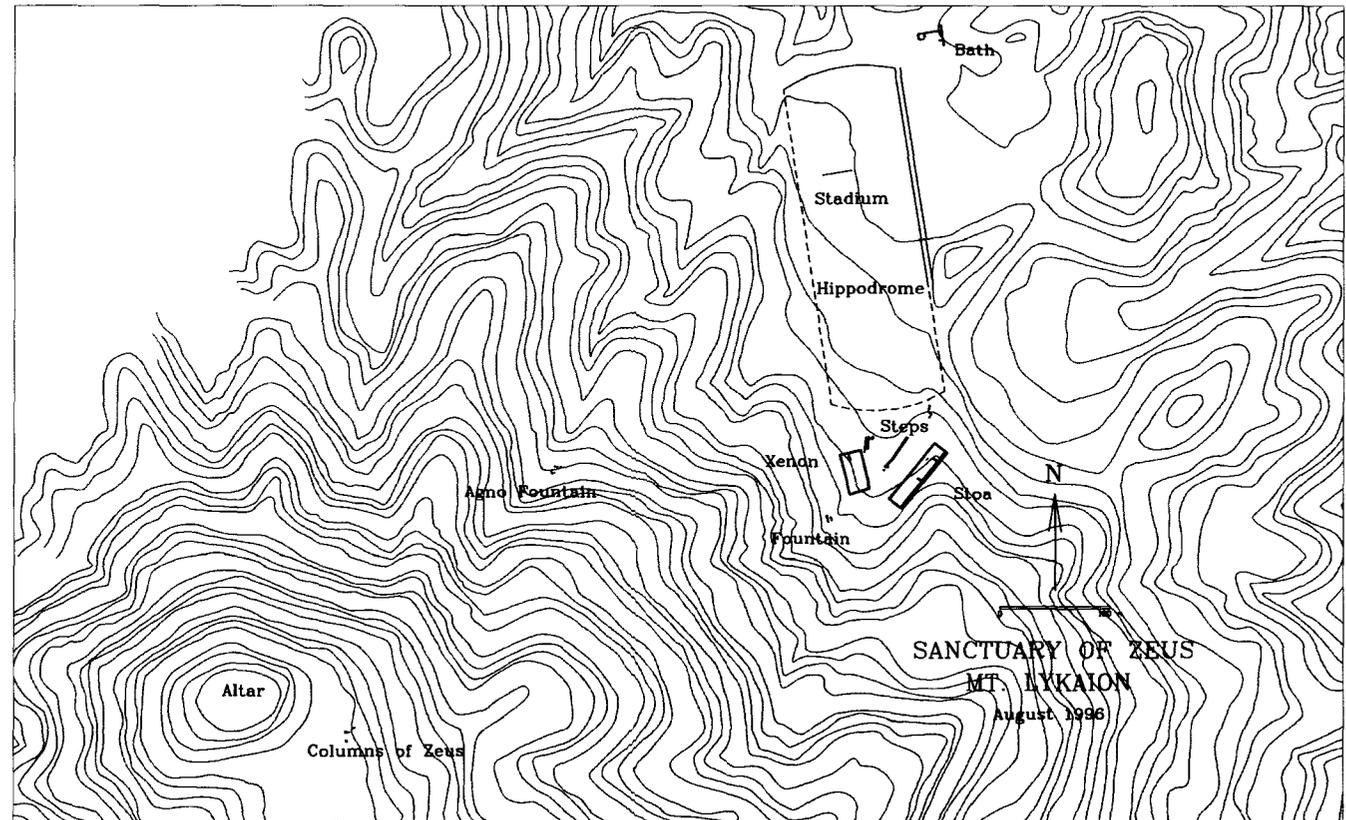


Fig. 2. Results of 1996 electronic total station survey of the sanctuary of Zeus and related structures together with the 1 : 5000 topographical map of the area. Contour lines are at 4 m. (Prepared by author.)

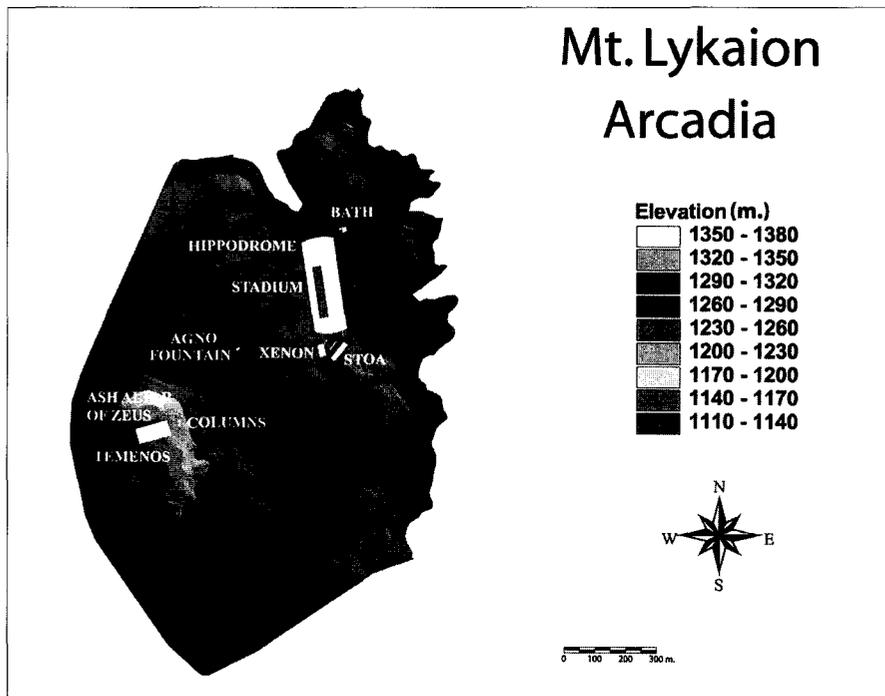
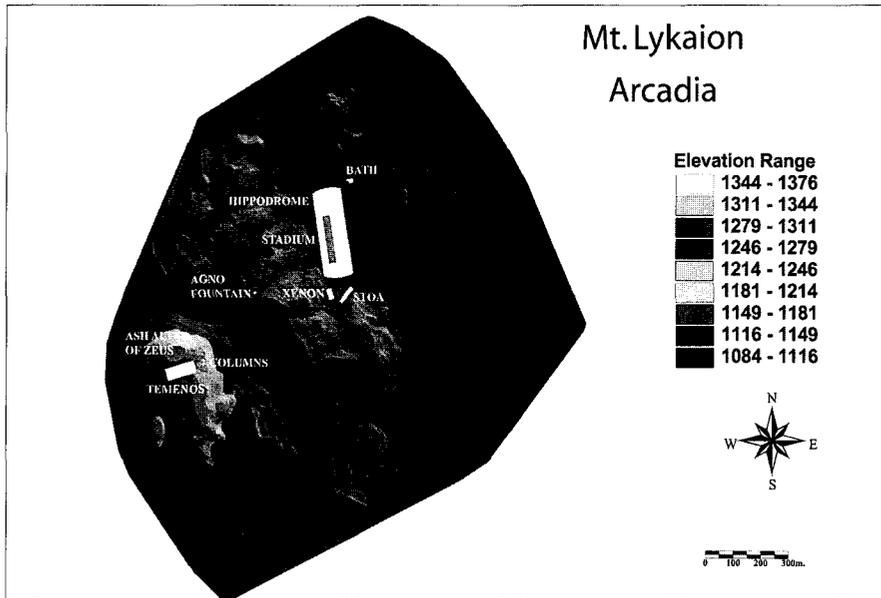


Fig. 3. Digital terrain model of Mount Lykaion illustrating the location of ash altar, hippodrome, Agno fountain, xenon and stoa. (Prepared by author.)

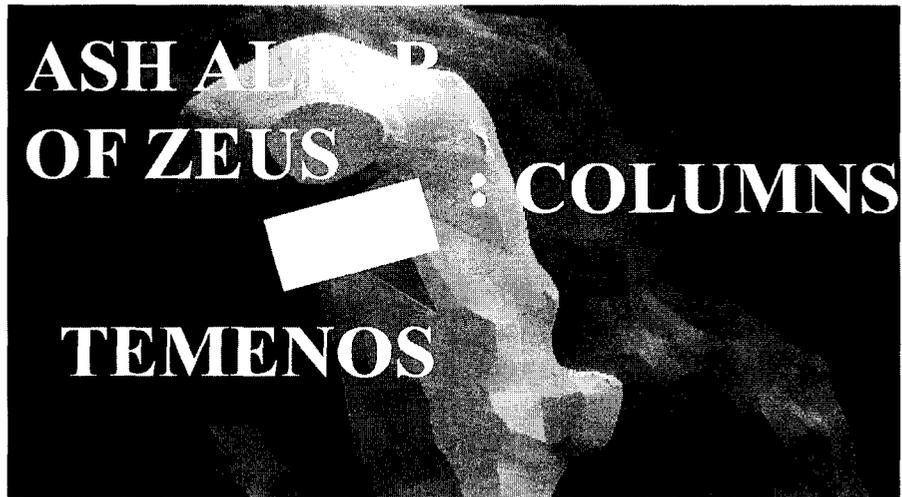


Fig. 4. Digital terrain model of area of the ash altar of Zeus with neighboring structures and monuments. (Prepared by author.)

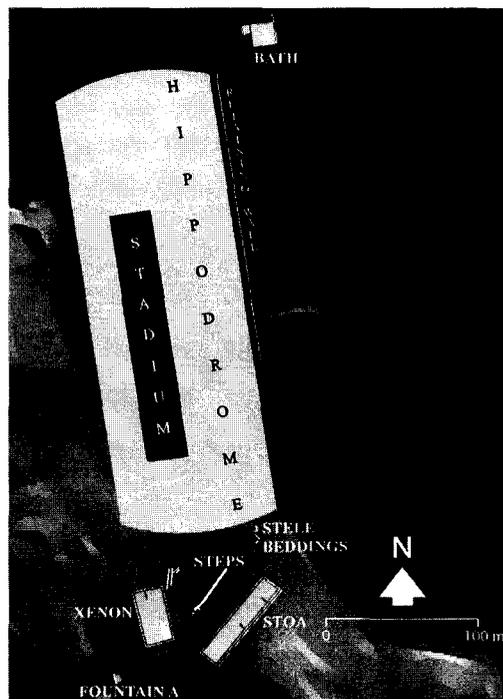


Fig. 5. Digital terrain model of upland valley on Mount Lykaion with surveyed structures and monuments. (Prepared by author.)

The Exploration of Ancient Stymphalos, 1982 – 2002

Hector Williams

From 1982-84 the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens and the University of British Columbia in collaboration with the Archaeological Society of Athens carried out topographical and geophysical surveys of the site of ancient Stymphalos; the work revealed an orthogonally planned city of the late classical period under farmers' fields. Since 1994 the University of British Columbia has excavated a number of different sites around the city, revealing houses, roads, a sanctuary with an archaic *kore* statue, fortifications, theatre seating and a Hellenistic stage building, several unidentified structures, and five small, early Christian cemeteries. The work has added considerably to our knowledge of the history of the city, uncovering, for example, Mycenaean pottery, an Augustan Roman resettlement possibly after the destruction by Mummius in 146 B.C., as well as five small cemeteries from an early Byzantine community.

The site of ancient Stymphalos lies in a narrow mountain valley some 600 m above sea level on the north shore of Lake Stymphalos, on Arcadia's borders with more settled regions of the northeastern Peloponnese.¹ Small scale and only briefly published excavations by Anastasios Orlandos for the Archaeological Society of Athens between 1924 and 1931 uncovered several buildings near the lake, but work stopped when he undertook new excavations at Sikyon.²

1. I would like to acknowledge the generous co-operation of a number of organizations in our work, especially the Archaeological Society of Athens for permitting our initial collaboration and for transferring the site to the Canadian Institute and to the Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Nauplion and its successive ephors and staff for their support of our work. We also thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of British Columbia for funding our research at Stymphalos, and the Canadian Institute at Athens and the Canadian Embassy for their constant support. Thanks are due to the many colleagues and students who have taken part, especially Prof. Gerald Schaus and Dr. Susan-Marie Cronkite Price who have been senior supervisors. And lastly it is a pleasure to acknowledge the help that we have received from the people of Stymphalia and area around over the past twenty years.

2. Orlandos 1924 to 1930.

Archaeological exploration of the site of ancient Stymphalos by the Canadian Archaeological Institute and the University of British Columbia began in 1982 in collaboration with the Society, with three years of topographical and geophysical survey.³ Since 1994 there have been annual campaigns of archaeological excavations of increasing size until the summer of 2002 when study seasons began.⁴

Our work at the site began with a topographical survey in the summers of 1982-84 which mapped all visible remains of the ancient city that now lies under farmers' fields.⁵ (Fig. 1) Such a survey was timely because plowing has been gradually eroding much of the surface and near surface architectural remains. It quickly became apparent that although Stymphalos had been in existence for some centuries, it had been laid out anew on an orthogonal plan some time in the 4th century B.C., probably during the reorganization of the Peloponnese after Spartan defeats to Thebes in 371 and 362 B.C.⁶ Within a rough triangle of fortification walls about 800 x 800 m the builders laid out a grid of streets usually 6 m wide running north-south crossed by a few broader avenues 8 m wide running east-west. Blocks were long and narrow, usually 30 m wide by over 100 m in length, which suggests a module (including the street width) of 110 Doric feet. Some areas like the rocky acropolis, a long tongue of land extending across about half the southern part of the site, were not included in the grid plan. The fortification walls with their mud-brick superstructure on a 2.5-4.5 m wide stone socle, their mixture of semicircular and rectangular towers and overlap style gates, resemble very closely those of Mantinea, rebuilt in the 360s. Improvements like massive rectangular and polygonal artillery towers and a gateway with a 'killing court' like the Arcadian Gate at Messene appeared around the end of the 4th century.⁷

Plotting and drawing up parch marks in the soil in the dry summer of 1983 revealed another aspect of the site's building history: at one site near the eastern end of the acropolis a building had encroached on the line of a north-south road.

3. Williams 1983 to 1985.

4. Williams *et al.* 1995 to 1998 and 2003.

5. Dr. Thomas Boyd made the first site plan in 1982 with the assistance of Rob Loader; Richard Anderson added further details in 1983-84, and since 1999 Ben Gourley, University of York, has been site architect and is responsible for Fig. 1 as well as for preparing the study and publication of the fortifications.

6. While some coins (dated by our numismatist, Dr. Robert Weir, University of Windsor) and pottery from our excavations date to the early-mid 5th century B.C., most of our discoveries belong to the mid-4th century B.C. and later.

7. Date based on a hoard of 14 coins (latest of which was of Demetrios Poliorketes) found in the Western Tower which replaced a smaller original rectangular tower at the end of the 4th century B.C.

We turned to this area in the summer of 1994 when we began actual excavations because we thought it might indicate a period when central authority had broken down, allowing individual house owners to expand into public property. The second area that we investigated that summer was a small sanctuary on a terrace at the western end of the acropolis, a site briefly explored by Orlandos in 1924 and 1926, which contained a temple, an altar, and a rectangular auxiliary building.⁸ Subsequently we have examined sixteen areas in and around the city, including the start of the famous aqueduct built by Hadrian to carry water down to Corinth.⁹ Another aspect of our initial work at the site was to attempt a large scale geophysical survey of the ancient city; as far as we know this survey was one of the first to be attempted on a Greek urban centre.¹⁰

Our survey work on the eastern side of the city revealed not only clear evidence of the city's streets and some major rectangular structures that were probably courtyards or peristyles, but also traces of the city's fortifications. Indeed the only evidence for the city's northernmost gate comes from a resistivity survey in a plowed field: it seems that most of the northern area of the city's defences was robbed out in the 13th century for building material for the nearby Cistercian monastery of Zaraka.¹¹ Visible in the print-out are the semicircular towers near and flanking the gate as well as the overlapping city walls. The main survey plan clearly reveals that the streets are moved 15 m west from the southern line of streets in the northern part of the site, probably to impede an enemy that had broken through the walls and was fighting down the streets. Aristotle suggests such anomalies in the new orthogonally gridded towns of the 4th century in order make attack more difficult.¹²

The largest area of excavation lay just east of the acropolis where both parch marks and geophysical survey had indicated remains of potential interest. Our eight seasons of excavation have revealed here parts of two north-south streets and of several houses built in the mid to late 4th century B.C., probably abandoned in the mid 2nd century B.C., and reoccupied and rebuilt in the late first century

8. Orlandos 1924, 121 and 1926, 134.

9. Our survey added to the important general study of the aqueduct by Lolos 1997; we found a low level as well as high level aqueduct running across the plain from the spring that is the source.

10. Most of this work was carried out by students from Bradford University whose important contributions, along with those of Dr. Richard Jones of the British School at Athens, made the survey possible. A limited survey by Dr. Stavros Papamarinopoulos with a proton magnetometer yielded much less information while experiments by Dr. Guy Cross in 1989 and 1996 with different kinds of remote sensing equipment (ground penetrating radar, electro-conductivity, seismic reflection) produced occasionally interesting results.

11. Williams 1985, 220, fig. 3.

12. Arist. *Pol.* 7.10.4-5.

B.C. for about half a century until their destruction by earthquake. Interpretation of the archaeological and architectural data is far from complete, however, and the picture may change somewhat with further study.¹³ At least two successive periods of encroachment took place into the line of the 6 m wide street on the eastern side of the block, gradually narrowing it to an alley 1.5 m wide and then closing it completely. There was no such encroachment on the corresponding street on the western side of the block and indeed here the surface, covered in its last stage by broken pottery sherds as a sort of paving, remained unbuilt over although a massive drain was inserted at a diagonal where the street met an east-west avenue; we were able to carry out a sondage some 1.2 m deep, recovering the building history of the road from the late classical period onward. In the wet fill at the bottom some Mycenaean pottery appeared, but we are still uncertain whether it came from a fill brought in for the road or from undisturbed deep levels. The whole question of earlier settlement at the site is far from settled; we have a handful of Mycenaean (LH IIIB) sherds scattered from across the site as well as two apparently Early Helladic lithic tools, but all are from later levels.

The best preserved building period in this area was the early Roman when a pair of courtyard houses was installed in the largely abandoned city, perhaps at the time of the resettlement of Corinth in the later 1st century B.C. The dark lines on the site plan indicate the remains of the western house with its well and central courtyard paved with broken tiles set on edge and its large open area, perhaps a garden, to the south. (Fig. 2) The most interesting material came from another house across the street where the new residents had utilized a large well built ashlar structure with fine four metre long cut blocks on its facade along the street. This site provided us with the clearest evidence for the mid 1st century earthquake in the form of nearly three dozen complete but shattered kitchen and common ware vessels very similar to late Tiberian period pots from Corinth. Striking discoveries were extensive remains of drafted wall plaster resembling the First Pompeian style in a room laid out like an *andron* with a raised border for couches, an iron sword 81 cm long (*spatha*?) still in parts of its sheath, a dagger, a round bronze shield cover, and a pair of large marble lions' feet, perhaps supports for furniture of wood. Over thirty bronze decorative door bosses in four different styles and a bronze door lock also came from the floor level amid destruction debris.

13. For example, there are a number of coins from the period between 146 B.C. and the Augustan times.

14. Professor Gerald Schaus, Wilfrid Laurier University, supervised this area and is preparing the final publication of it. Professor Mary Sturgeon is preparing the publication of the statue.

Few ancient sources touch on the history of ancient Stymphalos and our work has allowed us to begin to determine some critical events from the archaeological evidence. Most striking was the general absence of pottery and other finds from the mid 2nd century B.C. to the Augustan period. Our initial hypothesis was that a major event must have taken place about the mid 2nd century B.C. to cut the site suddenly off. The likely cause was Roman military activity during the Achaean War which destroyed the city of Corinth in the autumn of 146 B.C. and which likely had effects on surrounding towns. Among the four hundred or so coins from the excavation there is a remarkable forgery of a Roman denarius of 149 B.C. generally agreed to have been the money issued to pay the Roman army in Greece. Perhaps discarded at Stymphalos by some Roman soldier after the silver wash wore off the coin, it seems to confirm a Roman military presence after 149 B.C. We also have coins of Syria (including a fine silver tetradrachm), Egypt, Sicily and even Carthage ca. 300 B.C. that may have come back as part of the pay of Stymphalians serving as mercenary soldiers. The presence of large numbers of coins from Sikyon, Phlius and Corinth indicate our major nearby trading partners; indeed they far outnumber local issues of the Stymphalian mint.

One of the most interesting areas of the site lies on a terrace near the western end of the acropolis where a small temple has always been visible.¹⁴ (Fig. 3) Partially cleaned although not excavated by Orlandos, the structure has revealed some remarkable features. It seems to have been destroyed by fire in the mid 2nd century B.C., but not before at least two marble statues were broken up and burned in its fiery end; in the temple were parts of a half life-sized, late archaic *kore* of Parian marble as well as parts of a possible temple child, suggesting a kourotrophic divinity.¹⁵ The *kore* seems to be of Greek island origin and must somehow have found its way to Stymphalos after the mid 4th century when the sanctuary was constructed. We recovered about a third of it; we found no fragments elsewhere, and where it originally stood and what actually happened to it is still a mystery. Of note is a thin green glass eye that may have been inset in the missing face. For the temple child there are only the pudgy arms and feet attached to a rough base. The archaic statue appears to date to the late 6th or early 5th centuries B.C., but the child looks like a mid to late 4th century statue. Orlandos found near the temple part of an inscription, now lost, referring to Athena Polias but the kourotrophic nature of the statue might otherwise have suggested Artemis.¹⁶ Indeed the discovery of over two hundred pieces of gold, silver and mostly bronze jewellery from around the sanctuary again suggests a divinity like Artemis to whom women might donate such offerings before or

15. For a recent discussion of this sanctuary see Schaus and Williams 2000.

16. Orlandos 1926, 134.

after childbirth.¹⁷ Finds include earrings of different forms, finger rings of both bronze and iron (many with decorated bezels), bracelets and armlets. There were also nearly two hundred terracotta figurines, some of female worshippers and of animals as well as several small bronze figurines of animals.

The temple was a simple structure, 11 x 6 m, of mud-brick on stone orthostates with pronaos and main chamber. In front, however, was the foundation for a five-step stairway with a circular cutting on a block on its north side that probably was the site of a perirrhanterion; we found fragments of bases and basins of several of these terracotta 'holy water' basins around the site. In front of the temple was a large altar made up of large blocks of cut local limestone that were no doubt covered with plaster in antiquity; a roughly paved area surrounded it. North of the altar and temple was a tripartite auxiliary building that included a kitchen in its final form and to its west an annex that produced a number of loom weights. Interesting to the west as well was a series of five aniconic anepigraphic stelai set in a row in the earth, which may have been rude cult images like ones mentioned elsewhere in Arcadia by Pausanias.¹⁸ We know of remains of a second temple (tetrastyle prostyle) cleared by Orlandos near the south city wall by the lake and much to our surprise in a joint project with the local Ephorate we found evidence for a substantial Doric temple of classical date about two kilometres north of the ancient city at the edge of the modern village at Monastiraki; we found remains of columns, entablature and over twenty marble roof tiles, but the foundations still elude us and may lie under recent houses. We still have no evidence, however, for the location of the temple of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias, nor for his temple of Hera, although the latter may lie outside the present city site if an earlier Stymphalos does indeed lie somewhere else in the valley.¹⁹ Certainly there is evidence for substantial Doric structures, probably temples, elsewhere in the valley near the village of Lafka at the church of Agios Konstantinos, and the convent of Agia Kyriaki from which we have capitals and pieces of entablature.

The Monastiraki site also produced the first early Christian graves that we uncovered; in one was a coin of Justinian about A.D. 535. Since that time we have found 5th and 6th century interments in five areas of the site itself, possibly individual family cemeteries belonging to an as yet unlocated early Byzantine settlement.²⁰ Groups of graves appeared on the west side of the city in and around two early Hellenistic artillery towers, including one with a panoramic

17. Young 2001.

18. Williams and Schaus 2000, 90-2.

19. Pausanias 8.22.1-9; nor do we know the location of the local sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis attested epigraphically (Mitsos 1946-47).

20. For a more complete discussion see Williams *et al.* 1998, 297-300.

view over lake and city at the western height of the acropolis; others appeared in the pronaos of the temple of Athena and outside it, while more have emerged in the last two seasons at the eastern end of the acropolis above the theatre. Our human remains specialist, Dr. Sandra Garvie Lok, has uncovered much interesting information about them, including a group with an hereditary extra vertebra in the neck bones. Another oddity is the presence of a dog burial in a well built Christian tomb in the acropolis tower that had been cleaned of most of its human remains. As for earlier burials we know the location of three Hellenistic cemeteries from the discovery of nearly twenty funerary stelai at different locations north of the city, each with the name of an individual and little else apart from a toponymic "from Phlious".²¹ It is striking that the majority belong to women; perhaps many men went off to serve as mercenary soldiers and simply never returned home.

A striking success with the resistivity meter was the discovery of the stage building of the city's theatral area on the flat land south of the eastern end of the acropolis. (Fig. 4) Clearly visible here were stoa-like remains that on excavation turned out to be an unexpected *skene*. The city had no regular theatre, but a long line of rock cut seats along the eastern end of the acropolis had suggested a theatral area, perhaps a one-sided stadium. Although much of the *skene* had been robbed out there was clear evidence of two building stages of early and middle Hellenistic times with Doric façade with stone screens between the columns. Most interesting was the presence of pairs of letters – alpha/alpha to tau/tau at matching ends of stylobate blocks, suggesting that the structure had been dismantled and transplanted from elsewhere; similar letters are present on the façade of the theatre at nearby Sikyon. The plan has clear resemblances to other Hellenistic *skenai* like those at Eretria or Assos, with three rooms behind.²² A few Doric elements of cornice and mutules are all that remain of the superstructure. The stage building is substantial, over 50 m in length, and includes reused masonry in its walls and foundations.

The condition of the seating is very mixed: many of the upper rows of seats are still well preserved although at times weathered, but the lower rows have disappeared entirely, perhaps in part because of unidentified reuse of the area in late Roman/early Byzantine times. We recovered human remains from two partly robbed graves cut out of bedrock at the eastern end of the seating, and with them was a 5th century, early Christian lamp. Similarly above the seating on the flat terrace of the eastern acropolis were a number of both disturbed and

21. Harding and Williams 1992. Orlandos reported at least six other stelai and in 2004 a shepherd brought in another from a field half a kilometre west of the city.

22. See Bieber 1961, 116, fig. 440 (Assos); 118, fig. 452 (Eretria).

undisturbed Christian graves along with remains of several dog burials. The poorly preserved and as yet unidentified structures here seemed to go back to the Hellenistic period but had been abandoned in the mid 2nd century B.C. and never reused until late antiquity when graves had been excavated through the layers of collapsed roof tiles that overlay the scanty foundations. The upper parts of the walls were of mud-brick, as were most other upper walls in the ancient city.

We have also resurveyed a number of structures that Orlandos uncovered west of the theatre, including a klepsydra. Most striking on the central south side of the city near the lake were the foundations of a previously unrecognized monumental propylon resembling in plan the Ptolemaian propylon at Samothrace, and just to the south the substantial propylon to a possible palaestra.²³ (Fig. 5) Of interest as well in a nearby area quarried out of the south side of the acropolis, probably a source for much of the building stone at the site, are the remains of a keyhole-shaped building that Dr. Hans Lauter has identified as an inspiration for the Pantheon in Rome.²⁴ In fact, however, its lengthy entrance is more suggestive of a Mycenaean tholos tomb, and one might suggest a deliberate copying of such structures for a local heroon. Unfortunately about fifteen years ago treasure hunters ripped out some of the substantial polygonal blocks that made up its south side; cleaning up the damaged area provided some evidence to suggest that although late classical or early Hellenistic in date, it was still in use in Roman times.

We have paid particular attention to the fortifications of the city, both examining areas dug by Orlandos like the "Phlious Gate" in the southeast, which clearly was inserted into the existing circuit at a later date, probably around the start of the 3rd century B.C., or the "Pheneos Gate" where there appears to have been a propylon and benches lining the gateway through the city wall.²⁵ We also uncovered new areas including three artillery towers, like the Phlious gate apparently inserted at a later date: each encapsulates in its walls remains of a more modest original tower. The largest tower lies at the southwestern corner of the city at the highest point of the acropolis, and dominates the approaches from the south and the west, *i.e.* exposed flat plains that could be swept by artillery fire. Some 20 x 11 m with internal rooms, it consists of a outer 3 m thick masonry and mud-brick circuit of walls with polygonal masonry and a superstructure of mud-brick. Indeed the mud-brick may also have served to support catapults and to absorb their recoil on firing. The second largest tower lies along the western walls and produced the coin hoard referred to earlier; the third and smallest new tower lies just south of the Athena sanctuary and is hexagonal in

23. Orlandos 1925, foldout pl. I which presents this area of the city.

24. Lauter 1986, 177, Abb. 59 a.

25. See Orlandos 1927, 53-4.

shape, an innovation of the early Hellenistic period to allow more sweep for catapults. Evidence for the catapults comes from over 130 iron projectile points, some pyramidal and some conical in form, found in the sanctuary and occasionally elsewhere on the site.²⁶ Of note from the acropolis tower was also a hoard of 30 late 4th century B.C. lead sling bullets inscribed with initials in relief.²⁷

Our excavations have finished for the time being and we are planning several seasons of conservation, study and publication. One project of particular importance is the conservation of the still flowing late classical fountain house whose back wall bends out more and more each year and threatens to collapse from the pressure of earth and water behind. Colleagues from the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto have also worked on the nearby 13th century Cistercian abbey which has produced scattered earlier material from the ancient site including a Hellenistic tomb relief of a cavalryman and a coin of Septimius Severus.²⁸

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26. Williams *et al.* 1998, 310-1. The majority belong to mid 2nd century B.C. contexts and can be associated with the probable Roman attack, but some also came from contexts of the late 4th century B.C.

27. Williams *et al.* 1998, 306, pl. 12.

28. For a summary report of this excavations see Campbell 1997.

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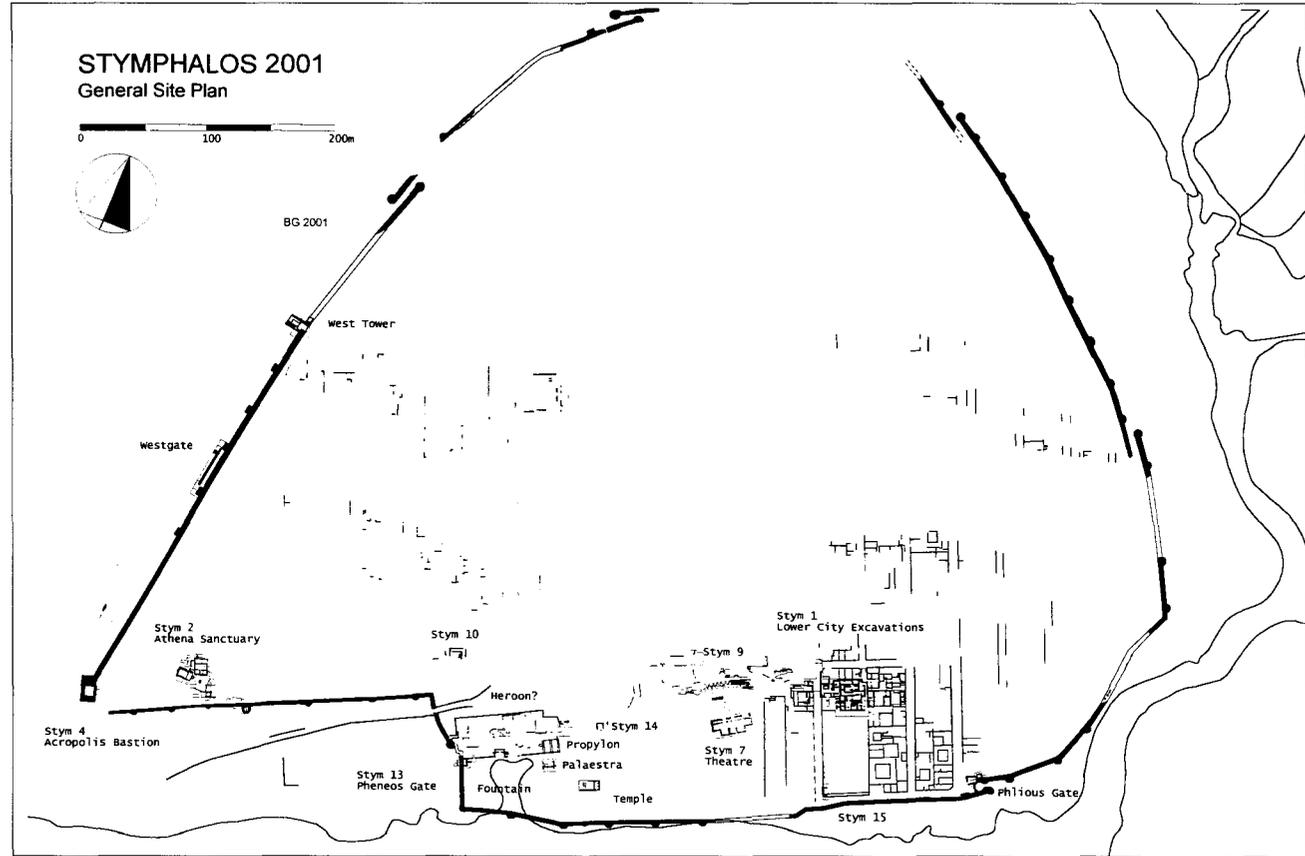


Fig. 1. General plan of ancient Stymphalos. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

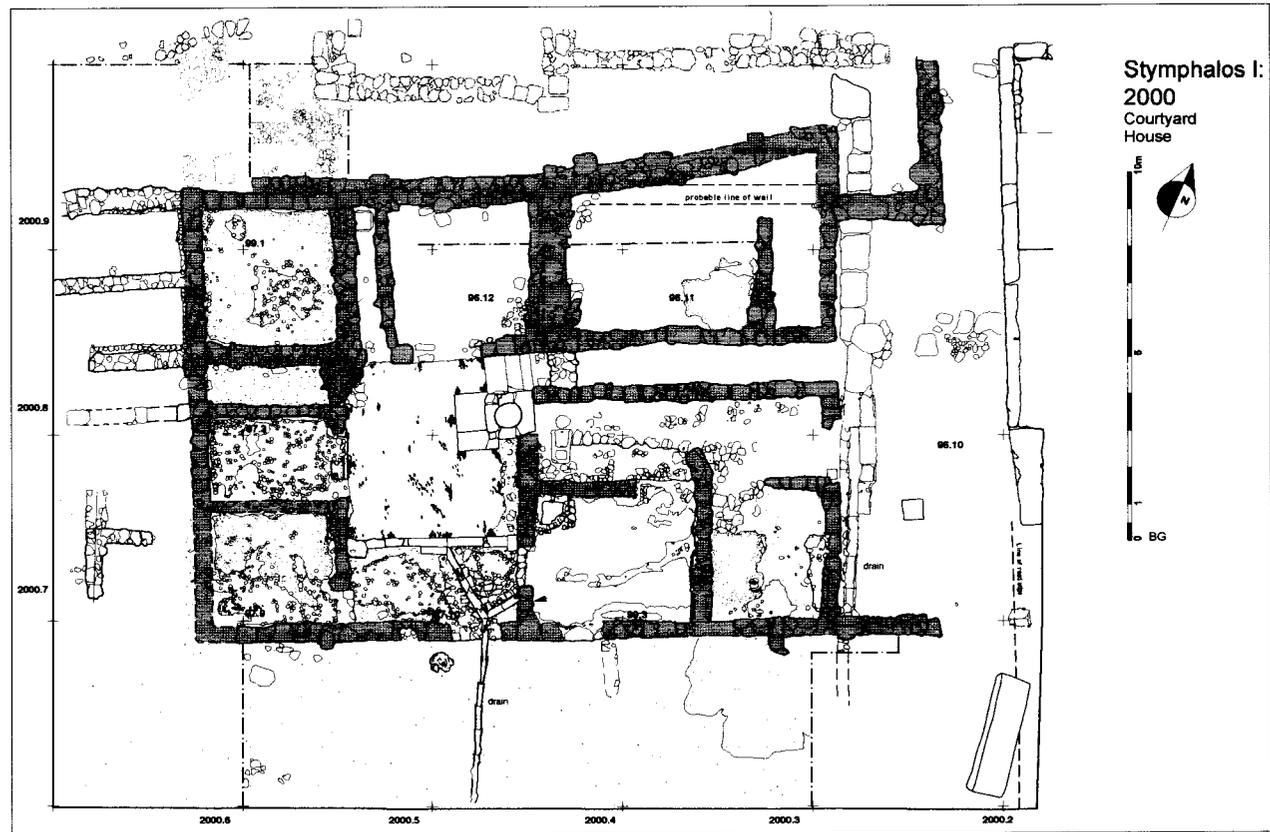


Fig. 2. Remains of Roman house in eastern domestic quarter. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

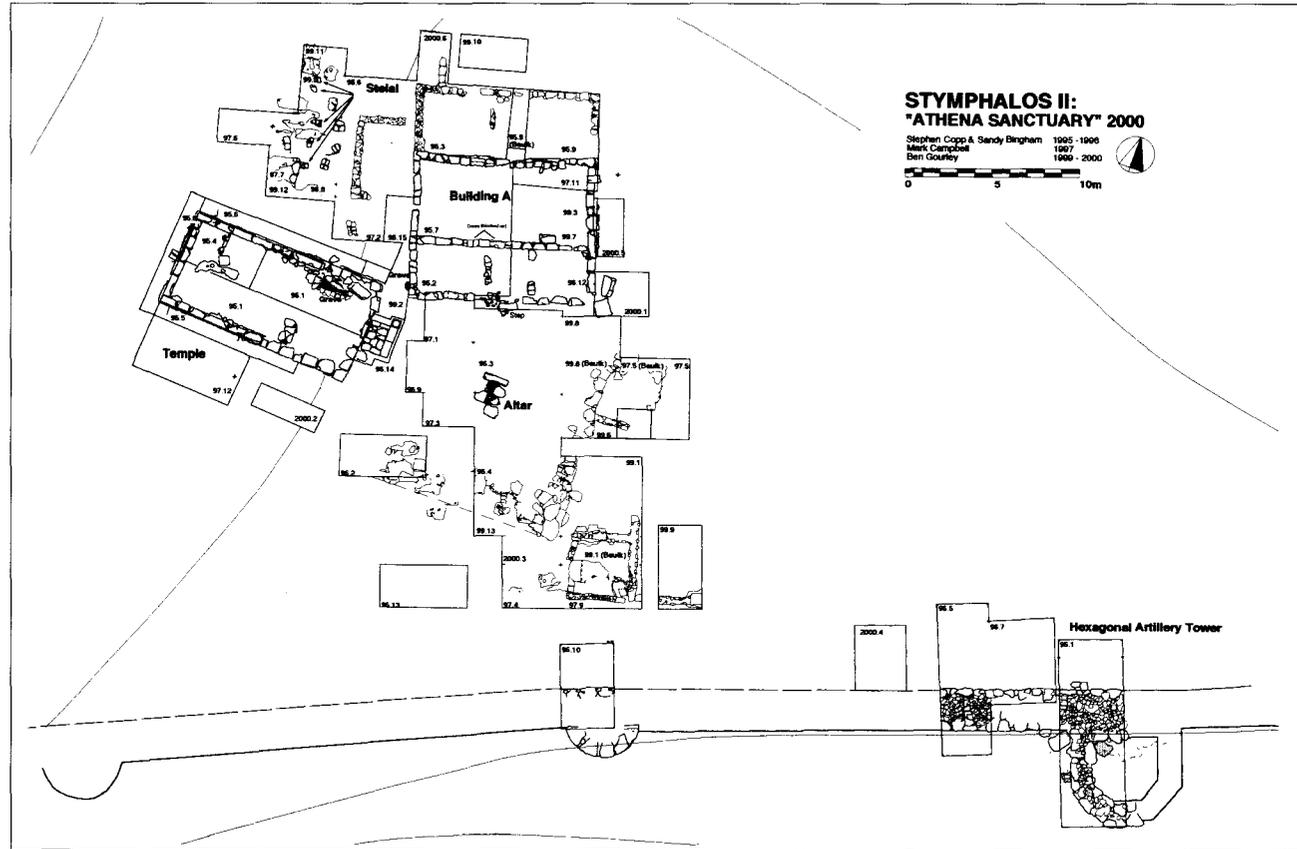


Fig. 3. Plan of sanctuary on western acropolis. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

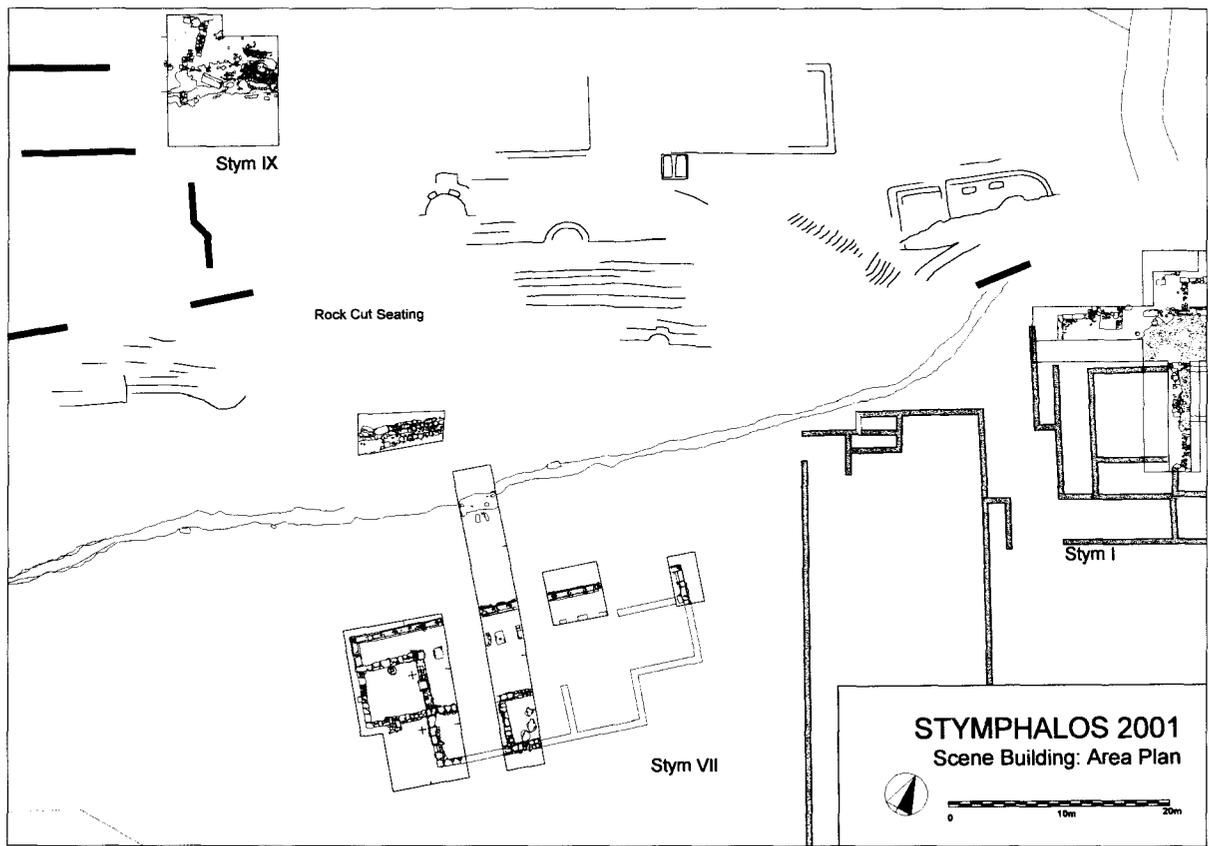


Fig. 4. Plan of area of theatre and stage building. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

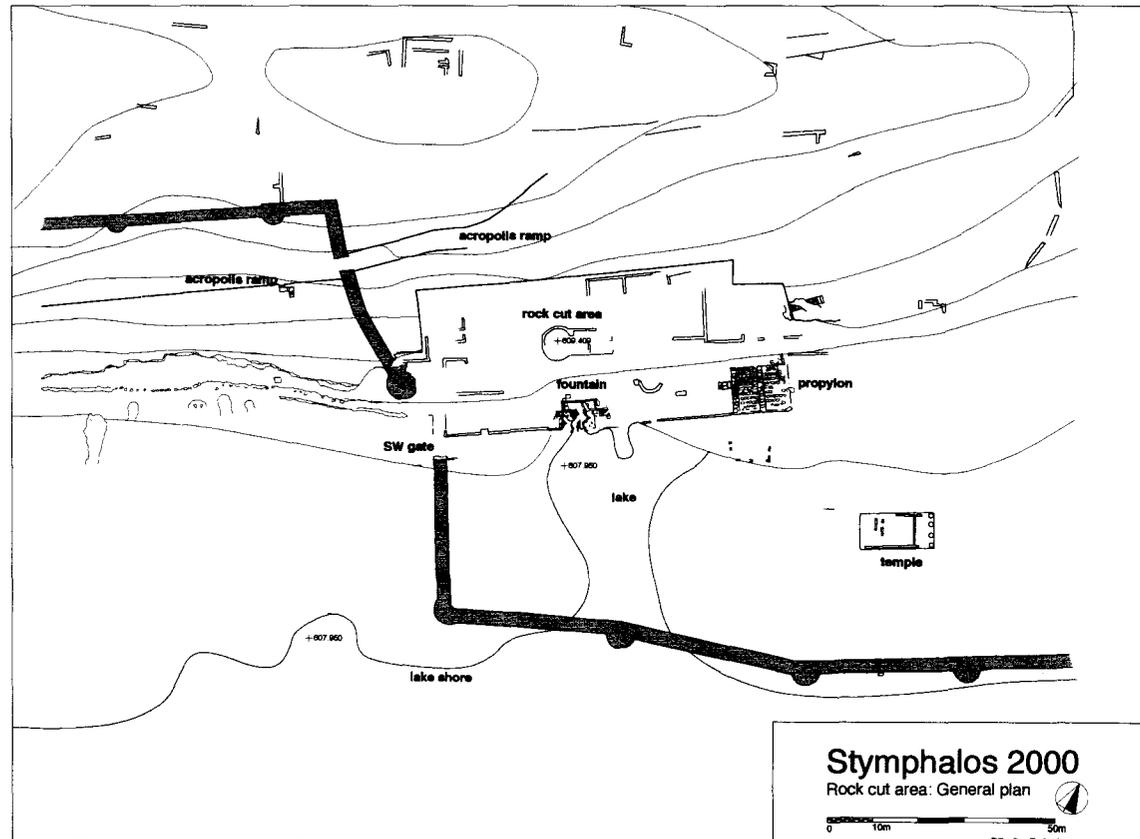


Fig. 5. Plan of southern central area of city cleared by Orlandos. (Drawing: Ben Gourley.)

VI. ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ANCIENT ARCADIA

Arcadian Miniature Pottery

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Over the past eight years, this author has undertaken research regarding a specific genre of ceramics, miniature vessels. Having studied, drawn, photographed, and compared hundreds of miniature vessels in Arcadia and throughout Greece, she provides in this paper a brief summary of the history of study regarding miniature vessels and defines what a miniature vessel is. An overview of those vessels found in Ancient Arcadia follows, focusing on research conducted with three specific projects: Bassai, Asea, and Tegea. While this overview of Arcadia miniatures is brief, it provides the introduction into a topic that is blooming, as are all other aspects of research in the Ancient Arcadian region, which brought us together to the seminar in Athens.

My study of miniature vessels began during my first study season at Tegea in the summer of 1995. For three consecutive seasons I labored over hundreds of not so elegant fragments. When I first began looking, I was not sure what I expected to find or how I would even distinguish a miniature vessel from any other vessel. Some seemed obvious enough, but the vast majority of the material was so fragmented that I had to learn through a process of elimination. Nevertheless, I progressed with my study by cataloguing, measuring, munselling, and drawing each piece I thought was or could possibly be a miniature vessel. At that point I did not even know for sure how I defined a miniature vessel. Since few scholars had discussed or even defined a miniature vessel, I trusted that the Tegean material would speak to me.

While miniature vessels are known from a variety of contexts – domestic, funerary, and cultic – my research focuses on those from sanctuaries. Scholars began to mention these vessels near the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, but in general terms without individual catalogue entries.¹ Dunbabin, however, was the first to highlight miniature vases giving them a chapter of their own in the second

1. Waldstein 1905, 96-101; Wace 1905-06.

volume of the Perachora publication.² Dunbabin inventoried 481 miniatures, illustrating nearly all with photographs, and grouping them by shape. Unfortunately, these catalogue entries are not very comprehensive, often consisting only of one measurement, and an occasional description of the painted decoration.

Subsequent publications followed Dunbabin's lead, noting miniatures when recovered and presenting them in increasingly informative fashion. However, these entries comprise but a few samples of the hundreds, even thousands, which are preserved, mostly from votive deposits and dumps. Analysis of these miniatures rarely extended beyond a presentation of a select few catalogued examples following an introductory paragraph.

More elaborate introductions to chapters and analysis of forms began to appear in publications such as Stillwell and Benson's presentation of the miniatures from the Potters' Quarter in Corinth in 1985, and Pemberton's from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary also at Corinth in 1989.³ Regional studies, such as that by Foley on the Argolid and Voyatzis' of Arcadia, have also incorporated some miniature vessels.⁴

Defining the term 'miniature vessel' was not as easy as it might seem at first. The typical dictionary entry for the word "miniature" notes: "A copy on a much reduced scale; something small of its kind."⁵ A 'miniature vessel' would logically seem to be any vessel that has been reduced in scale. This terminology assumes that from the set repertoire of ancient vessel shapes there is a corresponding set of shapes made on a reduced scale. However, it was immediately apparent that this definition fell short in relationship to the material I first studied at Tegea. Additionally, I found that what one scholar considered to be a miniature, another did not.⁶ Furthermore, not all 'normal' shapes at a given site appeared to have a 'miniature' parallel; and there appears to be no consistency among the shapes miniaturized from site to site.

Theoretically, any shape can be made in miniature. However, we must keep in mind that the original function of the 'normally' sized vessel may not equally transfer to the shape once it becomes miniaturized.⁷ While regional variations of

2. Payne 1962, 290-313.

3. Stillwell and Benson 1984, 309-43; Pemberton 1989, 64-6 and 168-77.

4. Voyatzis 1990, 79-84; Foley 1988, 71-6.

5. *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary* 1974, 741. The definition of "mini" is given as "something small of its kind; of small dimensions" while "miniaturize" is "to design or construct in a small size".

6. Stillwell and Benson 1984, 309; Catling 1976-77, 38 and 40. The aryballos is often a shape of contention. Corinthian aryballoi are not considered to be miniatures, while those from Laconian sites are.

7. Caskey and Amandry 1952. Compare Marer-Banasik 1997, 250, "A note on the de-

miniature vessels exist, just as there are variations for the typical repertoire of ancient vessels, I have created the following definition based on the material I studied at Tegea.⁸ ‘Miniatures’ are vessels that are modeled from other vessels but on a reduced scale. Additionally, other vessels which do not have corresponding larger ‘models’ can also be considered miniatures, as a consequence of their small size, equal to or less than a 10 cm cube.

Review of Arcadian miniature vessels

From 1996 to 1997 I was fortunate to travel and study miniature vessels throughout the Peloponnese.⁹ Wherever I traveled, I made notes and drawings of all the miniatures I saw. Arcadia is a region that is less published than other regions of the Peloponnese, and this especially holds true as concerns the miniatures. Below, I present a brief summary of Arcadian miniature vessels.

The region of Arcadia, where Tegea is located, provides many examples of such pottery.¹⁰ Examples of miniatures exposed in the Tripolis museum come from the sites of Mavriki, Lykosoura, Hagios Elias near Asea, Gortsouli, Paleopyrgos, Asea, Megalopolis, and Kelessi, and others.¹¹ Recent excavations in

definition of *miniature*”: “Miniatures can be defined as vessels too small for everyday or practical use. Large-size hydria are practical shapes that can be set off in size from the miniature hydria found at the Heraion with some ease. There is no need for the three handles on a miniature hydria, for example, as it is easily picked up with one hand. In other cases a definition is not as clear-cut. It is not always clear when a cup, bowl or other drinking vessel is too small for practical use. For example, the hydria is a utilitarian vessel for carrying and pouring water. However, when large numbers of miniature hydriai appear at sanctuaries, such as the Argive Heraion, they are interpreted as votives.”

8. While this definition is based on the material studied at Tegea, so far, the definition holds beyond the scope of that material alone.

9. Miniatures are often unpublished and it is necessary to have that type of reference to request permission to study the material. Thus, I could not request permission to study everything I knew existed because I did not have a published reference to them. My research has to a certain extent been directed by this factor.

10. The majority of those on display are kept in the Tripolis museum, although others can be found at individual site museums – with the exception of those from Bassai, which are located in the museum at Olympia.

11. The following is primarily based upon observations in the Tripolis museum. At Lykosoura miniature kraters were exhibited while the Bronze Age cemetery of Paleokastro preserves amphoriskoi. From a *bothros* of an archaic sanctuary at the site of Gortsouli, ancient Mantinea, were found miniatures including shallow bowls, dishes, and other handmade vessels of coarse fabric. In a shrine at Paleopyrgos, Arcadian Orchomenos, kotylai, kraters, mugs, kantharoi, bowls, and amphorai have been uncovered. The late archaic and classical, 6th to 4th century B.C., material from Megalopolis includes belly-handled small amphorai, kraters, bowls,

the sanctuary at Stymphalos have yielded miniature votive cups including skyphoi and kraters. Although Stymphalos was part of ancient Arcadia, the selection of miniatures published thus far are more akin to those from Corinthia.

Material from Bassai

Dr. Yalouris generously approved my study of the miniatures from Bassai in the Olympia museum. Bassai, in south-western Arcadia, is one of the few sites in this region from which illustrations of miniature vessels have been published. Unfortunately, there was not much original documentation about them other than that “the shapes imitate Corinthian, Laconian, and Elean wares”, and include a jug or pitcher, a pedestal vase, a lakaina, a kotyle, a two-handled mug or kantharos, an aryballos, and a thurible.¹² The Laconian influence, if not outright import, is strong among the miniature vessels at Bassai. The shapes studied in the store-room at the Olympia museum included aryballoi with strap handles and two-handled cups with globular bodies. Additional miniatures were inspected from a series of graves apparently excavated in 1975. These too were mostly cups with one or two handles. The miniatures from Bassai seem to be wheel-made, of a fine fabric, and primarily painted with a dark, probably black monochrome paint.¹³

Asea material

I have analyzed the miniatures recovered during the Asea Valley survey and the Hagios Elias excavations led by Björn and Jeannette Forsén.¹⁴ The miniature vessels recovered during the Asea Valley Survey were concentrated in two main areas, defined as S60:35 and S60:36. While only a small sample was identified, the scope and variety of the shapes, wares, and fabric reveal much.

14 examples of miniature vessels were identified among the corpus of survey material.¹⁵ Both open and closed shapes were noted, although the former predominated. Open vessels included examples of kotylai, dishes, phialai, kana,

and hydriai. Material of the classical and Hellenistic periods from the site ‘Kelessi’ near the Elisson river includes miniature amphorae with vertical handles. Lousoi is another Arcadian site where miniature ceramic finds are reported. Material from the site of Mavriki includes such miniatures as oinochoai, kalathoi, skyphoi, and cups.

12. Cooper 1996, 232-7.

13. The mugs, lakainai, and kantharoi recovered from the ‘Northern Sector’ at Tegea are similar to those found at Bassai, both sites exhibiting Laconian influence.

14. I would like to thank both Björn and Jeannette for allowing me to include my recent analysis of that material here.

15. Hammond 2003.

and a variety of bowls. Hydriai were the only clearly identifiable closed shapes, but other indeterminate fragments of open and closed vessels were also noted.

The shapes identified showed affinities to vessels from other areas of Arcadia as well as regions beyond. Comparisons made between the Asea Survey miniatures and those from Tegea tend to date primarily to the archaic period, while the material dating to the classical and later periods are mostly comparable to miniatures found outside Arcadia.¹⁶

The majority of the survey samples, 93%, were of fine wares while the remaining 7% were determined to be of semi-coarse fabric. Three groups of fabric color appear: reddish yellow, very pale brown, and yellow. Reddish yellow dominate the sample with 42%. While reddish yellow was more common among the open shapes, among the closed shapes yellow fabric was the most popular.

Only 28% of the miniatures preserved traces of paint. Unfortunately, given the worn and abraded surfaces, much of the original painted decoration has probably been lost. While survey material does not always provide the best preserved examples, the miniatures recorded during the Asea Valley Survey do illustrate the variety of shapes, a use of particular fabrics and wares as well as a range of time within which these miniatures date.

Just under 50 examples of miniature vessels were found during excavations conducted at the site of Hagios Elias near Asea. Only open shapes were identified, such as cups, mugs, kotyle, kraters, bowls, dishes, kana, and possible kalathoi. Over 92% of these miniatures were made of fine wares, 73% of these were painted. Only one preserved an incised decoration. The variety of the color of the fabrics was greater than among the Asea survey material: pale yellow and reddish yellow predominated with 40% and 23% respectively.

Tegea material

Miniature vessels were uncovered during the early excavations at Tegea. Ch. Dugas published 34 such vessels, but their exact provenience is unknown. In general, miniatures included in Dugas' and Voyatzis' publications are comparable to those discovered during the Norwegian excavation from 1990 to 94, in shape, fabric type, wear, and decoration.¹⁷

16. Discussions regarding the comparanda of Asea material follow within the specific catalogue entries. It should be noted, however, that some scholars do not consider the comparisons of miniature vessels to be very reliable: Pemberton 1989, 65. See also Renfrew 1985, 16; he states that "Religious experience can often take place in a special location ... there is likely to be specific cult equipment, and a redundancy of symbols" (or objects).

17. Gratitude is extended to the Professor R. Etienne and Dr. Th. Spyropoulos for granting permission to include previously excavated material in my study.

Excavations took place within the classical temple of Athena Alea – the ‘Temple Excavations’ – and in the area to the north of the temple, the so-called ‘Northern Sector.’ My study of the miniatures from the Norwegian excavations resulted in the establishment of three distinct phases of miniature vessel production and use at the site over time.

Phase I is represented by 149 miniature vessels discovered in the votive pit located below the pronaos of the classical temple. All these miniatures are similar in manufacture, material, and fabric, suggesting that these vessels had a significant and consistent role in defining their context.

Open vessels dominate among the miniatures in Phase I, although a few fragments of closed shapes were noted.¹⁸ (Fig. 1) However, the shapes of miniature footed cups and dishes, popular in Phase I, do not replicate the shapes of any ‘normal’ drinking and serving vessels, thus indicating that there is something different about them.¹⁹ These vessels are not simply scaled down versions or cheap imitations of normal shapes, rather they were made for a purpose of their own.²⁰ Either they were offered as votives in their own right, or they may have held substances consumed or left behind in association with some activity. Phase I miniatures appear to be exclusive in all characteristic aspects as compared with the two later phases.

The production and decoration of the miniatures from Phase I is quite basic.²¹ The vessels were formed by hand from clay typically having various types of inclusions. That they were locally produced, is indicated by the reddish yellow fabric and handmade technique.²² Although variations appear among the fabric colors of the miniatures from Phase I, the reddish yellow fabric color predo-

18. Hammond 2000, fig. 8. Open shapes predominate among the ‘normally’ sized vessels at Tegea as well.

19. Voyatzis’ study of the *bothros* ceramics (other than miniatures) has shown that shapes include skyphoi, cups, shallow bowls, possibly kraters, as well as jugs, and perhaps amphorae and pyxides. She has also noted Laconian influence among the non-miniature ceramics. (Personal communication; see also her paper in this volume.)

20. In some contexts, miniatures do have a practical and useful function in everyday life.

21. While the production of these miniatures may have taken place in a workshop (as opposed to household production), this can not be substantiated at the present. Further excavations and study of the coarse wares (non-miniatures) will hopefully shed light on this question.

22. The fabric with a reddish yellow color, seen in the majority of the miniatures from Phase I, has been confirmed as a local fabric through scientific analysis (ICP-AES) undertaken by the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens. The fabrics from Tegea also include a very pale brown color, in addition to the reddish yellow (varying to pink) color, as mentioned. Thanks are extended to Dr. Voyatzis for sharing this information. The handmade process in general suggests local production, at least in the case of Tegea, since none of the handmade miniature vessels found at Tegea can be identified as imports.

minates, and is consistently used throughout the history of miniature vessel production at Tegea.²³

Decorative motifs are kept to a minimum during Phase I.²⁴ Decoration includes only impressed or incised lines located almost exclusively on the rims of bowls.²⁵ The simple character of the Phase I miniatures may suggest that most of these vessels were probably containers for offerings dedicated at the site, rather than functioning as dedications themselves.²⁶

Miniature vessels from *Phase II* include material found in the pronaos surface layers and in the metal-working area, all objects excavated in the cella, as well as from the layers dated to the archaic period in the 'Northern Sector'. The continued presence and increase in numbers during Phase II confirm the importance of miniature vessels at the site.²⁷

Phase II introduces new miniature shapes which reflect the 'normal' ceramic shapes more closely.²⁸ (Fig. 2) Miniature shapes not previously seen include kotylai, kraters, shallow bowls, and phialai.²⁹ While kotylai and shallow bowls are the most popular, shallow bowls are most numerous and can be related almost exclusively to the Geometric buildings suggesting that this shape can be specifically tied to some activity that took place in association with these

23. The color of a fabric is determined by a number of factors, including the clay source and firing process. Shepard 1968, 100-12 for the causes of different clay colors, 147-55 and 213-23 for identifying firing methods. Hammond 2000, 215, n. 27, for additional discussion regarding the results of firing processes.

24. Although five Mycenaean sherds (possibly from the same vessel) preserve painted decoration, these were probably intrusive since they were found among the top and uppermost layer of the *bothros*, distinguished by the metalworking area just above it.

25. The exceptions include one dish with incised lines on the rim, one handle fragment with incised lines, and one bowl which has impressed rings, possibly made with a hollow reed. A total of nine cases exist where these decorative elements are noted.

26. The artisans of Tegea clearly had the skills and ability to produce fine wares with painted decorative patterns, but for some reason they chose not to do so for those of miniature size.

27. The quantity of miniatures increases from Phase I to Phase II, reflecting the regular pottery at Tegea with the expansion of shapes and external influences. Voyatzis informs me that Laconian influence/importation is much reduced at this time and the focus shifts to the Argolid with such shapes as skyphoi, one- and two-handled cups, kraters, and kantharoi, as well as oinochoai, lekythoi, amphorae, pyxides and oinochoe-lekythoi. Additionally, Corinthian style kotylai and pyxides also appear. In short, from the late LG period, the site of Tegea expands its use and production of ceramics in general, miniatures and non-miniatures alike. See the contribution by Dr. Voyatzis to this volume.

28. Hammond 2000, fig. 9.

29. These are primarily open shapes, while generally among the pottery of regular size from this period, more closed shapes begin to appear. Only one closed shape can be confirmed among the miniatures of Phase II.

structures.³⁰ Shallow bowls have no parallel among the vessels of 'normal' size.³¹ (Fig. 3)

The kotyle, first appearing in Phase II, is second in popularity only to the shallow bowl. The kotyle, however, continues into Phase III where it becomes the most popular of the miniature shapes.³² This shape seems to function more as a votive token or substitute for a 'normally' sized kotyle, since it has a corresponding shape of 'normal' size; it may, as an alternative explanation, actually have been used in some probably cultic activity. Both the miniature kotylai and those of 'regular' size first appear in Phase II.³³ The continued importance of this shape from Phase II to Phase III suggests a certain continuity also of actions in the sanctuary. The same continuity is seen for the miniature krater, but it is not nearly as popular as the kotyle.³⁴

Changes appear in the production of miniature vessels from Phase II as well. Although handmade miniatures are still manufactured, wheelmade pieces are almost exclusively confined to kotylai and kraters, as well as a few bowls.³⁵ The wheel-throwing process adds fine clays to the extant semi-coarse and coarse wares seen among the miniatures at Tegea. The colors resulting from the intro-

30. All shallow bowls belong to Phase II except four examples found among the miniatures from Phase III.

31. The shallow nature of the vessel could suggest a votive function, just as the phiale is considered a 'votive' shape. However, many shallow bowls, unlike phialai, have suspension holes and a slightly convex profile, suggesting that they were probably suspended, could catch the wind and rotate, their distinct painted pattern on each side being visible. This interpretation is substantiated because numerous bronze and iron pins and nails were found in association with the Geometric buildings, suggesting that the shallow bowls functioned as hanging votives. Simon 1986, 317, for vases that "may have had a ritual use during ceremonies".

The uniqueness of the Tegean shallow bowls may have been inspired by small Argive bowls. Similar cult activities emerging at this time at both sites could result in the independent production for this shape. There are no exact parallels between the Argive vessels and the Tegean shallow bowls.

32. Kotylai are most numerous (overall a total of 40 from the temple excavations) among the surface layers of the cella as well as in association with Building 1. However, the pronaos surface and occupation levels 2 and 3 provide only eight fragments of kotylai. The concentration of kotylai in the upper levels of the temple excavations may suggest that this shape was introduced somewhat later, or 'caught on' later, than the shallow bowl.

33. Voyatzis informs me that the kotylai from the 'regular' pottery are similar in shape to the Argive type and in style to the Corinthian types.

34. Like the shallow bowl, the krater is more popular during Phase II than Phase III, where only seven of the 27 examples from the site belong.

35. Since we find many similarities between the miniatures and 'normal' pottery during this phase and the following Phase III, we can propose that the production of the miniatures from Phase II and III occurred within a workshop environment.

duction of new fabrics among the miniature vessels include pale yellow and very pale brown.³⁶ The artisans have now refined their fabrics to make them suitable for the wheel-throwing process.³⁷

In Phase II, miniature vessels are enhanced by painted linear or monochrome decoration, although a few instances of incised decoration still occur.³⁸ (Fig. 4; see also Fig. 3) The added decorative motifs which now appear indicate that more attention is being given to this production.³⁹

The two most popular miniature vessel shapes seen in Phase II may be influenced by external sources. The normally sized kotylai reveal inspiration from the Argolid and the Corinthia, and a similar situation seems to occur with the miniature kotylai as well.⁴⁰ Miniature kotylai found at Tegea are similar in

36. Light yellowish brown preserved over a dozen examples as well, while all others preserved seven or less examples each. Although the use of reddish yellow fabric was reduced almost by half, it was still more popular than the very pale brown fabric that has also been determined to be local (as early as PG among the regular pottery of the site) according to the analysis undertaken by the Fitch laboratory.

37. Coarse wares are also produced on the wheel, but when miniaturized vessels with coarse fabric are constructed on the wheel, one might expect a rougher surface, since the size of the inclusions can now be more closely related to the size of the vessel, while the greater surface area of the vessel can better handle more and larger inclusions. The process could be more harmful to the hands of the maker him/herself as well. Furthermore, during the delicate process of making a miniature vessel on the wheel, great care must be taken to avoid inclusions or other unwanted 'lumps' in the clay. There is no case among the Tegean miniatures of coarse ware objects made on the wheel. Compare Fábrega 1994, 38: a modern potter specializing in the production of porcelain miniature vessels summarizes the problem of contaminations to fine clay miniatures made on a wheel when she states: "The purity and plasticity of the porcelain are absolutely essential. A grain of sand or a piece of iron disrupts the process... A loose hair can wind around the pot, strangle it; even a cat hair is disruptive." Hammond 2000, 222, n. 49, for further discussion regarding contemporary productions of miniature vessels.

38. A few straggling vessels are found in Phase II that were part of the original corpus of shapes in Phase I. One footed cup, two dishes, and one kana (all shapes also found in Phase I) continue the undecorated style common from Phase I. There are, however, new bowl types that exhibit painted decoration, some of which are of fine fabric. Nine examples of incised decoration are noted among the miniatures of Phase II. This appears on three bowls, on five handmade shallow bowls, and on one handle fragment. These cases of incision should probably not be considered as 'leftovers' from Phase I, since those from Phase II occur on different shapes or variations created by manufacture or material.

39. A total of nine examples of the 148 objects from Phase I is hardly sufficient to establish this as a 'normal' decorative pattern for the miniatures. When an artist takes the time to decorate a vessel, it gives more importance to the vessel itself, adding support to the suggestion that miniature vessels are taking on a new or different role than previously seen in Phase I.

40. Corinthian miniature kotylai were found not only throughout the Argolid and other areas of the Peloponnese, but throughout the Mediterranean. Corinth has been cited as "one of

shape, size, and fabric to Corinthian kotylai; but the non-Corinthian decorative patterning on the Tegean examples indicates that they were made locally and not imported.⁴¹

The quantity of miniatures from *Phase III*, the final phase of the sanctuary, is approximately equal to that found in Phase II, most of the pieces being recovered from the 'Northern Sector'. The consistent quantity of miniature vessels reveals that their use in the sanctuary continued to be important.⁴² Overall, Phase III miniatures appear to be an extension of Phase II. Open shapes continue to dominate the miniature types, with the addition of footless cups (with flat bottoms), kantharoi, mugs, lakainai, and dinoi.⁴³ (Fig. 5) One new closed shape appears as well, the oinochoe. Nevertheless, the kotyle continues to be the most important shape while the shallow bowls, on the contrary, have almost disappeared.⁴⁴ The importance of the kotyle as a votive vessel at Tegea is further confirmed by the fact that eight of these vessels were found together, without any other manufactured objects, in a foundation trench for the classical Skopadian temple.⁴⁵ The context suggests that these kotylai constituted part of a

the leading producers of miniature votive pottery": Stroud 1965, 15-6, n. 28. See also Payne 1962, 290-1, and Payne 1971, 334-5, for locations where these vessels have been exported. See also Boardman and Hayes 1973.

41. Since the fabric color types of the kotylai (as well as other shapes, such as kraters) from Tegea and those from the Corinthia are so similar, it is quite risky to base judgments of influence as against importation on fabric color alone. The Tegean miniature kotylai are most different in the decorative patterning and tend to be smaller than those from such sites as the Demeter and Kore sanctuary. However, some smaller Corinthian kotylai are known from Perachora, but their decoration is still different. The kotylai of Phase II also deviate from the Corinthian types by a tendency to be smaller than those found at Corinthian sites, but this is not always the case.

The Tegean shallow bowls are not dissimilar in shape and size, and in some cases fabric, from the 'saucers', 'shallow dishes' or 'handmade bowls' found at many sites in the Argolid. The variation appears, as with the kotylai, in their painted decoration. While the Argive vessels have tidy, parallel lines, at Tegea the lines tend to either drip over the vessel surface inside and outside, or radiate from the center to the rim like the spokes of a bicycle wheel. The Tegean artisans are not just copying an object seen or imported from another area, but adapting a form to the local need.

42. Phase III contained 180 pieces of miniature vessels, while Phase II had 169.

43. Hammond 2000, fig. 10.

44. This probably results from the fact that the shallow bowls are found almost exclusively in connection with the Geometric buildings and thus probably relate to activities undertaken in the sanctuary during that period alone. Only four shallow bowls were found among the miniatures from Phase III.

45. These kotylai were found along the west side of the foundation wall between the cella and pronaos of the classical temple. The only other remains noted from the related stratigra-

foundation deposit and might have been buried during a possible foundation ceremony for the construction of the classical temple.⁴⁶

Most of the new Phase III shapes may be explained by the fact that many are imports or local imitations of other regional types of miniature vessels. The newly introduced miniature vessel shapes tell us that the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea was progressively gaining more and more renown. Kantharoi, mugs, and lakainai are imported Laconian shapes.⁴⁷ It is not clear if these tiny vessels found their way to Tegea with visiting foreigners or with locals who had traveled to other areas, but it is significant that there are now miniature vessels at Tegea which have not been locally produced.⁴⁸

Phase III miniatures are almost exclusively wheelmade and of fine fabric.

phical unit (D1/7) were 15 grams of animal bones. A similar grouping of miniature cups was discovered in the 'Northern Sector', where three footless cups were found piled together *in situ*; but these do not constitute a foundation deposit.

46. For Iron Age foundation deposits (non-religious structures) see Wells 1988, 259-66. I would like to thank Dr. Nordquist for bringing my attention to this reference. Wells also cites foundation rituals from Mesopotamia and Egypt as well as other examples in the Greek world, some of them for temples. Although none of the objects found in the foundation deposits discussed by Wells (three, at Asine) were miniature vessels, they occur elsewhere (temple of Athena, Gortyn). Wells also cites an article by Donderer 1984, 177, where it is claimed that in the historical periods (archaic and later), the foundation deposits, buried in the ground, are related to chthonic female deities.

47. Kantharoi, mugs, lakainai, oinochoai, and possibly dinoi (in addition to a few possible jugs) are among those shapes that appear to be imports (mostly Laconian). At least half of the kraters from Phase III are also probably imported from Corinth. They are of a different type from those of Phase II. Miniature Laconian pottery has been found beyond the Peloponnese in southern Italy, at Taranto (Taras), in Etruria, on Samos, Rhodes, and at Smyrna (in Ionia), for example.

48. Fábrega 1994, 39, discusses the convenience of traveling to exhibits with miniature pots. Furthermore, when considering the total weights calculated for each excavation area, it is easy to believe that many miniature vessels could easily be transported. The typical weight for a Tegean kotyle (with a rim diameter of 3 cm or less) is one gram. The total weight for all miniatures recovered in the cella excavations amounts to 326 grams, or 0.71 pounds. The material from the pronaos excavations, although smaller in quantity than the pots found in the cella, weighs a little more, as a result of the material used to construct the vessels: 679 grams or about 1 1/2 pounds (1.49 pounds). The miniatures from the 'Northern Sector', the largest quantity, reach still less weight: 564 grams, about 1 1/4 pounds (1.243 pounds). The total weight for all miniatures from the site amounts to 1,569 grams or 1.58 kilograms, about 3.45 pounds. These quantifications clearly show that hundreds of miniature vessels could be transported with little effort. Their insignificant weight and compact size make shipping these vessels rather convenient. Compare Rice 1987, 452: "Miniaturization...a particular advantage that both allows the artisan to transport more of the items to the selling area and lets the tourist buyer (or art dealer) fit more of them into a suitcase."

Less variety in the colors of fabrics is noted as well. The lighter colored clays continued to be used, such as pale yellow and very pale brown, even more so than they had been in Phase II.⁴⁹ In addition, decorative elements found among the miniature of Phase III have been reduced to concentrate, with one exception, on the painted type, consisting entirely of linear patterns on kotylai and some kraters, or monochrome color on most other shapes. The increased use of monochrome painting may reflect the style of the time, the place from which those vessels originally came, or the quickness with which potters wished to produce these little vessels. The artisans have refined their craft of miniature vessel production, making fewer shapes and using fewer fabrics and decorative motifs, and thus quickening their processes.⁵⁰ This, in turn, must reflect the need or demand for the vessels themselves, perhaps resulting in mass production.

These three phases of miniature vessel production are rather enlightening. Phase I focused on handmade, coarse, and semi-coarse shapes, without parallels among the 'normally' sized ceramics. Phase II initiates changes involving all characteristics of the miniatures – shapes, wares, fabrics, and decoration. For the first time these miniature vessels can actually be considered, in some cases, to be miniature versions of the 'normal' shapes. While shallow bowls are a hallmark shape of Phase II, the continued appearance of the kotyle, which links Phase II to Phase III, suggests a degree of continuous activity at the site that cannot be documented between Phase I and Phase II. This probably has some connection with the fact that the archaic and classical temples for Athena Alea are related to these two latter phases.

Phase III can be characterized as the almost exact opposite of Phase I. While the potters of Phase I focused on the production of semi-coarse and coarse, handmade, virtually undecorated wares, those from Phase III use the wheel and

49. Yellow as fabric color is also important during Phase III. Although it first appeared in Phase II, advantage is taken of it during this period. Likewise, pale yellow and very pale brown become more important, eclipsing reddish yellow in popularity, although the latter is still used. While very pale brown fabrics were popular in Phase II, only one example was recorded in Phase I.

50. Although reduced quality is typically associated with increased quantity and quicker production, such inferior quality is not obvious among the miniatures of the final phase at Tegea. The extent to which this 'refinement' has progressed to mass production may suggest that miniatures have indeed at this point become mere tokens and cheap votives to be deposited at cultic sites. This may be the explanation for the kotylai at Tegea; however, the numbers of one specific shape or another uncovered thus far at Tegea are comparable, but not as extensive as some of the massive quantities of certain shapes found at sites such as those in Laconia, the Argolid and the Corinthia. Whether this implies that miniatures at Tegea were used for specific cultic activities or ceremonies rather than as passing tokens or substitutes, or perhaps rather that miniatures were a less popular votive at the site, is a question that cannot be answered at present.

produced almost exclusively painted, fine wares, 89% of their production. Imports are also a key characteristic of this final phase.

Analysis of the Tegean material clearly shows that stereotypes regarding miniatures are not always true. It is now possible to question the entire concept of miniature vessels as cheap substitutes for normally sized pots. Although it has been shown that this may be true in some cases, it is not applicable at all times. These are the humble beginnings of miniature vessel research in Arcadia. As additional sites are excavated, surveyed and explored, the opportunity to expand our knowledge about miniature vessels, not only in Arcadia or in the Peloponnese, but all over Greece, the whole of the Mediterranean, and perhaps beyond, is bound to increase. I encourage all of you, in whatever project you work, be it in Arcadia or not; take a second look at your small, unassuming vessels, you might be surprised at the stories they have to tell.

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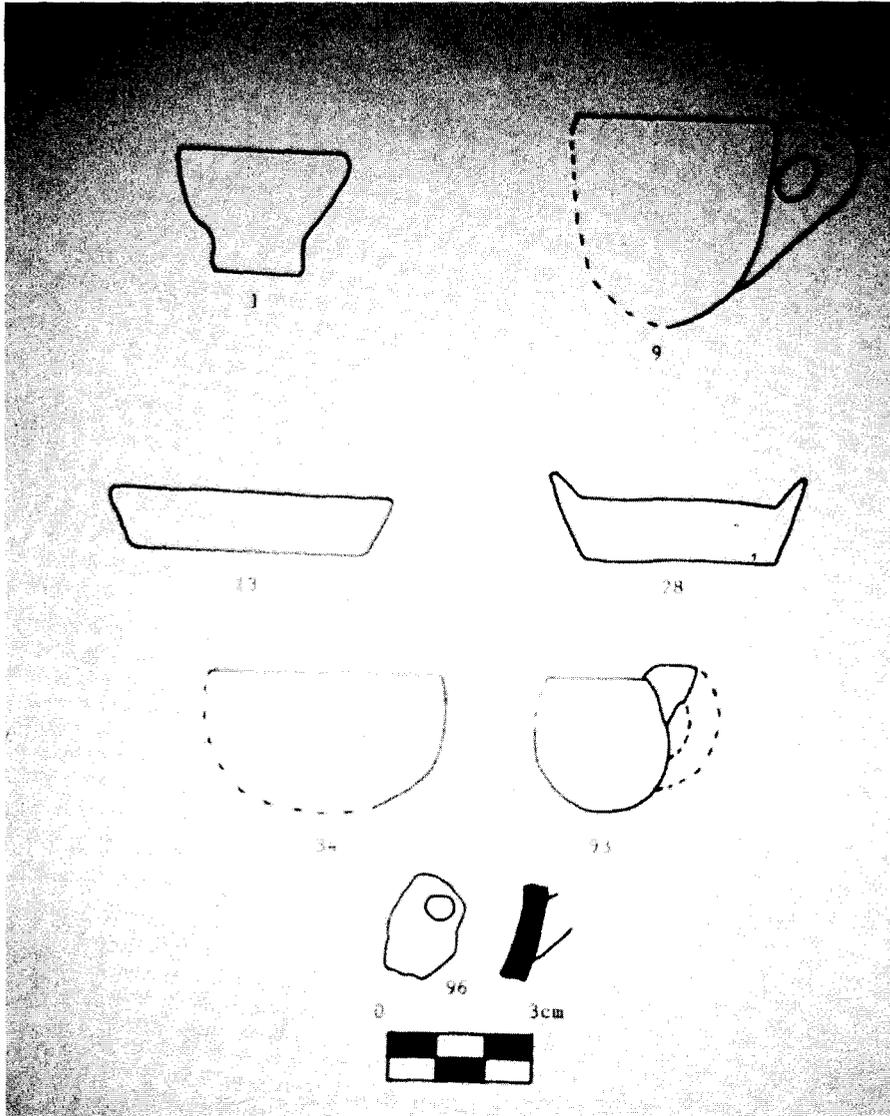


Fig. 1. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase I: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)

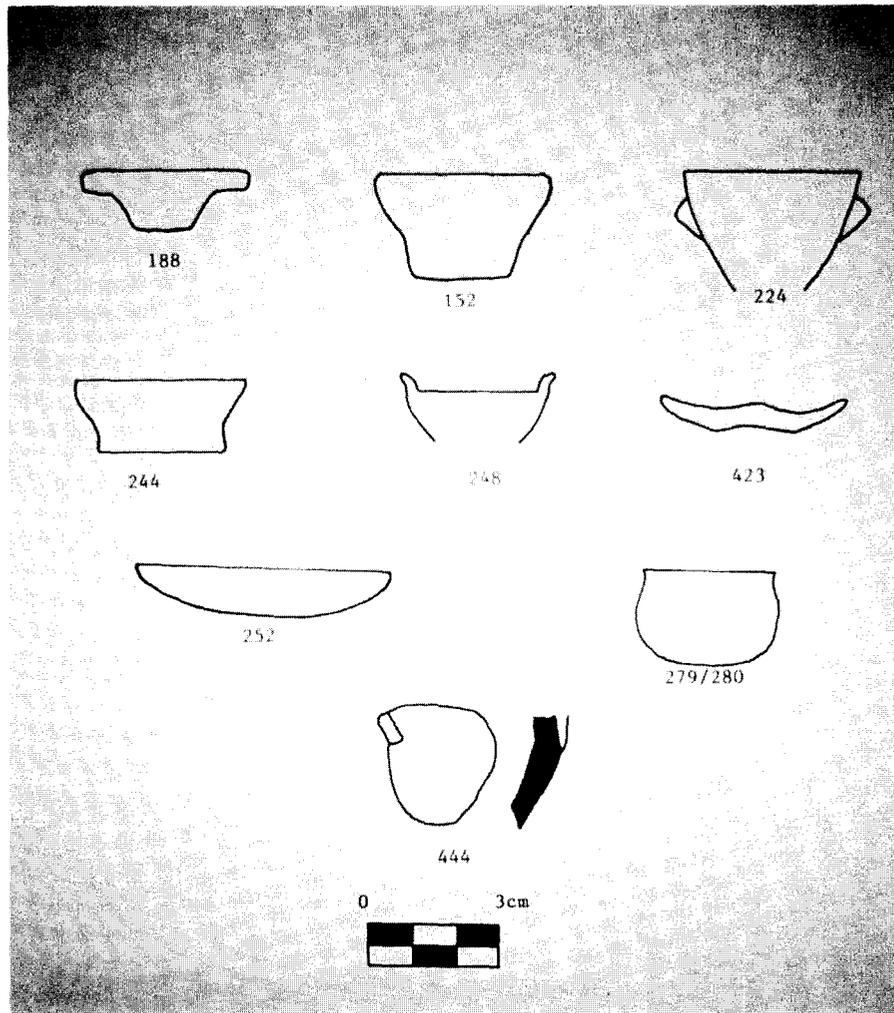


Fig. 2. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase II: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)

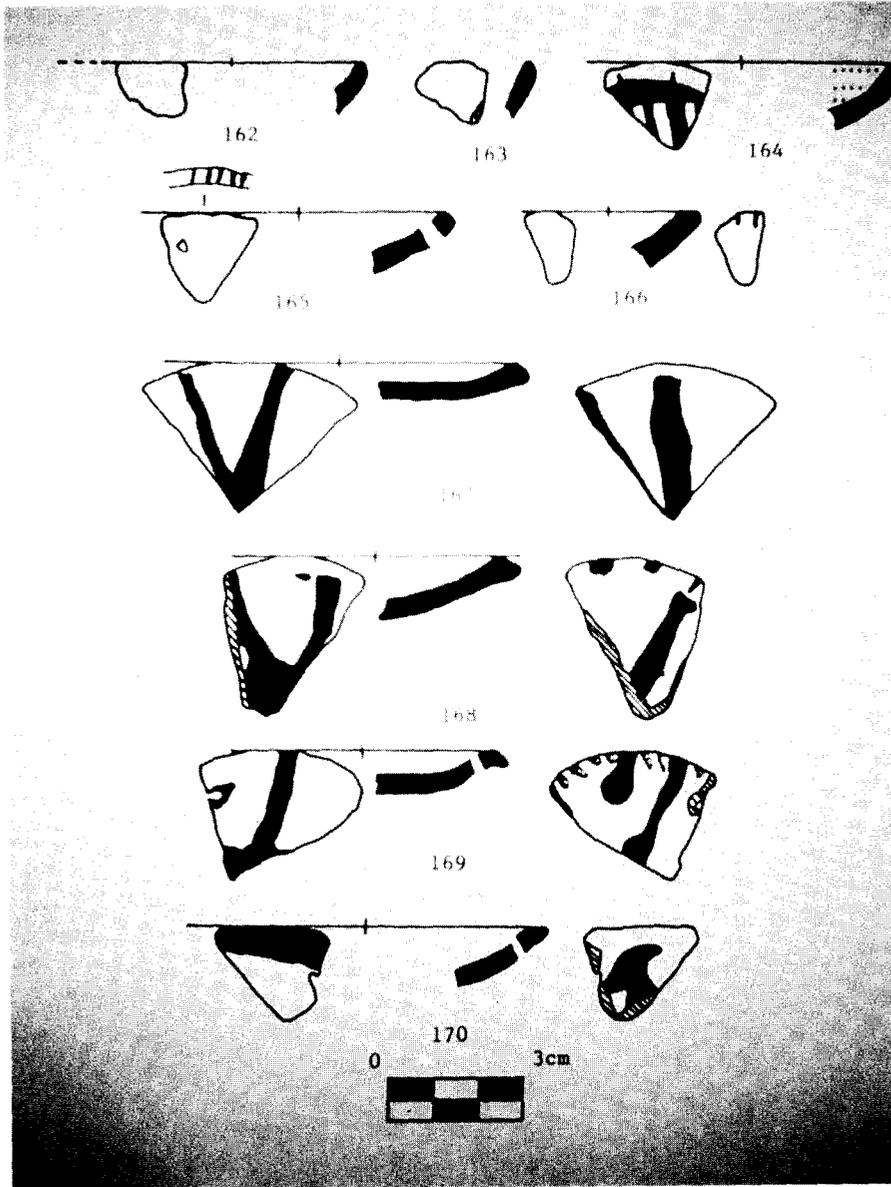


Fig. 3. Miniature pottery from Tegea: profile drawings of shallow bowls from Phase II. (Drawing: author.)

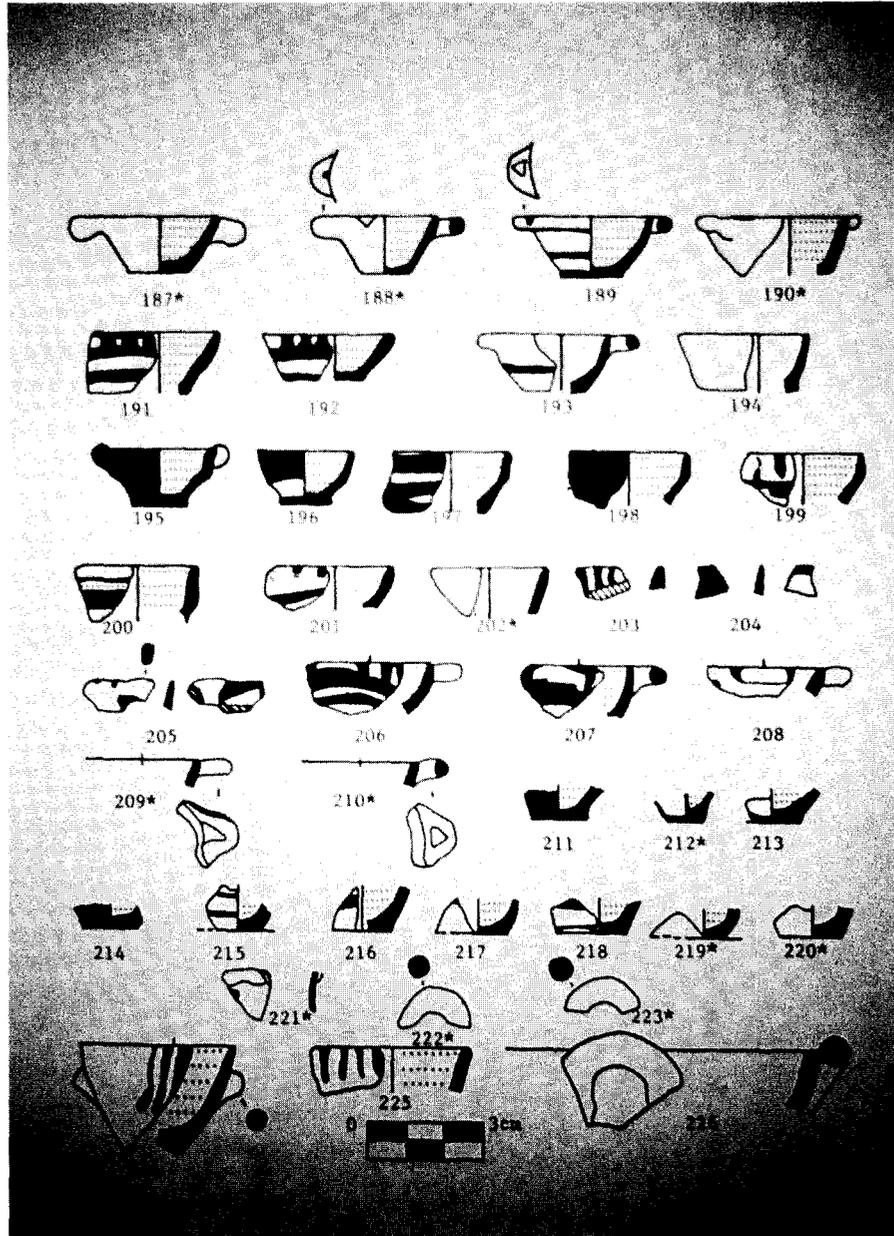


Fig. 4. Miniature pottery from Tegea: profile drawings of kotylai and kraters from Phase II. (Drawing: author.)

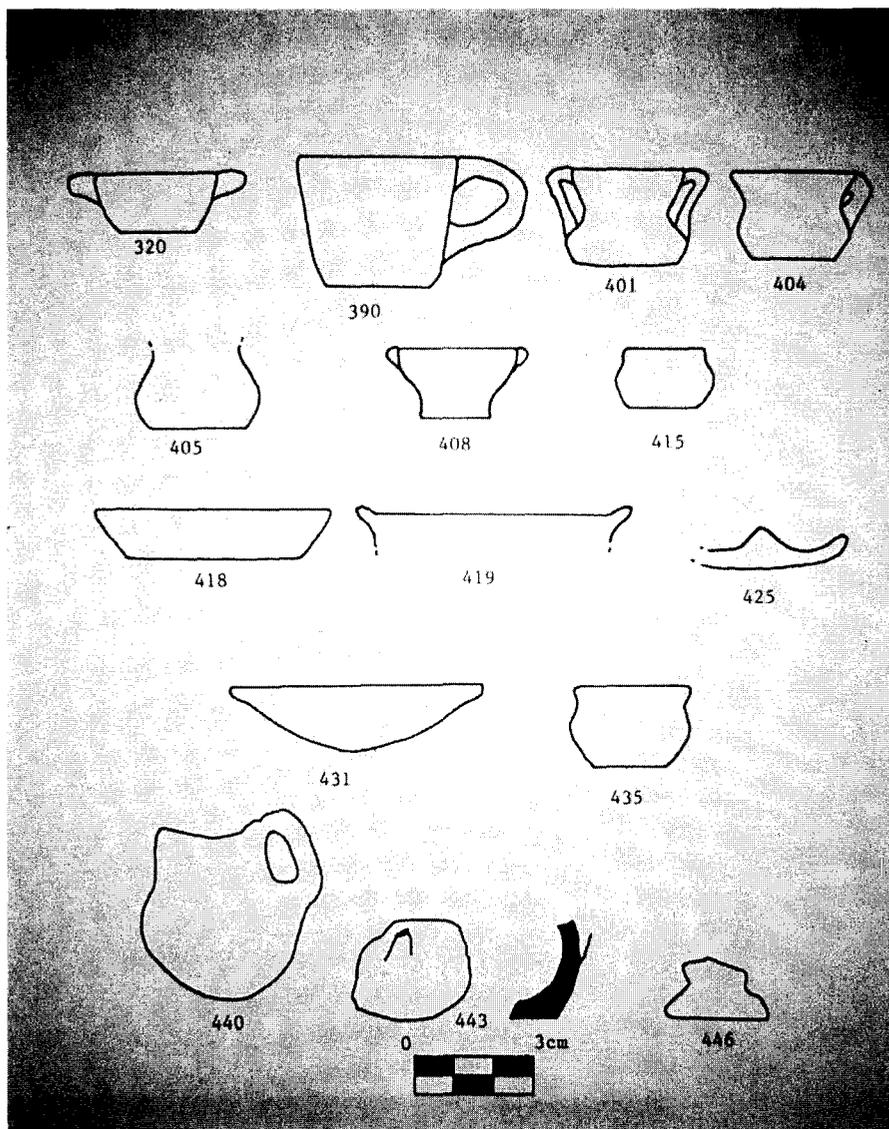


Fig. 5. Miniature pottery from Tegea, Phase III: primary shapes. (Drawing: author.)

Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας

Ελένη Κουρίνου Πίκουλα

The fragmentary lion statue walled in the facade of the primary school at the village Arachamita was found according to local tradition in the ravine Botsona near the village. It is made of grey limestone, and its preserved height of 70 cm indicates that it comes from the over-lifesize statue of a lion. The surface of the protome is badly weathered, and on the top of the animal's head it is almost disintegrated.

In spite of the bad condition of the surface certain features and iconographical details still visible can be used as chronological evidence and indicate a date around the end of the 5th century B.C.

The lion statue may very possibly be associated with the Mainalian settlement Peraitheís, recently identified with the territory of the village Arachamita. Although only mere conjectures can be made concerning its function, it seems probable that the lion statue was erected on a *polyandrion* rather than on an individual grave.

Στην πρόσοψη του ανενεργού σήμερα Δημοτικού Σχολείου του χωριού Αραχαμίτα,¹ αριστερά της εισόδου, ευρίσκεται εντοιχισμένο ένα τμήμα αγάλματος λέοντος, το οποίο σύμφωνα με την τοπική παράδοση βρέθηκε στην όχθη του πλησιόχωρου ρέματος της Μποτσόνας.²

Το γλυπτό, κατασκευασμένο από γκρίζο ασβεστόλιθο, τον γνωστό ως Ωλωνού-Πίνδου, είναι τοποθετημένο ελαφρώς λοξά στον τοίχο. (Εικ. 1) Το συνολικώς σωζόμενο – και ορατό έξω από την τοιχοδομία – ύψος του, που αντιστοιχεί στο ύψος του λαιμού με την κεφαλή του ζώου, ανέρχεται σε 70 εκ. και το πλάτος του στέρνου του σε 30 εκ., διαστάσεις που υποδηλώνουν ότι ανήκε σε άγαλμα μεγέθους μεγαλύτερου του φυσικού.

1. Το χωριό Αραχαμίτα της επαρχίας Μαντινείας του Νομού Αρκαδίας, ευρίσκεται λίγο βορειότερα από την Ασέα, δεξιά/βόρεια της Εθνικής οδού, που οδηγεί από την Τρίπολη στην Μεγαλόπολη. Το σχολείο, σύμφωνα με την κτητορική επιγραφή στην πρόσοψή του, ανεγέρθηκε με δαπάνη των αδελφών Βασ. Λυμπεροπούλου το έτος 1924.

2. Πίκουλας 1999, 104-5. Το γλυπτό υπέδειξε στον Γ.Α. Πίκουλα ο αγαπητός φίλος Μίμης Ρούσος, δάσκαλος από την Αραχαμίτα.

Λόγω του υλικού κατασκευής του, η γενική κατάσταση διατηρήσεως του γλυπτού δεν είναι καλή. Η επιφάνεια στο πρόσωπο του ζώου έχει υποστεί διάβρωση και στο επάνω μέρος της κεφαλής είναι σχεδόν αποσπασμένη. Επιπλέον, το δεξιό τμήμα του ρύγχους είναι αποκεκρωμένο, ενώ εκτεταμένες αποκρούσεις υπάρχουν υψηλότερα, στο δεξιό τμήμα της κεφαλής, όπως επίσης στη δεξιά πλευρά του λαιμού.³ (Εικ. 2)

Παρά τη διάβρωση και τις φθορές της επιφανείας του γλυπτού, είναι ευκρινή ορισμένα χαρακτηριστικά καθώς και μερικές ενδιαφέρουσες λεπτομέρειες της αποδόσεως της μορφής. Η προτομή συνολικώς χαρακτηρίζεται από ανστηρότητα και βαρύτητα. Στην πρόσθια όψη κυριαρχεί η υπαγωγή της μορφής σε ενιαίο, σχεδόν παραλληλόγραμμο, περίγραμμα. (Εικ. 3) Το πρόσωπο του λέοντος είναι στραμμένο κατευθείαν εμπρός και είναι σχετικώς ευρύ. Οι οφθαλμικές κοιλότητες είναι αρκετά βαθιές, εντύπωση που επιτείνεται από τα τονισμένα ζυγωματικά. Στην αριστερή πλευρά του ρύγχους διακρίνεται ευκρινώς το άκρο των χειλιών, αποδιδόμενο επιτηδευμένα και κατά τρόπο που φανερώνει ότι ο λέων δεν παριστανόταν με το στόμα τελείως ανοικτό, αλλά μάλλον επεδείκνυε, βρυχώμενος απειλητικά, τα δόντια του. (Εικ. 4) Η χαιτή αποτελείται από μακρούς φλογόσχημους βοστρύχους, που καλύπτουν – όπως φαίνεται από την καλύτερα σωζόμενη αριστερή πλευρά – τον λαιμό του λέοντος σε ακτινωτή, γύρω από το πρόσωπο, διάταξη. Τα αυτιά του ζώου δεν διακρίνονται.

Παρά την αποσπασματικότητα του γλυπτού και τον εντοιχισμό του σε λοξή θέση, είναι σχεδόν βέβαιον, όπως φανερώνει το ύψος του στέρνου του ζώου, η ορθή γωνία, που σχηματίζει το κάτω σαγόνι του με την πρόσθια επιφάνεια του λαιμού, και, τέλος, η κλίση της πίσω/επάνω επιφανείας του λαιμού, ότι ο λέων παριστανόταν σε οκλάζουσα στάση, δηλαδή καθιστός στα οπίσθια σκέλη του, στηριζόμενος στα τεντωμένα πρόσθια και με την κεφαλή κατενώπιον. Πρόκειται για χαρακτηριστικό τύπο απεικονίσεως των λεόντων κατά την αρχαϊκή εποχή στην ηπειρωτική και τη νησιωτική Ελλάδα, που απαντά σποραδικά και κατά τους κλασσικούς και ελληνιστικούς χρόνους,⁴ όταν κυριαρχούν άλλοι τύποι, που επιβάλλονται κυρίως με την παραγωγή της Αττικής.⁵ Στον συγκεκριμένο εικονογραφικό τύπο απεικονίζονται, για παράδειγ-

3. Λιγότερη φθορά παρουσιάζει η αριστερή πλευρά, γεγονός που πιθανώς να οφείλεται σε μικρότερη έκθεσή της σε διαβρωτικούς παράγοντες.

4. Κατά τον Vermeule (1972, 51) ο συγκεκριμένος τύπος επιχωριάζει κατά την περίοδο 450-300 π.Χ. στην Βοιωτία, στην Βόρεια Ελλάδα και στα νησιά του Αιγαίου, ενώ μόνον ένας λέων του συγκεκριμένου τύπου, χρονολογούμενος περί το 340 π.Χ., αποδίδεται στην Αττική.

5. Για τους αττικούς λέοντες ως επιτύμβια μνημεία κατά τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. βλ. Vedder 1985, 78-97, 115-9.

μα, ο λέων της Δημητσάνας (περί τα τέλη του 6ου αι. π.Χ.),⁶ ο λέων των Κυθήρων (περί το 520 π.Χ.),⁷ ο λέων της Κομοτηνής (περί το 510 π.Χ.),⁸ οι λέοντες της Δήλου (περί το 500-490 π.Χ.),⁹ εκείνοι των Θεσπιών (του τελευταίου τέταρτου του 5ου αι. π.Χ. και του 4ου αι. π.Χ.),¹⁰ ο λέων στην Βενετία από τον Πειραιά (του δεύτερου μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ.),¹¹ ο λέων των Θηβών (379-338 π.Χ.),¹² ο λέων της Αμφιπόλεως (μέσα του 4ου αι. π.Χ.),¹³ ο λέων της Χαιρώνιας (338 π.Χ.),¹⁴ οι λέοντες από τη Λάρισα και τη Νικόπολη (τελευταίο τέταρτο του 4ου αι. π.Χ.)¹⁵ και, εκτός του ελλαδικού χώρου, ο λέων στα Εκβάτανα (4ος αι. π.Χ.).¹⁶

Η χρονολόγηση του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας, εξαιτίας της αποσπασματικότητας και της κακής καταστάσεως διατηρήσεως του αγάλματος, αναγκαστικά στηρίζεται στα ελάχιστα σωζόμενα εικονογραφικά στοιχεία, τα οποία διακρίνονται στο γλυπτό.¹⁷ Πρόκειται για την απόδοση της χαιτίης και των λεπτομερειών του προσώπου του ζώου, και την απόδοση συνολικώς του σωζόμενου τμήματος της μορφής.

Η χαιτίη του λέοντος αποτελείται από μακρυνούς φλογόσχημους βοστρύχους. Αποδίδονται με χαμηλό ανάγλυφο και καλύπτουν σε ακτινωτή διάταξη, με τακτική επαλληλία, τον λαιμό του ζώου ξεκινώντας περιμετρικά από το

6. Κουρίνου Πίκουλα 1990. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53.

7. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 93 σημ. 17, 97 κε. Για τη χρονολόγηση, Κοκκορού-Αλευρά 1997, 597. Ο ίδιος εικονογραφικός τύπος, του οκλάζοντος λέοντος με την κεφαλή κατενώπιον, απαντά επίσης σε αρχαϊκά χάλκινα ειδώλια λεόντων του λακωνικού εργαστηρίου, πρβλ. Gabelmann 1965, 71-3, 116 αρ. 68, πίν. 12.1-3 και 13.3. Herfort-Koch 1986, 63-4, 122: K163 με παράλληλα, πίν. 22.6.

8. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 98-9. Κοκκορού-Αλευρά 1997.

9. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 91-101, με την παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

10. Κεραμόπουλος 1911, 163, εικ. 2, 3, 4. de Ridder 1922, 253-5 αρ. 68, 255 αρ. 70. Για τη χρονολόγηση των λεόντων από τις Θεσπιές και διαφόρων βουωτικών λεόντων βλ. Vermeule και von Kersburg 1968, 99-101.

11. Broneer 1941, 40-1. Giglioli 1952, 5-7.

12. Κουμανούδης 1966, 145-6.

13. Roger 1939, 4-42. Broneer 1941. Οι Vermeule και von Kersburg (1968, 100) χρονολογούν το λέοντα της Αμφιπόλεως στο 340-330 π.Χ. Επίσης Mertens-Horn 1986, 51.

14. Körte 1878, 385-6. Willemsen 1959, 52. Οι Vermeule και von Kersburg (1968, 100) χρονολογούν το λέοντα της Χαιρώνιας στο 334 π.Χ., ενώ η Knigge (1976, 170-1) στο 316 π.Χ. Η Mertens-Horn (1986, 51-5) προτιμά τη χρονολόγησή του στο 338-335 π.Χ.

15. Willemsen 1959, 69.

16. Για τη σύνδεση του μνημείου με το κενοτάφιο του Ηφαιστίωνος, που πέθανε το 324 π.Χ. βλ. Luschey 1968, και Mertens-Horn 1986, 51.

17. Η διαχρονική παρουσία και η γεωγραφική διασπορά της συγκεκριμένης παραλλαγής του τύπου του οκλάζοντος λέοντος, αποτρέπει την αξιολόγηση της στάσεως, στην οποία αποδίδεται το ζώο, ως βαρύνοντος χρονολογικού κριτηρίου.

πρόσωπο, δίχως να ξεφεύγουν από το περίγραμμα της μορφής. Παρόμοια διάταξη στην απόδοση της χαίτης απαντά ήδη σε αρχαϊκά αγάλματα λεόντων, όπως, για παράδειγμα, στον λέοντα από την Περαχώρα στη Βοστώνη (570-550 π.Χ.),¹⁸ σε άγαλμα λέοντος από τον Κεραμεικό,¹⁹ στο λέοντα της Σικυώνος (550 π.Χ.),²⁰ στο ζεύγος των λεόντων από το Λουτράκι στην Κοπεγχάγη (540-530 π.Χ.),²¹ στον λέοντα της Δημητσάνας²² καθώς και σε αρχαϊκά χάλκινα ειδώλια λεόντων του κορινθιακού κυρίως εργαστηρίου.²³ Στο λέοντα της Αραχαμίτας όμως, οι βόστρυχοι αποδίδονται φυσιοκρατικότερα και σαφώς διαφοροποιούμενοι από τις μορφές, που απαντούν στην αρχαϊκή εικονογραφία: πλό επιμήχεις, λεπτοί και κυματιστοί. Παρεμφερής πραγμάτευση των βοστρυχών της χαίτης αναγνωρίζεται σε πρώιμα κλασικά αγάλματα λεόντων, όπως, για παράδειγμα, στον λέοντα της Νέας Υόρκης ή στους λέοντες από την Ξάνθο της Λυκίας, στο Λονδίνο.²⁴ Όμως, ως προς το συγκεκριμένο εικονογραφικό στοιχείο, ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας ευρίσκεται πλησιέστερα στο ζεύγος των αττικών υστεροαρχαϊκών λεόντων από το Αρτεμίσιο της Δήλου,²⁵ τον λέοντα από τα Δίδυμα (δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ.),²⁶ τον λέοντα από την Αλικαρνασσό (δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ.),²⁷ έναν λέοντα των Θεσπιών (γύρω στα τέλη του 5ου αι. π.Χ.),²⁸ τον λέοντα του Μουσείου Φλωρεντίας (τελευταίο τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ.)²⁹ κ.ά.

Το πρόσωπο του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας δεν προσφέρεται για παρατήρηση λεπτομερειών, εξαιτίας της διαβρώσεως της επιφανείας του γλυπτού και της μεγάλης αποκρούσεως στο ρύγχος. Είναι σαφές όμως ότι κυρίαρχο στοιχείο ήταν η αυστηρή και απειλητική συγχρόνως έκφραση του ζώου. Η διακοσμητική απόδοση του άκρου των χειλιών, που στον λέοντα της Αραχαμίτας

18. Museum of Fine Arts, Βοστώνη, αρ. ευρ. 97.289. Caskey 1925, 14-8. Payne 1931, 243-4, πίν. 50.7. Gabelmann 1965, 48-9, 113 αρ. 29, πίν. 5. Mertens-Horn 1986, 25, και 1988, 34-6. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53 με βιβλιογραφία.

19. Μουσείο Κεραμεικού 794. Kübler 1970, πίν. 132-3.

20. Μουσείο Σικυώνος 3578. Floren 1979, 39-42. Mertens-Horn 1988, 34-6.

21. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Κοπεγχάγη, 1926 και 1927. Payne 1931, 243. Gabelmann 1965, 48-9, 115 αρ. 58, πίν. 8.1-2. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53 με βιβλιογραφία.

22. Κουρίνου Πίκουλα 1990. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 97 σημ. 53.

23. Βλ. ενδεικτικώς, Gabelmann, 1965, 115, αρ. 59, 61 α.

24. Mertens-Horn 1986, 6-15, πίν. 5.2, 6.1-2, 7.1-2, 8, 9. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 92, 99-100, πίν. 25, 3. Κοκκορού-Αλευρά 1997, 597, εικ. 9.

25. Μουσείον Δήλου: A4103-A4104. Gabelmann 1965, 122 αρ. 48, πίν. 29.1-2. Kokkorou-Alewras 1993, 100, πίν. 21.2. Ζαφειροπούλου 1999, 92-3, 257 αρ. 80-1.

26. Willemssen 1959, 46-7, 131, πίν. 45. Gabelmann 1965, 119 αρ. 115, πίν. 22.1-2.

27. Willemssen 1959, 46-7, 131, πίν. 44.

28. Willemssen 1959, 48, πίν. 45.

29. Mertens-Horn 1986, 16-7, πίν. 11.2-3.

σώζεται μόνον στην αριστερή πλευρά του ρύγχους, είναι εικονογραφικό στοιχείο που απαντά ήδη από τον 6ο αι. π.Χ σε λεοντοκεφαλές-υδρορροές στην κυρίως Ελλάδα και στις αποικίες της Μεγάλης Ελλάδας,³⁰ καθώς και σε αγάλματα λεόντων, για να αποτελέσει κατόπιν ένα σταθερό στοιχείο στην εικονογραφία των συγκεκριμένων ζώων.³¹ Ο τονισμός των οστών, που κυριαρχεί στην απόδοση του προσώπου του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας, διαπιστώνεται σε αγάλματα του 5ου αι., εξελίχθηκε όμως στην πλέον επιτηδευμένη και φυσιοκρατική έκφρασή του στους λέοντες του 4ου αι. π.Χ.

Από τις παραπάνω παρατηρήσεις είναι νομίζω σαφές ότι ελάχιστα είναι τα αξιοποιήσιμα για την χρονολόγηση του γλυπτού στοιχεία. Παρόλα αυτά, η συνύπαρξη, στον λέοντα της Αραχαμίτας, αρχαϊκών εικονογραφικών στοιχείων – όπως είναι η ακτινωτή διάταξη των βοστρύχων της χαιτίης – με στοιχεία, που απαντούν στον 5ο αι. π.Χ. και μάλιστα στο β' μισό του – όπως είναι ο λεπτός και σχετικά υψηλός λαιμός και η πραγμάτευση των βοστρύχων της χαιτίης – καθιστά πιθανότατη την χρονολόγηση του έργου περί τα τέλη του 5ου αι. π.Χ.: συνεκτιμώμενη μάλιστα με το χώρο ευρέσεως του γλυπτού και το υλικό κατασκευής του, οδηγεί στην υπόθεση ότι πρόκειται για έργο ενός τοπικού, αρκαδικού, εργαστηρίου.

Ιδιαίτερος ενδιαφέρον είναι το ζήτημα της αρχικής προελεύσεως του αγάλματος και, συνεπώς, του χαρακτήρος του.

Στην περιοχή του χωριού Αραχαμίτα – και συγκεκριμένα στη θέση Αγία Σωτήρα - Αγία Παρασκευή - Κουκουναριές – ταυτίστηκαν το 1999 από τον Γ. Πίκουλα οι *Περαιθείς*, οικισμός του έθνους των Μαιναλίων, μαρτυρούμενος μόνον από τον Πausanία.³² Ο Πίκουλας χαρακτήρισε δύο άλλες οικιστικές θέσεις της ίδιας περιοχής ως παραρτήματα του κυρίως οικισμού σημειώνοντας ότι τα άφθονα όστρακα μαρτυρούν την παρουσία του οικιστικού κέντρου από την αρχαϊκή έως και την κλασική εποχή· επιπλέον, ταύτισε το ρέμα της Μποτσόνας, δηλαδή τη θέση ευρέσεως του λέοντος της Αραχαμίτας, με τον αναφερόμενο από τον Πausanία, σε άμεσο γεωγραφικό συσχετισμό με τους Περαιθείς, *χειμάρρουν Έλαφον*.³³ Συνεπώς, η θέση ευρέσεως του αγάλματος φαίνεται ότι περιλαμβάνεται στο πλέγμα των αποδιδόμενων στους Περαιθείς θέσεων.³⁴

30. Willemsen 1959. Mertens-Horn 1986.

31. Ενδεικτικώς Willemsen 1959, πίν. 44, 45, 52, 58-9.

32. Πaus. 8.36.7. Πίκουλας 1999, 104-5, 129-30.

33. Πίκουλας 1999, 129.

34. Εφόσον υπάρχει δυναμικό οικιστικό κέντρο στην άμεση περιοχή ευρέσεως του αγάλματος, δεν νομίζω, με τα υπάρχοντα στοιχεία, ότι πρέπει να συσχετισθεί με άλλα σημαντικότερα, αλλά ασφαλώς πιά απομακρυσμένα οικιστικά κέντρα, όπως είναι για παράδειγμα η Ασέα.

Όσον αφορά στον χαρακτήρα του αγάλματος, μόνον υποθέσεις είναι δυνατόν να γίνουν, αφού δεν είναι γνωστός ο ακριβής τόπος ευρέσεώς του. Το πλέον πιθανόν είναι, ότι ο λέων αποτελούσε το επιτάφιο σήμα κάποιου εξέχοντος ή το σήμα ενός πολυανδρίου, κατά πρακτική γνώση ήδη από τον 6ο αι. π.Χ. Στις προαναφερόμενες κατηγορίες καταλέγονται, για παράδειγμα, οι λέοντες των Κυθήρων, της Δημητσάνας, και της Κομοτηνής, ο λέων των Θεσπιών, που εσήμαινε το πολυάνδριο των πεσόντων στο Δήλιον το 424 π.Χ., ο λέων της Αμφιπόλεως των μέσων του 4ου αι. π.Χ., ή εκείνος της Χαιρώνειας του 338 π.Χ. κά.³⁵ Μεταξύ των δύο πιθανολογουμένων και ευλογοφανών ερμηνειών κλίνω υπέρ της δεύτερης, δεδομένου μάλιστα του μεγάλου μεγέθους του αγάλματος. Εάν η υπόθεσή μου είναι σωστή, τότε η ίδρυσή του ίσως να συνδέεται με κάποια, πολύ σημαντική για την περιοχή, μάχη. Η απόλυτη σιωπή της αρχαίας γραμματείας για τους Περαιθείς, με μόνη εξαίρεση τη λακωνική αναφορά του Παυσανίου, προφανώς είναι το κύριο κώλυμα για την τεκμηρίωση του παραπάνω συσχετισμού. Όμως το γεγονός ότι οι Περαιθείς ανήκαν στο έθνος των Μαιναλίων, η προσπάθεια χειραγωγήσεως του οποίου, κατά το δεύτερο μισό του 5ου αι. π.Χ., ώθησε τους Τεγεάτες, με συμπαρατασσομένους τους Μαιναλίους, σε οξύτατες συγκρούσεις με τους Μαντινείς, με αποκορύφωση την μάχη της Μαντινείας το 418 π.Χ.,³⁶ δημιουργεί ευμενείς προϋποθέσεις για διατύπωση υποθέσεων.³⁷

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35. Κατά την μαρτυρία του Ηροδότου (8.225) στον τάφο του πεσόντος στις Θερμοπύλες βασιλέως της Σπάρτης Λεωνίδα είχε ιδρυθεί λίθινο άγαλμα λέοντος.

36. Οι Τεγεάτες συμπαρατάχθηκαν με τους Μαιναλίους και ανέκοψαν, συνεπικουρούμενοι από τους Λακεδαιμονίους, επιτυχώς τις επεκτατικές προσπάθειες των Μαντινέων. Για το θέμα, Πίκουλας 1990, 477-8.

37. Ιδιαίτερος δελεαστική, αλλά εξίσου αναπόδεικτη, είναι επίσης η σύνδεση του γλυπτού της Αραχαμίτας με τον σπουδαίο, γνωστό από έργα του στο ιερό της Ολυμπίας (Πανσ. 5.27.7, 6.6.3) μαινάλιο γλύπτη Νικόδαμο, η δράση του οποίου τοποθετείται κατά το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 5ου και το πρώτο τέταρτο του 4ου αι. π.Χ. Tziforoulos 1991, 101-4, 131-3.

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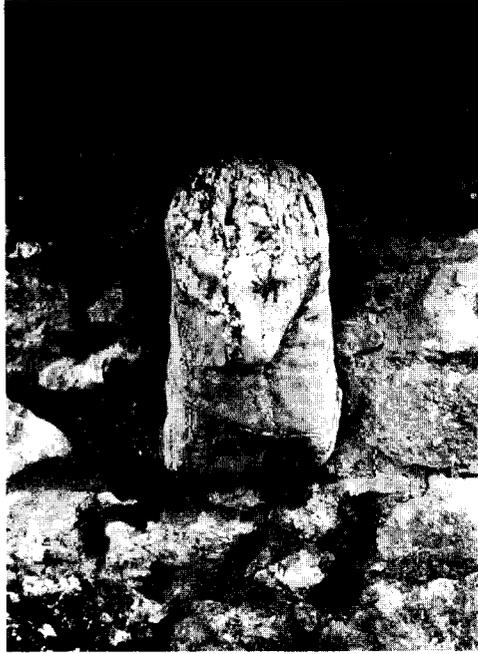
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Εικ. 1. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας. (Φωτογρ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας.)



Εικ. 2. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας, δεξιά πλευρά. (Φωτογρ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας)



Εικ. 3. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας, προ-
σθία όψη. (Φωτογορ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας)



Εικ. 4. Ο λέων της Αραχαμίτας, αριστε-
ρή πλευρά. (Φωτογορ.: Γ.Α. Πίκουλας)

Clay Figurines from Lousoi: Some Thoughts on Local Production

*The Ear is Shaky**

Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon

The excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi have brought to light a number of Geometric and archaic clay statuettes representing different types and styles, some handmade, others mouldmade. Some of the statuettes can be compared with and attributed to the Corinthian repertoire. Others coincide with known types from various Peloponnesian centers. But there are some types for which it seems difficult to find parallels. Certain characteristic details lead to the hypothesis that they may have been locally produced.

In this paper some statuettes are presented and the details leading to this conclusion are discussed. In addition to this, further indications for local production in Hellenistic times are added.

Recent publications inform us about the location, functioning and size of terracotta workshops.¹ Usually there is a rule about what indicates local terracotta production: a great number of statuettes, eventually of the same type, or a variety of types; moulds, kiln wasters etc. A safe proof of ceramic production are basins for the preparation of clay and kilns (for pottery and/or figurines). The ideal situation would be to discover figurines lying in or near the kiln, but

* I am grateful to Mrs. E. Matzek for correcting my English text. The photographs Figs. 2-5 are made by Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, the topographical map Fig. 1 by Prof. F. Glaser and Dr. G. Ladstätter.

1. Uhlenbrock 1990; Cuomo di Caprio 1992; Barra Bagnasco 1996a, 1996b, 1997; Muller 2000. Workshops were either large-scale installations, situated in the centres of towns favoured by water, consisting of basins for washing, kilns, places for storage etc.; or they were small installations, often based on family organization, working e.g. near a sanctuary, to cover the demand of the visitors. They could also be situated in a house, where moulds were copied and the firing was done in the potter's workshop.

this occurs very rarely indeed. On the other hand, in the case of single or singular pieces, one usually speaks of votive offerings brought by travellers from far away.

It may seem risky to postulate local terracotta-production at Lousoi, when the total number of figurines only amounts to about 400 fragments. I was encouraged, though, to do so, as my attention had been caught by a simple detail, which might be seen as an indication and which will be discussed below.

The provenance of the clay statuettes presented here is restricted to the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera. (Fig. 1) We have no information about the findspots of those which came to light during the old excavations of the Austrian Institute in 1898 and 1899.² However, the provenance of the statuettes of the new excavations since 1983 is defined accurately.³ They come from the following places: 1) the foundation pits of the temple of Artemis; 2) from the thickly packed setting of limestone and rock, which runs along the northern edge of the upper terrace, constructed in order to secure the area, which was to receive the large temple shortly after 300 B.C.; 3) from the small temple, the so-called Eastern Building, dated towards the end of the 4th century; and 4) from the layer covering this building after its destruction. For all of them, the only fixed date is the construction of the new temple in the early 3rd century as a *terminus ante quem*, because wherever they were found, they were fragmentary and already in secondary use. In addition, there are two stray finds from near the sanctuary, and the head Tk 1/2001 from the lower terrace, discussed below.

Parallel examples from other regions permit us to date at least some of them. Votives at Lousoi were offered from the 8th century onwards, with a peak in the 7th, 6th, and to a lesser degree in the 5th and 4th centuries. The terracottas fit into this frame, beginning in the 8th century.

In addition to the 250 clay statuettes reportedly found during the old Austrian excavations,⁴ of which 31 fragments were published in the article by Reichel and Wilhelm in 1901, the new excavations have produced 120 inventoried fragments,⁵ coming from the sanctuary and its immediate neighbourhood.

We cannot estimate the original number of votives offered to the goddess of Lousoi, since unlike the metal objects, which found their way into various museums and private collections, no terracottas from Lousoi have been identified elsewhere.

2. Reichel and Wilhelm 1901. It may have been either the upper or the lower terrace of the sanctuary. In the second case it is possible that they were washed down from the upper terrace.

3. Excavations in the sanctuary took place every year from 1986 to 1990 and from 1995 to 2000. See reports in *ÖJh* from 1987 on, and Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, *passim* and fig. 1.

4. Now kept in the National Museum in Athens.

5. The finds from the new excavations are partly kept at the Ephorate in Patras and partly in the local storage facility.

The statuettes belong to a few general groups with more or less distinct characteristics:

- hand-made crude statuettes, some of them showing the well-known ‘page-boy’ haircut
- protomai
- standing females with epiblema
- females with applied chains and amulets
- Corinthian types of Artemis and Spes, standing
- enthroned goddesses
- nude girls
- two heads and one fist of statuettes of larger dimensions
- hydriaphorai
- animals
- figural vases.

Some of the statuettes can easily be compared with and attributed to the Corinthian repertoire. Others fit with known types from various Peloponnesian centers, as Tegea, Tiryns, Argos, Laconia etc. But there are definitely some types for which it seems difficult to find direct parallels. The following selection includes some of the more remarkable terracotta statuettes from the sanctuary.

The first example to be presented is the small head of a young person.⁶ (Fig. 2) It was found lying face down on the lower terrace. At first sight it might be rejected as a forgery. However, in some respects it is a fine piece, and furthermore, who would go to so much trouble as to drop a single piece in such a remote place?

Conserved are the head and part of the chest, the rest is broken away. The clay is brown with light and dark inclusions, some voids; it is the clay mainly used for statuettes at Lousoi. There are traces of black colour on the face and hair. The face has a spontaneous expression. It is oval. The eyes, not quite at the same level, are surrounded by thick lids, the line of the lower lid of the left eye being shaky. The mouth is smiling. The hair is parted above a remarkably high forehead and adheres tightly to the head, arriving to just above the ears. It is divided into narrow strands with a fine, wavy surface, partly indicated by small parallel lines. The hair stops abruptly, the strands of hair which would usually fall to the shoulders, are missing. Just a tiny irregularity of the surface behind the right ear and a trace under the left ear indicate what may have been the mass of hair falling to the shoulders.

Having paid attention to the unusually high forehead, we should now take a second look at the mouth. The upper lip is curved and lifted up at the ends, whereas the lower lip is pulled too far to the right side of the face. It is out of balance, and the lower contour is corrected by an added line. However, most of

6. Tk 1/2001: total height 0.06 m, of the face from top to chin 0.032 m.

all we are intrigued by the treatment of the ears. The lower lobe of the left one is missing; the right one is positioned far too low, it is clumsily added where the hair ends, and adheres tightly to the cheek.

One gets the impression that only the face was taken out of a mould, together with the tightly fitting hair on the forehead and along the cheeks. The ears were evidently added later and pressed separately into the new mould, the left one only partly. The mouth did not turn out properly and was corrected.

If we overlook those faults, caused by a clumsy and hasty hand, we recognize this little head as a piece of rather good quality. It seems difficult, though, to find any parallels in terracotta for it. Perhaps one quite striking feature may lead to the solution: this is the rendering of the surface of the hair. Those finely indicated details, the narrow, slightly ribbed strands of hair, are not characteristic of terracotta sculptures; they belong to the field of bronze-working. And here examples for comparison are more easily found.

We mention the statuettes of standing, slender girls from Laconia, some of them carrying mirrors, the statuettes of *kouroi* used as vertical handles, or the busts of girls decorating the rim of vases.⁷ The oval face, closely fitting hair, large and heavily framed eyes, the expressive mouth, are characteristics of the lady on the lid of the Vix crater.⁸ The same can be said for the girl from Hermione.⁹ The *kouros* serving as handle of a hydria in Boston¹⁰ shows the same features. In addition, we find here the large, unarticulated ear and a very high, pointed, triangular forehead. The finely ribbed strands of hair are seen on a bust which decorates the rim of a vase.¹¹

So, whereas parallels in terracotta for our little head seem to be absent, several good pieces in bronze demonstrate that a similar example may have been used as prototype. If the head was meant to represent a work in bronze, the black colour on the face and hair would support this theory.

The next type to be discussed is represented by five statuettes, one complete, four body fragments, and one head.¹² (Fig. 3) The lower body is either flat or

7. Some of the bronze statuettes are Laconian, some attributed to Corinth, to Ionia, some to ateliers in South Italy or Etruria, where similar features are found. Eyes, which are not set at the same level, and unarticulated ears, are characteristic for Laconian heads; see Stibbe 2004.

8. Rolley 1994, 245, fig. 244; Stibbe 2000.

9. For the Laconian girls carrying mirrors, cp. Rolley 1984, 100-4, fig. 81; Herfort-Koch 1986, 33, K 58, pl. 8.4; Stibbe 2000, 84, fig. 16.

10. Politis 1936, 166, no. 6, fig. 23; Comstock and Vermeule 1971, 99.460, 286, no. 411; see also Politis, 166, no. 5, pl. 4; Comstock and Vermeule, 85.515, 285, no. 410.

11. Kouleimani-Vokotopoulou 1975, 31, no. 56, fig. 17 b, pl. 23 a, b, g, dated 520-510 B.C.

12. Tk 22/87, Tk 12/96 plus Tk 21/97, Tk 11/97, Tk 29/97, Tk 3/99, Tk 1/98; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, pl. 16, fig. 6.

cylindrical; the lady is wearing a tightly fitting *peplos*, with a belt around the waist and a cape on the shoulders, the *epiblema*.¹³ This series is well known from several centres of the 7th and 6th centuries.¹⁴

The face resembles the above mentioned head with a *polos*, but the top of the head is different. The face is crowned by an interesting headdress, consisting of a row of flowers and above that, something which looks like a flower or the corolla of an opium poppy or a pomegranate. This seems to be the local version of decorating heads, as e.g. sirens and plank-shaped statuettes¹⁵ elsewhere are crowned with large decorative discs.

But what mainly interests us in this special context, is the poor treatment of the features of the face. The eyes are not clearly cut. The mouth has been placed too far to the right under the nose, drooping on one side. There is some shaky correction of the surface on the left side of the chin. Whereas the left ear is well carved, the right one does not come out clearly. Some manipulation can also be detected on the right shoulder, which bulges as if something, perhaps a wing, had been cut away. These details give the impression that a mould was brought from elsewhere and was rather clumsily copied, including some alterations.¹⁶

The third example is a very fine female protome.¹⁷ (Fig. 4) The type differs slightly from the known types of the northern Peloponnese and Phokis discussed by Croissant¹⁸ and usually present at Lousoi. It is closed above and open at the back. On the schematically indicated, rolled hair above the front sits a low *polos*. Behind the ears, three strands of hair fall to the breast. The face is beautiful; with its low forehead and heavy lower part with a strong chin, a strong nose, big eyes surrounded by heavy lids, slightly upwards turned and vaguely smiling lips, it reminds us of pieces of a large-scale sculpture. Again our attention is caught by the ears: the left one is fully formed, but shaky and clumsy. The right one is only barely visible, but it is wearing a round earring, which was probably pressed separately into the the mould.

13. See Davaras 1972, 58-65.

14. Important parallels for the Lousoi pieces are similar statuettes found in Arcadia and specially in the sanctuary of a female goddess, probably Artemis, at Gortsouli; see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1989.

15. Schürmann 1989, 30, no. 42, pl. 11 (from Boeotia, last quarter of the 6th century); 92, no. 313, pl. 53 (from Metapont, last quarter of the 6th century); Higgins 1967, 45-6, pl. 19 B, early 6th century; Thompson 1939, 306, from Boeotia.

16. If we examine the other head, with *polos* (Tk 1/89), we cannot overlook the fact that there is also a fault, like a long scar, on the left cheek.

17. Tk 7/99.

18. Croissant 1983, 329-32, types P1, P2: regions of Delphi, Chaironeia, Argos.

Again we have the impression that someone copied negligently from a mould of good quality. In the course of the work, the back and lateral parts were added by hand, as were the rolled hair and the polos.

No exact parallels to this piece are known to me, but some examples of minor quality and later date may be mentioned.¹⁹

If my suggestion that these pieces were moulded in a hasty, negligent way is accepted, we still do not know where this activity may have taken place, or whether the pieces were brought to Lousoi or fabricated there. Perhaps another group of statuettes may help to proceed further: While the pieces so far discussed show the procedure of using a mould, albeit not in a perfect way, the following ones are results of simple hand-modelling,²⁰ and they are directly linked to the tradition of the sanctuary.

These little hand-made statuettes are already well known from the first excavations. The group is best represented in the sanctuary. Some examples show the closely fitting 'pageboy' haircut, the line of hair above the forehead cut straight and melting with the root of the nose, giving the impression of a helmet. The statuettes are either standing, sitting or riding sidewise on horseback.²¹ From the old excavations five heads have been published;²² from the new ones we recognize 14 fragments of this type, either heads or upper parts of the bodies, four standing. One standing statuette is of special interest, reminding us of a *xoanon*.²³ The arms of the statuettes are either wide open or bent downwards; in one instance the left arm was bent forward. The faces differ slightly, there are two groups. Some are long and narrow, some short; they seem to be carved in wood. In some cases the features, e.g. nose and mouth, are indicated, but mostly they are not, with just the chin and nose protruding. We believe there is reason to regard this type of little statuettes as locally produced and to connect it with the cult statue of the goddess. The hairstyle lives on in bronze statuettes of the 5th century also related to the sanctuary.²⁴

There are no exact parallels in clay known from other sites, for comparison with our clay statuettes. But we see close connections with a distinct group of small bronzes, showing similar haircuts and similar faces.²⁵ These are the horse-

19. Delphi, Chaironeia, Argos etc.; see Croissant, *supra* n. 18.

20. Muller 2000.

21. The type of the riding goddess studied by Voyatzis 1992.

22. Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, figs. 26-9 and 31.

23. Tk 32/87; see Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, pl. 16, fig. 5.

24. Chance finds from clandestine excavations, having found their way to museums and private collections: Mitsopoulos-Leon 1993.

25. I have already discussed this case (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 136-7), but it should be repeated in this context.

guiding warriors holding a sword and standing on cauldron handles. Claude Rolley assigns two strikingly similar examples, one from Delphi and one from Dodona, to a northwestern Greek region.²⁶ Their empty faces and short haircuts are repeated on some of our little heads. As the bodies and arms of the statuettes from Lousoi are not fully preserved, not much can be said about their posture. Could some of our figurines resemble these bronze warriors, displaying a militant character? It is interesting to remark that terracotta statuettes from Metapont are said to represent the armed Artemis, holding a sword.²⁷

Two parallel cases can be mentioned:

Emil Kunze already mentioned a remarkable similarity between a terracotta head from the Amyklaion and a bronze statuette from the Acropolis in Athens, which wears a helmet and held a lance in its raised, right hand.²⁸ He reconstructed a similar statuette for the Amyklaion head, relating it to the statue of Apollon Amyklaios.²⁹

In Argos³⁰ attention is drawn to bronze statuettes of the 8th and 7th centuries which served as examples of imitation for terracotta statuettes, thus initiating local Argive coroplastic production.

We shall add one more hand-made head, of slightly larger dimensions, to the group mentioned above.³¹ (Fig. 5) The tightly fitting hair, cut across the forehead and textured in a zig-zag pattern, reminds us of wood carvings and, of course, of the hairstyle of the little bronze warriors.³² The features are roughly rendered. The head is a crude piece of work, but extremely lively and impressive. One does not hesitate to ascribe it to what we generally call the 'Arcadian' background.

26. Rolley 1969, 32, pl. 5, fig. 11 (Louvre, Br 83), and *ibid.*, 32, fig. 12, from Dodona (Athens National Museum, Karapanos collection).

27. Olbrich 1979, 80 no. 124, pl. 31. For another interpretation of the type, in various centers, see Barra Bagnasco 1997, 208; for the relation between Achaia, the sanctuary at Lousoi and Metapont, see Bakchylides, 11th *epinikion*.

28. Kunze 1930, with pls. 42, 43.2, 44 and 45.

29. For the identification of a statue, holding spear and bow, clad in a long chiton and wearing a helmet, with Artemis Orthia, on coins of Cleomenes III (235–222 B.C.), see Lambri-noudakis, *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, 196, 55 b = Kahil, *LIMC* II, 742, s.v. Artemis, II.2: 3 a, following the interpretation of Grunauer-v. Hoerschelmann 1978, 39 e, 99, 190.

30. Sarian 1969, with an appendix by C. Rolley on a bronze statuette of a warrior from the Ortiz Collection.

31. Tk 15/97; see Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 136-7.

32. The impressed zig-zag decoration on regionally produced vases, known from Ano Mazaraki and Aigion, is also attested at Lousoi; see Schauer 1998, 267-9, figs. 20-1; Gadolou 2003. There are also some human figures with hair indicated in zig-zag pattern from the sanctuary of Artemis at Ano Mazaraki; see Gadolou 313-4, pls. 34-6.

For these hand-made statuettes there is an additional indication of production at Lousoi: some of them are decorated with horizontal stripes like the vases, decorated in the same way, which were certainly locally made: the small votive pyxides in the shape of the Geometric stamnos pyxis with fixed or movable lid.³³

These examinations lead, as I think, to a first conclusion. The excavations in the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi have brought to light a small number of Geometric and archaic clay statuettes representing different types and styles, some hand-made, others mould-made. For each group we detect a different way of receiving influence or of direct copying.

Making copies out of moulds was, as Arthur Muller points out, the simplest way of terracotta fabrication.³⁴ The work could be done by untrained workmen or apprentices. That explains the discrepancy between the clumsy mistakes and the mostly good to excellent quality of the original mould. Clay figurines were copied from terracotta moulds, but also from metal moulds, as many examples show.³⁵

Hand-modelling required more skill; our little hand-made statuettes are simple, yet some of the heads are remarkably expressive. Coroplasts may have worked with or near potters, especially in small scale workshops.³⁶

We now have to go one step further and study another issue concerning the organization of terracotta-production,³⁷ resuming what we know today about the possible production of statuettes, vases and other objects in clay in Lousoi.

Various objects found in the houses in Phournoi in Hellenistic and early imperial times provide proof of local production.

There are several kiln-supports and moulds for long petal bowls as well as for

33. See Schauer 1998, 269, figs. 15-7.

34. See *supra* n. 1.

35. Thompson 1949; Züchner 1950-51; Zervoudaki 1968, 3-6 and *passim*, with literature; Reeder Williams 1976; Scheibler 1983, 94-8; Uhlenbrock 1990; Barr-Sharrar 1990; Merker 2000, 14.

36. Muller 2000, 96-9; Barra Bagnasco 1996b, 182-4.

37. Muller 2000, 96-9, describes several methods of producing figurines: either the master coroplast and his assistants worked in a special workshop for coroplasts, or statuettes were produced in a potter's workshop, the original moulds being bought from sculptors or just copied. In the third case the work could be done in a small workshop, with casual and limited production. For the preparation of metal votives, see Kilian 1979. He defines the "landschaftsgebundenen Stil" and distinguishes between the following three situations concerning objects found in sanctuaries: bronzes produced on the spot in local style; products of local workshops in foreign style; and imports from other areas, which could also be produced in the sanctuary by migrating technicians. Rolley 1963, 483, studying a group of Peloponnesian bronze vases of the 6th century, states: "dans le Peloponnèse du Nord, la situation est plus claire : nous y trouvons des importations de Sparte, des imitations directes et des oeuvres plus originales."

terracotta statuettes and other votive objects. In addition to this, bone utensils for working clay, leather or bone were produced in Lousoi. The same motif of an acanthus decorating antefixes and one of the large-size household objects, a *hestia*, also points to the practice of copying.

In order to answer this question of major importance we mention a thick layer of earth preceding the construction of the Hellenistic stoa and reused in later phases, in what we now recognize as the *polis* centre of Lousoi. It contains thick pieces of clay discarded from kilns. Those 21 kiln-supports which were also found at the same occasion, seem to indicate terracotta or vase production.

In addition to this, the results of an archaeometric survey made by professor Papamarinopoulos in 1987 near the source of Vetelino, in the neighbourhood of the stoa, and still rich in water today, support the possibility that kiln activity took place in this region of Lousoi.

We conclude: Small hand-made statuettes, representing the largest number of terracottas in Lousoi, could have been made in the workshop of a local potter; they reflect the original cult image of the goddess, but at the same time followed the general stylistic trend of the time, which is also seen in examples in bronze. For the second group, we imagine clay and metal prototypes being copied and adjusted locally for the needs of the sanctuary, by migrating technicians, if there were any, or, more probably, by hasty or untrained Lousiotic hands. This might explain the discrepancy of quality between the original and the result, and the evident singularity of some pieces.

It is generally accepted³⁸ that sanctuaries located in the vicinity of a strong production centre (Athens, Corinth, Argos, Tegea) imported to a large extent what they needed for votive offerings, whereas remote places mainly produced their own material.

Lousoi certainly may have developed some independence in the supply of votives for the sanctuary as well as objects for daily life. But it was also extensively frequented by visitors from other Peloponnesian centers, who brought precious and beautiful votives for the goddess.³⁹ There must have been good material giving inspiration for copy and imitation.

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38. Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, 212-3.

39. Some fine bronzes had found their way to the sanctuary of Artemis in Lousoi.

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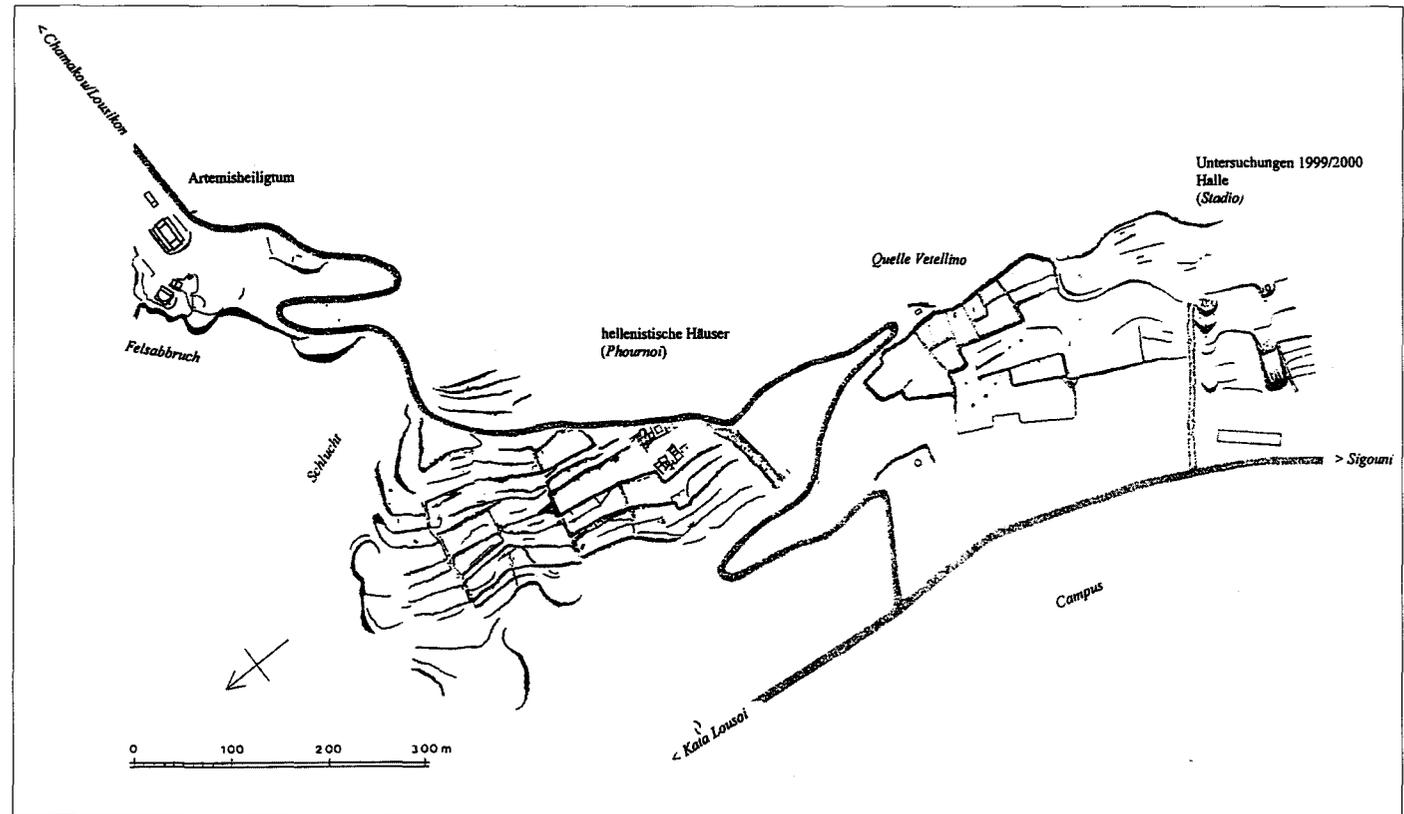


Fig. 1. The sanctuary, the area of the houses and the polis centre of Lousoi. (Based on the topographical map by Professor Franz Glaser (1983), updated by Dr. Georg Ladstätter (2001).)



Fig. 2. Tk 1/2001. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)



Fig. 3. Tk 12/96 plus Tk 21/97. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)



Fig. 4. Tk 7/99. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)



Fig. 5. Tk 15/97. (Photo: Dr. K.-V. v. Eickstedt, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)

Large Scale Clay Sculpture from Arcadia

Georgios I. Terzis

Size, technique and mainly the concept of the work as an *ἄγαλμα* are the criteria we need in order to study large scale clay sculpture. In this paper we are dealing with such works found in Arcadia. More specifically, a centre for production of clay sculpture was located in Arcadia in the 6th century B.C., working probably under the influence of the workshops of Olympia, which were very active at that time. More local products of clay sculpture appeared also later in the region, at the beginning of the 4th century B.C., but now the influence came from the contemporary, large-scale sculpture in stone, which was intended to decorate the temples in Tegea and Bassai. Local clay sculpture offers us in general another insight to Arcadia's artistic production, which is not yet so well known.

The aim of this paper is to present together the works of large scale clay sculpture from Arcadia; these are scattered in the bibliography, superficially published or not published at all.¹

Before dealing with the works, it is useful to define the term 'Large Scale Clay Sculpture', in order to facilitate the identification of the artifacts which belong to this group. These artifacts, which often reach dimensions of natural size,² differ from the small clay figurines; but size is not always a decisive criterion, since figurines can also be very large, some times coming close to 1/3 natural size,³ and some clay sculptures have the dimensions of figurines.⁴ One

1. I would like to thank the Norwegian Institute and its former director, professor Erik Østby, for doing me the honour to let me present this paper at the conference. The subject was suggested to me by my teacher, professor Yanis Pikoulas, to whom I owe infinitely more than my thanks.

2. Moustaka 1993, 57, regarding works from Etruria. See also Weinberg 1957, 304-17, regarding Corinthian clay statues.

3. Müller 1996, 332, regarding a figurine of 75 cm height.

4. Moustaka 1993, 146, regarding works of ca. 20 cm height.

useful distinguishing factor is the manufacturing technique. Clay sculptures are handmade and the artist used two kinds of clay, one for the hollow model of the figure, with inclusions so that it could be well fired, and another one of high quality for the surface of the model, on which the image of the figure was formed in every detail.⁵ Clay figurines, on the contrary, when handmade, are very small and solid; when they are larger, they are totally constructed with moulds and they are usually hollow; in any case, the clay used is of only one type.⁶ These differences, however, are not decisive when it comes to recognizing clay sculptures, since these are also sometimes made of only one type of clay – either coarse clay for the entire work⁷ or fine clay for specific, solid parts.⁸ Besides, moulds are also used for clay sculpture, but only for some parts and not for the whole artifact.⁹ Therefore, size and manufacturing technique, when considered together, are significant factors for defining ‘Large Scale Clay Sculpture’, but they are not always reliable. The decisive criterion is the concept of the work, its function and purpose. Large-scale clay sculptures are unique artistic creations, made for decoration; their aim is to capture the attention of people, they are *ἀγάλματα*. Technique and size serve this purpose. This is also the reason why these works are used as architectural decoration of temples, as statues of gods in sanctuaries and also as dedications in such holy places.¹⁰ Clay figurines, on the contrary, serve religious and burial customs; they are used as offerings in sanctuaries or graves.¹¹ That is why they are made in great quantities, and their technique serves the mass production. To conclude, size, technique and conception, all considered together, are the criteria for the determination of ‘Large Scale Clay Sculpture’.

The first work of this category to be discussed is the upper torso of a female figure of almost natural size, which was perhaps found in Asea and is now exhibited at the west wall of the “Room of Arcadian Sanctuaries” in the Tripolis museum. The work is made of light-brown clay in two layers; the inner layer contains inclusions, while the outer one is clean. The surface is coarse, which implies that it was covered by some kind of coating, traces of which are not visible any more. The figure stretches her left arm forward and towards her right side; a part of the dress, probably a chiton, can be seen near her elbow. On her left shoulder there is a snake-like curl from her hair. On the body of the dressed female

5. Moustaka 1993, 4-7, and Weinberg 1957, 293-301.

6. Higgins 1967, 1-5.

7. Moustaka 1993, 118-22.

8. Moustaka 1993, 4-7.

9. Weinberg 1957, 298.

10. Weinberg 1957, 303, and Moustaka 1993, 4-7.

11. Higgins 1967, 1-5.

the attention is drawn to the curved, thick lines in high relief, which meander over the breast and reach the waist, where three holes are aligned and normally spaced, probably for the attachment of a metallic part. The figure is moving towards its right (left for the spectator), as indicated by the turn of the left hand towards this side. Posture and dress date the statue to the second half of the 6th century B.C., reminding us of the Nike statues from Olympia, where of course the work is more careful and the result more luxuriant.¹² The fact that the nipples of the breasts are emphasized, does not indicate nudity, but it is an archaizing element, since it is used for female figures with Daedalic dress of the end of the 7th century B.C.¹³ The interpretation of the figure is problematic; in my opinion, the curved lines on the body cannot be anything else than snakes. If this is correct, the figure might well be a Gorgo, since this is the snake-daemon *par excellence*. She is dressed in a chiton as she normally is in the related iconography of the second half of the 6th century B.C.¹⁴ The presumed metal attachment at the waist might be the bronze belt of the creature, which would also have depicted snakes. Such a representation of Gorgo is not found elsewhere in the published material. I should mention, however, a Corinthian figure-vase of the first half of the 6th century B.C., which shows Gorgo on horse-back, with snakes covering her body in a way similar to the Gorgo in the Tripolis museum. Unlike the latter, however, the first Gorgo holds the snakes with her hands attached to the body.¹⁵

Another clay Gorgo, found in Sparta and published by Eleni Kourinou, also seems to hold the snakes on her body.¹⁶ The representation of Gorgo was very common in archaic Greek art¹⁷ and it must have been very popular especially in Arcadia: Pausanias says that a tentacle of Medusa was the amulet of Tegea,¹⁸ and in his description of the sanctuaries of the cities of Thelphousa,¹⁹ Lykosoura²⁰

12. Moustaka 1993, 64-97, especially 81-2, F46 (inv. no. K 181, Tc 1071), pl. 79.

13. Blome 1990, no. 169 (inv. no. Bo 96).

14. *ABV* 600 (London, British Museum 281), 271 (München 1555) and Carpenter 1989, 210 (Paris, Louvre G180).

15. Karagiorga 1970, 63, pl. 9 b (National Museum of Athens 52244).

16. Kourinou Pikoula 1987-88, 475-7, fig. 2 (museum of Sparta, inv. nos. 6887, 6888). Similar is the representation of the Gorgo in a plastic vase (Basel, Antikenmuseum Lu80), which depicts the daemon squatting and holding with her hands on the breast the snakes that meander on the body (*LIMC IV*, s.v. Gorgo, no. 262). See also a clay perirrhanterion (Metaponto, Mus. Arch. 125064), where the figure is depicted standing and holding the snakes, which are meandering on her body (*LIMC IV*, s.v. Gorgo, no. 255).

17. Goldberg 1982, 196-201.

18. Paus. 8.47.5.

19. Paus. 8.25.

20. Paus. 8.37.

and Phigalia,²¹ he hesitates to state the secret name of Despoina, a goddess of nature, daughter of Poseidon *Hippios* and Demeter. The representation of a riding Gorgo, as mentioned above,²² and also of a *Potnia Theron* Gorgo on an archaic pinakion from Rhodes,²³ makes the identification of Despoina as Gorgo quite probable. Gorgo is a goddess of fertility, closely connected with the earth as demonstrated by the dominant role of the snake.²⁴ The representations of her with daemonic elements in archaic Greek art are connected, of course, with influences from the East,²⁵ but this does not contradict her character, which is well known in Greece and reminds us of the cult of the Mother Goddess in the Minoan and Mycenaean period. The 'conservative' inhabitants of Arcadia²⁶ worshipped in their sanctuaries a goddess of similar character. Thus it is very probable that this goddess was depicted in the archaic period as Gorgo, with many snakes and emphasized nipples, elements strongly suggesting nature and fertility, as we can see in the case of the Gorgo in the Tripolis museum. Unfortunately, the unknown provenance and fragmentary character of this statue leave us only with assumptions about its original form and function. In any case, it seems to be the work of a local Arcadian workshop.

In consideration of this material, it is to be expected that the central acroterion of the temple of Poseidon *Hippios* at Mantinike should depict a Gorgoneion. The disc acroterion with a centrally placed gorgoneion is exposed at the north wall of the "Room of Arcadian Sanctuaries" in the Tripolis museum.²⁷ The disc acroteria are of Laconian inspiration, from the second half of the 7th century B.C. and onwards, and they are found mostly in mainland Greece.²⁸ However, no such acroterion found in Laconia has a gorgoneion in the centre. But clay gorgoneia are widely used in the architectural decorations of the temples of Southern Italy and Sicily from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. onwards,²⁹ and that is probably the origin of gorgoneia in the decorations of the Arcadian temples,³⁰ transmitted by western Greece and especially Olympia.³¹ The gorgoneion in the Tripolis museum has a diameter of ca. 20 cm, it is almost

21. Paus. 8.42.

22. See *supra* n. 15.

23. Phinney 1971, 446, and Karagiorga 1970, 77, pl. 6 a (London, British Museum A748).

24. Christou 1968, 136-47.

25. Marinatos 2000, 46-51, on the depiction of the Gorgo with snakes.

26. Burkert 1985, 47.

27. Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 1996, 42, and *eid.* 2000, 33.

28. Winter 1993, 101, and Goldberg 1982, 201-3.

29. Goldberg 1982, 208.

30. Orlandos 1967-68, 111-5.

31. Van Buren 1926, 136-8, and Moustaka 1993, 149.

hemispherical and has two holes, one at each side, so that it can be fixed to the centre of the acroterion. The clay is brown, and clean. The face of Gorgo is covered by dark brown paint with superposed white dots, which emphasize the leonine character of the figure. Eyes and teeth are white, and the tongue is brownish red. The gorgoneion has the familiar form of countless depictions in ancient Greek art, especially on vases.³² In the example in the Tripolis museum we should notice the wavy curls of the hair on the forehead, the rather humanized nose, the omission of the incisor teeth and of the beard under the mouth, and the totally schematized rendering of the ears. In general, the gorgoneion seems humanized, and this together with its specific characteristics brings it closer to the Corinthian pattern.³³ To conclude, keeping in mind that the disc acroteria are in use mainly in the first half of the 6th century B.C.,³⁴ the gorgoneion in the Tripolis museum should also be dated to this period. In the *Archeologikon Deltion* of 1891 it is reported that a thin, clay disc decorated with a gorgoneion was discovered among other material from a temple excavation in the village Divritsa,³⁵ near Kontovazaina.³⁶ Unfortunately we do not know anything else about this object, which might have been similar to the acroterion in the Tripolis museum decorated with the gorgoneion that we have just studied.

In the same region, Chr. Kardara has excavated the so-called sanctuary of "Aphrodite Erykina" on Mount Aphrodision, near Kontovazaina. Among the finds, published by her, we can pick out a clay female head.³⁷ The clay is buff, fine on the outside and with inclusions inside. A creamy coating covers the face, while traces of brown and red color can also be seen. The excavator believes that the head once belonged to a statue of a sphinx that decorated the roof of the "Telesterion", and dates it to the beginning of the 6th century B.C. Its resemblance to the head D1 from Olympia is, in my opinion, obvious not only regarding the eyes and lips but also the general modelling of the face.³⁸ The head from Olympia is dated to the last third of the 6th century B.C. and consequently it seems that the head from the "Aphrodite sanctuary" must also be brought down at least to the third quarter of the century. It is probably the work of a local workshop, strongly influenced by the workshops of Olympia, which were extremely active in the 6th century B.C.

Chr. Kardara has also published some more works of large scale clay sculptu-

32. Floren and Herfort 1983, 26-7.

33. Karagiorga 1964, 118-9, and Payne 1931, 82.

34. Goldberg 1982, 199.

35. Pikoulas 2001, no. 993; the old toponym was Divritsa, the new one is Dimitra.

36. Leonardos 1891, 99.

37. Kardara 1988, 140, no. 7, pl. 54.

38. Moustaka 1993, 46-52, D1, pl. 40.

re from the same sanctuary. One of them is more specifically a part of the upper torso of a female figure, dressed in a thin and wide fabric.³⁹ Judging by the drapery folds, the figure is probably depicted during an intense movement, in a style recalling the sculptures from the temple of Apollo at Bassai, near Phigaleia. The clay is buff and the surface is covered by a creamy coating. A part of a female head probably belongs to this figure.⁴⁰ In the same sanctuary, fragments have also been found of female drapery, of the hair of female heads, and also from the ear of a boar. All are made of the same clay, sometimes coarser and sometimes finer, and they have a creamy coating on their surface. The excavator dates them to the beginning of the 4th century B.C. and believes that they were parts of a pediment decoration.⁴¹ The clay is the same as the material used for the archaic head from the same sanctuary;⁴² it is obviously local, used by the workshops of the region. Nevertheless, since the production of clay statues in Olympia stops at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century B.C., the influence on the workshop of the "Aphrodite Sanctuary" could not have come from there, as was the case for the archaic head. The influence could have come at this period from Athens⁴³ or Corinth,⁴⁴ which were still active production centres of clay statues in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

Nevertheless, Arcadia can also offer some more works of large scale clay sculpture from this period, besides the ones from Mount Aphrodision. A drapery fragment, probably of a female dress, comes from the area of Asea.⁴⁵ The piece is too small for any conclusions concerning the entire figure to be drawn, but the resemblance to the drapery folds of the female torso from the "Aphrodite sanctuary" deserves attention.⁴⁶ A part of a female leg, of almost natural size, has been found in the village Zarakova, the ancient city Mainalos⁴⁷ near Tripolis. It is exhibited in a showcase at the east wall of the "Room of Arcadian Sanctuaries" in the Tripolis museum.⁴⁸ The statue was part of the architectural decoration of the temple of Athena. The piece is made of two layers of clay: the inner layer is pinkish and contains inclusions, while the outer one is red and clean. The surface is probably polished. The preserved part of the leg extends from the lower end of

39. Kardara 1988, 151-2, no. 11, pl. 64.

40. Kardara 1988, 152, pl. 64 b.

41. Kardara 1988, 153-4, nos. 13, 16, 17, 19, 34, 35, 110, 113, 140, 244, 185, 186, pls. 66-72.

42. See above, with n. 37.

43. Nicholls 1970.

44. Bookidis 1982, 239-47.

45. Pikoulas 1988, 56, pl. 6.9.

46. See *supra* n. 39.

47. Pikoulas 1999, 121 and 127.

48. Pikoulas 1999, 120, n. 20.

the thigh to the heel, where there are traces of a sandal. The figure wears a chiton and over it a thin peplos, both leaving the ankles naked. It can be identified as the right leg of a female, moving towards the right. Stylistically the Arcadian work can be placed between a Roman copy of Leto, from Attaleia, whose prototype dates around the middle of the 5th century B.C.,⁴⁹ and a marble Gorgo from Limyra in the Near East, which dates to the first half of the 4th century B.C.⁵⁰ The female figure of the Tripolis museum is characterized by the lively rendering of the body, which can be discerned quite clearly even under the relatively heavy dress, in a style recalling the sculptures from the temple of Apollo at Bassai. As mentioned above, the intense movement of the female torso from Kontovazaina also reminds us of the Phigaleia sculptures.⁵¹

To conclude, it seems that Arcadia was quite active in the first half of the 4th century B.C. as far as the production of clay statues is concerned. The local workshops would inevitably have been influenced by the large sculptural programs that were undertaken in the same period in the temples of Apollo at Bassai and of Athena at Tegea, and they would have served the needs of the smaller sanctuaries, which were located far from the larger habitation centers.

This general presentation of the works of large scale clay sculpture from Arcadia further illuminates the contribution of this region to ancient Greek art. Indeed, Arcadia has a lot more to offer to our knowledge of antiquity.

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49. Gulaki 1981, 100 (Burdur Museum, 7827), fig. 49.

50. Danner 1989, 27, no. 164 (Antalya Museum A 3429, A 3438), pl. 29.

51. See *supra* n. 39.

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Pottery at the Crossroads: Ceramic Trends in Southeast Arcadia*

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Ceramics found at Arcadian sites play a potentially important role in helping us to understand the extent of cultural uniformity in the region. This paper examines the nature of the pottery from various sites in Arcadia between the 10th and 7th centuries B.C. From the 10th to the early 8th centuries, we have limited ceramic representation in the region, with a large assemblage of ceramics known only from the southeastern part of the region, from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. It is not until the late 8th and early 7th centuries that we start to have significant ceramic remains from northern, southwestern, and eastern Arcadia. Interestingly there is very little uniformity between contemporary types of pottery from the different parts of the region. There is no 'Arcadian' style as such. Instead, what we see are cultural pockets of influence. In southeastern Arcadia in the Early Iron Age, for instance, we have ceramics that reflect an affinity with Argive Protogeometric and Geometric, as well as large amounts of a style known as Laconian Protogeometric. This mixture suggests influences coming to Tegea from both neighboring regions, *i.e.*, from the Argolid and from Laconia. By the late 8th – early 7th centuries, we see Corinthian influence in the ceramics from sites throughout Arcadia. In sum, the ceramic remains from Arcadia reveal little evidence for uniformity of style or for innovative local schools, between

* Many thanks to Erik Østby and the Norwegian Institute in Athens for offering me the opportunity to present my research at this very fine symposium. In the following analysis, I include the recently unearthed ceramics from Tegea, found in the Norwegian campaign at the site. I am currently preparing this material for publication. I am grateful to Erik Østby, director of the excavations at Tegea, for allowing me to include this information in my paper. I am also grateful to Lois Kain for her fine work on the archaeological illustrations of the ceramics and small finds from Tegea. I am indebted to the many students who helped us to sort through the finds, and to draw the pottery in the field, especially Theresa Moreno and Heather Russell. Finally I wish to thank Thomas Fenn, my research assistant, who has been invaluable in assisting me to create the plates and figures for this paper and for the final publication.

the 10th and 7th centuries. On the other hand, we see considerable diversity in the local adaptations of the regional pottery styles of the Peloponnese.

After many years of studying the archaeological remains from ancient Arcadia, I am struck once again by the great diversity observable in the material culture from the various parts of the region. Since one often encounters references to Arcadia that conjure up an image of a somehow culturally unified and uniform region, it is all the more surprising to discover considerable differences in the remains from the southwestern part of Arcadia compared to the eastern part, for example. Although this variety was most likely the result of numerous geographical, geological, and cultural factors that shaped the developments in the region, I believe it requires closer examination. In the present paper, I further explore this diversity with a focus on a particular class of artifact: ceramics. The evidence shows that despite the idealized version of a culturally uniform Arcadia that we may have in our minds, in reality there are many cultural pockets within the region that have greater affinities with areas outside of Arcadia than with the other 'pockets' within it.

We begin with the Early Iron Age pottery from the region. Until recently, virtually no Early Iron Age pottery was known from Arcadia, except for a handful of Protogeometric and Middle Geometric sherds from the southeastern part, from Tegea.¹ Although there is still virtually no evidence for early pottery from any other part of Arcadia to my knowledge, there is now significantly more evidence from the southeastern area. The Norwegian excavations at Tegea have uncovered a wealth of Early Iron Age material from this site, and a small amount has also been found in recent excavations at Asea.² By the late 8th century, there is ceramic evidence from other sites in the region as well, such as Mavriki and Mantinea in the southeast.³ Because of the continuous nature of the ceramic material from southeastern Arcadia, I focus on this area below. It is my hope that as more material is unearthed and published from the various parts of Arcadia, we shall gain a better sense of the ceramics throughout the region.

The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea has produced the most abundant ceramic remains from Arcadia to date. This material was found in the early excavations at the site by the French and the Germans, at the end of the 19th century, and more recently by the international team working at Tegea under the

1. Dugas 1921, 403-18; Voyatzis 1990, 65-71, pls. 2-9.

2. For Asea see Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, esp. 180. For Tegea see Østby *et al.* 1994, 126-8, figs. 97-105; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

3. Voyatzis 1990, 84-9, pls. 46-53, figs. 17-21.

direction of Dr. Erik Østby.⁴ The early excavations uncovered the 4th century temple, an altar, a fountain and considerable evidence of pottery and small finds going back to the 8th century B.C.⁵ A handful of earlier ceramics were also found in these campaigns.⁶ The recent excavations have confirmed that below the 4th century temple, there was a late 7th century temple and, below that, at least two 8th century temples. A huge amount of pottery was unearthed in the area of the 8th century temples, below the cella of the 4th century temple. This ceramic material is primarily Late Geometric and Protocorinthian, and 7th century in date.⁷ In the pronaos area of the 4th century temple, a metal workshop of 8th century date was found. Below the metal workshop, a *bothros*, or sacred pit, was uncovered containing evidence for cult activity going back to the 10th century. The material from the *bothros* ranges in date from Protogeometric through Middle Geometric II/Late Geometric I (with some Mycenaean mixed in).⁸ Although none of the Mycenaean material was found in context, it reflects likely activity in this vicinity in the Late Bronze Age.

There are now several hundred Early Iron Age sherds catalogued from Tegea. They consist of standard Protogeometric types with Argive and/or Attic affinities (Fig. 1), as well as large amounts of the very distinctive Laconian Protogeometric style.⁹ (Fig. 2) In addition, large amounts of standard Geometric pottery, Early Geometric through Late Geometric, and Protocorinthian ceramics were uncovered at the site. (Figs. 3-4)

Perhaps the most surprising fact about this recently uncovered selection of early pottery from Tegea is the great number of Laconian Protogeometric sherds found (over 1000 of both catalogued and uncatalogued pieces). Until recently, only one such sherd was known from the site.¹⁰ As we know from Coulson's fundamental study of this type of pottery, the hallmarks of the Laconian Protogeometric style (which he calls "Laconian Dark Age" pottery) typically consist of the following features: rectilinear ornament, often in registers, shiny metallic paint, distinctive, angular shapes, and horizontal ridges or grooves in the clay.¹¹ (Fig. 2) It is therefore fairly easy to distinguish this sort of pottery from the standard Protogeometric material.

4. Milchhöfer 1880; Mendel 1901, 256-7; Dugas 1921, 403-23; Voyatzis 1990, 62-84; Østby *et al.* 1994, 126-31; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

5. Dugas 1921; Voyatzis 1990, 20-8 and 69-84.

6. Voyatzis 1990, 62-9, pls. 1-4.

7. Østby *et al.* 1994, 126-31; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

8. Voyatzis 1997; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

9. Desborough 1952, 283-90; Coldstream 1968, 212-9; Cartledge 1979, 81-6; Coulson 1985.

10. Voyatzis 1990, 67 P9, pl. 4, fig. 8.

11. Coulson 1985, 33-4.

The question of chronology for Early Iron Age pottery found outside the Attic sequence is often problematic. As Desborough rightly asserted, Proto-geometric is a style, not a period.¹² For Athens, it is typically believed to range from about 1050 B.C. (or slightly later) through 900 B.C.¹³ Depending on the region of Greece, however, there is an enormous amount of variability in the dates of this type of pottery, with some areas beginning in the 10th century (Laconian Proto-geometric) and some ending well into the 9th century (Euboean Sub-protogeometric).¹⁴ When there are clear parallels to the Attic sequence, one can venture a date with some confidence, but, otherwise, it can be difficult to date material with any degree of certainty.

In the case of Tegea, the Early Iron Age pottery with Argive or Attic parallels can be assigned a relative date based on its style (*i.e.*, Proto-geometric/Early Geometric, ca. 950-850 B.C.), but the same is not necessarily true for the Laconian Proto-geometric found at Tegea. The stratigraphical information from Laconian sites for Early Iron Age ceramics is very limited. Amyclae is the only site in Laconia with any stratigraphy to speak of, and it is of limited value. What we know about Laconian Proto-geometric from Amyclae is that it is later than Mycenaean (though exactly how much later is debated) and that it lasts through the early 8th century (when Middle Geometric II is in vogue in other regions). By the mid-8th century it is replaced by a local Late Geometric style, but there is virtually no local Early Geometric/Middle Geometric pottery known from Laconia.¹⁵

Because of the mixture of material found in the *bothros* at Tegea, and the distinctive layers visible, we may now say a bit more about the relative chronology of the ceramics from this site. There are eight main levels in the *bothros*, and the lowest layer in the lowest level (B8b) can be dated to the late 10th century. It contains standard Proto-geometric and Laconian Proto-geometric material mixed together, as well as some Mycenaean mixed in as well. (Figs. 1-2) In the layer just above (B8a) we find a small amount of Early Geometric I as well. In layers B7 and B6, the latest material is Early Geometric II, and there is also Proto-geometric, Early Geometric I, and Laconian Proto-geometric. In layer B5, the latest ceramics are Middle Geometric I; there is also Proto-geometric,

12. Desborough 1948; *id.* 1972, 133-5. See also Coulson 1990, 8-12, for a discussion of the general confusion between 'style' and 'period' when discussing Proto-geometric.

13. For the most recent analysis of the chronology of the Proto-geometric style, see Lemos 2002, 24-6.

14. For Laconian Proto-geometric, see *supra* n. 9; for Euboean Proto-geometric, see Coldstream 1968, 164-5; Coldstream 1977, 40-5; Lemos 2002, 20-1.

15. Coulson 1985, 30-2. See also Lemos 2002, 194 n. 33, for a very brief synopsis of Laconian Proto-geometric and its date.

Early Geometric, and Laconian Protogeometric. In layers B4 to B2 the latest pottery is Middle Geometric II and there is also some earlier material (Early Geometric, Protogeometric, Laconian Protogeometric and Middle Geometric I), and in layer B1 the latest material is Middle Geometric II/Late Geometric I, with small amounts of Middle Geometric, Early Geometric, Protogeometric, and Laconian Protogeometric (Figs. 1-3). The surface of the *bothros* contains Late Geometric II material.¹⁶

The pottery unearthed inside the cella (and in the workshop area) at Tegea reflects a different pattern. The early material (Neolithic, Mycenaean, Protogeometric through Middle Geometric) is mixed in with later ceramics. The earliest secure date for the structures in this area is Late Geometric. The pottery found in association with the lowest surface of Building 3 may be as early as Late Geometric I. The smaller apsidal Building 2 can be dated to Late Geometric II (720-700) based on the ceramics, which include some Early Protocorinthian. The larger apsidal Building 1 may be dated to the very end of the Geometric/Early Orientalizing periods (700-675) on the basis of the Late Geometric II through Middle Protocorinthian I sherds found in the floor levels.¹⁷ (Fig. 4) The Geometric material reflects primarily Argive influence in shapes and decoration. The themes of horse-taming and dancing are very popular in Tegea, as in the Argolid.¹⁸ There is however, also an increasingly strong Protocorinthian presence at the site towards the end of the 8th century. Laconian imports and influences continue to be seen at Tegea at the end of the Geometric and Early Orientalizing periods; these pieces reflect a blending of Late Geometric and Protocorinthian elements, as one finds at Laconian sites as well.¹⁹

Overall the ceramic evidence suggests that Laconian Protogeometric co-existed at Tegea alongside standard Protogeometric, and that it continued in use through Middle Geometric II. A recent scientific analysis of the ceramics from Tegea indicates that the Laconian Protogeometric pottery from the site is chemically similar to pottery from Amyclae and chemically different from the standard Early Geometric/Late Geometric found at Tegea.²⁰ I thus conclude that the Laconian style pottery was brought to Tegea from somewhere in the region of Laconia, beginning in the late 10th century and continuing into the early 8th

16. Voyatzis 1997; *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

17. Østby *et al.* 1994, 98-103; *Tegea I*, forthcoming. See also the paper by E. Østby in this volume.

18. For Tegea see Voyatzis 1990, pl. 11, P24, pl. 19, P40; Østby *et al.* 1994, 129 fig. 108. For the Argolid, see Coldstream 1968, 129-46, pls. 28-30.

19. Coldstream 1968, 215-9.

20. See T. Fenn, M. Ponting and M. Voyatzis on the ceramic analysis project in *Tegea I*, forthcoming.

century. On the other hand, the Early Geometric through Late Geometric material from Tegea was for the most part probably locally manufactured somewhere near the site, in a standard style related to the Argive. This seems to be the 'default' style as it were at Tegea, probably since Mycenaean times. Although it is not always easy to distinguish local fabric, I believe one can detect a consistent pattern of types of ceramics that persist from Protogeometric through the Archaic period. The evidence thus suggests that we have Argive-inspired locally produced pottery from Protogeometric through to the Orientalizing period (and most likely through the Archaic period as well, to judge from Dr. Iozzo's study of the later material from the site).²¹

It would be helpful now to take a brief look at the material from other southeastern Arcadian sites to put the Tegean ceramics into a context. From Mantinea we have some fine Geometric pottery from graves in the area (on display in the Tripolis museum). They consist primarily of large pieces of Middle Geometric/Late Geometric pots of Argive style, with some hints of Corinthian influence.²² From a sanctuary nearby, at Gortsouli, we have a fair amount of what appears to be locally produced 7th century pottery with some Argive elements and also strong Protocorinthian features.²³

From a sanctuary of Artemis above Mavriki, to the south of Tegea, we have some Late Geometric II sherds. This material reflects affinities with the ceramics from Tegea and seems to contain a blending of Argive and Laconian elements.²⁴ Given the location of the site, such a combination of traits is not surprising.

Recent excavations at Asea further west have produced a few Laconian Protogeometric sherds and large amounts of later Geometric and archaic material.²⁵ Two Late Geometric sherds were also uncovered from graves in this area, one with Laconian affinities (a *lakaina*) and one with Argive elements (a *kantharos*).²⁶

There is very little other ceramic material known from the rest of Arcadia from the 10th to the 7th centuries. Lousoi, in northern Arcadia, has yielded some Geometric and archaic sherds in recent excavations. These ceramics reveal both Corinthian and Achaean affinities and were probably locally produced.²⁷ From southwest Arcadia, there are virtually no early ceramics known. From Cretea a couple of Late Geometric sherds with Laconian affinities were found at a pos-

21. M. Iozzo in *Tegea II*, forthcoming.

22. For a brief mention of the excavations of the graves from Mantinea, see *AR* 1984-85, 23-4.

23. Karageorga 1963; *ead.* 1992-93; Voyatzis 1990, 87-9, figs. 19-21; *ead.* 1995, 277.

24. Rhomaios 1952, 1-27; Voyatzis 1990, 84-7, pls. 46-53; *ead.* 1995, 277.

25. See Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999.

26. Coldstream 1968, 364.

27. Schauer 1998, 268.

sible shrine of Apollo.²⁸ From Gortys, some Subgeometric sherds, with Corinthian affinities, were mentioned as coming from the sanctuary of Asklepios.²⁹ Finally, the sanctuary of Apollo at Bassai yielded some Late Protocorinthian/Transitional pieces.³⁰

In order to make sense of the Arcadian ceramic evidence, let us take a closer look at the regions surrounding it: the Argolid, Corinthia, Laconia, and Western Greece (Messenia, Eleia and Achaëa). Coldstream's research on the development of Geometric pottery and the rise of the *polis* is relevant to this discussion.³¹ He identifies eleven distinct regional schools of pottery in the 8th century. Those that he identifies in the Peloponnese are the following: Argive, Corinthian, Laconian, West Greek, and Arcadian. Using his work as a model, I would like to look briefly at the ceramics from the regions surrounding Arcadia, from the 10th through the 7th centuries.

In the Argolid, a Protogeometric style developed, very similar to the Attic, with similar shapes and decoration, but some evidence for regional preferences.³² From 900 B.C. a Geometric style began to develop, based on the Attic sequence for Early Geometric/Middle Geometric, but more austere in decoration. By Late Geometric, an original, local style had emerged and carried on in a Subgeometric style in the 7th century B.C.³³

In the Corinthia, there was also a local Protogeometric style, based on the Attic.³⁴ The subsequent Geometric pottery was distinctive in terms of shapes and decoration from Early Geometric onwards. This was especially evident in the Late Geometric and Early Protocorinthian periods. The Protocorinthian style of pottery was widely dispersed throughout the Mediterranean by the 7th century B.C.³⁵ These ceramics typically had a fine, buff-colored fabric and were of high technical quality.

We have already discussed the development of Laconian pottery in the Protogeometric period. We noted that the Laconian Protogeometric style continued to be produced into the 8th century. By Late Geometric, a recognizable Laconian style had emerged with regional shapes, unique decorative elements, and some visible Argive and Corinthian influences.³⁶

Western Greece covers an enormous geographical region. For the purposes of

28. Kourouniotis 1903; *id.* 1910a, fig. 6 cols. 35-6; Voyatzis 1990, 90-1.

29. Courbin 1952, 245; Voyatzis 1990, 91.

30. Kourouniotis 1910b, 279-89, fig. 9; Voyatzis 1990, 90.

31. Coldstream 1983; Lemos 2002, 12-4, 17, 21-2.

32. Snodgrass 1971, 56-8; Desborough 1952, 204-12; Wells 1976-83.

33. Coldstream 1968, 112-47.

34. Snodgrass 1971, 58-61; Desborough 1952, 202-4; Weinberg 1943; Lemos 2002, 14, 200.

35. Coldstream 1968, 91-111.

36. Coldstream 1968, 212-9.

this paper, we limit ourselves to the Peloponnese. Achaea and Eleia had a distinctive Protogeometric style (called “Western Greek”), with local shapes (like the low-handled kantharos) that continued until Late Geometric. Finally, a distinctive and homogeneous Late Geometric style emerged with strong Corinthian influence.³⁷ Messenian Protogeometric pottery is related to Western Greek, but has distinct shapes and decoration. By Late Geometric, it too had developed its own style, primarily with Corinthian elements, but with some Argive traits as well.³⁸

Coldstream notes that the Corinthian, Argive and Laconian styles are the most creative schools in the 8th century, while the Western Greek and Arcadian are highly derivative. He concludes that the most original ideas are the most uniform and based on an urban center, whereas the more derivative styles are not related to any important urban center in the late 8th century. He sees a direct connection between the rise of the *polis* and the creation of an original and creative Late Geometric style. Coldstream notes that Arcadia belongs to the land of the *ethne*, where older tribal organization persisted. These areas were not so heavily populated, and their pottery was deeply influenced by the more progressive styles of the neighbouring *poleis*.³⁹

While I believe that there is truth in Coldstream’s conclusions about pottery of the *polis* versus the *ethnos*, I also think that the situation in the Peloponnese in general, and in Arcadia in particular, is more complex. The reason why Arcadian pottery seems ‘derivative’ probably has more to do with the region’s extensive and varied geographical terrain, than with its political groupings *per se*, although the political groupings were themselves likely shaped to a certain extent by the terrain.

The diffusion of Corinthian influence in the ceramics found throughout the Peloponnese at the end of the 8th century may explain the appearance of Proto-corinthian pottery in southwestern Arcadia at that time. Coldstream states that, “by 700 B.C., no Greek site of any consequence was without its Corinthian imports”. The Corinthian style was the most influential style in the Greek world at this time.⁴⁰

The picture which emerges from this study of early ceramics in Arcadia is thus the following. (Figs. 5 and 6) In the 10th and 9th centuries, when Proto-geometric, Early Geometric and Middle Geometric I pottery is typically in use, we have virtually no ceramic evidence from Arcadia at all, except from the southeastern part (mainly Tegea, with some activity at Asea). The ceramic influences at Tegea reflect strong Argive and Laconian presence at the site. (See Fig. 5) By the 8th and 7th centuries, there is considerably more evidence to be

37. Coldstream 1968, 225-32; Coldstream 1983, 23-4; Lemos 2002, 194-5.

38. Coulson 1986; Coldstream 1977, 182; Coldstream 1983, 23-4; Lemos 2002, 193-4.

39. Coldstream 1983, 24-5.

40. Coldstream 1983, 22.

seen at Arcadian sites. (See Fig. 6) In the southeastern part, we continue to have influence from Laconia and the Argolid, but we also see a Protocorinthian presence in the pottery assemblage. In eastern Arcadia, we see more Argive and Protocorinthian elements. In northern Arcadia, we see West Greek and Protocorinthian traits in the local pottery at Lousoi. In southwestern Arcadia, there is evidence for Protocorinthian types of pottery at Bassai and Gortys.

In conclusion, I believe that the ceramic evidence from Arcadia reflects considerable diversity between the 10th and 7th centuries B.C. There is little evidence for the existence of distinct and innovative, local schools of pottery. I suspect that this situation is the result of the limitations imposed on the region by its geography, geology, the nature of its political and economic systems, the lack of infrastructure, and so on. The limited and uneven amount of excavation in the region and absence of publications from excavations may also play a role. But, based on the existing evidence, what we do see in Arcadia is diversity of style, pockets of influence, and local adaptations of regional Peloponnesian ceramic styles.

Does this mean that the pottery from Arcadia is not worthy of our attention? On the contrary, I would argue that it invites us to explore the situation further, and that it potentially enriches our understanding of the development of early Greek ceramics. In order to benefit from such a study though, I believe we must broaden our definition of Protogeometric and Geometric styles of pottery and their distribution. Perhaps one should think in terms of various, overlapping, popular ceramic trends and spheres of interaction in Early Iron Age Greek ceramics instead of in terms of rigid, linear development with Athens as the perpetual leader. We should, in any case, avoid constant comparison to Attic pottery as the norm and guard against making value judgments or assuming that one trend is superior or 'more advanced' than another.

The mixture of ceramic material from southeast Arcadia in particular helps us to begin to see how regional styles developed and spread in this part of the Peloponnese. In a more in-depth study on the early ceramics in the Peloponnese as a whole, I hope to build on this knowledge to develop a model, which will enable us to better understand the nature and extent of the various regional trends in Greek ceramics generally. In this way, I hope we can come to appreciate the intricate, diverse, and complex tapestry of regional styles that comprised Early Iron Age Greek ceramics.

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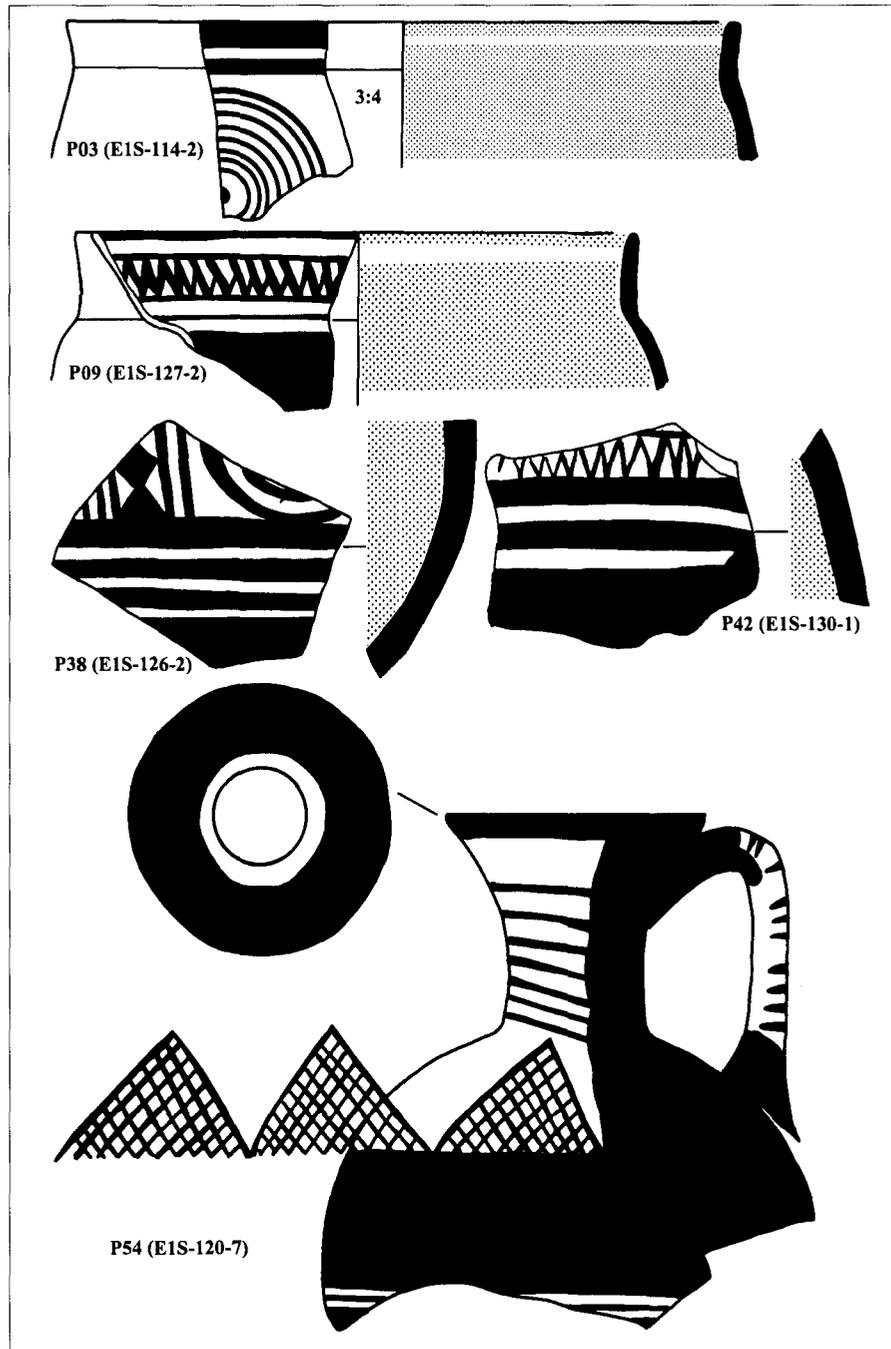


Fig. 1. Standard Protogeometric pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

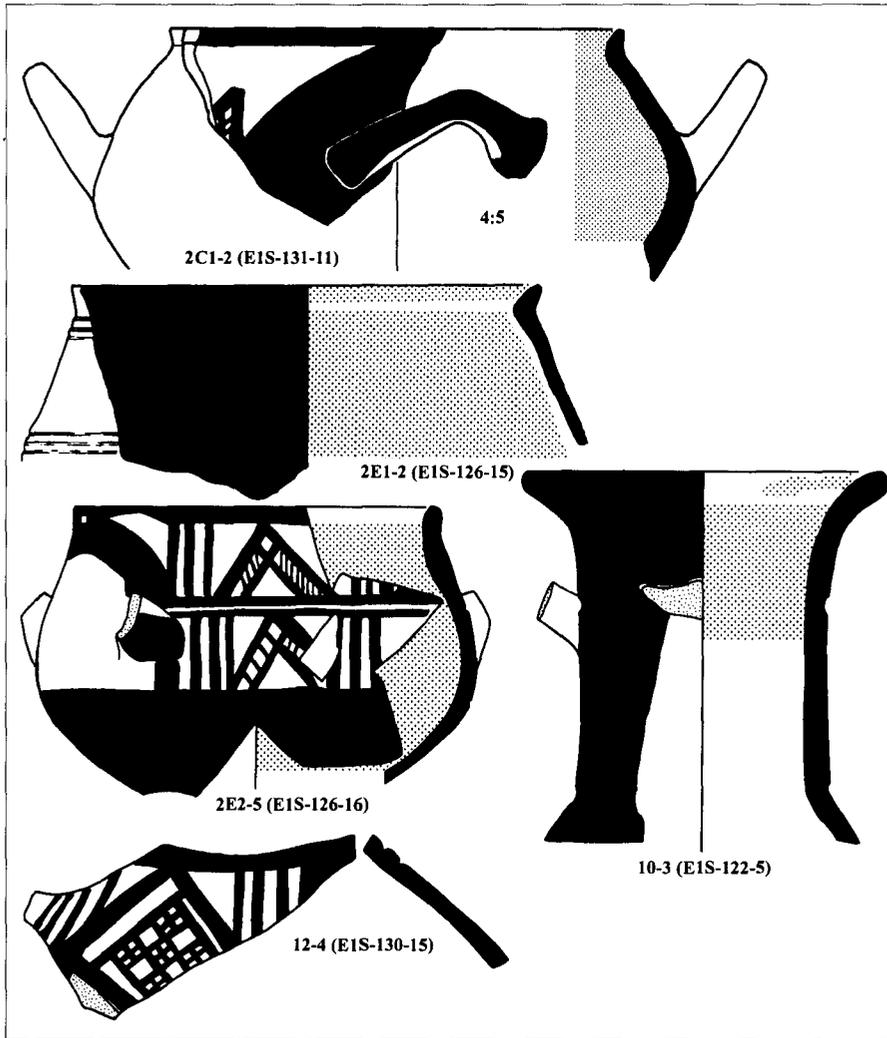


Fig. 2. Laconian Protogeometric pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

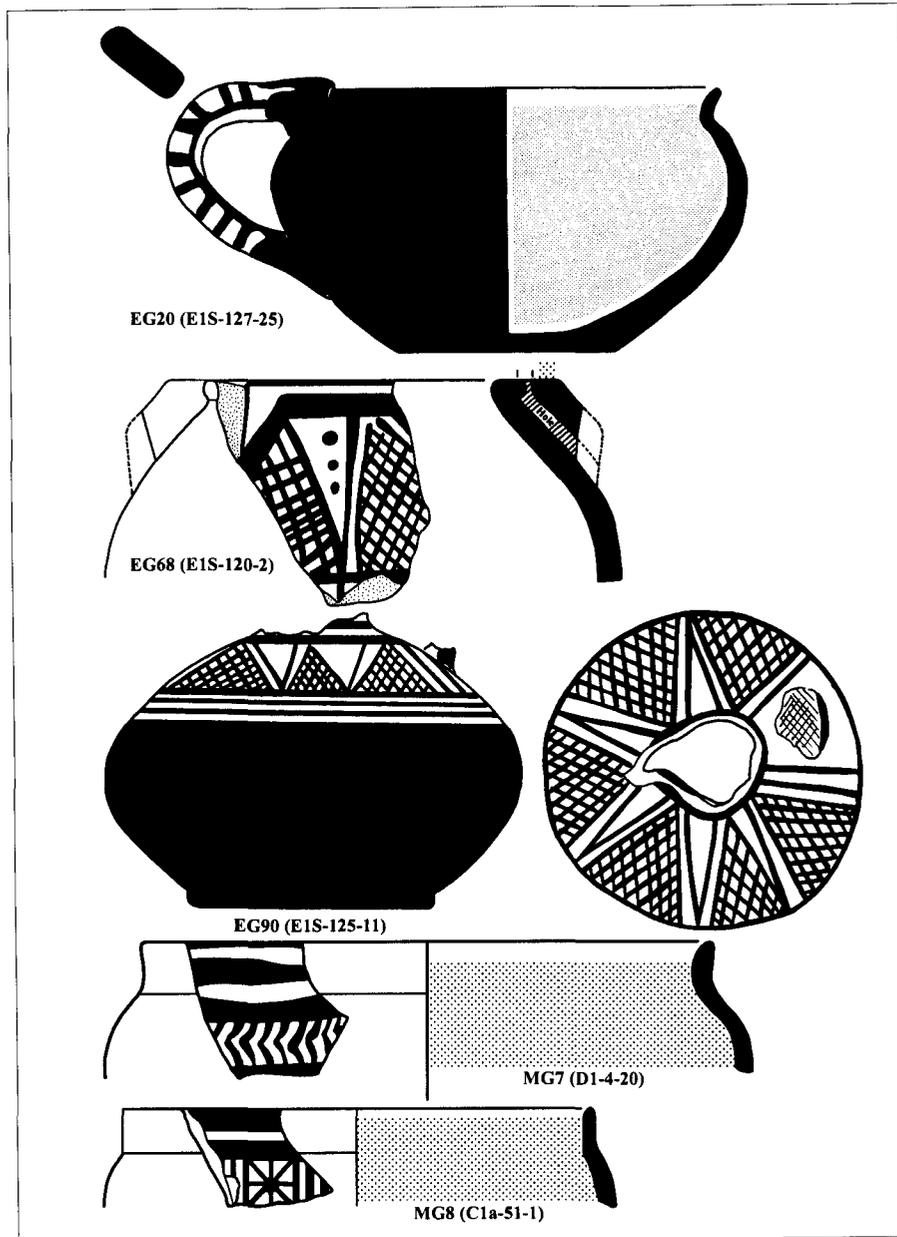


Fig. 3. Early and Middle Geometric pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

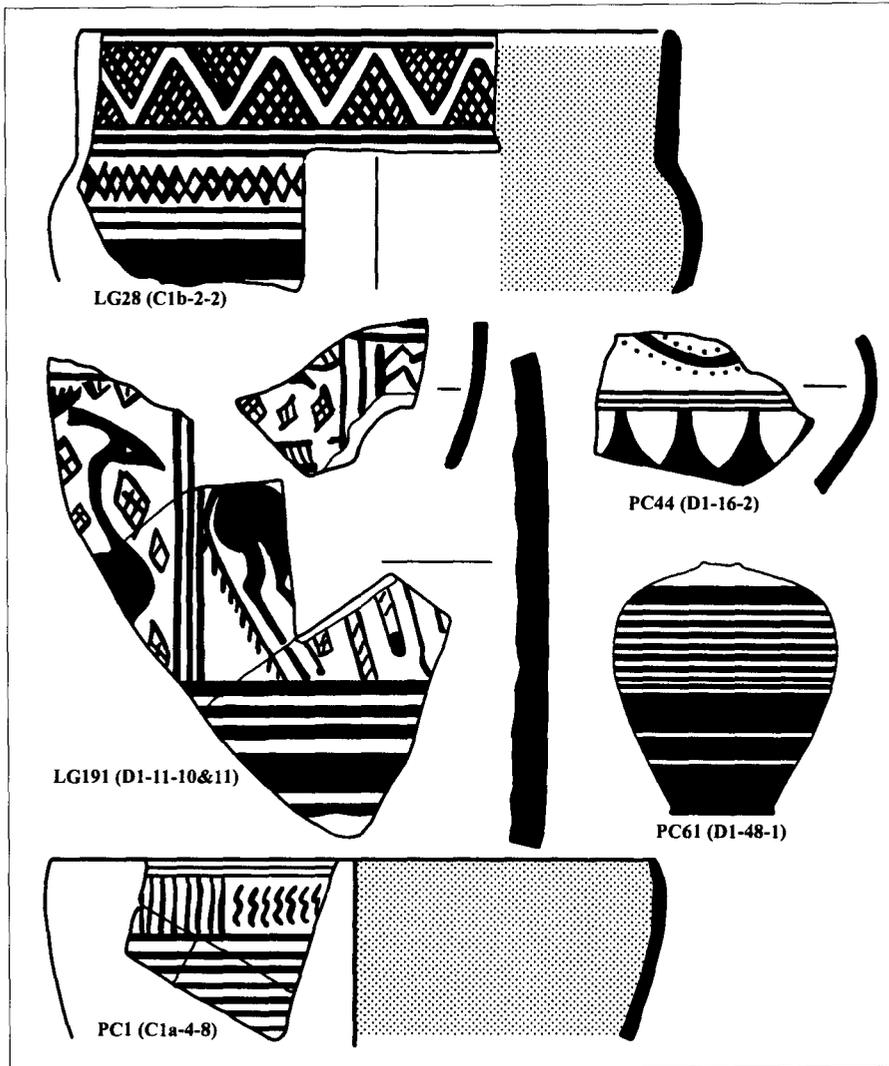


Fig. 4. Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery from Tegea. (Inking by L. Kain.)

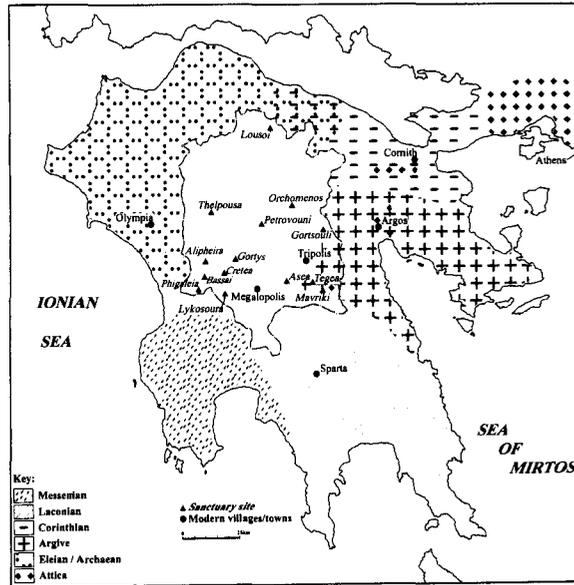


Fig. 5. 'Impressionistic' map of the Peloponnese with distribution of ceramics, 10th and 9th centuries B.C. (Map by L. Kain and T. Fenn.)

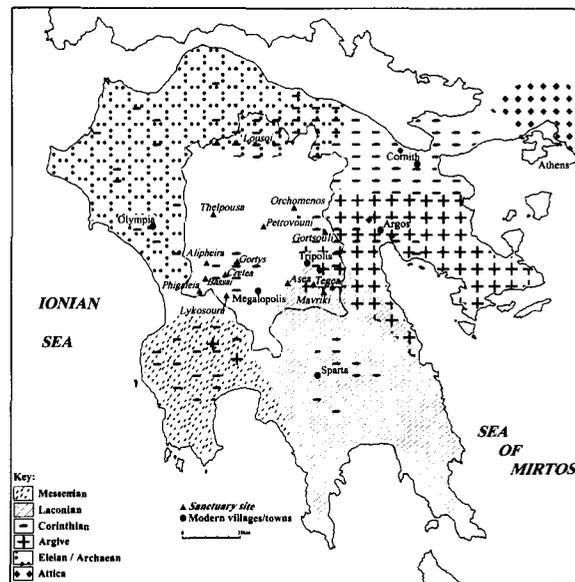


Fig. 6. 'Impressionistic' map of the Peloponnese with distribution of ceramics, in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (Map by L. Kain and T. Fenn.)

Arkadian Temple-designs

Frederick E. Winter

Many Arkadian cults and cult-places clearly go back to a very early period, and the popularity of individual deities was somewhat different from the rest of Greece. Artemis is by far the most frequently mentioned, followed by Demeter and Kore, and Pan and Apollo among the male deities. Many known Arkadian temples are small in scale, and sometimes unorthodox in design. The long, narrow plans seem to have been determined by basic structural considerations, being designed to avoid excessively long spans for the interior crossbeams; any enlargement of the overall area of the building was generally achieved by increasing the length more than the width. Small temples discussed are: the Psili Korphi temple above Mavriki, the successive temples of Artemis on the Gortsouli hill north of Mantinea, the temple of Artemis Mesopolitis at Orchomenos, the small temples on Mount Kotilon above Bassai, the temple above Kondovazena, and those near Dimitra and Vachlia and on the acropolis at Stymphalos. The narrow interiors of the peripteroi at Alipheira and Orchomenos, and in the early temple of Athena at Tegea, are also noted; and interpretations are suggested for the plans of the temple of Artemis at Lousoi and of the Asklepieion at Pheneos.

Several papers presented in this seminar have emphasized the fact that by the time of Pausanias, whose account of Arkadia is our best ancient source for the study of the region, many Arkadian cults and cult-places were already very old; and this often remains true even when the extant buildings are of more recent date, e.g. in the case of the Mount Aphrodision temple above Kondovazena and the temple, probably that of Athena, on the acropolis at Stymphalos.¹ Moreover, some of the extant temples, even if not themselves early, at least seem to have been influenced by early predecessors. Thus they can still assist in following the evolution of early Arkadian, and indeed of other early Greek temple-designs in the period prior to the appearance of large *peripteroi*; and this evolution, in

1. These sites are discussed in the papers by Y. Pikoulas and H. Williams in this volume.

Arkadia as elsewhere in the Greek world, seems to have been determined in large part by basic structural considerations. In short, these early temples were not yet "architecture, as distinguished from mere building";² the chief aim of the builders was to ensure, on the basis of practical experience rather than some abstract theory, that their buildings would remain standing for a reasonable length of time. We also encounter in Arkadia designs of quite unorthodox type; here too, I would suggest, practical considerations originally exerted a good deal of influence.³

Before turning to these aspects of my subject, however, I note that, at least for Pausanias, the precincts, temples, altars, sacred spots and revered statues of goddesses are considerably more numerous than those of male divinities. Among the goddesses, Artemis far outnumbers all other deities, of either sex; in next place numerically is Demeter, alone or with Kore, along with the Great Goddesses, whom Pausanias identifies with the Eleusinian pair,⁴ and after them Athena and Aphrodite, with Hera well behind these last two. Among the male divinities, Pan (perhaps not surprisingly in Arkadia) and Apollo head the list, followed by the cluster of Asklepios, Zeus, Hermes, Poseidon and Dionysos; these last five trail all the major goddesses except Hera. Moreover, many divinities appear in an unusual guise, for example, Demeter linked with Horse Poseidon, the Mistress at Lykosoura who was the daughter of Demeter and Horse Poseidon,⁵ as distinct from the Eleusinian Kore, daughter of Demeter and Zeus,⁶ and Black Aphrodite near Mantinea,⁷ the origin of whose name had clearly been long forgotten. Pan is said to be the most powerful of the gods in accomplishing men's prayers and requiting the wicked for their misdeeds.⁸ Again, among the interesting features of the *agora* at Megalopolis, Pausanias saw "an enclosure of stones and a *hieron* of Lykaian Zeus. There is no entrance into the *hieron*, but its contents, which can be seen, consist of altars of the god, two tables, two eagles, and a stone statue of Pan named Oinois".⁹ When we add to the above examples others such as the Strangled Artemis near Kaphyai and the statue of Athena at

2. G.G. Scott: "Architecture, as distinguished from mere building, is the decoration of construction"; quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary s.v. "Architecture."*

3. In this paper I am concerned chiefly with the proportions of early temple-plans and with plans of unorthodox or unusual type; the origin and earliest forms of the columnar orders belong to a later phase of the development of Greek temples.

4. Paus. 8.31.1.

5. Paus. 8.1.5-8 and 31.1. Horse Poseidon actually had an altar at Lykosoura: Paus. 4.37.10.

6. Paus. 8.37.9.

7. Paus. 8.6.5.

8. Paus. 8.37.11.

9. Paus. 8.30.2-5.

Teuthis with a purple bandage round her thigh (an expiation for the hero Teuthis having stabbed her in the thigh at Aulis),¹⁰ it is perhaps not surprising that Arkadian temple-architecture also falls outside the Greek mainstream.

In fact, in Arkadia what we may call ‘mainline temples’, that is, the ones that are likely to get into the handbooks (e.g., the Hagios Elias temple near Asea and those of Apollo at Bassai, Alea Athena at Tegea and Asklepios at Gortys), are the exception rather than the rule. Thus the small marble temple high up on Psili Korphi above Mavriki, excavated by Rhomaios, is certainly quite unlike the contemporary mid-6th century Doric that we find at Corinth; and the capitals with necking-mouldings are no more canonical than the triglyphs with ogival crowns and the regulae and mutules without guttae.¹¹ It has been remarked that some of these features find their closest parallels in the West Greek Doric of Sicily and Magna Graecia;¹² but I have argued elsewhere against any direct architectural connection between Arkadia and the Western Greeks, preferring to regard the many unusual features of the Mavriki temple as illustrations of a specifically Arkadian tradition in archaic Doric, to which early Ionic architectural decoration contributed several details.¹³ This Arkadian tradition continued to some extent in the temple of Athena and Poseidon at the top of the pass over Mount Gravari (Fig. 1), between the plain of Asea and the territories of Pallantion and Tegea.¹⁴ Here Rhomaios discovered both an original and a 5th-century replacement cornice of Ionic type;¹⁵ moreover, the Gravari temple, by virtue of its southward orientation toward the road over the pass and its noticeable deepening of the pronaos, has something of the strong emphasis on the front, or entrance, end of the building that we find in the second Pronaia

10. Paus. 8.23.6-8, 28.5-6.

11. Rhomaios 1952, 1-25; see also Winter 1991, 203-4 figs. 4-5, after Rhomaios. My discussion of the larger temples noted in this paragraph now needs to be modified in the light of Erik Østby's publication of the temples at Pallantion (especially Temple C, the large peripteros mentioned below: Østby 1990-91, 69-88 with figs. 31-50, 67 and pl. IV, and 109-18) and his discussion of early Arkadian temples (*ibid.* 285-391; see also his paper in this volume) with new photographs and detailed drawings of the Mavriki temple, which I now accept as prostyle rather than amphiprostyle (*ibid.* 309-27 and 306-9 figs. 177-80), and the *peripteroi* at Orchomenos (327-38 and 323-9, figs. 182-8), Gravari (338-50 and figs. 189-95), Hagios Elias (350-60 and figs. 196-8) and Alipheira (364-81 and figs. 199-207). Early Doric capitals are analysed in detail in Tables I-III following *ibid.* 192. I retain the term “Mavriki temple” rather than “temple of Artemis Knakeatis”, because the location of the temple, as Pritchett (1999, 134-6) has noted, is difficult to reconcile with the statement of Pausanias, 8.53.11.

12. See Barletta 1990 on her series of “Ionian Sea Doric” monuments.

13. Winter 1991, 213-8.

14. Rhomaios 1957, 125-44.

15. Winter 1991, 206 fig. 7.

temple at Delphi and the temple of Athena at Paestum.¹⁶ This frontal emphasis is, of course, a typical feature of Ionic temple architecture.¹⁷ In addition, in the Gravari temple, as at Mavraki, variety of detail rather than consistency was clearly the order of the day, for there were at least two patterns of necking-rings in the capitals and two forms of crown to the grooves of the triglyphs. Yet the proportions of the Gravari peristyle and cella are closer to those of the emerging canonical Doric than those of the Hagios Elias temple near Asea;¹⁸ and the Gravari cella is certainly quite different from those of the temple of Athena at Alipheira, the archaic temple at Tegea as interpreted by Prof. Østby, and the peripteros in the lower city of Orchomenos (length : width about 4 : 1 at Alipheira, even without the adyton, the other two both about 3 : 1).¹⁹ Incidentally, at Orchomenos the columns and capitals differed in both size and form, suggesting, though not proving, a period of construction extending over a considerable number of years.

It seems evident that earlier Arkadian temple-builders in general favoured long, narrow interiors, whether to simplify the construction of the ceiling and roof or for some other reason. Thus the temple of Artemis Mesopolitis, just to the south of the *agora* at Orchomenos,²⁰ consisted of a prostyle pronaos and long, narrow cella, the overall proportions being 3.33 : 1, very close to the 3.25 : 1 of the cella plus pronaos in the Orchomenos peripteros; and the proportions of the core of the temple of Athena at Alipheira (cella plus adyton), and of the unfinished peripteros at Pallantion,²¹ were even more elongated (some 4.78 : 1 and 4.33 : 1 respectively). Probably the builders of these two temples were trying

16. Gruben 2001, 95 figs. 71, 72, and 269 fig. 202.

17. Winter 1991, 217.

18. For the first detailed excavation see Holmberg 1941; plan reproduced as Winter 1991, 207 fig. 8.

19. Gravari, Rhomaios 1957; Alipheira, Orlandos 1968; Tegea, Østby 1986; Orchomenos, Blum and Plassart 1914, 81-4; see also Winter 1991, 201 fig. 2, 198 fig. 1, 202 fig. 3. My continuing reservation about the 18-column flanks of the early temple of Athena at Tegea proposed by Østby does not imply any disagreement with the logic of his arguments. If one grants the existence on the part of the Tegea designer of some direct acquaintance with the temple of Hera at Olympia (or *vice versa*), then Østby's interpretation is perfectly reasonable. If, however, one regards early Arkadian Doric as a series of strictly local experiments in Doric, devoid of any influence from Olympia, then the proposed arrangements at Tegea, while they may indeed still be correct, cannot be supported by analogies with Olympia; in other words, the question turns on the extent of inter-regional influences at this early period, when builders were not really trained architects, but simply master stonemasons or contractors who rarely, if ever, had reason to venture outside their home territory.

20. Blum and Plassart 1914, 74-9; Papachatzis 1980, 225 fig. 192.

21. Østby 1991, fig. 1 p. 45 (plan), fig. 4 p. 48 (photo).

to make the overall area and bulk as impressive as possible, by adding to the length of the buildings without increasing the width to the point where interior supports would be required. This explanation receives some confirmation from the study of three smaller Arkadian temples: two temples explored by Leonardos in 1891, near Divritsa (now Dimitra) and Vachlia,²² and the temple on the acropolis at Stymphalos (Fig. 2), first cleared by Orlandos in 1925 and recently excavated in more detail by the Canadian team.²³ The Stymphalos temple measured some 5.80 x 11.50 m, Leonardos' buildings ca. 5.50 x 16.80 m and 5.90 x 8.70 m respectively. Thus the overall area of the larger buildings was increased by extending the length : width ratio from less than 1.5 : 1 to more than 2 : 1, the Divritsa temple, the largest of the three, having a length about three times its width. In excavating the temple at Divritsa Leonardos unearthed a head of Athena and a bronze krater inscribed KOPAI, "to Kore".²⁴ On the basis of the latter find he identified the sanctuary as that of Eleusinian Demeter mentioned by Pausanias;²⁵ the head of Athena does not necessarily conflict with this identification.

Also small in scale and narrow (both probably over 2 : 1 in proportions) are the two successive temples of Artemis uncovered in the Greek excavations on the western flank of Gourtsouli hill to the north of Mantinea (Fig. 3); these two temples were of very simple construction, surely with mudbrick superstructure.²⁶ In this same group of relatively small buildings of simple construction may be included the two buildings in the depression on the summit of Mount Kotilion above Bassai, where again the larger structure is longer and narrower in proportion than the smaller.²⁷ In its extant form, the prostyle temple close to the modern highway in the territory of ancient Methydriion, long identified with the temple of Horse Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias, is a later, monumentalized version in canonical form of the earlier tradition of small temples.²⁸

Probably the most curious of known Arkadian temples is that of Artemis Hemera²⁹ overlooking the plain of modern Kato Lousoi, with the imposing mass of Mount Chelmos rising to the east. (Fig. 4) From Byzantine times onward, a series of churches and chapels was built over the ruins of the temple.³⁰ I have

22. Leonardos 1891.

23. Williams and Schaus 2001. See the paper by H. Williams in this volume.

24. Papachatzis 1980, 277-8 n. 6.

25. Paus. 8.25.2-3.

26. Karagiorga 1963; Papachatzis 1980, 218 fig. 184.

27. Kourouniotis 1903, pl. 11; Papachatzis 1980, 369-70 figs. 403-6.

28. Paus. 8.36.2; Papachatzis 1980, 327 figs. 319-20, after Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, figs. 7-8 p. 33.

29. Or Hemerasia, according to Paus. 8.18.8.

30. Original excavation: Reichel and Wilhelm 1901. The most recent investigations at

attempted elsewhere, on the analogy of Hekatompedon II at Samos and the archaic Didymaion, to explain the strange plan as derived from a shorter and narrower archaic predecessor, the mudbrick walls of which were reinforced by internal and external buttresses, the later and larger temple being then embellished with separate colonnades along the side walls.³¹

I now turn to two temples excavated more recently, and definitely *not* seen by Pausanias: the temples of Asklepios at Pheneos and (probably, according to Dr. Pikoulas) of Artemis on Mount Aphrodision, at the top of the pass between the Erymanthos and Ladon watersheds; both temples were uncovered in Greek excavations.³² The former sanctuary was presumably destroyed before Pausanias' time by the flooding of the Pheneos lake; the latter was not seen by him because his route from Psophis took him further west along the Erymanthos valley. Architecturally, the interesting aspect of the Mount Aphrodision sanctuary for the present discussion is that although it was clearly an important cult-centre, eventually, as Pikoulas has shown, boasting a peripteral temple as well as subsidiary buildings and a fountain, a cella of simple, and typologically early, plan served throughout the history of the precinct; the ruins of this cella are now in part covered by the chapel of Hagios Petros.

At the beginning of his tour of Mantinea, Pausanias³³ mentions "a double temple, divided just at the middle by a partition-wall. In one division of the temple," he says, "is an image of Asklepios by Alkamenes, while the other division is sacred to Leto and her children ... (with) images by Praxiteles ...". If the statue by Alkamenes was made for the temple seen by Pausanias, the building cannot have been later, and was quite possibly earlier, than the late 5th century. Pausanias does not say whether the partition-wall ran crosswise, as in the Athenian Erechtheion (also described as "double", 1.26.5), or lengthwise; however, it seems to me likely that the Arkadian building was divided lengthwise, so that the contents of both divisions could be seen from the common entrance porch. In that event the Mantineian building probably resembled the two rooms side by side in the Asklepieion at Pheneos. (Fig. 5) One of these rooms was the 'temple-room' proper, with colossal statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at the back, while the other room apparently also served some cultic purpose, and contained

Lousoi by V. Mitsopoulos-Leon and G. Ladstätter have shown that there were no columns at the western end of the temple, but rather the solid back wall of an adyton, which was entered from the cella through a door in the wall behind the base for the cult-statue.

31. Winter 1991, 212-3.

32. Pheneos: Protonotariou-Deilaki 1961-62; Mount Aphrodision: Kardara 1988. The identification as a temple of Artemis was proposed by Y. Pikoulas at the seminar; see the summary of his paper in this volume.

33 Paus. 8.9.1.

statues set on a pedestal at the back. In front of the statues in this second room stood a table for offerings, in the same pattern as that found by Orlandos in the Asklepieion at Alipheira.³⁴ For all we know, sacred buildings with rooms side by side, as at Pheneos and (in my opinion) at Mantinea, may have been fairly common in smaller communities which lacked the resources for building monumental temples and subsidiary structures. In any event the Asklepieion at Pheneos forms an interesting contrast to the Asklepieion at Gortys, which must have been a major centre for the worship of Asklepios, and so was rich enough to afford a temple of Pentelic marble and statues of Asklepios and Hygieia by Skopas.³⁵

I close by noting that from Byzantine times onward one, or a series, of churches or chapels, of various dates, have been built over the ruins of many of the temples mentioned in this paper, often in rather out-of-the-way locations. The choice of site for these successor buildings can of course be explained as providing a handy source of building materials, or as attempts to exorcise the pagan spirits, or as a combination of these considerations. Yet I think it likely that for these later builders their work was in some sense a fulfilment of two speeches of the Apostle Paul, who said to the Lykaonians of Lystra: "We are bringing you good news, telling you to turn from these worthless things to the living God who made heaven and earth and sea ... In the past he let all nations go their own way, yet he did not leave himself without testimony, ... giving you rain from heaven and crops in their seasons." And to the Athenians: "The God who made the world and everything in it...made the nations of men...and set the times and exact places for them. And he did this so that men would seek him and perhaps reach out for him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us."³⁶ I take my stand with Paul, and with what I conceive as the intent of those later builders.

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³⁴ Papachatzis 1980, 286 fig. 273, after Orlandos 1968, fig. 120 p. 180.

³⁵ Paus. 8.28.1.

³⁶ *Acta* 14.15-17, 17.24 and 26-27.

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Fig. 1. Mount Gravari temple from south. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 2. The acropolis temple at Stymphalos. (Photo: Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens, Stymphalos excavations.)

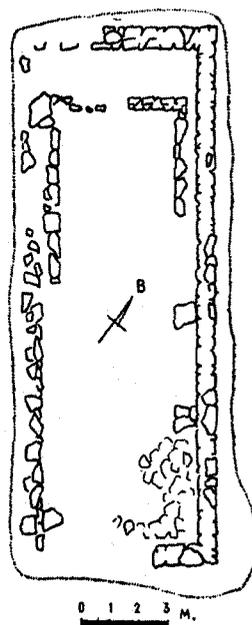


Fig. 3. Plan of the Artemis temples on Gortsouli hill, Mantinea. (After *ArchDelt* 18, 1963, B 1 Chron., fig. 1 p. 88.)

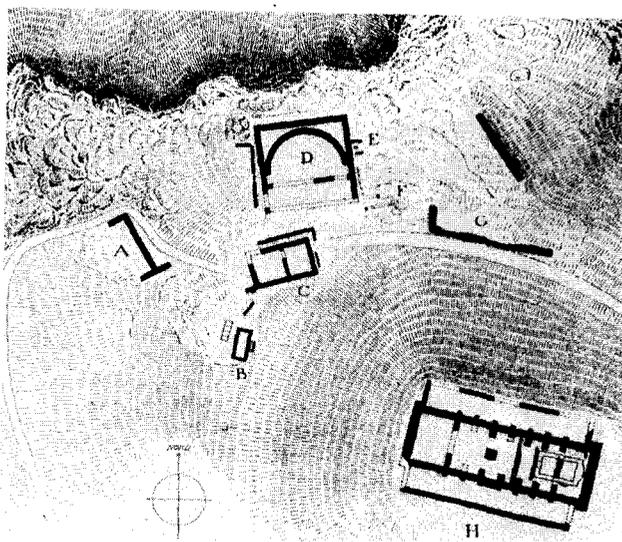


Fig. 4. Lousoi, state-plan of the Artemis precinct. (After *ÖJh* 4, 1901, fig. 6 p. 16.)

Archaic Temple Architecture in Arcadia

Erik Østby

A surprisingly rich tradition of monumental temple architecture, which has so far received little attention, existed in Arcadia in the archaic period. The impressive, late 7th century temple of Athena Alea at Tegea is now known to have been preceded by two simple cult buildings of Late Geometric date, of small dimensions and of simple materials reflecting, probably intentionally, early prehistorical architecture. Based on the early archaic temple, a fine tradition of Doric temples using local marble developed and can be traced through the 6th century B.C., coming to an abrupt end in the first half of the 5th century. Some of its characteristics, such as the open spacing of the colonnades and the avoidance of angle contraction, are significantly different from the mainstream of archaic Dorism, as exemplified *e.g.* in the temple of Apollo at Corinth.

The traditional view of Arcadia as a remote and backward district compared to the rest of the Greek world is today slowly giving way to more balanced views, thanks to recent research in the region. In this reassessment the rich and varied material of archaic temple architecture which is still preserved here must take an important part.¹ These temples precede the famous 5th and 4th century temples of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai and of Athena Alea at Tegea; both figure as key monuments in the general history of Greek temple architecture,² but according to Pausanias they were created by artists hired from abroad, Iktinos and Skopas,³ and for that reason they cannot easily be claimed as products of local traditions and influences. It is now clear, however, that there was a surprisingly rich activity of temple building in Arcadia in the archaic period, and those buildings are so numerous and distinct that a local tradition must certainly be claimed for them.

1. This material is more thoroughly described in the works Østby 1986, Østby 1990-91, and Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999. The contributions to this volume by Y. Goester, M. Petropoulos and Y. Pikoulas add more, previously unknown material.

2. For recent discussion of these buildings see Gruben 2001, 128-40.

3. Bassae, Paus. 8.41.9; Tegea, 8.45.5.

Recent research has provided some positive knowledge of the archaic temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which Pausanias mentions almost six centuries after its destruction in 396 B.C.⁴ This was an ambitious building fully abreast with the development of early archaic Doric architecture elsewhere in the Peloponnese, and it had a decisive influence on the building activity in the region later on.⁵ (Fig. 1) The preserved traces of this temple are sufficient for a satisfactory reconstruction of the cella, although some questions must remain open. There is very limited evidence for the reconstruction with a conventional pronaos, and that pronaos would have to be unusually shallow; several early archaic temples might offer parallels for the alternative reconstruction with an open cella front without any divisory wall between cella and pronaos,⁶ and this possibility cannot be rejected out of hand. But the difference of level between the foundations of the cella front and those for the inner colonnades in the cella clearly indicates that there was a similar difference between a lower floor level in the pronaos and a slightly higher one in the cella. This feature recurs in the Heraion at Olympia; but is otherwise unusual in Greece, and is one of several indications that the two buildings were closely connected.⁷ The few remaining blocks at the rear of the cella were first explained as toichobate blocks for a closed rear wall, but a different interpretation as blocks from the stylobate in an open opisthodomos front has recently been suggested.⁸ If so, this opisthodomos would precede the one in the Heraion at Olympia, which is usually considered an innovation there. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile this interpretation with the markings on the two remaining marble blocks, which cannot be understood as column traces and do not make any sense in the open spaces between columns. They are most easily understood as anathyrosis markings for orthostate blocks covering the lowest part of a mud-brick wall, with an additional, rectangular marking for a vertical, wooden post inserted between those blocks and projecting slightly in front of them so that it would remain visible as a sort of pilaster.⁹ According to

4. 8.45.4.

5. Østby 1986. The same conclusion was approached, but in less precise terms, by Norman 1984, 171. I cannot concur with the position expressed by F.E. Winter in this volume (p. 486, n. 19) that this temple can be seen as a purely local product, independent of outside influences; at the site of Tegea it represents a clear break from previous, far more modest building activity. The temple of Hera at Olympia is in any case clearly later. See below.

6. Several such buildings from Eretria, Kommos, Samos, etc. are presented together by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, Table I, but the open front is not ascertained in all those cases.

7. Østby 1986, 79-81 and 99 n. 110, with references to the temple at Olympia as well as Corfu and Samos. Temples in Sicily and Southern Italy often have the same feature.

8. Gruben 1996, 409 n. 41, and *id.* 2001, 136; Østby 1986, 86-91, for the evidence and the original interpretation as a toichobate.

9. Østby 1986, 88-90. See *ibid.*, 98, and Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 166 with n. 1190, for the

that interpretation the rear of the cella must be reconstructed with a closed adyton, rather than with an open opisthodomos which otherwise appears only once, and much later, in the series of archaic Arcadian temple buildings.

Probably this cella was surrounded by a peristasis, but it has been totally destroyed by the foundations for the classical temple; no evidence for it remains. But a hypothetical reconstruction of it can be attempted on the analogy with the Heraion at Olympia, where the positions of the columns in the flank colonnades correspond precisely with the cella columns, with the same axial spacings. The peristasis which can be reconstructed on these terms, turns out to surround symmetrically the cella not only crosswise, but also lengthwise. If those inner colonnades are direct reflections of a perfectly symmetrical overall plan, although asymmetrically placed within the cella building, this is at least a strong indication that a peristasis did exist, and from the outset, not as a later addition. In that case, the peristasis can only be reconstructed with 6 x 18 columns, as proposed in the first publication.¹⁰ There are strange and unexpected features in this building: marble appears here surprisingly early as building material, and this has been used as an argument for downdating the temple from the late 7th to well into the 6th century.¹¹ The recent investigations in the temple cella have proved beyond doubt that the remains we have are really of the archaic temple mentioned by Pausanias, but they have not provided material for a precise chronology.¹² Essentially the problem still rests on the comparison with the closely related temple of Hera at Olympia, whose date in the early 6th century is well established.¹³ In this context, the earlier date of the Tegea temple is well supported by the clear and immediate proportional relation between the two cellas: the proportion 4 : 15 is common to both, but at Olympia the dimensions are slightly increased, very probably in order to cite and also outdo the Tegean building.¹⁴ The reduction from 6 x 18 to 6 x 16 columns in the peristasis, assuming that it existed at Tegea, puts the Olympia temple at a later stage in this

early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, where a similar construction is used at the inside of the wall.

10. Østby 1986, 94-5. F. Winter 1991, 200 and n. 20 p. 199, and again in this volume, considers a shorter peristasis (6 x 16) and/or a peristasis added later, but does not consider these points. With 6 x 16 columns, the space between colonnade and cella would be narrower on the fronts than on the flanks, which is unlikely; moreover, the front colonnades would coincide with open areas inside the classical foundations, where they would probably have left traces.

11. Felten 1987, 32.

12. Østby *et al.* 1994, 99; Østby 1997, 95-6.

13. Gruben 2001, 51; Kalpaxis 1976, 56; Mallwitz 1972, 138 n. 81; Herrmann 1972, 93-4, ns. 368 and 373. Searls and Dinsmoor 1945 established definitively this date.

14. Ca. 10.00 x 37.50 m at Tegea, 10.72 x 40.21 m at Olympia. See Østby 1986, 93 with ns. 51-2.

generally acknowledged, typological development. The date for the Tegea temple in the late 7th century¹⁵ thus remains likely. Recent field-work in the sanctuary has added one element of importance: an early archaic tile of so-called Argive type,¹⁶ so large that it can hardly be connected with any other building. This indicates that the temple had a tiled roof from an early date, possibly from the beginning. But the object is isolated and found out of context, and should be treated with caution.

Recent field-work has shown that this temple, which in the late 7th century must have been at the very forefront of architectural development, was preceded by modest structures which must also be defined as temples, although of a somewhat unusual kind. Traces have been identified of two simple huts, one replacing the other, built of wattle and daub, without stone socles. (Figs. 2 and 3) This is a building technique which reminds more of the early Neolithic than of the Greek Iron Age.¹⁷ The archaeological material discovered in these buildings is clearly of votive character, ensures their function as cult buildings, and indicates the late 8th and early 7th century as their date. The earlier building, probably used in the last quarter of the 8th century, was hardly much more than 3 m wide (inner width between the walls, the only so far safely established, arriving at 2 m), and the length so far excavated is about 6 m and was originally somewhat more. The external dimensions of its later successor, of basically the same shape, were about 4 x 12 m. Both have a characteristic hair-pin shape with an apsidal rear end which follows a widespread typology of Geometric cult buildings – although that shape is by no means confined to religious structures.¹⁸ These buildings raise, however, functional problems which put them somehow apart from the various recent hypotheses concerning early Greek temples. They could not possibly be residential buildings: the open front which has been safely established for the more recent structure, the total lack of fire-places inside them, and the extremely cramped dimensions particularly of the early building make them totally unsuitable for such use.¹⁹ The vague character of the floor surfaces inside them can only be explained on the assumption that access to the interior

15. Østby 1986, 97-102.

16. For which see N.A. Winter 1993, 149-87. I thank her for identifying the piece during a visit to the site in 1998.

17. Østby *et al.* 1994, 98-103; Østby 1997, 54-60; Nordquist 2002, 150-1. Generally on the wattle-and-daub technique in Greek architecture: Fagerström 1988, 100; Sinos 1971, 10-3; and Perlès 2001, 180-93, for the technique in the early Neolithic context.

18. See for general discussions of this shape Drerup 1969, 92-4; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 111-3; Fagerström 1988, 106-10; and the important paper by Hiller 1996.

19. As admitted by Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 80-2, who generally attempts to connect early temples with such functions.

was strictly limited; they must be understood as some kind of show-pieces, rather than functional buildings. Nor can they easily be understood as shelters for cult figures, which seem to be a late phenomenon in Arcadia generally; there are traces of simple installations in the apsis area of the early building, but no obvious explanation can be found for them. Probably the buildings were themselves conceived as some kind of visual manifestation of divine forces, related to the ideas which were otherwise mostly expressed by the cult figures; such ideas might also contribute to explain the old-fashioned and by this time absolutely obsolete wattle-and-daub building technique, which probably was chosen for its associations with ancient traditions rather than for its functionality. Religious ideas connected with the buildings as such, rather than with what they sheltered, may also be reflected in the two building models of terracotta, attested by fragments which have been found at the site.²⁰

The destruction of the second building can be safely dated about 680-70, thanks to a Protocorinthian aryballos discovered in a useful context;²¹ this leaves a time-span of at least half a century before the probable date of the archaic temple, which was based on radically different conceptions and increased ambitions. A radical change in the whole situation at Tegea must have taken place during this period, but the investigations at the site have so far not given any clear explanation for it. At the temple site, the evidence for building activity in this period is limited to a large platform or paved area which cuts off the apses of the early cult buildings, but is itself covered by the foundations for the inner colonnades of the archaic temple.²² There is also some evidence for a transversal trench probably from a building front approximately coinciding with the front of the Geometric cult building.²³ If these observations are correct, the structure must have been a good deal larger than the Geometric buildings, but smaller than the archaic temple. The real leap of quality must have come with the large, early Doric temple in the late 7th century, which introduced truly monumental architecture as it had by then developed probably in the Argolis. There must have been a background for this, at political, social and economical levels, which escapes us.²⁴

There can be no doubt that the late 7th century temple of Athena Alea set a model for later temples in Arcadia, and in some respects it remained unsurpas-

20. See the contribution by G.C. Nordquist to this volume.

21. Østby 1997, 95, and fig. 12 p. 100; Nordquist 2002, 152-3 with fig. 9; Voyatzis 2002, 163-4 with fig. 13.

22. Explained as foundation for the cult statue in the Skopadian temple by Dugas *et al.* 1924, 11, but certainly wrongly. See Østby 1986, 76-7 and 85, and *id.* 1997, 90.

23. Østby 1997, 96.

24. See Østby 1986, 97, for the connection with the early temple at Argos, and 101-2 for some preliminary considerations on the historical background.

sed: no later archaic temple in the region reached similar dimensions.²⁵ (See Fig. 1) But the use of local marble, which was as yet very cautious and limited in the Tegean temple – only in the stylobates and the toichobate, while columns and walls almost certainly were of wood and mud-brick – was quickly developed. The small temple near Mavriki, possibly dedicated to Artemis Knakeatis and entirely built of the local Doliana marble from the quarries near by, is one of the very earliest all-marble buildings anywhere in Greece; it was probably constructed somewhat before, rather than after, the middle of the 6th century.²⁶ There is no real evidence for the highly unusual amphiprostyle plan, proposed by Rhomaïos, which has created some perplexity; it has been demonstrated that the frieze-block on which this hypothesis rests, must belong to a different, later structure.²⁷ The prostyle tetrastyle front can be reconstructed quite precisely, and the traces of columns on the front stylobate demonstrate conclusively that there was no angle contraction here. Such a contraction was actually not needed, since the triglyph width was almost identical with the architrave thickness. This approach to the angle problem seems to remain with Arcadian architecture throughout the archaic period, in clear contrast to Corinthian and Attic Doric building tradition where the conventional angle solution with a single contraction was applied already in the first half of the 6th century;²⁸ the Arcadian model has its parallels in the archaic architecture of Sicily and Southern Italy.

In the large, peripteral temple at Orchomenos²⁹ mud-brick and wood seem still to have been the basic materials, marble appearing only in the fine series of capitals which probably rested on wooden shafts; they date the temple about 530. This temple is outstanding for other reasons: it is the first known temple in Greece to apply the classical 6 x 13-colonnade, with identical axial spacings on the fronts and the flanks, except for the angle intercolumniations which are contracted in the regular way. (Fig. 1) This is a pattern which is otherwise first attested in the temple which was under construction at Cape Sounion when the Persians destroyed it in 480,³⁰ and which became normative in classical architecture; by applying standard dimensions for the axial spacings, 5 x 12 in number, it allows the colonnade to be constructed as a Pythagorean triangle with

25. As conveniently demonstrated by the comparative drawings of their plans in Østby 1991, fig. 174 at p. 300, and *id.* 1999, fig. c p. 173.

26. Østby 1991, 309-27 (320-3 for the date); Rhomaïos 1952.

27. Roux 1961, 400-1; Østby 1991, 309-10.

28. With certainty in the early temple of Aphaia at Aegina, and in the temple of Apollo at Corinth; for the temple of Artemis at Corfu it is discussed. See Østby 1991, 385-6 with n. 803.

29. Østby 1991, 327-38. The first publication, Blum and Plassart 1914, 81-4, is superficial and contains some serious mistakes.

30. Gruben 2001, 230, for this temple; see also Østby 1991, 337.

5 and 12 units in the cathetes and 13 in the hypotenuse – with a small adjustment for the angle contraction, however, which was applied here for the first time in Arcadia. This planning system seems foreign to the region and premature in the 6th century development of the Doric order on the whole: unexpectedly, it pulls the introduction of some important innovations far back in time. But Arcadia can hardly take the credit for them, since they were not followed up in the successive buildings. They must reflect developments at another, important centre: possibly, but hypothetically, Corinth.³¹

The local tradition of marble architecture, introduced with the temple at Mavriki, was continued in the small temple for Athena and Poseidon at Vigla, at the frontier between Asea and Pallantion; several details of workmanship confirm the connection.³² The temple was built toward the end of the 6th century, replacing an earlier construction only attested by architectural terracottas. This temple continued the local tradition of external colonnades with 6 x 13 columns, which the temple at Orchomenos probably had introduced, but without the standardized axial spacings and probably also without the angle contractions, like the Mavriki temple. (Fig. 1) In other respects the temple shows considerable awareness of developments elsewhere: it is the only temple in the archaic Arcadian series where there is evidence for an open opisthodom, and the krepis with three steps appears here for the first time in this group. This temple clearly inspired a successive project at the near-by site of Pallantion, where an earlier *oikos* temple without external columns was now surrounded by the foundation for a peristasis.³³ Only the euthynteria blocks had been posed when the project was abandoned, but it is clear that another 6 x 13-colonnade with differentiated axial spacings was intended, probably to be executed in Doliana marble. (Fig. 1) The dimensions of this additional peristasis were clearly related to the Vigla temple, with practically identical width, but adding ca. 1.50 m to its length; evidently that temple, built by the neighbouring community, was considered a challenge to be outdone. An interesting feature of this building, which goes back to its initial phase, are the two column bases behind the rectangular base for the cult statues, which seem to divide the cella into an outer part and an inner adyton which remained visible behind the columns. If the disposition is correctly understood in this way, it may somehow be connected with the idea of inaccessible visibility which apparently was a feature of the early Tegean cult buildings, and it could also be considered a forerunner of the cella at Bassae where the famous Corinthian column sets off and defines an inner part of the interior in a similar way.³⁴

31. Østby 1991, 386.

32. Østby 1991, 338-50; Rhomaios 1957.

33. Østby 1991, 69-88 and 360-4.

34. Østby 1991, 297-9.

The temple at Vigla had another follower in the territory of Asea, located on the top of the Hagios Elias hill at about 1100 m above sea level, in a position so difficult that the transportation of the building material all the way from the marble quarries at Doliana must have been a major undertaking. A full investigation of its remains has taken place only recently.³⁵ (Fig. 4) It is clear that in spite of the difficult position, considerable pains had been taken to make this an impressive building, once more with the intention of outdoing the earlier temple at Vigla. This probably explains such developments as the peristasis with 6 x 14 instead of 13 columns,³⁶ and the krepis with four steps instead of the more normal three which seem to have been used at Vigla; there seem to have been specific references to this temple also in the increase of the external dimensions. There was no opisthodom, however, and the shape of the cella, with the closed rear wall and the unusually shallow pronaos, rather recalls the earlier temples at Tegea and Orchomenos. (Fig. 1) But some pains were taken to reduce the problems of transportation to this difficult site by using light and open architecture. Earlier Arcadian temples had regularly used columns with lower diameter only 1/3 of the axial spacing, but at Hagios Elias the spacing is still more open; and the remains of the epistyle, which is fairly well documented, also indicate a very light and low structure. This light-weight architecture continues a tradition from the earlier Arcadian stone buildings, but it is here carried to extremes. Axial spacings must still have been different on the flanks and the fronts, and an angle contraction would hardly have been necessary. A well preserved capital and other details of the superstructure date the building to the years about or immediately after 500; the capital repeats so closely the shape of the capitals from the slightly earlier temple of Apollo at Delphi, on a reduced scale, that it seems intentionally to have been copied from them.³⁷

The last building in the Arcadian series comes some twenty years later with the temple of Athena at Alipheira, at the western extremity of ancient Arcadia.³⁸ (Figs. 1 and 5) Local limestone was used here, instead of the Doliana marble; transportation of that material this far clearly was not feasible. In some ways the building seems to return to more archaic forms, with the unusually long colon-

35. Preliminary report: Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999; see also Østby 1991, 350-60, written and published before this project. The results of initial Swedish field-work at the building in 1939 are summarized by Holmberg 1941.

36. As originally proposed by Holmberg 1941, and confirmed by the recent field project; see Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 172-3. The alternative proposal of a colonnade with 6 x 13 columns (Østby 1991, 354-8) has now been disproved.

37. Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 175-6, fig. d; Østby 2000, 260-1, for the comparison with the capital from Delphi.

38. Østby 1991, 364-81; Orlandos 1967-68, 45-98.

nade with 6 x 15 columns and the long and narrow, unstructured cella of *oikos* type which closely resembles the cella in the unfinished temple at Pallantion and even repeats the same width, 5.20 m. There is actually some reason to believe that the interrupted project at Pallantion was consciously followed up here, but now with cella and peristasis planned and executed as a unit, not by surrounding an earlier *oikos* with a peristasis.³⁹ Typical Arcadian features remain in the open colonnade with differentiated axial spacings and the light epistyle, but the situation in the frieze would now make an angle contraction necessary – possibly even a double one, since the conflict to be neutralized has now suddenly become very large.

These Arcadian temples, which cluster particularly in the half century from about 530 to 480, must reflect a period of economical and artistic flowering whose historical background escapes us. They have been overlooked in general discussions of Greek temple architecture, but they provide a unique opportunity for studying the development of Doric temple architecture in a crucial period and a defined environment. As far as the Peloponnese is concerned, only the Arcadian temples illuminate this development in the period between the temples of Hera and Zeus at Olympia. The temple of Apollo at Corinth is the only exception; this temple clearly introduced the late archaic development toward the classical definition of Doric temple architecture, but it is radically different from the Arcadian buildings. It is for that reason not easy to establish to what extent the Arcadian temples may represent a specific, local tradition, or rather reflect influences from some Peloponnesian centre where the documentation is lacking; in this context, both Argos and Laconia come to mind. It is at any rate clear that the Arcadians felt temple building to be an important task for their communities, developed it in terms of interstate competition, and created impressive buildings surprisingly early. The end was abrupt; the temple at Alipheira has no sequel until the masterpieces at Bassai and Tegea appear after a break of several decades, and they were created by architects hired from outside and repeat only to a limited extent the distinctive, formal characteristics of the archaic buildings. But in the Arcadian landscape those temples must also in later centuries have been an impressive and a constant reminder not to neglect building in honour of the gods.

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39. The reasons for this are given Østby 1991, 381.

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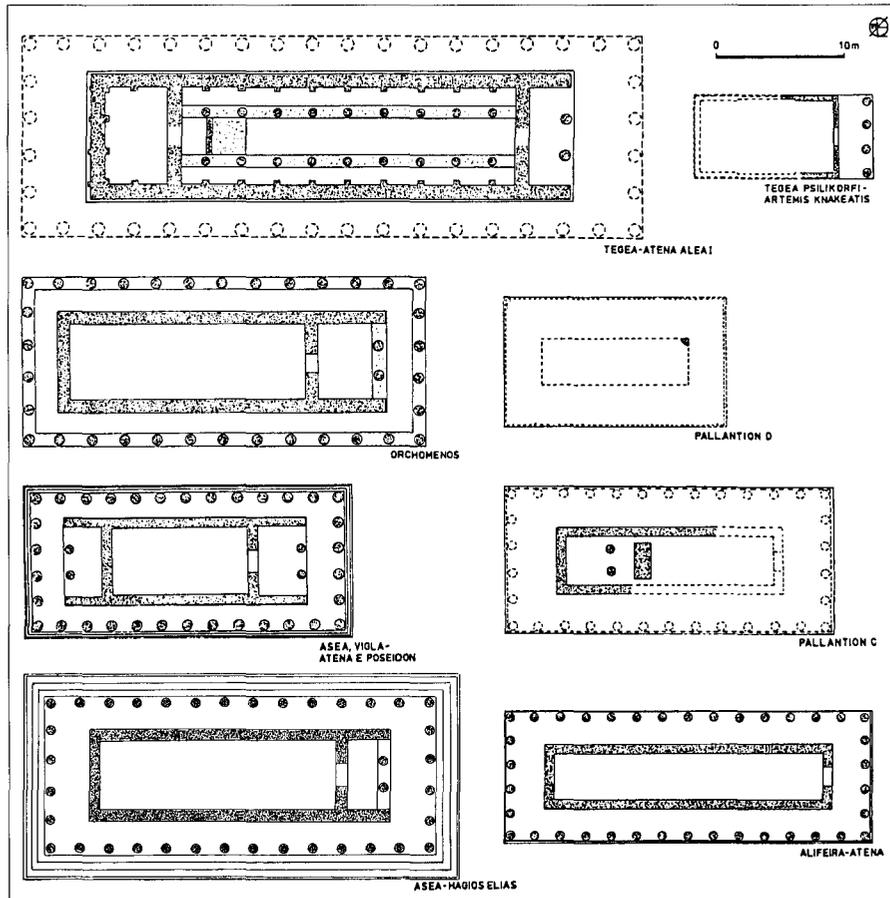


Fig. 1. Comparative plans of archaic temples in Arcadia, drawn to the same scale. (Drawing: author.)

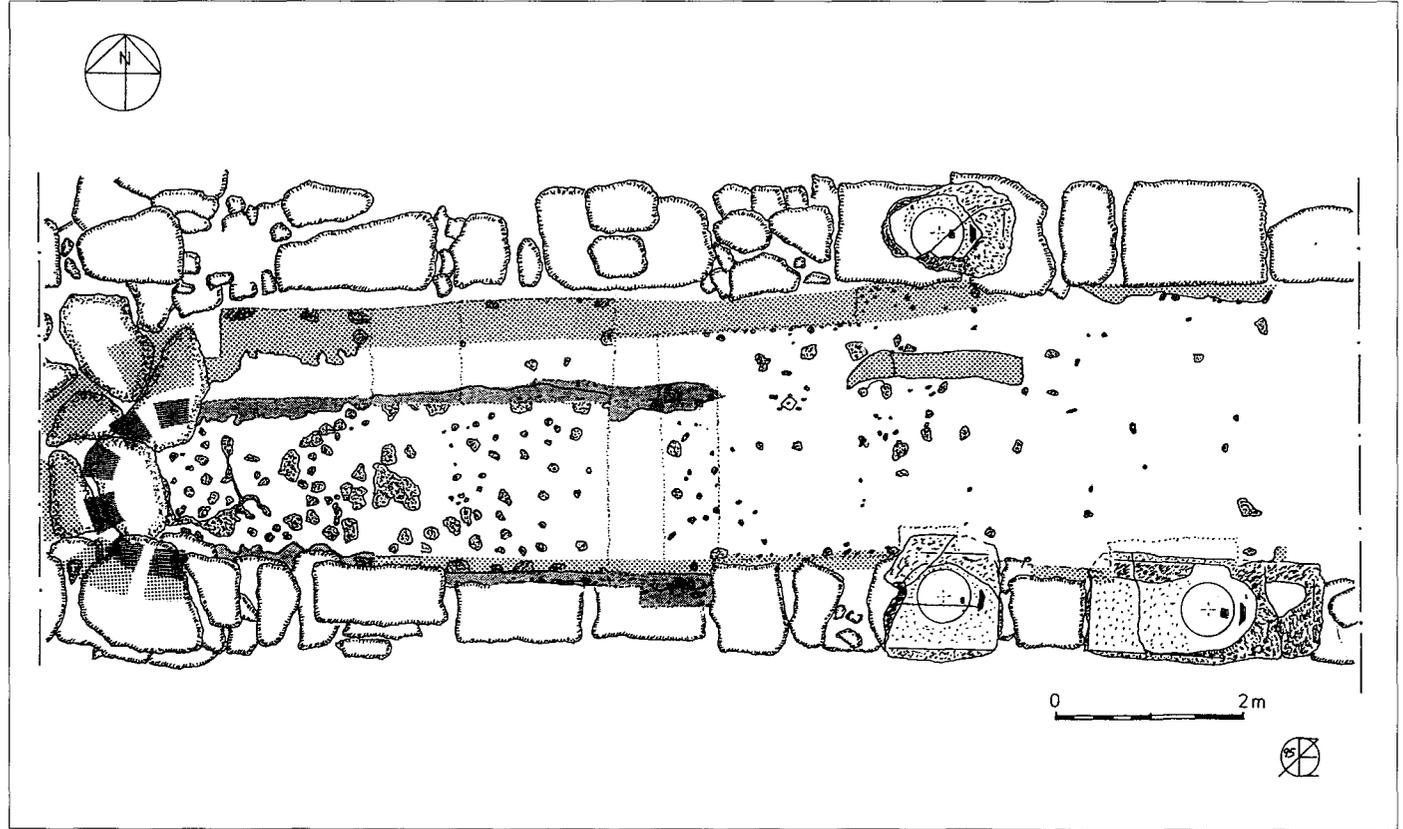


Fig. 2. Reconstructed plans and outlines of the early cult buildings in the cella of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. (Drawing: author.)

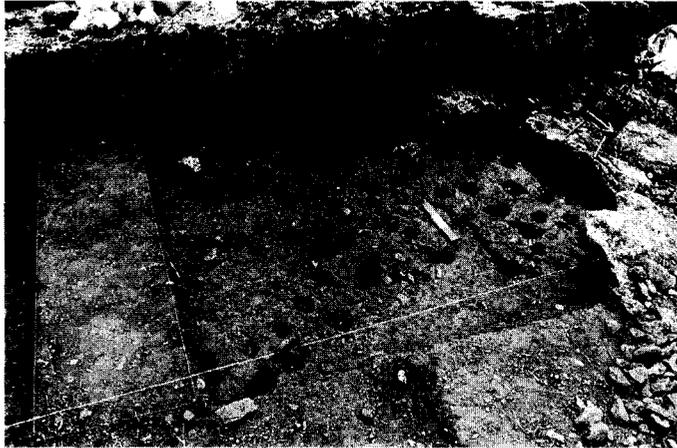


Fig. 3. Post-holes and other remains of the early cult buildings in the cella of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 4. The temple at Hagios Elias near Asea. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 5. The temple of Athena at Alipheira. (Photo: author.)

VII. ROMAN ARCADIA

The Theatres of Roman Arcadia, Pausanias, and the History of the Region*

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When studying Roman Greece, scholars often rely on the descriptions given by the ancient literary sources. Ancient sources, however, are very contradictory and sketch quite different images of the conditions of Arcadia during the imperial age. This paper examines different kinds of evidence: numismatic testimonia, various literary sources, epigraphical evidence, and archaeological data related to the history of Roman Arcadia. In particular, the archaeological evidence offered by the theatres of Roman Arcadia is emphasized. These monuments, in fact, have to be considered as one of the most revealing indicators of the economic, social and political conditions of a Roman city. The fact that several Arcadian centres certainly possessed a theatre must be, in its turn, combined with other kinds of evidence.

The general condition of Roman Arcadia, as well as of Roman Greece more in general, has often been deduced from the sole analysis of literary sources. These texts, remarkably heterogeneous as to their chronology, literary genre and cultural milieu,¹ sketch a quite negative picture.² Here we shall attempt to

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1. The range is very wide: personal letters, novels, travel writings, orations, antiquarian books, historical descriptions. For a reading of the *Golden Ass* by Apuleius as a portrait of a provincial society see Millar 1981.

2. For a very well-balanced and complete analysis of literary sources regarding Roman Greece and their value for the reconstruction of the situation of the province, see Alcock 1993, 24-32 in particular.

reconstruct some aspects of the centres of Arcadia during the age when this region was part of a province of the Roman Empire, by combining the information given on one hand by the ancient sources and on the other hand by archaeological research, with special emphasis on a particular group of monuments: the theatres. A combined study of ancient sources and archaeological data turns out to be the most profitable approach in order to examine an ancient context in its entirety; but this should be done without trying to find a mechanical correspondence between the archaeological remains and the topographical description of a site or the data from the written sources.

The proposal to consider the theatres as a paradigm of study could be seen as a quite provocative choice. Nevertheless, in our opinion, the presence of a theatre must be considered as one of the most revealing indicators of the economic, social and political conditions of a city during the Roman imperial age. In this regard, we should consider a very eloquent remark made by Pausanias about the city of Panopeus. This city barely qualified for urban status: "Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain ..." ³ It is quite evident that a Greek of the 2nd century A.D. was aware that a city could not lack certain pre-requisites: the presence of a representation of the political power, where official acts are held (*ta archeia*); a public place for the exchange of goods (*agora*); a place for physical exercise (gymnasium); a public fountain so that citizens can supply themselves for free with a primary good, the water; and finally, a theatre. The theatre, which by the Roman period had lost its function as an almost sacred place for dramatic representations, had become a place for various forms of performance: together with more traditional spectacles such as comedies and tragedies, we shall recall mime, pantomime, ballets, and rhetorical displays. ⁴ Whereas in the West *ludi gladiatorii*, *venationes*, or *tetimimes* ⁵ were performed exclusively in amphitheatres, in Greece, where these structures were almost never built *ex novo*, ⁶ theatres

3. Paus. 10.4.1: Πανοπέας ... πόλις Φωκέων, εἶγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους, οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα, οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν, οὐ θέατρον, οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην ... In any case, Pausanias must admit that Panopeus can be considered as a city because of the presence of borders: "nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbours" (Paus. 10.4.1). See also Alcock 1993, 119.

4. A specific form of spectacle was called διασκευαί, consisting of remakes of classical comedies: Veyne 1989.

5. Mimes for Tethys, wife of Okeanos: water ballets or other plays, performed in the theatres by naked or half-naked actresses. See Traversari 1950 and *id.* 1952.

6. Only two amphitheatres are attested in Roman Greece, one located in the Roman colony of Corinth, and the other in Epirus, in the Roman colony of Dyrrachium (which was part of the

were adapted to accommodate these shows.⁷ Above all, in Roman city planning these buildings played a clearly defined political role, both as a symbol of the Emperor's munificence and at the same time as a place where the whole civic body used to gather, seated according to social rank and status on the basis of severe hierarchical rules.⁸ Large crowds of people used to meet in theatres on the occasion not only of performances, but also of public assemblies, feasts and processions related to the imperial cult.⁹ These various occasions offered the citizens an opportunity to pay tribute to the local and central power, or even to challenge it.¹⁰ Thanks to the architectural structure itself, theatres conveyed multiple and different messages to the public which gathered from neighbouring cities and villages of a greater or lesser proximity. Furthermore, central and local power was obsessed by the necessity of enjoying the favour of the citizens (*favor, gratia*), which was strictly related to the necessity of being generous in sponsoring spectacles and financing games and performances. And the *scaenae frons*, richly adorned with statues and inscriptions¹¹ celebrating the Emperor, the imperial house and local *euergetai*, transmitted 'reassuring' messages to the public, constantly calling to mind the presence of a central and a local power which could keep order and grant prosperity to all the *cives Romani*, to such an extent that we could characterize the theatre as an ancient form of 'mass-media'.¹²

In book 8 of his work, Pausanias provides us with one of the most exhaustive descriptions of Roman Arcadia. The Periegetes saw the theatre of Megalopolis,¹³ and characterizes it as the largest of all the theatres in Greece.¹⁴ In effect, with its

province of Macedonia): Golvin 1988, 138 no. 126 (Corinth) and 203 no. 178 (Dyrrachium). For the alleged amphitheatre of Patras see Papapostolou 1989, in particular 354-71.

7. About the transformations which took place in the theatres in order to adapt them to the performances in fashion during the imperial age, see Moretti 1992.

8. Zanker 2000. An attempt to find a correlation between the spatial arrangement of the *cavea* and the social structure of the relevant communities has been made by Small 1987.

9. An eloquent example is the case of Gytheion: Kougeas 1928, 16-43, figs. 4-5.

10. Hülsemann 1987. A description of the screaming and cheering crowd, gathered in the theatre of a Euboean city in order to decide the innocence of a citizen accused of having appropriated public land, is to be found in Dio Chrys. 7.23-42.

11. In Greece, the sculptural decoration of the *scaenae frontes* of Roman theatres was really abundant above all in Roman colonies, such as Corinth, where the Roman presence was particularly strong. On the contrary, in most cases the Roman phase implied only some further embellishment of the Hellenistic *proskenion*, which was provided with columns on its front, and the addition of some statues, often located in the *orchestra*.

12. See the proceedings of the colloquium published by Blänsdorf 1990.

13. On the city of Megalopolis see Roy *et al.* 1988.

14. Paus. 8.32.1. The writer concludes his account of Megalopolis with a moral digression: so many cities once rich and flourishing have collapsed, because the gods and Tyche overthrow

orchestra 30 m in diameter, its *cavea* 130 m in diameter, and an estimated capacity of around 20,000 spectators, it can really be defined as one of the largest in Greece.¹⁵ Created during the 4th century B.C., the theatre was connected with the adjoining Thersilion (the assembly hall of the '10,000' representatives of the Arcadian League) in terms of chronology, function and proximity. After some changes made in the Hellenistic period, a stone *proskenion* was built during the Roman age, with 14 columns on its front, and which cuts into the 4th century *orchestra*. Recent excavations have shed light on the later fortunes of the monument, which was partly dismantled as the area was first occupied by a Byzantine necropolis and then (especially in the area of the east *parodos*) robbed of its marble when a lime-kiln of the Ottoman period was in use.¹⁶

Pausanias also refers to the theatre of Mantinea. This building is closely related to the vital centre of city life, as it represents the monumental frame of one side of the city *agora*, studded with monuments built during the Roman period. In its final aspect, the huge space of the Mantinea *agora* must have been very impressive. It was constituted with the theatre as the background of the short west side, the *exedra* of Epigone and a stoa on its north side, another stoa and several buildings on its east side, the monumental *propylon* in the southeast corner, and finally the so-called *bouleuterion*, with many statues on its front, on the south side. The theatre, built during the 4th century B.C. and restructured in Hellenistic times, also had a Roman phase. At that time the scene building, built with blocks of white limestone, had a *proskenion* with 16 half-columns on its front.¹⁷

The theatre of Tegea, built during the 4th century B.C., acquired (probably during the imperial age) a scene building in *opus caementicium* with 10 or 12 half-columns on its front.¹⁸ Its decoration must have consisted, as Pausanias

human destiny, and Megalopolis itself is now in ruins: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν (Paus. 8.33.1).

15. Here I shall not consider the problem of its chronological relationship with the Thersilion, nor that of the existence of a movable *skene* which was stored in the so-called *skanotheka*. The existence of this storage place for the scenery, comparable to the similar one in the theatre of Sparta, has been doubted for both the theatres of Megalopolis and Sparta: Buckler 1986.

16. Most recently discussed by Karapanagiotou 2001.

17. Fougères 1890, 248-52, pl. 17; *id.* 1898, 165-74, figs. 36-41; Bulle 1928, 248; Arias 1934, 95-7, fig. 64; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 313.

18. Vallois 1926; Bulle 1928, 259-60; Arias 1934, 97-8, fig. 65; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 270. This theatre is partially covered by the metropolitan church of Paleo Episkopi, and many elements which decorated it have without doubt been re-used for the construction of the church, which lies above the *cavea*. The monument was later occupied by a Palaeochristian necropolis, as the presence of many inscribed funerary *stelai* demonstrates: Vallois 1926, 169-73, fig. 26, pl. 10.

reports, of bronze statues, which by his time had disappeared: the Periegetes, in fact, could see only the remaining bases.¹⁹

It is not by chance that Pausanias mentions only these three theatres in the whole region of Arcadia: as a matter of fact, the remaining ones must have been reduced to ruins by his time. Thanks to the archaeological investigations, it is an unquestionable fact that there was a theatre also in the city of Kleitor, located on the north-west slopes of the hill today called Κόντρα. Although this building was in use during the Hellenistic age, we can suppose that it had disappeared by the Roman period, because some marble seats from the theatre have been found re-used in a Roman building.²⁰ The theatre of Orchomenos is located near the *agora*, on the acropolis of the city. Its *cavea* exploits the slopes of the hillside, and the *skene* was built not long before the city walls of the 4th century. Pausanias relates that the upper city had been abandoned by his time and that the population now lived at the foot of the hill. This information, which implies that also the theatre was no longer in use, is confirmed by the total absence on the acropolis of remains dating to the Roman age, which, on the contrary, are evident in the lower city.²¹ Finally, although there was a theatre also in Psophis, whose scanty remains had disappeared by the beginning of the 20th century,²² Pausanias, who passed through the city, does not mention the monument; it must already have been a ruin in his days.²³

A different case altogether is represented by Stymphalos, which had a very small theatre still in use during Roman times.²⁴ Pausanias, who dwells on the description of the famous marsh, makes no allusion to the monument. Pending further excavations, we cannot confirm yet his account of a change in the political status of the city (Stymphalos would have accepted that its territory was annexed by Argos) or of the ensuing removal elsewhere of the urban centre.

19. Paus. 8.49. See also Papachatzis 1980, 397-8, fig. 438.

20. Petritaki 2001; see also her paper in this volume. At the actual state of the research, it is not possible to determine if the theatre of Kleitor already existed in the 4th century B.C.

21. Paus. 8.13.1-3. See also Blum and Plassart 1914, 79-81, fig. 8, pl. 3; Karo 1914, 161; Bulle 1928, 248-9; Arias 1934, 83-4; Stainhauer 1973-74, 301, pl. 193 α-β; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 229.

22. Curtius 1851, 387; Frazer 1898, 282; Papandreou 1920, 135, fig. on p. 130. See the paper by M. Petropoulos in this volume for recent attempts to identify it.

23. It has still to be demonstrated that also the ancient city of Kaphyes had a theatre. Pending further excavations, we must remark that the recently discovered marble throne, now in the museum of Tripolis, comes from the theatre of Orchomenos (I want to thank Yanis Pikoulas, to whom I owe this information); see instead Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2000, 48-9, who claim for it a provenance from the theatre of Kaphyes.

24. For a first presentation of the excavations carried on at Stymphalos by the Canadian Institute, together with an analysis of the theatre, see the paper by H. Williams in this volume (with previous bibliography).

Having made these observations, we may draw some conclusions. First, concerning the ever returning question of Pausanias' trustworthiness. It seems almost beyond doubt that Pausanias made a selective description of each place he visited: "Pausanias' selection within monumental context, far from being the result of distractions or of superficial decision making, is more frequently the product of cultural and political choices, which can be both conscious and unconscious but always derive from a profound adherence to the values that monuments, be they mentioned or discarded, embody within the Hellenistic taste of this particular Greek of the second century A.D."²⁵ Everywhere in the 8th book of his *Periegesis*, dedicated to a long and precise description of Arcadia, the writer seems to dwell upon the abundance of ruins in this region. It has been calculated that in this book the term ἐρείπια, the verb ἐρημόω and the adjective ἔρημος occur more frequently than in any other sections in his whole work.²⁶ This attitude has been interpreted, in my opinion with good reason, as a possible proof of his contempt for what is modern and of his admiration for what is ancient: describing a monument as a ruin would therefore demonstrate that it is worthy to be considered as venerable.²⁷

It is a matter of fact that rhetors exaggerate when they describe Roman Greece as a quite poor country, insisting on purpose on its decline. In his famous speech at Corinth, when he presented Greece with 'freedom', Nero regretted that he could not make this generous gift at a more flourishing moment for the country,²⁸ while Dio Chrysostom describes, in the 7th Discourse, an inhabited city of Euboea whose monuments and official buildings are covered by corn and whose citizens have turned the gymnasium into a ploughed field, while cattle graze in the market-place.²⁹ It is also to be admitted that there is much evidence

25. Torelli 2001, 54. For Pausanias' selection in his work see also Moggi 1993, 405-18.

26. Pritchett 1999, 195-222, in particular 197-202.

27. Arafat 1996, in particular 36-42. The book dedicated to Arcadia is the longest of the whole *Periegesis*, after those describing Elis and Olympia. Of course, Pausanias' interest in this region being very strong, the frequency of the term ἐρείπια could be also explained considering the dimensions of the 8th book.

28. *ILS* 8794; *IG* VII, 2713⁷: "Would that I had been able to provide this gift when Greece was flourishing, so that more people might have enjoyed my grace, for that I blame the passage of time for having reduced in advance the magnitude of my favour." For further bibliography see also Moggi and Osanna 2000, 277-8. The official text of this speech has been found walled up in a small church at Akraiphia (Boeotia): Holleaux 1888.

29. On this oration see the comment by Larsen 1938, 479-81: "Dio's purpose was not to give an accurate account of any section in Euboea but rather to paint a utopian wilderness in which a countryman without capital could live in comfort, and Euboea was so far from Rome (where it is believed that the speech was thought to have been delivered) that his hearers would not question the details ... Dio's sketch of Euboea appears overdrawn."

to show that Achaia had marginal economic importance in comparison with other provinces of the Empire.³⁰ But it is of fundamental importance to realize the impossibility of measuring by the same standard all the regions of the Empire, which are characterized by an enormous variety of settlement patterns, natural resources, trade exchanges, geographical situations, as well as by the legacy of their pre-Roman political regimes. Greece, which always enjoyed a privileged status amongst the provinces of the Empire by virtue of its glorious classical past, seems to offer a picture where rural life is prevalent, and there are only a few larger cities. Those cities were nonetheless integrated within a wider communication system: first of all, thanks to the *cursus publicus*, the official communication system of the Empire, and secondly thanks to the network traced by Roman roads.³¹ In Arcadia, Tegea was a post-stage of the *cursus publicus*, being located almost half-way between Argos and Sparta;³² and both Mantinea and Megalopolis were junctions on major Roman roads, and thus had access to frequent communications and exchanges of all kinds.³³

ἔρημία μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις. With these words Strabo characterizes Megalopolis, “the great city”, and one of the main centres of Arcadia, which would have been, by his time, “a great desert”.³⁴ His description of Arcadia as a desolate and abandoned land, whose once flourishing cities have disappeared, seems to coincide, at least to a great extent, with that of many other writers who lived during the imperial age and described Greece, directly or not. We shall recall here as an example a famous passage from an oration by Dio Chrysostom: “Does not the Peneus flow through a Thessaly that is desolate? Does not the Ladon flow through an Arcadia whose people have been driven from their homes?”³⁵ In ancient sources two recurring metaphors can be

30. Day 1942, 177-251, stresses that, apart from rhetorical exaggerations, Greece was anything but rich during imperial times.

31. In general, for the road system in the Roman provinces, see Purcell 1990, 12-4. For Greece see Pikoulas 1995, mainly 320-3.

32. In later times, Tegea is also mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*: Pikoulas 1995, 320-2.

33. Very little systematic work has been done on the Roman road network in Achaia. Nonetheless, no real imperial interest in road building seems to be indicated until the time of Trajan, in part because the province had no military importance. This aspect of Romanization is in any case to be stressed, as this urban network in fact “represented the expression of ideas from the centre of the Empire through to its periphery”: Jones 1987, 47.

34. Strabo 8.8.1. The chapter which he dedicates to Arcadia is – and not by chance – the most succinct of the whole *Geography*: only 5 paragraphs.

35. Dio Chrys. 33.25. Many other examples could be quoted regarding the poverty and desolation of Greece: for instance, Dio Chrys. 7 (the so-called ‘Euboean discourse’), Polyb. 36.17.5-12 and Plut., *De def. or.* 413 F. See also Alcock 1993, 24-32 in particular.

identified: *oliganthropia*, the scarcity of men (in contrast with past *polyandria*),³⁶ and the present obscurity and desolation (in contrast with past glory). These *topoi* have to be considered as mere rhetorical devices, stressing a strong perception of military and political insignificance of Greece under the Roman rule. In particular, the theme of *oliganthropia* is also connected with a situation of decline and, more in general, with a quite primitive and backward way of life.³⁷ But, on the contrary, many archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic testimonia attest the vitality of several Arcadian centres during Roman times. The fact that at least twelve Arcadian cities continued to mint coins at least until the age of Septimius Severus demonstrates that relatively consistent populations were still living in these centres.³⁸ And thanks to numerous inscriptions we are informed about works of rebuilding and improvements, as well as about donations and construction of new public and religious buildings, on the initiative of the imperial house or of local benefactors. For example, the *agora* of Mantinea benefited from the generosity of the biggest landowner in the Peloponnese, Caius Julius Eurykles Herculanus.³⁹ As is known, the fortune of a city during the first imperial period was strictly connected with its behaviour during the civil wars. Mantinea, for example, sided with the future emperor in the war between Octavian and Antonius, and its inhabitants took a prominent part in the battle of Actium. As a result, this city received a temple in honour of Aphrodite Συμμάχια, celebrating the happy event, possessed a cult for the goddess Roma⁴⁰ and was beyond doubt one of the centres most favoured by Hadrian when he visited the province of Achaia.⁴¹ On the contrary Tegea, having sided with Antonius,

36. For *polyandria* and *oliganthropia* see Gallo 1980.

37. *Oliganthropia* is for instance the main element within the picture of decadence presented by Polybius (36.17.5) as far as Greece is concerned: "In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit."

38. Heraia, Kaphyai, Kleitor, Kynaitha, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pheneos, Phigaleia, Psophis, Tegea, and Thelpousa: Gardner 1887, 178-204.

39. He ordered, in fact, the construction of a splendid marble porch, decorated with *exedrae*, which changed completely the aspect of the city *agora*: Fougères 1898, 184. This porch, constructed by the heirs of this famous benefactor, on his behalf, was dedicated to Antinoos, called ἐπιχώριος θεός: *IG* V.2, 281. About the figure of C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanus see Spawforth 1978.

40. *IG* IV.12, 629 (= Moretti 1953, 53): dedication from Epidauros, where feasts called *Rhomaia* are attested.

41. The philhellenic emperor restored the ancient name of Mantinea, which during the Hellenistic period had been changed to Ἀντιγόνη (Paus. 8.11.8), had the ancient temple of Poseidon *Hippios* rebuilt, though still respecting the venerable ruins of the older temple (Paus. 8.10.2), and following the local myth that Mantinea was the metropolis of Bithynion (making it

was robbed of its *palladium* (the ancient and venerable *xoanon* of Athena Alea), as well as of the mythical fangs of the Calydonian boar. Nonetheless, in the following years Tegea succeeded in flourishing again, as attested by the many monuments described by Pausanias as well as by the inscriptions which testify that in 124 A.D. the emperor Hadrian visited the city and had the baths rebuilt.⁴² Megalopolis, which did not suffer the wrath of the Romans perhaps because of the memory of Polybius' loyalty to Rome, demonstrated a strong vitality during imperial times: a bridge was built during the age of Augustus,⁴³ and Domitian paid for the reconstruction of a stoa burnt by a fire.⁴⁴ Furthermore, even after the disastrous earthquake which severely damaged Megalopolis about 200 A.D.,⁴⁵ a fragment of the edict of prices by Diocletian indicates the continuity of the commercial life in the city, at the beginning of the 4th century A.D., rather than its stagnation.⁴⁶

In conclusion, theatres represent only a 'fil rouge' to trace the history of Arcadia when the region was part of the province of Achaia. It is a meaningful coincidence that theatres are attested only in the few most important centres, located along Roman roads and integrated in a wider network of relations by means of the *cursus publicus*. Their presence in the larger centres of the region could be regarded as a proof that these buildings were considered objects of a particular concern by the central and local authorities, as places where messages of political and religious significance could be easily disseminated among the public. As we tried to stress above, theatres had a leading role in civic life, and the presence of a theatre in an urban centre implies that adequate economic sources must be available, in order to maintain them and organize performances and spectacles; this implies, in its turn, the presence of an active civic elite and, in some cases, also a direct interest from the emperor and/or the imperial house. In Roman times the rural landscape of Greece experienced a reduction in the number of sites, giving the impression of a considerable degree of rural abandonment,⁴⁷

the true mother country of Antinoos), presented the city with the penteterical games called Ἀντινόεια (*IG IV*, 590), a mystery cult in honour of Antinoos, a new temple dedicated to the young boy, and statues and portraits of Antinoos (Paus. 8.9.4-10).

42. Paus. 8.45-53; *IG V.2*, 51-2.

43. On the initiative of Titus Arminius Tauriscus: *IG V.2*, 456 (bilingual inscription).

44. *IG V.2*, 457 (bilingual inscription).

45. See the contribution by H. Lauter to this volume.

46. Loring 1890. Another fragment of this edict has been discovered in Kleitor, walled up in a house (*CIL III Suppl.* pars 2, p. 2328⁶¹⁻⁶³ FFF). This is safe evidence that here, as in Megalopolis, commercial life was still in existence at the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

47. Alcock 1993, chapter 2.

while on the other side only a very few large cities developed.⁴⁸ This situation must have negatively impressed rhetors and in general writers, especially those from richer regions (or, better, from regions which knew a different kind of rural and urban development), such as Pausanias, whose native place may have been Magnesia ad Sipylum.⁴⁹ If hunting and harvesting really seem to occupy a prominent place among the occupations of these times, this must not be interpreted as a return to uncivilized customs, but rather as the persistence of a traditional element of Greek rural economy.

Achaia was beyond doubt not the richest of the eastern provinces. It supplied products such as marble, oil and wine, but otherwise its production can be regarded as negligible; and, as far as marble is concerned, the richest marble quarries which were still in the possession of private people passed step by step into the *patrimonium Caesaris* through confiscation, purchase or inheritance.⁵⁰ In Arcadia, an inland rural region rich in mountains,⁵¹ a few larger cities did develop in such a context, and in particular Tegea, Mantinea and Megalopolis, while other centres continued their life, albeit on a different scale. It is beyond doubt, then, that this situation did not necessarily imply total depopulation, disastrous decline and abandon.

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48. Woolf 1997.

49. Habicht 1998, 13-7; Arafat 1996, 8-12; Bowie 2001, 24-5. As far as Strabo is concerned, it is almost beyond doubt that he never went to Arcadia, but knew the region only thanks to oral descriptions or those of other writers: Baladié 1980, 301-38.

50. And the same happened to those quarries which produced marbles particularly appreciated for their beauty: Dubois 1908, IX-XXV. A recent analysis regarding marble exportations and quarries in Greece is to be found in Pensabene 2001, with rich bibliography.

51. It has therefore been defined as "the Switzerland of Greece": Pritchett 1999, 204.

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Polybios to Pausanias: Arkadian Identity in the Roman Empire

Maria Pretzler

Many ancient statements about Arkadia date from the Roman period, and most of what we hear from Arkadians themselves, directly from Polybios, and indirectly via Pausanias, belongs in this context. This source material combines references back to earlier 'classical' texts with the new need to position the region in the Roman empire. A few aspects of Arkadian life and culture, such as poverty, piety and a very ancient ancestry, make up a stereotype that was recognisable and could therefore be put to good use. With few exceptions this Arkadian image is positive and it could give Arkadian communities an advantage in dealing with the outside world, especially because some outsiders were keen to have a part in this illustrious heritage.

The ancients knew what to expect of Arkadia and of Arkadians. Some of its most commonly known characteristics are already described in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*, which may well have defined how educated inhabitants of the ancient world saw the region.¹ This passage lists contingents from northern and western Arkadia, which is described as a mountainous area where men are good at fighting but not versed in using ships. The Arkadians themselves were well aware of how they were seen by outsiders, and the widely known stereotypes played a role in the definition of Arkadian identity.

The formation of Arkadian identity during the archaic and classical period has been thoroughly studied, most notably by Nielsen.² By the 4th century B.C., when Arkadian identity became the base for a new federal state, the boundaries of the region were somewhat better defined than they had been in the *Iliad*, although it was still possible to adapt Arkadian identity to include new areas, in

1. Hom. *Il.* 2.603-614. The passage includes Pheneos, Orchomenos, the three unknown cities Rhipse, Stratia and Enispe, and Tegea, Mantinea, Stymphalos and Parrhasia.

2. Nielsen 1999; *id.* 2002, 52-88.

particular Triphylia. Arkadian studies often cover the region only up to the late classical period, to the time of the short-lived Arkadian league. Arkadia never again functioned as a political entity, and after the battle of Mantinea, and especially with Alexander, the main focus of the historiographical texts shifts away from the Peloponnese and then from Greece as a whole, only to return for the few decades of the heyday of the Achaian league.

The real test of regional identity, however, came in the centuries that followed. Cities and regions were now faced with larger powers such as the Hellenistic kingdoms and the rapidly growing Roman empire. Identities became more fluid and the whole hierarchy of group identities that Greeks had always had at their disposal, for example families, local communities, civic subdivisions, cities, regions and tribes or ethnic subgroups of Greece such as Arkadia, or Dorians and Ionians, were now increasingly rivalled by entities that made sense on a 'global' scale, such as the generic Greek cultural identity or, increasingly accessible at least for the elite, Roman citizenship.³ Individuals and whole communities would make use of these different levels of identity if they had some meaning or, even better, if they could be seen as an advantage. Regional identity which is not connected with a political entity or with active participation in common activities was therefore at a greater risk of losing its significance.

In this paper I investigate how a sense of Arkadian identity survived well into the Roman imperial period and why the reputation of the region was an asset for its communities. Roman Arkadia is covered by two remarkable authors, Polybios and Pausanias, who both offer a special insight into Arkadian identity. Pausanias provides the latest extensive primary source for central and southern Greece, and, due to the history and political geography of Arkadia, his description of the region is especially rich in detailed information that reflects a variety of viewpoints. Much of the information collected by Pausanias is based on autopsy and local, oral tradition, and he therefore does record how at least some Arkadians of the 2nd century A.D. presented themselves to an outsider.⁴

The beginning of the Roman period in Greece is recorded by Polybios, an Arkadian who lived through times when regional identity, and especially his personal attitude towards Arkadia, was severely put to the test. In the late 3rd and early 2nd century the Achaian league, a federal state that outgrew its original 'ethnic' territory, dominated the Peloponnese before it was conquered by the Romans and the region became a Roman province.

Polybios in particular would have needed to reconsider his own identity, because during his long stay abroad he would have to explain his background to a variety of people. He clearly identified with the Achaian league and his work

3. Jenkins 1997, 40; Smith 1986, 62, 83-4.

4. Pretzler 2005.

reflects his pride in Achaian achievements, especially their success in uniting nearly the whole peninsula in one state.⁵ At times he takes sides with the Achaians against Arkadian cities, especially when he considers the actions of his compatriots morally untenable. For example, he disapproved of the cruel civil wars at Kynaitha and he was ready to accept the sack of Mantinea in 222 B.C. on the grounds that that city had treated the Achaians unfairly.⁶

Polybios' opinions, however pro-Achaian, still represent a specifically Arkadian point of view. The compliment for the achievements of the Achaian state, for example, is emphasized by a reference to the strength and importance of Arkadians (together with Lakonians). When he calls Triphylia Arkadian, based on a genealogical construction of the early 4th century, he makes territorial claims for Arkadia that were probably quite out of date in his own time.⁷ In spite of his strong sense of identity Polybios saw the benefits of including Arkadia in larger political units, and he criticises Demosthenes for his harsh words against the pro-Macedonian policy of Arkadia, Messenia and Argos.⁸ After all, this connection with Philip and Alexander gave them an advantage against their perpetual enemy Sparta. In Megalopolis, panhellenic patriotism looked different from the ideals of the 4th century Athenian.

Polybios was especially proud of Arkadian culture, and in his famous passage on Kynaitha⁹ he sets out some of its main characteristics. Typical regional traits are closely linked to the rough landscape and the rough climate.¹⁰ Arkadian life as described by the Arkadian Polybios is frugal and austere, and without considerable care the harsh conditions might result in an abandonment of Greek culture and a descent into savagery, just as in the civil war at Kynaitha. It seems that Polybios felt a real need to explain how fellow-Arkadians could resort to the worst atrocities, and his comments show that he identified with the whole region, not just with his own city, Megalopolis. He explains that Arkadians practiced music in order to keep the influence of their environment under control. Musical training and performance is shown as part of life in an Arkadian city, a cultural

5. Polyb. 2.38.

6. Polyb. 4.17-18, 20-21 (Kynaitha), 2.56-58 (Mantineia).

7. Polyb. 4.77.8; cf. Paus. 10.9.5-6 on the Arkadian monument in Delphi, see Bourguet 1929, 3.1.3-11; Paus. 5.5.3, Strabo 8.3.26; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26; Nielsen 1997; 2002, 229-69. Before the 5th century the region apparently belonged to Elis; the genealogical construction that makes Triphylos a son of Arkas was used by the Arkadians in the 360s and it may date back to the period before the battle of Leuktra.

8. Polyb. 18.14.1-9. Dem. 19.10-11, cf. 18.295.

9. Polyb. 4.20-21.

10. Cf. [Hippocrates] *On airs, waters and places*. For more references see Walbank 1970.1, 465-6, on Polyb. 4.20-21.

necessity rather than a luxury which, in Polybios' view, was closely linked to warfare and religion. Mountains, military strength, piety, simplicity and a frugal life are an integral part of Polybios' Arkadian self-image, and all these characteristics feature prominently in ancient references to Arkadia. In fact, it is common that communities fashion the 'public face' of their identity around stereotypes they expect outsiders to recognise as characteristic.¹¹

Polybios played an important part in the re-organization of Greece as a Roman province, although it is not clear whether the Arkadians specifically benefited from the exalted position of one of their compatriots. Over three centuries later Pausanias found a number of memorials in honour of Polybios in Arkadia, and, only there. Polybios himself reports honours he received from the Greeks, but if this was the case, it seems that in Arkadia his monuments were kept with more care than elsewhere.¹² It may well be that this famous Arkadian himself had become a significant and unifying part of regional history.

As part of a Roman province Arkadia had to function within a new framework. Regional leagues were initially prohibited, but when they were permitted again many cities joined such mainly ceremonial but symbolically important organizations. There was an Arkadian league in the Roman period, but, compared to the extensive epigraphic record of other such organisations, the evidence for its activities is extremely poor: it is mentioned in one inscription of the early 3rd century A.D.¹³ This does not, however, mean that Arkadia was no longer important. Pausanias' definition of the region provides good evidence for this. He refuses to define the region according to contemporary league divisions which included Stymphalos and Alea in the Argolid.¹⁴ For Pausanias Arkadia is so well defined that mere recent changes appear insignificant. It is not clear whether this particular decision depends on local information, since both cities were perhaps already abandoned when he visited the region.¹⁵ Classical literature, and in the case of Stymphalos particularly the *Iliad*, probably were a sufficient reason for including the two cities in his Arkadian book instead of presenting them as part of the Argolid. The western border is also defined in a conventional way that excludes Triphylia, although both Strabo and Pausanias

11. Cohen 1985, 74.

12. Polyb. 39.3.3-5.6. Paus. 8.30.8-9, 8.9.2, 8.37.2, 8.44.5, 8.48.8. Cf. *IG V.2*, 370 (Kleitōr) and 304 (Mantineia); Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, 302. Cf. Jost 1973, 259.

13. Paus. 7.16.9-10 notes that the Romans abolished the leagues in 146 but later allowed them to be re-established. Larsen 1955, 106-25; Bowersock 1965, 91-9; Deininger 1965, 88-91; Alcock 1993, 152-3, 165-6. The only epigraphical evidence for the Roman Arkadian league is Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, 473 (212/13 A.D.)

14. Paus. 8.22.1, 23.1.

15. Stymphalos: Williams *et al.* 1997, 43.

report that some Triphylians, especially the people of Lepreon, still claimed to be Arkadian.¹⁶

Pausanias' Arkadians clearly had a regional identity. Some cities had monuments that express a connection with the region¹⁷ and they all shared a common early history. Most Arkadian cities had an eponymous founder who was in some way connected to the family of Lykaon and Arkas. Even the many small places that were integrated in Megalopolis could claim such links and, as James Roy has shown,¹⁸ Pausanias' collection of founding heroes may well have been compiled from information he heard on his travels, which means that the locals were still telling these stories. Roman Arkadia as described by Polybios and Pausanias still shows all the characteristics of an ethnic group analysed by Nielsen for archaic and classical Arkadia.¹⁹ In fact, common culture and history appear even more strongly expressed than in earlier periods, but this is possibly due to the special interests of the two authors who provide most of the evidence. At the same time city identity is also very strongly developed,²⁰ but this coexistence of strong regional and local identities is typical for the Greek world and it is closely linked to the enduring importance of the *polis*. It is, however, intriguing that even without strong regional institutions, and squeezed between civic units and larger identities such as the entire Greek world, the Achaian league and the Roman empire, Arkadia remained so important that even some outsiders wanted to claim a part in it. The characteristics specifically linked to Arkadia by outsiders probably played a crucial role in this development. Arkadian stereotypes recur in many ancient texts and they can be grouped into a few main regional traits, some of which may well have developed from the short passage in the *Iliad*.

Ancient tradition more or less agrees that the Arkadians were aboriginals who did not share a common ancestry with other Greeks.²¹ The name of the earliest ancestor of the Arkadians, Pelasgos, conjured up associations of extreme antiquity. As a consequence Arkadians were seen as a primordial people, older than the moon even, with a suitable early history in Pausanias who reports how Pelasgos taught the Arkadians a number of primordial skills such as gathering food, building huts and wearing skins as clothing when agriculture was still a thing of the future. Lykaon, the son of Pelasgos, then took this a step further and

16. Paus. 5.5.3, Strabo 8.3.3 and 17.

17. *E.g.* Paus. 8.9.3-4, 36.8, 53.9.

18. Roy 1968.

19. Nielsen 1999, using the model suggested by Smith 1986, 24-31.

20. Pretzler 1999 on Tegea, using the same model.

21. Paus. 8.1.4-6; Hesiod, frgs. 9, 10 a (West); Apollod. 1.7.3; Strabo 8.8.1; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 76 (*Mor.* 282 A), 92 (*Mor.* 286 A); Luc. *Astrol.* 26; Nonnus *Dion.* 89-90; Apoll. Rhod. 4.261-266.

founded the world's first city, Lykosoura, and he was also among the first to worship the gods.²² In some way Arkadia could therefore claim to be the cradle of human civilisation, although Lykaon incurred the wrath of the gods by practising human sacrifice. These stories can be traced back at least into the classical period and they were still attractive at the time of the Roman empire. The reason for this long survival is that many stories remained relevant to communities, and others could be re-interpreted to fit new circumstances.²³ For example, during the long periods when Arkadians were in conflict with Sparta autochthony provided a good contrast to the 'recently' immigrated Dorians, while in the Roman period the emphasis could shift to exploit the increased interest in the past and the widely held awe of places with a long and illustrious history.²⁴

Arkadian religion was one of the features that distinguished a truly ancient, aboriginal people: Polybios is clearly proud of Arkadian piety, and Pausanias' description of cults and sanctuaries often betrays a reaction between awe and puzzlement. His extensive report shows what variety of active cults could be found in Roman Arkadia, and many had special Arkadian features.²⁵

Polybios was not the only ancient author for whom the mountainous landscape defined Arkadian culture and lifestyle. The life of a mountain people might seem romantic and blissfully simple, but it could also be presented as backward and unsophisticated,²⁶ and even Polybios thought that without careful education the influence of the environment would threaten Arkadian civilisation.²⁷ Outsiders who lived in less extreme areas had preconceptions about how one could eke out a living under such circumstances. A list of typical occupations includes cutting wood and herding goats, pigs, sheep, horses and oxen.²⁸ On the other

22. Paus. 8.1.4-4.2.

23. Cohen 1985, 99-102.

24. Autochthony as argument against Dorians: e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23-24. Dorians and Herakleidai: Hall 1997, 59-60; Malkin 1994, 38-43; Hdt. 8.73, 2.171; Thuc. 1.2.3; Diod. Sic. 7.9.1; Paus. 5.1.1-2, 5. 4.1. Continued use of the myth under different circumstances: see Hall 1997, 51-6, on Athenian autochthony and Alty 1982 on Dorian and Ionian 'ethnic' stereotypes; on the importance of such claims in the Roman period see Alcock 1993, 162-4.

25. Special Arkadian festivals: Hdt. 2.171. Pausanias on Arkadian religion: book 8 *passim*, and see Jost 1985. Arkadian piety: Polyb. 4.20.1, cf. 4.21.3-4. 'Arkadian born' gods: Zeus: Paus. 8.38.2-4; Kallim. 1.4-40; cf. Paus. 4.33.1, and Jost 1985, 241-9. Hermes: Paus. 8.16.1, 8.17.5; *Hymn. Hom. Merc.*; Jost 1985, 443-4. Pan: Hdt. 6.105; Paus. 8.54.6, cf. 1.28.4; Borgeaud 1988, 48.

26. Philostr. *VA* 8.7.12; Joseph *Ap.* 1.21-22 (but note Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.33.4 where Arkadians bring civilisation to early Rome: letters, music, laws etc.); Ath. 13.607 c.

27. Polyb. 4.20.1-21.12.

28. Philostr. *VA* 8.7.12. On agriculture and pasture see Roy 1999. Bad land prevents immigration: Paus. 5.4.1, Thuc. 1.2.3.

hand, the simple pastoral life can also inspire romantic images, be it Dio who sets a part of his first discourse on kingship in an idyllic Arkadian landscape, or Vergil who introduces Arkadia into his *Eclogues*. Vergil's few references to the region inspired the tradition of the romantic Arkadia in European literature, but Arkadia as presented by ancient authors is harsher than the creations of Renaissance literature. In the ancient texts literary Arkadia is a wild and uncultivated mountain territory with inclement weather rather than a gentle pastoral landscape.²⁹

The poor and hardy Arkadians also had a special reputation as good warriors, a regional characteristic already mentioned in the *Iliad*. Arkadians were especially known for their mercenary services from the late archaic and early classical period onwards. At times, significant proportions of Arkadians were employed abroad. Polybios shows considerable pride in the military exploits of his region, while by the time of Pausanias this aspect of Arkadian life had become less significant, although it was still part of the glorious Arkadian past.³⁰

At the same time Arkadians were known to be inexperienced in naval matters. The *Iliad* reports that the Arkadians had to borrow ships even for the Trojan War. References to the Arkadian ignorance of ships, the sea and sea-food recur in the ancient literature, and it is clear that an author could expect an audience to understand. One of the most prominent Arkadians, Philopoimen, fully lived up to the stereotype when he was given a Roman fleet which he decided to use against the Spartans. He did not only lose a battle against the Spartans, but entered himself an old and leaky trireme and nearly lost his crew.³¹

It does, therefore, seem a bit surprising that we hear of a fairly large number of Arkadian overseas colonies in various places around the Mediterranean. In fact, the Arkadians claimed that they had founded the first colony ever, when Oinotros, son of Lykaon, moved to Italy. Although not all cities agreed with the Arkadian claim to their foundation, most were proud of this connection.³² Two

29. Vergil, *Eclogues* (only Eclogue 10 is set in Arkadia). Possible reasons for this choice: Levi 1967-68, Kennedy 1987, Jenkyns 1989. Cf. Snell 1975. Summary of the development of the romantic Arkadia: Beard and Henderson 1995, 99-119. Wild Arkadian landscape: e.g. Ael. *VH* 13.1.

30. For Arkadian mercenaries see Hdt. 8.26; Thuc. 7.57.9, see also 3.34.1-3, 7.19.4. Arkadian boasting: Hdt. 9.26; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23. The Ten Thousand: Xen. *An.* 6.2.9-12; Roy 1972.

31. Ath. 4.132 e; Lucian, *Navigium* 8; Ath. 7.283 a; *IG* V.2, 268, lines 23-27: the Manti-neans praise a fellow-citizen for sailing to Italy twice, and they point out that this was a special feat for a man from the inland. Philopoimen's failed attempt at a naval battle: Paus. 8.50.7; cf. Plut. *Phil.* 14.3.

32. Earliest colonisation: Paus. 8.3.5, cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.11.1-3 (he dates the event 17 generations before the Trojan War). Arkadian colonies: Cyprus, Paus. 8.5.2-3, 53.7, see also Hdt. 7.90; Kydon, Archedios and Gortyna in Crete, Paus. 8.53.4; Trapezous, 8.27.6; Phrygia,

of the most eminent cities of the Roman empire, Pergamon and Rome herself, claimed that their founders had come from this unlikely colonising region.

Ancient Arkadian stereotypes probably played an important role in the development and maintenance of these connections between various cities and mainland Greece. Simplicity, piety, valour and an illustrious past were a set of virtues that the ancients liked to claim for their ancestors. Both Strabo and Dionysios of Halikarnassos describe the life of the early Arkadian settlers in Rome. They conjure up images of an ancient people which showed its piety by founding a number of temples and leading a simple life while still enjoying the positive aspects of Roman lifestyle. Vergil's description of life in the settlement of Evander, the Arkadian foundation Aeneas encountered on the site of later Rome, also reflects this idea. It is surely no coincidence that the best evidence for traditions about Arkadians in Rome is supplied by three Augustan authors. The Arkadian stereotype was perfectly suited to the ideals propagated by Augustus since it made early Rome a place such as he wanted it to be.³³

Pergamon claimed the Tegean Telephos as its founder and this link was appreciated by both cities. At Tegea Pausanias found a number of monuments connected with the story of Telephos, and the Pergamenians of his time were proud of their share in the Arkadian aboriginal ancestry, in spite of the fact that even the most ancient people should lose its claim to autochthony when it leaves its original homeland.³⁴

Greeks and Romans took such relations between cities very seriously and they could prove very advantageous. A number of Arkadian cities benefited from fortunate 'colonial' connections. In the Hellenistic period Pergamon gave the Tegeans special privileges which included the grant of citizenship to Tegeans moving into their 'colony', which had become a great city and the centre of the Attalid kingdom. Pallantion had lost all significance when Antoninus Pius made it an independent city and, more important, granted it freedom from taxation because he saw it as the home of Evander and therefore the metropolis of Rome.³⁵

Paus. 8.4.3, 10.32.3. Also note Hdt. 1.146, unspecified Arkadian settlers in Ionia; Iambl. *VP* 2.3, Arkadian roots of Pythagoras and Samos. Not overseas: Elateia in Boiotia, Paus. 10.34.2; see Habicht 1985, 67-9; *SEG* 11.2, 1954, no. 1107; Täuber and Thür 1994, 18.

33. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.60.3-61.1, overview of immigration waves; see also 1.31.1-4. Trojans, 1.61.1-62.2. Arkadians as ancestors of some Italian mountain peoples, 1.13.3, cf. Strabo 6.3.8. See also Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 76 (*Mor.* 282 A). Verg. *Aen.* 8.51-55, 97-184, 306-396, 454-462; Jenkyns 1989, 36-7. See also Ov. *Fast.* 2.271-282.

34. Paus. 8.45.7, 48.7, 54.6; Curty 1995, 86-7, n. 41. Claim to autochthony: Aristeides 23.15, 26 (Behr); see also Paus. 1.4.6, and Strabo 13.1.69. Other Arkadians in Asia Minor: Aristeides 23.26, 23.60 (Behr). Cf. Hdt. 1.146.

35. Pallantion, Paus. 8.43.1-2; Tegea, Paus. 1.4.6, 5.13.3, 3.26.10; see Fränkel 1890, 156. Curty 1995, 86-87, n. 41. Cf. Kosmetatou 1995, 138-44, on myths employed by the Attalids.

This means that being Arkadian could bring real benefits, but the attractions of being part of this particular ethnic group clearly went beyond the rare occasions when local history became a factor in relations between cities, or in the communication with Rome. The traits that went with being Arkadian were attractive for individual Arkadians as well as for whole communities. This was a good incentive for keeping Arkadian identity alive. Different individuals and communities may have interpreted it in their own way, but all seemed confident that it was a great thing to be an Arkadian.

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VIII. BYZANTINE ARCADIA

Οχυρή Προτοβυζαντινή εγκατάσταση στην Αγία Κυριακή Μαντινείας*

Ευαγγελία Π. Ελευθερίου

The present paper attempts to give some new data concerning the area of east-northeastern Arcadia in the Early Byzantine period. It focuses on the Hagia Kyriake hill (alt. 1065 m), which rises at about 5 km east-northeast of Neochorion, Mantinea.

A small fort stands on the hilltop. It measures some 28.50 x 23-23.50 m externally. It is approximately rectangular, with its lengthwise axis parallel to the north-south axis; its east side has an ellipsoid shape, and the entrance is located in the southern side. Large parts of the fort have collapsed. Traces of buildings can be seen inside and outside of it. The structure is hasty, built with small irregular stones without use of mortar or crushed tiles. Traces of buildings (perhaps houses) are located at the western foot of the hill, near the modern church of Timios Stavros. Plenty of tiles and sherds of wheel-ridged and coarse pottery are scattered all over the fort and its western foot. A glazed sherd of the 12th-13th century A.D. has also been found, as well as an archaic sherd and a black-glazed tile. A particular discovery is that of a small bronze buckle, dated in the late 6th-7th century A.D.

The traces of buildings at the western foot of the hill, the pottery found around them and additionally the fertile valley to the east-northeast (known as Megale Lakka), indicate the existence of a rural settlement. According to the dating of the pottery and the masonry of the fort, which are ideally combined with that of the buckle, the fortified settlement can be dated in the Early Byzantine period (late 6th-7th century A.D.). We must point out that it occupied a crucial point on the road that led from the Mantinike and Nestane to the Tegeatike (remains of ancient wheel-tracks were found nearby); this pass should have been in use in later times as well. The turbulent period of the 6th-7th century A.D. (Slavic invasions, political, social, economic, demographic and climatic changes during the 'Dark Ages' of Byzantium) imposed the construction of the small fort, in order to control the pass and offer a refuge to the inhabitants of the settlement. The various finds prove the diachronic use and importance of the location.

* Ιδιαίτερα ευχαριστώ τον δάσκαλό μου Γ.Α. Πίκουλα για την υπόδειξη της θέσεως.

Η εικόνα που έχουμε τόσο για τον αστικό, όσο και για τον αγροτικό χώρο της Πελοποννήσου και μάλιστα της Αρκαδίας κατά τους πρωτοβυζαντινούς χρόνους έχει αλλάξει σημαντικά κατά τη διάρκεια των δύο τελευταίων τουλάχιστον δεκαετιών και συνεχίζει να διαμορφώνεται. Τα νέα δεδομένα της ανασκαφικής και, ευρύτερα, της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας συμβάλλουν ή και επιβάλλουν ακόμη τη νέα ανάγνωση, τόσο των παλαιότερων ευρημάτων, όσο και των ιστορικών πηγών, συμπληρώνοντας συχνά τα κενά των τελευταίων. Η παρούσα εργασία, 'αποκλίνοντας' κατά κάποιον τρόπο από τα τυπικά χρονολογικά όρια του Συνεδρίου, επιχειρεί να δώσει ορισμένα νέα στοιχεία στον χώρο και στον χάρτη της Αρκαδίας του 6ου-7ου αι. μ.Χ.

Ο χώρος

Το ενδιαφέρον εστιάζεται στην Α-ΒΑ Αρκαδία. Με αφετηρία το Νεοχώρι της Μαντινείας και κινούμενοι κατά την κατεύθυνση (Α-ΒΑ) του αμαξιτού δρόμου που οδηγεί στη Μονή Αγίου Νικολάου Βαρσών, πέντε περίπου χιλιόμετρα μετά το χωριό και 700 μ. πριν το μοναστήρι, φτάνουμε σε ορεινό ανήκον. Ακριβώς δεξιά της οδού στο σημείο αυτό βρίσκεται το σύγχρονο ναύδριο της Υψώσεως του Τιμίου Σταυρού. Ανατολικά της εκκλησίας και της στενής διάβασης υψώνεται ο λόφος της Αγίας Κυριακής (1065 μ.). (Εικ. 1)

Η σχεδόν κατακόρυφη κλίση της ανατολικής και, εν μέρει, της βόρειας κλιτύς του ασβεστολιθικού υψώματος του παρέχει φυσική οχύρωση. Η πρόσβαση είναι εφικτή απρόσκοπτα από τη δυτική πλαγιά. Σε απόσταση 250 μ. περίπου από τη σύγχρονη εκκλησία βρίσκεται οχυρό που καταλαμβάνει την κορυφή του λόφου.¹ Η αυτοψία στη θέση της Αγίας Κυριακής πραγματοποιήθηκε σε δύο φάσεις: το πρώτον, τον Ιούλιο του 2001, μαζί με τον Γ.Α. Πίκουλα και τον φίλο συνάδελφο Γεώργιο Πάλλη, και το δεύτερον τον Απρίλιο του 2002.

Το οχυρό²

Όσον αφορά στην κάτοψη του, το σχήμα του οχυρού εμφανίζεται σχετικά ακανόνιστο· η εικόνα αυτή δεν είναι δυνατόν να αποσαφηνιστεί περισσότερο λόγω των μεγάλων τμημάτων του που έχουν καταπέσει. Θα μπορούσε, πάντως, να χαρακτηριστεί αδρομερώς ως ορθογώνιο, με τον κατά μήκος άξονα παράλληλο προς τον άξονα Β-Ν και με ελλειψοειδή διαμόρφωση της ανατολικής πλευράς. (Εικ. 2)

Η δυτική μακρά πλευρά έχει μήκος 27,50 μ. και μέγιστο σωζόμενο ύψος 1,70 μ. Ξεκινώντας από το ΒΔ άκρο της, όπου και διαπιστώνουμε ότι στο με-

1. Πρώτη μνεία του οχυρού κάνουν οι Πετρονώτης και Βέμμος 2000, στον τοπικό τύπο.

2. Η περιγραφή του οχυρού γίνεται περιμετρικά ξεκινώντας από τα δυτικά.

γαλύτερο μέρος της έχει καταρρεύσει, παρακολουθείται για λίγα μόλις μέτρα (6 μ.)· ακολούθως ενσωματώνει ογκώδες ασβεστολιθικό έξαρμα και συνεχίζει για μερικά μέτρα προς Ν. Στη νότια πλευρά, μήκους 20 μ., βρισκόταν πιθανότατα η είσοδος του οχυρού. (Εικ. 3) Την διαπίστωση αυτή υποδεικνύει άνοιγμα πλάτους 3,20 μ. (διευρυνόμενο προς τα έσω κατά 0,60 μ.) στο ανατολικό άκρο της. Ορθογώνιο κτίσμα, με προσανατολισμό Α-Δ, εφάπτεται εξωτερικά και προς το δυτικό άκρο της ίδιας πλευράς. Οι διαστάσεις του είναι περίπου 3,50 x 8 μ., ενώ σώζεται σε ύψος 1 μ.

Η ανατολική ελλειψοειδής πλευρά, εκτεινόμενη σε μήκος 25 μ., έχει κατακρημνισθεί σχεδόν στο σύνολό της προς την απότομη πλαγιά. Εισέχει σε σχέση με τη νότια πλευρά κατά 2,70 μ., σχηματίζοντας ορθή σχεδόν γωνία με το ανατολικό τμήμα της εισόδου. Τέλος, η βόρεια πλευρά παρακολουθείται αδιάκοπα καθόλο το μήκος της των 23 μ. και σε μέγιστο σωζόμενο ύψος 1,50-2 μ. (Εικ. 4) Το πλάτος όλων των πλευρών ορίζεται, με μικρές διακυμάνεις, στα 2,10 μ.

Στο εσωτερικό του οχυρού επισημάνθηκαν λιθοσωροί κοντά στη νότια και δυτική πλευρά. Σε μικρή απόσταση από τη ΝΔ γωνία του εντοπίζεται κατασκευή κυκλωτερούς διαμόρφωσης, ακτίνας 1,20 μ. και ύψους 0,80 μ. Το κέντρο καταλαμβάνει κτίσμα ορθογώνιο, παράλληλο προς τον άξονα Α-Δ, με διαστάσεις 7,80 x 4,70 μ., διατηρούμενο σε ύψος 1,50 μ. Η ανατολική στενή πλευρά του παρουσιάζει ημικυκλική διαμόρφωση, ενώ σε απόσταση 2,30 μ. από αυτήν εγείρεται εγκάρσιος τοίχος. Προφανώς πρόκειται για τη νεώτερη εκκλησία της Αγίας Κυριακής.

Με βάση τα ανωτέρω δεδομένα υπολογίζεται ότι το οχυρό κατελάμβανε συνολικά έκταση περίπου 28,50 x 23,00-23,50 μ. (κατά τον άξονα Β-Ν και Α-Δ αντίστοιχα).

Ως προς την κατασκευή της οχύρωσης παρατηρούμε ότι έχουν, βέβαια, τηρηθεί οι γενικές βασικές αρχές οχυρωτικής κάθε εποχής, όπως η προσαρμογή στο εδαφικό ανάγλυφο³ και η εκμετάλλευση της φυσικής οχυρότητας του υψώματος. Ωστόσο, το κτίσιμο μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί ως αμελές και βιαστικό, με χρήση του άμεσα διαθέσιμου υλικού και συγκεκριμένα του επιχώριου γκρίζου ασβεστόλιθου Τριπόλεως. Μικροί ακατέργαστοι λίθοι αποτελούν το δομικό υλικό τόσο του οχυρού όσο και των κτισμάτων εντός και εκτός αυτού. Οι λίθοι έχουν τοποθετηθεί στοιχειωδώς, χωρίς επιμέλεια. Αντίθετα, στο σημείο όπου έχει διαμορφωθεί η είσοδος του οχυρού είναι τοποθετημένοι μεγαλύτεροι λίθοι, πιο προσεκτικά επεξεργασμένοι και σε σχετικά κανονική διάταξη. Δεν

3. Στοιχείο που φαίνεται χαρακτηριστικά από το ότι το ασβεστολιθικό έξαρμα κατά την πορεία της δυτικής πλευράς δεν παρακάμφθηκε, αντίθετα κατέστη αδιάσπαστο μέρος του συνόλου.

επισημάνθηκαν ίχνη ασβεστοκονιάματος, ούτε επίσης χρήση παρένθετων τμημάτων από κεραμίδες.

Στις δυτικές υπώρειες του υψώματος της Αγίας Κυριακής, κοντά και Β-ΒΔ από το εξωκκλήσι του Τιμίου Σταυρού, επίσης επισημάνθηκαν λιθωσοροί. Μπορούμε να πιθανολογήσουμε ότι ανήκαν σε κτίσματα/οικήματα (:), η ανέγερση όμως του ναυδρίου κατά τα έτη 1990-96 επέφερε αλλοίωση του γύρω χώρου, μην επιτρέποντας περαιτέρω συστηματική διερεύνηση.

Τα επιφανειακά ευρήματα

Υπάρχουν άφθονες κεραμίδες και πλήθος οστράκων αυλακωτών, χαρακτηριστικών των πρώιμων βυζαντινών χρόνων, καθώς και οστράκων από χονδροειδή χρηστικά αγγεία, τα οποία είναι εγκατεσπαρμένα όχι μόνον σε ολόκληρη την έκταση του οχυρού, αλλά και στους δυτικούς πρόποδες του υψώματος, τόσο κοντά στο εξωκκλήσι του Τιμίου Σταυρού, όσο και στο παρακείμενο προσκνητάρι, δίπλα σχεδόν στη σύγχρονη οδό. Επίσης, βρέθηκε ένα όστρακο με υποπράσινη εφύαλωση και ίχνη αδρεγγάρακτης φολιδωτής διακόσμησης, που μπορεί να χρονολογηθεί στον 12ο-13ο αι. Οφείλουμε να σημειώσουμε και την εύρεση ενός οστράκου αρχαϊκών χρόνων, καθώς και τμήματος κεραμίδας με μελανό γάνωμα.

Ιδιαίτερο εύρημα αποτελεί μικρού μεγέθους χάλκινη πόρπη. (Εικ. 5) Αποτελείται από ένα ορθογώνιο τμήμα με κοίλες πλευρές και αποστρογγυλεμένες αποφύσεις στις γωνίες, στο άνω τμήμα του οποίου διαμορφώνεται μεγάλος δακτύλιος με διάτρητη επιμήκη απόφυση στην κορυφή του. Η πόρπη έχει μήκος 28 χιλ. και πάχος 35 χιλ. Δεν φέρει γλωσσίδι. Παραδείγματα του τύπου αυτού έχουν βρεθεί στην Κόρινθο – σε σημαντικό αριθμό,⁴ όπου πιθανολογείται και η ύπαρξη εργαστηρίου κατασκευής τους⁵ – στη νησίδα Πλατεία του Αργολικού Κόλπου,⁶ στην Κύπρο,⁷ στην Κωνσταντινούπολη⁸ και στην Ιταλία.⁹ Με εξαίρεση αυτό της Κωνσταντινούπολης, τα υπόλοιπα έχουν χρονολογηθεί ασφαλώς – της Κύπρου με νομισματικό εύρημα Κώνσταντος Β' (641–668) – στα τέλη του 6ου και κυρίως στον 7ο αι.

4. Davidson 1952, 267-8, 272 αρ. 2197-2201, πίν. 114.

5. Robinson και Weinberg 1960, 235, πίν. 60 b. Σχετικά με τη χρονολόγηση του εργαστηρίου βλ. Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 2002, 134, σημ. 60.

6. Avraméa 1997, 90, πίν. IV c7.

7. Chavane 1975, 166 αρ. 475, πίν. 47, 69. Στην περίπτωση αυτή θεωρήθηκε πόρπη υποδήματος, λόγω του μικρού μεγέθους της, το οποίο όμως θεωρούμε ότι δεν αποκλείει την χρήση της ως πόρπη ζώνης, βλ. και Davidson 1952, 268.

8. Harrison 1986, 266 αρ. 579, πίν. 40 8.

9. *Necropoli* 1902, 248 εικ. 110.

Η χρονολόγηση των κεραμεικών ευρημάτων και της τειχοδομίας της οχυρής εγκατάστασης συνδυάζεται ιδανικά με αυτήν της πόρπης και υπαγορεύει την αναγωγή του οχυρού στους πρώιμους βυζαντινούς χρόνους, και πιο συγκεκριμένα στον 6ο-7ο αι.

Ιστορικό-γεωγραφικό πλαίσιο

Ποιό είναι, όμως, το ευρύτερο ιστορικό και γεωγραφικό πλαίσιο και πλέγμα, εντός του οποίου πρέπει να ενταχθεί η οχυρή εγκατάσταση;

Όπως είναι γνωστό οι ιστορικές πηγές είναι πενιχρές και μάλλον σιωπηλές όσον αφορά ειδικά στην Πελοπόννησο κατά τους λεγόμενους 'Σκοτεινούς Χρόνους', από τα τέλη του 6ου – αρχές του 7ου μέχρι και τα τέλη του 8ου αι. Κατά την περίοδο αυτή συντελείται ουσιαστικά η μετάβαση από την πρώιμη στην καθαυτό βυζαντινή εποχή, μέσα από τη διαδικασία πολιτικών, οικονομικών, κοινωνικών και πολιτιστικών αλλαγών. Γενικά, αλλά και ειδικότερα σε σχέση με την Πελοπόννησο, η μεταβατική αυτή εποχή συμπίπτει χρονικά με τις σλαβικές επιδρομές καθώς και με κλιματολογικές και δημογραφικές μεταβολές, συνέπεια επιδημιών και φυσικών καταστροφών.¹⁰ Το ζήτημα της καθόδου και εγκαταστάσεως των Σλάβων, άρρηκτα δεμένο με την ιστορία της, δεν δύναται να αποτελέσει αντικείμενο πραγματεύσεως στο πλαίσιο της εργασίας αυτής, καθώς ξεφεύγει από το ειδικό ενδιαφέρον της.¹¹ Θα περιοριστούμε στις ακόλουθες παρατηρήσεις.

Κατά την εξεταζόμενη χρονική περίοδο πολιτική και εκκλησιαστική διοίκηση παραμένουν αμετάβλητες, παρά τις ανακατατάξεις του κεντρικού διοικητικού συστήματος της αυτοκρατορίας. Η Πελοπόννησος υπαγόταν στην επαρχία Αχαΐας, κατόπιν (τέλη 7ου αι.) στο Θέμα Ελλάδος, με πρωτεύουσα την Κόρινθο, και παρέμεινε υπό τη δικαιοδοσία του επισκόπου Κορίνθου. Η εικόνα αυτή δεν άλλαξε παρά λίγο πριν τις αρχές του 9ου αι., με τη δημιουργία του Θέματος Πελοποννήσου και την εκκλησιαστική αναδιοργάνωση.¹² Τα άλλοτε μεγάλα αστικά κέντρα, Κόρινθος, Άργος, Μαντίνεια, Τεγέα, Ολυμπία, Μεσσήνη, Λακεδαιμονία, Πάτρα,¹³ παρουσιάζουν συρρίκνωση – όχι όμως και πλήρη κατάπτω-

10. Για την ιστορία και τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα στην Πελοπόννησο κατά την περίοδο από τον 6ο έως τα τέλη του 8ου και τις αρχές του 9ου αιώνα καθώς και για τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία βλ. Κόντη 1985, 92-3· Avraméa 1997· Αβραμέα 2000· Lambropoulou 2000· Kislinger 2001, 29-36, 72-101, Karte 1: Peloponnes mit byzantinischen Fundorten· Λαμπροπούλου κ.ά. 2001.

11. Γενικά για το ζήτημα βλ. Αναγνωστάκης και Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 1997 και Avraméa 1997, 67-104, όπου και προγενέστερη βιβλιογραφία· επίσης Αναγνωστάκης 2000.

12. Avraméa 1997, 35-8.

13. Kislinger 2001, 74-7 (Άργος), 82-6 (Κόρινθος), 88 (Μαντίνεια), 89-90 (Λακεδαιμονία), 92-3 (Μεσσήνη), 95-6 (Ολυμπία), 97 (Πάτρα)· Λαμπροπούλου κ.ά. 2001, 196-203

ση – των αστικών λειτουργιών τους. Παρά τα διάφορα προβλήματα, που προκάλεσαν οι σλαβικές επιδρομές και οι ποικίλες αλλαγές, τα περισσότερα επιβιώνουν, όπως υπαγορεύουν τα λιγοστά έστω λείψανα οικοδομικής δραστηριότητας και η ισχνή – ωστόσο με πιο δυναμική παρουσία απ' ό,τι υποστηριζόταν παλαιότερα – νομισματική μαρτυρία,¹⁴ και συνεχίζουν την ιστορική τους πορεία κατά τους μέσους βυζαντινούς χρόνους. Ανάλογες επισημάνσεις δύνανται να γίνουν και για τους μικρότερους οικισμούς και εγκαταστάσεις, όπου συναντάται επίσης δημογραφική και οικονομική συρρίκνωση και προσαρμογή σε έναν πιο απλό και ταπεινό τρόπο ζωής.¹⁵ Παράλληλα, ανιχνεύεται ο προσανατολισμός σε μία νέα, κλειστή, αγροτική οικονομία, γεγονός όχι μόνον όσον αφορά στην Αρκαδία και την Πελοπόννησο, αλλά και μεγάλο μέρος της βυζαντινής επικράτειας.¹⁶

Ας έλθουμε στην περίπτωση της εξεταζόμενης οχυρής εγκατάστασης. Από στρατηγική/στρατιωτική άποψη είναι αδιαμφισβήτητο ότι κατείχε καίρια θέση στην Α-ΒΑ Αρκαδία. Βρισκόταν στο διάσελο, απ' όπου διερχόταν αρχαία οδός που οδηγούσε από τη Μαντινική και τη Νεστάνη προς την Τεγεατική,¹⁷ εξασφαλίζοντας μία μοναδική δυνατότητα κατόπτευσης του ορεινού περάσματος και του γύρω χώρου. Ενδεικτικό είναι ότι, όταν οι καιρικές συνθήκες το επιτρέπουν και η ατμόσφαιρα είναι διαυγής, η θέση έχει οπτική επαφή ακόμη και με τον Αργολικό κόλπο. Δεν έχουμε λόγους να μη θεωρήσουμε ότι το σημαντικό αυτό ορεινό πέρασμα βρισκόταν σε χρήση και σε μεταγενέστερους χρόνους. Όπως προαναφέραμε οι δύο πόλεις, Μαντίνεια και Τεγέα, συνέχισαν διαπιστωμένα την ιστορική πορεία τους και κατά τη μεταβατική περίοδο την οποία εξετάζουμε.

Από οικιστική άποψη πρέπει να πούμε ότι τα λείψανα κτισμάτων σε συνδυασμό με την κεραμική που επισημάναμε στις δυτικές υπώρειες του υψώματος της Αγίας Κυριακής πιστοποιούν την ύπαρξη μικρού οικισμού. Το εδαφικό ανάγλυφο του ίδιου του τόπου ευνοεί πράγματι μία αγροτικού χαρακτήρα εγκατάσταση, εξασφαλίζοντας απαραίτητες προϋποθέσεις για την ύπαρξή της: στα Α-ΒΑ απλώνεται μεγάλη εύφορη κοιλάδα με άφθονες πηγές υδάτων,¹⁸ γνω-

(Κόρινθος), 203-6 (Αργος), 206-7 (Σπάρτη), 212-4 (Μεσσήνη), 214-6 (Ολυμπία), 216-8 (Πάτρα), 218-9 (Τεγέα), 219 (Μαντίνεια). Για τη Μεσσήνη βλ. επίσης Αναγνωστάκης και Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 1997 και Θέμελης 2002· για την Πάτρα βλ. και Μουτζάλη 2002.

14. Αβραμέα 1983, 49-90.

15. Αβραμέα 1997, 107-17, 164-203 σποραδικά.

16. Αβραμέα 1997, 121-44.

17. Κατά την αυτοψία της 21.07.2001 ο Γ.Α. Πίκουλας επεσήμανε ίχνη αρχαίας οδού (αρματροχιές), σε απόσταση 100 μ. περίπου από το προσκνητάρι, ανατολικά της σύγχρονης οδού. Σύμφωνα με τον ίδιο η διερχόμενη οδός συνέδεε τη Μαντίνεια με την Τεγέα.

18. Στις άφθονες πηγές της περιοχής κάνει αναφορά και ο Ross 1841, 122.

στή ως Μεγάλη Λάκκα,¹⁹ η οποία παρέχει δυνατότητες ύδρευσης και άρδευσης και όπου και σήμερα υπάρχουν καλλιέργειες.

Συμπεράσματα

Πρόκειται, λοιπόν, για μικρό ορεινό αγροτικό οικισμό, διατεταγμένο στους πρόποδες υψώματος ευρισκομένου σε κεντρικό σημείο της Αρκαδίας, με ζωτικό χώρο στην πέριξ εύφορη περιοχή. Οι ποικίλες αναστατώσεις της μεταβατικής χρονικής περιόδου των τελών του 6ου-7ου αι. επέβαλαν την εσπευσμένη ανέγερση μικρού οχυρού, ικανού να παρέχει προστασία στους λίγους κατοίκους και παράλληλα να ελέγχει έναν σημαντικό οδικό άξονα. Πρόκειται για θέση καίρια, που επιπλέον τα ευρήματα υποδεικνύουν τη διαχρονική χρήση της: τα δύο αρχαία όστρακα και τα παρακείμενα ίχνη της αρχαίας οδού αποτελούν ενδείξεις, ώστε να χαρακτηριστεί και ως αρχαία θέση· επιπλέον το εφραλωμένο μεσοβυζαντινό όστρακο συνδυάζεται με τις μαρτυρίες των ιστορικών πηγών που ανάγουν τον πρώτο πυρήνα της γειτονικής Μονής Βαρσών στα τέλη του 11ου αι.,²⁰ συνηγορώντας για τη συνέχιση, έστω και με διακοπές, της ύπαρξης ενδιαφέροντος και της ανάπτυξης οιασδήποτε δραστηριότητας στον ίδιο χώρο.

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19. Στον στρατιωτικό χάρτη της ΓΥΣ (*Τρίπολις* 1 : 50.000, 1991) σημειώνεται ως Βαθειά Λάκκα.

20. Κόντη 1985, 111. Το σημερινό καθολικό της μονής χρονολογείται στον 16ο-17ο αι.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

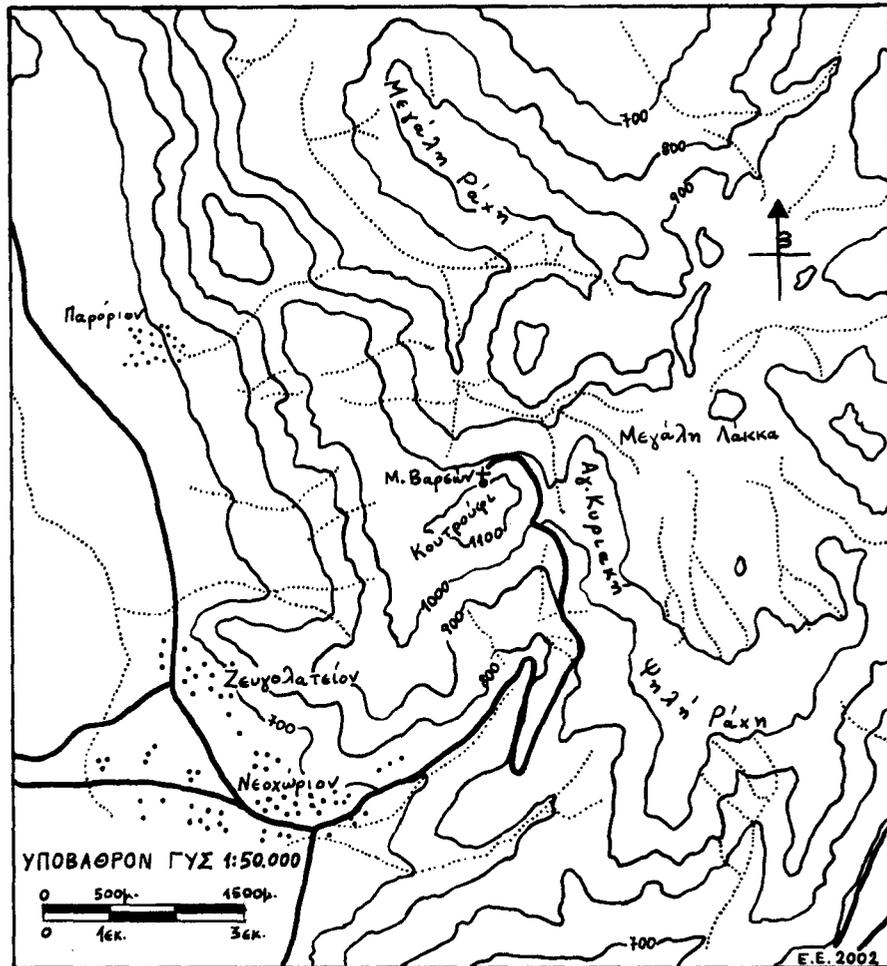
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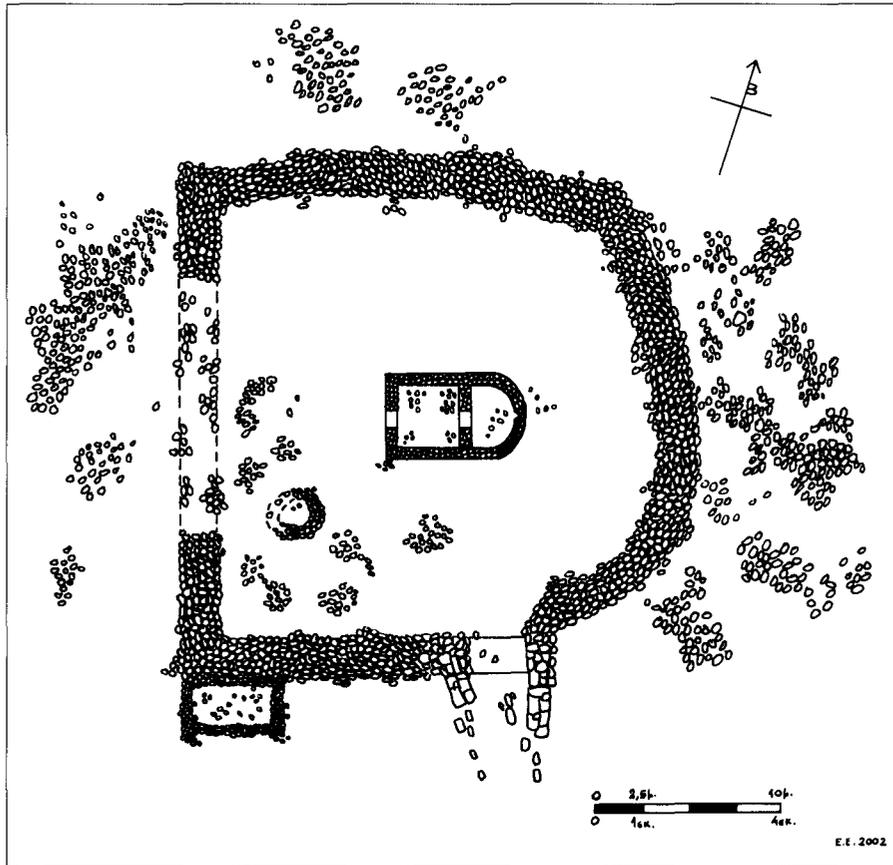
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Εικ. 1. Χάρτης: Το ύψωμα της Αγίας Κυριακής Μαντινείας και η γύρω περιοχή. (Υποβάθρο: ΦΧ ΓΥΣ Τρίπολις 1 : 50.000, 1991.) (Επεξεργασία της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 2. Σκαρίφημα του οχυρού στην Αγία Κυριακή. (Επεξεργασία της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 3. Η νότια πλευρά του οχυρού. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 4. Η βόρεια πλευρά του οχυρού. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)



Εικ. 5. Η χάλκινη πόρπη του 6ου-7ου αι. που βρέθηκε στο οχυρό. (Φωτογρ. της συγγραφέα.)

Δείγματα βυζαντινής γλυπτικής από το Μποβέρκο Λυκαίου*

Γεώργιος Ν. Πάλλης

The small, mountainous plain of Boverko lies northwest of Megalopolis, near the summit of Mount Lykaion. The area preserves some remarkable examples of Byzantine architectural sculpture, either left or reused at small chapels and, especially, at the cathedral of the village Kastanochorion (former Krambovos).

Firstly, two impostes can be seen at the chapel of Hagios Georgios, on the top of the summit Psilos Ai-Giorgis. Their undecorated and roughly carved surfaces may date them to the Byzantine Dark Ages (7th-8th centuries A.D.).

Two other pieces are preserved at the chapel of Panagitsa at Kapeli, in the plain below. One white marble fragment decorated by simple floral patterns (Fig. 1), can be ascribed to the early Middle Byzantine period, maybe to the 10th century. The capital, which lies outside of the chapel (Fig. 2), can possibly be dated to the 6th century, according to the shape of the crosses and the leaves which fill the gaps between their arms, and the presence of an abacus on the top, which is decorated by a floral ornament in the centre of each side.

Numerous pieces have been reused in the cathedral of Kastanochorion, erected in 1894 and dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin (Κοίμησις της Θεοτόκου). They are all dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.

Looking first at those which belong to the 11th century, there is a door-frame reused at the small external door of the *bema*. Although undecorated, it has a shape common in simple door-frames of this period. The part of an architrave stands at the same place, decorated by a clearly designed *plochmos*, similar to dated examples from Asia Minor. Two pieces of a cornice have been placed over the main door of the

* Οφείλω θερμές ευχαριστίες στον αν. καθηγητή της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Ιστορίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, κ. Γ.Α. Πίκουλα, ο οποίος μου υπέδειξε τα γλυπτά του Καστανοχωρίου, που είχε επισημάνει από τα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1970. Εξάλλου, στα πλαίσια της ερευνητικής δραστηριότητάς του στην περιοχή, είχα τη δυνατότητα να δω και τα άλλα γλυπτά στο Μποβέρκο.

church (Fig. 3), decorated with linear and floral patterns, executed in a way similar to the architrave mentioned above. A closure slab exists near them (Fig. 3); its decoration, with *komvia* and various inscribed floral patterns, is typical for the 11th century.

The pieces of another door-frame and an epistyle belong to the 12th century. The parts of the door-frame are reused at the main entrance of the church. Their inner surface is covered by a rich, stylized floral ornament (Fig. 4), common during this period.

The *templon* epistyle located over the same door (Fig. 3) is the most important of all these pieces. Its main surface is totally covered by sculptured patterns executed in the so-called 'two-level technique' (a complex of high and low relief elements), which flourished in the architectural sculpture of Greece during the 12th century. The centre is occupied by a cross inscribed in a high-relief *templon* element, which is symmetrically framed by stylized acanthus leaves, rounded bosses, crosses and *zodia* complexes. The one *zodia* complex which is still preserved, showing a lion grasping a smaller animal, has a rather high plasticity – it tends to be almost sculptured. (Fig. 5) The use of different techniques, the various stylized themes and their fine execution by skilled workers, give to the epistyle an extremely decorative impression. It can undoubtedly be attributed to the Samarina workshop, which created the *templon* of the Samarina church (ca. 1200), near Androussa, another *templon* now reused at two churches of Mystras and an epistyle at Nomia, in the region of Mani.

The existence of all this sculpture in such a small area is impressive; the pieces dated to the 11th and 12th centuries especially, lead to the hypothesis that they can be connected either to prosperous monasteries of the region, or to local governors and land owners who could call the best workshops in order to decorate their buildings. This is exactly the period when the central government collapses and powerful local families take the control over the provinces.

Η Αρκαδία μπορεί να επιφυλάσσει ακόμη εκπλήξεις για τομείς αρκετά εξειδικευμένους και ελάχιστα δημοφιλείς, όπως είναι η βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική γλυπτική. Στη μικρή και απομονωμένη κοιλάδα του Μποβέρκου, στο όρος Λύκαιον, διασώζονται ορισμένα αξιοσημείωτα γλυπτά αυτού του είδους, εγκατεσπαρμένα σε μικρά εξωκλήσια και στον καθεδρικό ναό της κοινότητας του Καστανοχωρίου.

Το Μποβέρκο βρίσκεται Δ-ΒΔ της Μεγαλόπολεως, μέσα στον ορεινό όγκο του Λυκαίου και κοντά στην κορυφή του. Πρόκειται για μία στενή κοιλάδα με άξονα ΒΔ-ΝΑ, στα Β-ΒΔ της οποίας δεσπόζει το ύψωμα του Ψηλού Άη-Γιώργη, με τον φερόνυμο ναΐσκο στην κορυφή. Το μοναδικό άνοιγμα της κοιλάδας βρίσκεται στα Ν-ΝΑ, προς την μεγαλοπολιτική πεδιάδα. Το άνοιγμα αυτό εποπτεύεται από το Καστανοχώρι, το οποίο ονομαζόταν αρχικά Κρα-

μποβός.¹ Η παρουσίαση του υλικού θα ακολουθήσει τη διαδρομή Ψηλός Άη-Γιώργης, κοιλάδα του Μποβέρκου, Καστανοχώρι.

Στον Ψηλό Άη-Γιώργη κατ' αρχήν, απόκεινται δύο επιθήματα αμφικιονίσκων, αδρά δουλεμένα σε τοπικό ασβεστόλιθο. Η ύπαρξη κυματίου στη μία πλευρά του ενός, μαρτυρεί ότι πρόκειται για αρχαίο μέλος που επαναλαξεύτηκε. Στο δεύτερο, διακρίνεται δυσανάγνωστη επιγραφή. Η απουσία γλυπτου διακόσμου και η αδρή, πρόχειρη λάξευση, επιτρέπουν ενδεχόμενη τοποθέτηση των δύο επιθημάτων στους λεγόμενους Σκοτεινούς χρόνους (7ος-8ος αι.). Καλύτερης επεξεργασίας είναι το απότμημα κορμού αμφικιονίσκου που βρίσκεται στον ίδιο χώρο, του οποίου οι μικρές αναλογίες οδηγούν ίσως προς τη Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο.²

Κατεβαίνοντας στην κοιλάδα, συναντούμε, ανάμεσα σε άλλα εξωκλήσια, την Παναγίτσα στη θέση Κάπελη, η οποία τιμά, ως Καφοχεροβολούσα, το Γενέσιο της Θεοτόκου. Ανάμεσα στα ευάριθμα *spolia* που έχουν εντοιχιστεί στο μικρό ναό ή απόκεινται στον γύρω χώρο, περιλαμβάνονται ένα μικρό τεμάχιο με ανάγλυφους ρόδακες και ένα κιονόκρανο. Το πρώτο (διαστ.: 0,18 x 0,20 μ.), σώζει τμήμα ανάγλυφου διακόσμου με τέσσερις εξάκτινους ρόδακες που πληρούν τετράγωνα μάλλον διάχωρα. (Εικ. 1) Το μικρό μέγεθος του σπαράγγματος δεν επιτρέπει ασφαλή απόδοση σε συγκεκριμένο είδος αρχιτεκτονικού μέλους, αν και φαίνεται πιθανό να προέρχεται από θωράκιο. Το απλό σχέδιο και η λιτή εκτέλεσή του σε ανάγλυφο αβαθές, οδηγούν χρονολογικά στους πρώιμους Μεσοβυζαντινούς χρόνους, ίσως στον 10ο αι.³ Το κιονόκρανο (διαστ.: 0,24 x 0,25 x 0,14 μ.) σχηματίζεται από ένα ελαφρά κωνικό σώμα, στο οποίο υπάρχει σύμφυτος άβακας. (Εικ. 2) Το κύριο τμήμα κοσμείται με ισοσκελείς ταινιωτούς σταυρούς με διαπλατυσμένα άκρα· τα διάκενα των κεραιών πληρούνται με σχηματοποιημένους ταινιωτούς βλαστούς. Ο ταινιωτός άβακας φέρει στο κέντρο κάθε πλευράς από ένα σχηματοποιημένο ρόδακα. Ο τύπος του σταυρού, οι τρίφυλλοι βλαστοί, η ύπαρξη ρόδακα στο κέντρο του άβακα, καθώς και η χρήση τρυπανιού με τρόπο κάπως αδέξιο, τοποθετούν το συγκεκριμένο μέλος στην προχωρημένη παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, πιθανώς στον 6ο αι. Ένα παρόμοιο κιονόκρανο, συμφυές με πεσσίσκο τέμπλου, έχει επισημανθεί στην Καρύταινα.⁴

1. Πίκουλας 2001, 197, αρ. λήμ. 1588.

2. Αμφικιονίσκοι με ημικυκλικούς ημικιονίσκους συνηθίζονται κατά τους Παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους και ως τις αρχές της Μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου· στους επόμενους αιώνες δεν απαντούν συχνά (Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 526).

3. Πρβλ. θωράκια στη Γοργοεπήκοο στην Αθήνα (Χατζηδάκης χ.χ., εικ. 47) και στην Αγία Ειρήνη στην Κωνσταντινούπολη (Grabar 1976, 39, πίν. XVI c).

4. Καββαδία-Σπονδύλη 1989-90, σημ. 1, εικ. 21.

Τα περισσότερα γλυπτά έχουν διατηρηθεί εντοιχισμένα στην κεντρική εκκλησία του Καστανοχωρίου, που είναι αφιερωμένη στην *Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου* και ανεγέρθηκε το 1894, στη θέση παλαιότερου ναού. Για την προέλευση τους δεν υπάρχουν σαφείς ενδείξεις: σύμφωνα με μία προφορική παράδοση,⁵ μεταφέρθηκαν από την Παναγίτσα στην Κάπελη, όπου όμως δεν υπάρχουν, σήμερα τουλάχιστον, εμφανή σχετικά τεκμήρια – όπως οικοδομικά κατάλοιπα ή *spolia* σύγχρονα με αυτά της Κοιμήσεως. Κατά μία άλλη άποψη,⁶ ανήκαν στην εκκλησία που προϋπήρχε του νεώτερου ναού της Κοιμήσεως – πληροφορία που και πάλι δεν μπορεί να ελεγχθεί.

Τα γλυπτά στην Κοίμηση μπορούν με κριτήρια χρονολογικά να διαιρεθούν σε δύο ομάδες, σε αυτά που τοποθετούνται στον 11ο αι. και σε εκείνα που αποδίδονται στον 12ο.

Στα γλυπτά του 11ου αι. εντάσσεται κατ' αρχήν περίθυρο (διαστ.: ύψος δεξιού σταθμού: 1,88 μ.· αριστερού: 1,90 μ.· μήκος ανωφλίου: 0,74 μ.) από λευκό μάρμαρο, που έχει τοποθετηθεί σε δεύτερη χρήση στη μικρή εξωτερική θύρα του ιερού, στη ΝΑ γωνία του νεώτερου ναού. Σώζεται στις αρχικές μάλλον διαστάσεις του, και έχει βαθμιδωτή διατομή, με κυμάτιο και βεργίο στην εξωτερική γωνία. Το μικρό μέγεθος, η απουσία αναγλύφου διακόσμου και η καλή ποιότητα εργασίας, αποτελούν ένδειξη ότι το περίθυρο ανήκε μάλλον σε δευτερεύουσα πυλίδα ενός μνημειακού κτίσματος. Η διατομή με τα επάλληλα πλαίσια και το ισχυρό βεργίο, που απαντά κυρίως σε μνημεία του 11ου αι.,⁷ τοποθετεί το περίθυρο στον αιώνα αυτόν.

Στην ίδια περίοδο εντάσσεται τμήμα υπερθύρου (διαστ.: 0,105 x 0,78 μ.) από λευκό μάρμαρο, που έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί ως επίστεψη του προηγούμενου θυρώματος. Στην κύρια όψη κοσμείται με ταινιωτό πλοχμό, ο οποίος αποδίδεται με έντονες κοίλες κρυσταλλικές γλυφές και χρήση τρυπανιού στους οφθαλμούς. Στον 11ο αι. οδηγούν η άπλετη και σε μεγάλο μέγεθος ανάπτυξη του γεωμετρικού σχεδίου, σε συνδυασμό με τη λιτή απόδοση και την ακριβή χάραξή του. Μεγάλη ομοιότητα παρουσιάζει με πλοχμούς σε γλυπτά του ίδιου αιώνα από τη Σεβαστή (Sercikler) της Φρυγίας.⁸

Τα τεμάχια ενός κοσμήτη που έχουν εντοιχιστεί στο αέτωμα του θυρώματος της κεντρικής εισόδου της εκκλησίας (διαστ. μεγάλου τεμαχίου: 0,125 x 0,325 μ.· μικρού: 0,06 x 0,11 μ.), μπορούν επίσης να τοποθετηθούν στον 11ο αι. (Εικ. 3) Ο διάκοσμός τους αποτελείται από ταινιωτό πλέγμα που αναδι-

5. Μαρτυρία του γηγενούς Γιάννη Νικολόπουλου (1937).

6. Σημείωμα του Εκκλησιαστικού Συμβουλίου, "Ιστορία και Παράδοση του Καθεδρικού Ναού «Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου» Καστανοχωρίου-Κραμποβού," εφημερίδα *Νέα της Μεγαλόπολης*, Ιανουάριος 2001, 15.

7. Μπούρα 1980, 110.

8. Grabar 1976, 41-2, πίν. VII a και VIII a-b.

πλώνεται και σχηματίζει ημικυκλικά διάχωρα, μέσα στα οποία εγγράφονται πεντάφυλλα, ώστε να προκύπτει μία μορφή ανθεμίου. Η άνετη ανάπτυξη του θέματος, η προσεκτική χάραξή του, η χρήση κρυσταλλικής γλυφής και τρυπανιού στην εκτέλεση, είναι τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά του. Τα ίδια στοιχεία διακρίνουν το υπέρθυρο της μικρής θύρας του ιερού· πιθανώς και τα δύο είναι έργα των ίδιων τεχνιτών. Το διακοσμητικό θέμα του κοσμήτη απαντά σε πολλά γλυπτά από τη Μάνη, χρονολογημένα στον 11ο αι.: ενδεικτικά σημειώνονται ελκυστήρας, επιστύλιο και κοσμήτης στον Άγιο Θεόδωρο Μπάμπασκα, έργα του Νικήτα Μαρμαρά, του έτους 1075,⁹ γείσο από ρειπωμένο ναό στην Κίττα¹⁰ και στέψη θωρακίου από τον Ανώματο στο Κακό Βουνό.¹¹

Στο ίδιο σημείο έχει ενταχθεί ορθογώνιο μαρμάρινο θωράκιο (διαστ.: 0,735 x 0,28 μ.)· οι στενές κατά το ύψος διαστάσεις του δείχνουν ότι προέρχεται από φράγμα παραβήματος. (Εικ. 3) Ο διάκοσμος του αποτελείται από ταινιωτό πλέγμα με κόμβους, το οποίο στον κατακόρυφο άξονα σχηματίζει διάχωρα όπου εγγράφονται ρόδακες, σταυρός και πεντάφυλλο. Ο τύπος του πλέγματος με την πυκνή χρήση κόμβων και την έμφαση στον κύκλο, η ποικιλία των θεμάτων στα διάχωρα και η δήλωση του βάθους στους ακόσμητους χώρους, είναι χαρακτηριστικά που εντάσσουν το συγκεκριμένο θωράκιο στον 11ο αι.¹²

Στα γλυπτά του 12ου αι. ανήκουν κατ' αρχήν τα τμήματα ενός περιθύρου, που έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί ως σταθμοί στην κύρια είσοδο του ναού (συνολικό ύψος δεξιού σταθμού: 2,015 μ.· αριστερού: 1,995 μ.). Στη σημερινή του κατάσταση¹³ το περιθύρο έχει βαθμιδωτή διατομή. Η εσωτερική παρειά φέρει ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση από ελικοειδείς εφαπτόμενους βλαστούς, που απολήγουν σε ανακαμπτόμενα ακανθόφυλλα. (Εικ. 4) Η απόδοσή τους είναι χαρακτηριστική της γλυπτικής του 12ου αι., με τους πολυσχιδείς ταινιωτούς βλαστούς να καλύπτουν πυκνά κάθε διαθέσιμο χώρο του βάθους.¹⁴ Η βαθμιδωτή διατομή είναι γνωστή σε έργα επίσης του 12ου αι., όπως τμήμα περιθυρώματος από το Τηγάνι της Μάνης.¹⁵

Στο τέλος του 12ου αι. τοποθετείται το σημαντικότερο γλυπτό που βρέσκεται στο ναό. Πρόκειται για το επιστύλιο τέμπλου (διαστ.: 1,47 x 0,18 μ.) που

9. Δρανδάκης 2002, 4, 8, 9, εικ. 2-3, 9 α, 14.

10. Δρανδάκης 2002, 58-9, εικ. 94.

11. Δρανδάκης 2002, 71, εικ. 113.

12. Σκλάβου Μαυροειδή 1999, 135.

13. Η εξωτερική πλευρά, με τις τρεις βαθμίδες και το βεργίο, δείχνει να έχει ξεστεί, άγνωστο μέχρι ποιο βάθος, πιθανώς κατά την επανατοποθέτηση των τεμαχίων στο ναό της Κοιμήσεως.

14. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 571-2.

15. Δρανδάκης, Γκιολές και Κωνσταντινίδη 1978, 189, εικ. 131 γ.

έχει εντοιχιστεί στο θύρωμα της κυρίας εισόδου της νεώτερης εκκλησίας. (Εικ. 3) Είναι δουλεμένο σε λευκό μάρμαρο και σώζεται ελλιπές κατά το δεξιό άκρο. Η διακόσμησή του αποτελείται από εναλλαγή στοιχείων σε χαμηλό και έξεργο ανάγλυφο, ανήκει δηλαδή στην κατηγορία των διπλεπίπεδων αναγλύφων, που κυριάρχησαν στην ελλαδική γλυπτική του 12ου αι.¹⁶ Με κεντρικό σημείο κιβώριο με επιπεδόγλυφο σταυρό, τα διακοσμητικά θέματα παρατίθενται συμμετρικά, καλύπτοντας πυκνά ολόκληρη τη διαθέσιμη επιφάνεια: κυκλικό ταινιωτό πλέγμα, διάτρητα κομβία, πλεχτοί σταυροί και συμπλέγματα ζώων. Οι λιγοστοί κενοί χώροι πληρούνται με σχηματοποιημένους ταινιωτούς φυτικούς βλαστούς, ενώ αστράγαλος περιτρέχει ολόκληρη την κάτω πλευρά του μέλους.

Με μεγάλη πλαστικότητα – τείνει σχεδόν στο ολόγλυφο – έχει αποδοθεί το σωζόμενο σύμπλεγμα με το λιοντάρι που επιτίθεται σε ήμερο ζώο. (Εικ. 5) Το ρωμαλέο θηρίο αρπάζει από τη ράχη και το στόμα το μικρό ζώο, που παριστάνεται σε συνεσταλμένη στάση. Εντυπωσιακή είναι η έμφαση στην απόδοση λεπτομερειών, όπως η δορά και το τρίχωμα του λιονταριού, ο κόμβος του Σολομώντος στον μηρό του, οι οπλές του αιχμαλωτισμένου βοοειδούς.

Τα διακοσμητικά θέματα περιέχουν πλήθος συμβολισμούς, που αφορούν με τη θέση του επιστυλίου στο τέμπλο του αγίου βήματος: το κιβώριο με τον σταυρό υποδηλώνει το πέρασμα σε έναν υπερβατικό κόσμο, έχοντας συγχρόνως και φυλακτήρια σημασία¹⁷ τα σπαρασσόμενα ζώα περιέχουν το συμβολισμό της πάλης και της νίκης της εκκλησίας ενάντια στο διάβολο¹⁸ το λιοντάρι ειδικότερα, μπορεί να συμβολίζει τον Χριστό, που αγρυπνά ως νοερός λέων για την προστασία της εκκλησίας¹⁹ ο μικρός κόμβος Σολομώντος στον μηρό του έχει χαρακτήρα φυλακτήριο και αποτρεπτικό.²⁰

Η χρήση πολλών και πλούσιων διακοσμητικών θεμάτων και η εναλλαγή διαφόρων τεχνικών στο ανάγλυφο (επιπεδόγλυφο, έξεργο ανάγλυφο, διάτρητη τεχνική), που διακρίνουν το έργο, αποτελούν βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της γλυπτικής του 12ου αι. στον ελλαδικό χώρο.²¹ Η μεγάλη δεξιοτεχνία με την οποία αποδίδονται τα θέματα, δείχνει τεχνίτες εξαιρετικά προικισμένους, με άνεση στην εκτέλεση και την ισόρροπη σύνθεση των πολύπλοκων στοιχείων.²² Το σύμπλεγμα των ζώων, προσθέτει, παρά τη σχηματοποίηση, μία εικόνα έντασης στο σύνολο. Το συνολικό αποτέλεσμα είναι ιδιαίτερα διακοσμητικό και εξεζη-

16. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 574-5.

17. Μπάρα 1967-68, 319-21.

18. Ουλάνδος 1972-73, 489-90.

19. Παζαράς 1988, 95.

20. Πάλλας 1960-61, 449 υποσ. 3.

21. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 580-1.

22. Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 581.

τημένο, σε βαθμό που τείνει να εξουδετερώσει την υλική υπόσταση του μαρμάρου.

Το επιστύλιο στο Καστανοχώρι αναγνωρίζεται ως δημιουργία του εργαστηρίου της Σαμαρίνας, το οποίο έδρασε στο χώρο της νότιας Πελοποννήσου κατά τα τέλη του 12ου αι.²³ Έργα του σώζονται στο ναό της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής στο Σάμαρι της Μεσσηνίας,²⁴ τον γνωστό και ως Σαμαρίνα, σε δύο ναούς του Μυστρά,²⁵ σε δεύτερη χρήση, και σε μία νεώτερη εκκλησία στο χωριό Νόμια της Μάνης,²⁶ επίσης σε δεύτερη χρήση. Η επιλογή, η απόδοση και η σύνθεση των θεμάτων, η ανάμειξη διαφορετικών τεχνικών στην επεξεργασία του αναγλύφου και η υψηλή ποιότητα της εκτέλεσης, προφανώς από τα ίδια χέρια, είναι κοινά ανάμεσα στα παραπάνω έργα και το γλυπτό από το Καστανοχώρι. Το εργαστήριο της Σαμαρίνας κατέχει κορυφαία θέση στη γλυπτική της εποχής του, καθώς σε αυτό βρίσκουν την πλέον εξελιγμένη έκφρασή τους πολλά χαρακτηριστικά θέματα, τεχνικές και άλλα γνωρίσματα της ελλαδικής γλυπτικής, όπως το διπλεπίπεδο αναγλύφο και η τάση για ολοένα και μεγαλύτερη πλαστικότητα.

Το υλικό από το Μποβέρο καλύπτει ένα χρονικό διάστημα από τους όψιμους παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους μέχρι τις παραμονές της φραγκικής κατακτησεως της Πελοποννήσου, και μαρτυρεί ανθρώπινη παρουσία στην περιοχή σε όλη σχεδόν ετούτη την περίοδο. Ο μεγάλος αριθμός υψηλής ποιότητας γλυπτών του 11ου και 12ου υποδηλώνει ιδιαίτερη δραστηριότητα κατά τους αιώνες αυτούς. Τίθεται εύλογα το ερώτημα, πώς μία απομονωμένη ορεινή κοιλάδα μπορεί να συγκεντρώνει αυτά τα δείγματα γλυπτικής, η παραγγελία και η εκτέλεση των οποίων ήταν υπόθεση κοπιώδης και δαπανηρή;

Οι πιο πιθανές εξηγήσεις στρέφονται σε δύο κατευθύνσεις: πρώτα, η παρουσία αυτών των γλυπτών μπορεί ενδεχομένως να αποδοθεί στην ύπαρξη και δραστηριοποίηση μοναστικών κέντρων στην περιοχή, τα οποία θα είχαν τη δυνατότητα να διακοσμήσουν τα εκκλησιαστικά οικοδομήματά τους με καλής ποιότητας γλυπτά σύνολα. Και όντως, στην περιοχή του Καστανοχωρίου, λίγο νότια του οικισμού και σε φυσικά προφυλαγμένη θέση, υπήρχε άλλοτε μοναστήρι, το οποίο ήταν αφιερωμένο στην Κοίμηση της Θεοτόκου, ωστόσο σήμερα στη θέση του σώζονται μόνον ευτελή νεώτερα κτίσματα.

Μία δεύτερη εκδοχή αποτελεί η απόδοση των γλυπτών στην παρουσία ισχυρών οικονομικά τοπικών παραγόντων. Από τον 11ο, και κυρίως κατά τον

23. Bouras 1977-79, 70-1.

24. Bouras 1977-79, 68-71, πίν. 26-8.

25. Millet 1910, πίν. 569, 11-3· Bouras 1977-79, 70, πίν. 29-30· Μπούρας και Μπούρα 2002, 249-52, εικ. 282-5.

26. Δρανδάκης 2002, 253-4, εικ. 384.

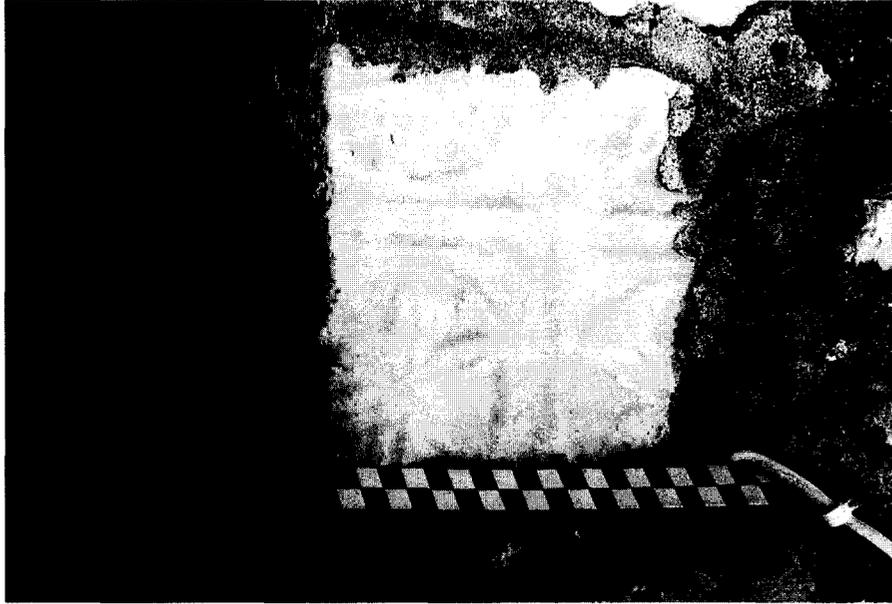
12ο αι., ο έλεγχος της κεντρικής διοικήσεως του Βυζαντινού κράτους στις επαρχίες χαλαρώνει, προς όφελος των ισχυρών κατά τόπους οικογενειών, που ισχυροποιούνται σε τέτοιο βαθμό, ώστε να δρουν σχεδόν αυτόνομα. Το φαινόμενο αυτό επηρεάζει και την καλλιτεχνική παραγωγή, καθώς οι ισχυροί τοπάρχες παίρνουν τη θέση του αυτοκράτορα στις χορηγίες για την ανέγερση και διακόσμηση μνημειακών κτισμάτων.²⁷ Έτσι, και στην περίπτωση του αρκαδικού Μποβέρκου, η ύπαρξη των γλυπτών μπορεί ίσως να οφείλεται στη δράση κάποιου ισχυρού τοπικού άρχοντα.

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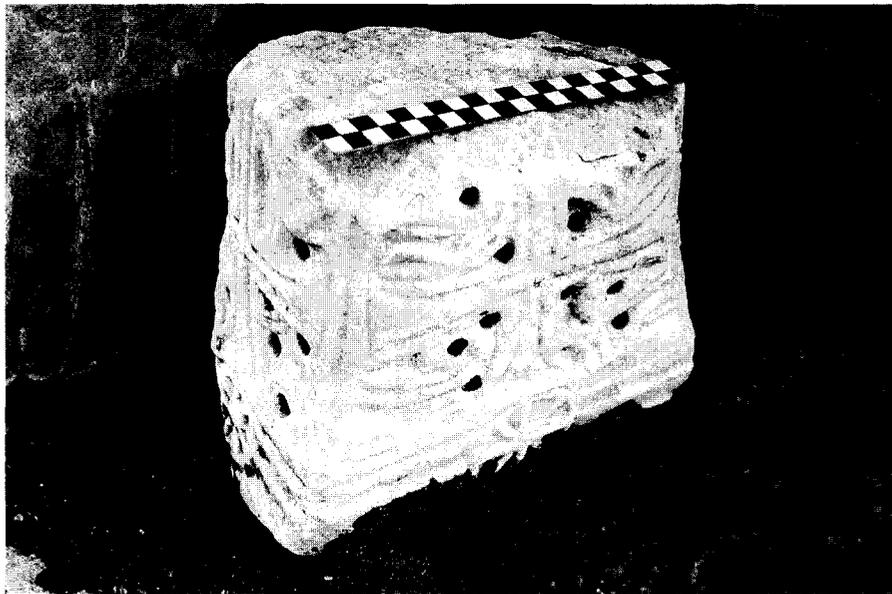
27. Bouras 1977-79, 71-2.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

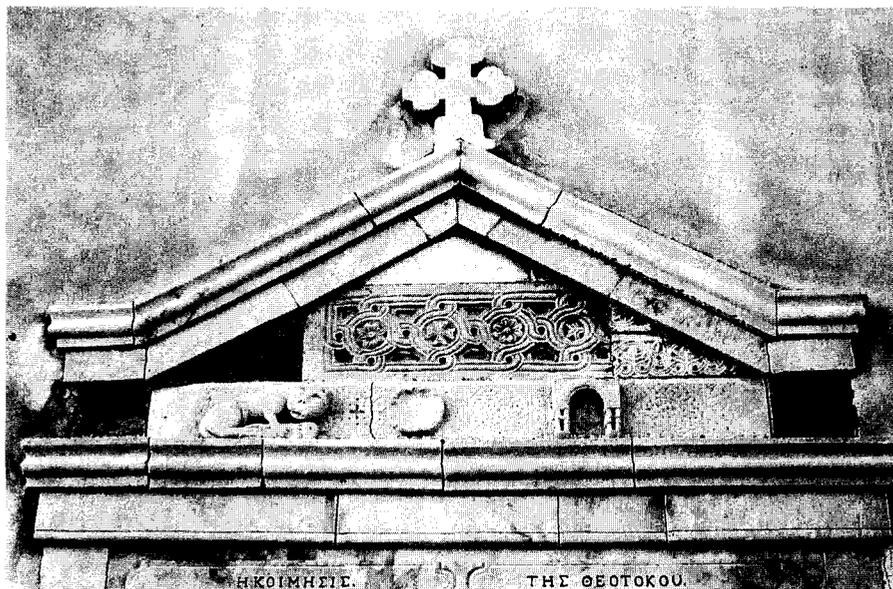
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Εικ. 1. Το ανάγλυφο τεμάχιο στην Παναγίτσα στην Κάπελη. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)
Fig. 1. The fragment of the relief at the chapel of Panagitsa, Kapeli. (Photo: author.)



Εικ. 2. Το κιονόκρανο στο ίδιο εξωκλήσι στην Παναγίτσα στην Κάπελη. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)
Fig. 2. The capital at the chapel of Panagitsa, Kapeli. (Photo: author.)



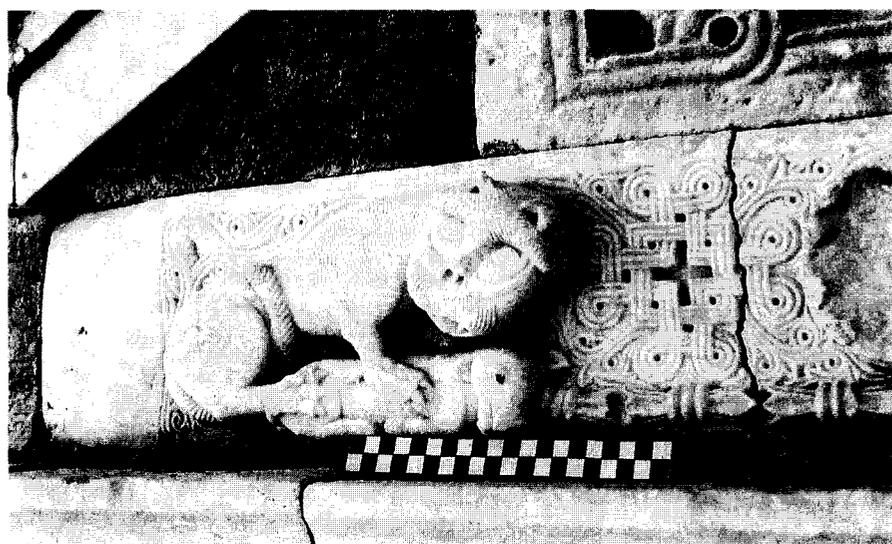
Εικ. 3. Γλυπτά εντοιχισμένα στο θύρωμα της κυρίας εισόδου του ναού της Κοιμήσεως στο Καστανοχώρι. Διακρίνονται το θωράκιο, δεξιά του τα τεμάχια του κοσμήτη και κάτω το επιστύλιο τέμπλου. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)

Fig. 3. Reliefs which have been reused at the doorframe of the main entrance of the church of the Dormition, Kastanochori. The closure slab can be observed on the top; the pieces of the cornice exist next to the slab; the *templon* epistyle has been placed under them. (Photo: author.)



Εικ. 4. Λεπτομέρεια του θυρώματος του 12ου αι., που έχει επαναχρησιμοποιηθεί στην κύρια είσοδο του ναού της Κοιμήσεως, Καστανοχώρι. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)

Fig. 4. Detail from the 12th century doorframe which has been reused at the main entrance of the church of the Dormition, Kastanochori. (Photo: author.)



Εικ. 5. Ναός της Κοιμήσεως, Καστανοχώρι. Το σύμπλεγμα των ζώων στο αριστερό άκρο του επιστυλίου. (Φωτογρ. του συγγραφέα.)

Fig. 5. Church of the Dormition, Kastanochori. The animal complex at the left end of the epistyle. (Photo: author.)