Territory and State Formation in the Archaic Peloponnese: a Survey-Based Approach to the Study of Power and Society

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Abstract

During the Archaic period (C800-500), a key foundational era of Greek history, several paradigm shifts within society resulted in the 'Rise of the Polis', the development of this key institution of Greek life and culture. The last thirty years have seen dramatic changes in our understanding of the emergence of complex societies, new and more critical approaches to textual sources, and a broadening of archaeological research in Greece, particularly in the countryside, alongside the ever-increasing body of excavated material from early *poleis*. However, the nature and origins of the polis remains one of the most discussed and debated issues in the study of ancient Greece. This on-going lack of consensus stems partly from the under-utilisation of many of these advances. My research presented here aims to remedy this by focussing on data gathered from numerous surface survey projects and combining it with text and excavated material, in the context of new critical approaches to the past. Through synthesising and analysing this survey material, a resource currently under-used and largely overlooked in the study of Archaic Greece, this study casts new light on the vital changes in the *chora*, the territory of the polis; on the border areas between poleis, and on broad trends in social change and social organisation in the Archaic period. My research shows that the closer incorporation of survey material into the study and understanding of Archaic history is not only possible, it is vitally important for advancing the relationship between text, material culture and historical archaeology, thus opening up broad, innovative and exciting possibilities for future research.

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Introduction

The Archaic period (c.800-500)[1] was a key foundational era of Greek history. During this time, several paradigm shifts within society resulted in what modern scholarship calls the 'Rise of the Polis', the development of this key institution of Greek life and culture. The last thirty years or so have seen dramatic changes in our understanding of the emergence of complex societies, new and more critical approaches to textual sources, and a broadening of archaeological research in Greece, particularly in the countryside, alongside the ever-increasing body of excavated material from early *poleis*. Nevertheless, despite these advances the nature and origins of the *polis* remains one of the most discussed and debated issues in the study of ancient Greece. This ongoing lack of consensus stems partly from the under-utilisation of many of these advances. My research presented here aims to remedy this by focussing on data gathered from numerous surface survey projects undertaken in the southern half of the Peloponnese and combining it with text and excavated material. Through synthesising and analysing this survey material, a resource which is currently underutilised in the study of Archaic Greece, my research will cast new light on the vital changes in the *chora,* a complex and multi-faceted concept, here used to refer to the territory of a *polis* outside of its urban centre (*asty*). It will also cast light on the changes in the border areas between *poleis*, focussing on the topic of changes in society and social organisation in the Archaic period, with special reference to the *polis*. Approaching survey evidence through gradualist perspectives, and combining it with evidence from excavations, my research will create a new diachronic and geographically broad narrative of the growth of *polis* centres, the articulation and consolidation of territories and their relationships to their centres, and, eventually, the increasing conflict between *poleis* over liminal zones over the course of the period. This will also be combined with current historically-led narratives to further understand the nature and role of literary evidence in order to advance towards a new, more holistic and

[1] All dates are B.C. unless specified.

dynamic understanding of the Archaic *polis*. Overall, this research contributes to furthering the dialogue between text, material culture, and historical archaeology, advocating for a more prominent role for published surveys within ongoing debates, and providing commentary on how surveys can best publish their results to the benefit of studies like that presented here. To do so it will focus on the southern half of the Peloponnese.



(Ill. 1: The area of study)

This region is particularly well suited to this study because it has produced a rich historical tradition about the Archaic period which still survives, a wealth of excavated material from the numerous *poleis* situated here and, most importantly of all, several intensive and well published surveys. One further benefit is the degree of variation in landscapes, sizes, and power across the *poleis* in this region, allowing trends in similarity and difference to be extrapolated.

The Polis: Definitions and Debates

Any discussion of Greek social organisation and complexity in this period must be done with reference to the 'Rise of the Polis' for two reasons. Firstly, that this is the theoretical framework through which Archaic socio-political change on a grand scale has almost always been examined in modern scholarship. Secondly, because the relevant extant literature and epigraphic evidence demonstrates that 'the *polis*' is the lens through which the Greeks themselves understood many of their own communities,[2] particularly in the region considered here. Nevertheless, while this emic perspective provides us with many insights, the concept of the *polis* and its rise are highly contested and there are many ongoing debates about what the *polis* was, how it came into being, and through what evidence it can be most accurately understood.

A single over-arching definition of the *polis* is impossible. This has been made clear by the extensive and multi-faceted work of the Copenhagen Polis Project in the 1990s and 2000s which demonstrated that the *polis* had a multiplicity of meanings in ancient thought as a citadel, a nucleated settlement, a country, a territory, a population, or the political institutions housed in the urban centre.[3] The *polis* embraced many concepts and therefore what the ancient Greeks meant by *polis* is not precisely the same as what we are talking about when we discuss the 'Rise of the Polis'.[4] The definition used in modern studies of 'The Rise of the Polis' refers more narrowly to the appearance of a nucleated settlement with an attached territory inhabited by a community of *politai.* This definition succinctly encapsulates the radical change of social structure between the eras on either side of the Archaic period. The Early Iron Age (c. 1100-800, hereafter abbreviated as EIA) was modest in its social structure, scale and overall wealth. EIA settlements are largely small and nucleated.[5] Generally, the picture presented by its archaeological evidence is one of relatively low populations living in small social groups led by small numbers of elites at

[2] Hall 2014: 69.
[3] Hansen 1998: 16, 34.
[4] Davies 1997: 13; Koparal 2017: 97. Nielsen 2002: 25 on Arcadia in particular.
[5] Snodgrass 1993: 36.

the level of petty chiefs.[6] Structures such as the Lefkandi Heroon and Unit IV at Nichoria have facilitated interpretations of this as a period of leaders whose authority was centred on religious and economic control played out in their houses.[7] This is in stark contrast to the city states of the Classical period; where sites were far larger and more numerous, society had far more complex systems of stratification, and power resided not among personally powerful or charismatic leaders but in democratic, oligarchic, or tyrannical institutions. Therefore, to put it simply, the phenomenon can instead be defined as the first appearance of the system well known from the Classical period through an abundance of physical and contemporary literary evidence. How this particular system came into being was a question first explicitly articulated by the historian Victor Ehrenberg in 1937.[8]

History, Historiography and the Archaic Period

The study of Archaic society has long been dominated by textual studies,[9] but there are many problems inherent in using textual sources to construct broad, long-term arguments about the past relating to systemic change rather than particular events. Textual studies focus largely on the figures from literary evidence such as lawgivers and the codes they write to overcome *stasis*,[10] and pay particular attention to the interplay between narrative accounts of tyranny and the concept of the 'Rise of the Polis', and whether tyranny was a normal part of Archaic political

[6] de Polignac 1995: 151.
[7] Whitley 1991: 349; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.
[8] Ehrenberg 1937.
[9] E.g. Salmon 1997:32; Hammer 2005; Shapiro 2007; Osborne 2009; Hall 2014:147-52. However, Osborne (especially Osborne 2009) makes relatively extensive use of the archaeological material, in particular chapter six on the artistic developments of this period, and chapter eight on the importance of monumentalisation in the 6th century.
[10] Mitchell and Rhodes 1997; Mitchell 2013.

systems or an extraordinary response to local strife.[11] Textual studies often aim to understand these literary figures through anthropological constructs such as the Big Man model.[12]

There are several reasons behind the reliance on text in the study of Archaic Greece. Firstly, text provides ready-made narrative accounts from a Greek perspective, which archaeological evidence does not do; secondly, the philological background of many Classical scholars; and thirdly, the trend in Classical archaeology, until relatively recently, towards art history and the construction of typologies which cannot be included in this discussion straightforwardly.[13] The textual accounts are certainly an invaluable source of information without which our understanding of ancient Greece would be radically different and far poorer. However, the extent to which these accounts can be extrapolated is questionable. A large proportion were written in a small number of *poleis*, in particular Athens, and may not be more widely applicable. Furthermore, literary evidence often provides only a snapshot narrating particular events and describing particular places or narrowly focussing on aspects of society such as a single war, or the actions of one particular tyrant. Finally, most literary evidence dates from the Classical period and later, sometimes considerably so, which must lead us to question its accuracy regarding earlier events. Though these problems are acknowledged,[14] the literary sources are almost always given the benefit of the doubt, the argument being that 'careful' use of these problematic sources is a better alternative than simply not using them at all. This principle, while helpful and fundamentally correct, has been applied too liberally, particularly to sources written centuries later, and also fails to evaluate critically enough even those sources closer in time to events.

Epigraphical evidence also became increasingly conspicuous over the course of the period considered here. This was largely in the form of dedicatory inscriptions on votives or funerary

[11] E.g. Hammer 2005.
[12] E.g. Donlan 2002; Hammer 2005.
[13] Kardulias 1994: 39.
[14] E.g. Kelly 1967; Gammie 1986; Davis et al 1997; Flower 2002; Hall 2003; Anderson 2005; Shipley 2006; Bershadsky 2013; Hall 2014.

objects, or legal inscriptions, and it is therefore quite narrow in scope.[15] Legal inscriptions in particular were highly narrow in scope and are often difficult to interpret, providing little illumination of wider questions about the nature of the *polis* or its exact social structure in this period.[16] Dedicatory inscriptions also provide little direct information about these issues. Beyond this, epigraphic evidence suffers from the same limitations as the evidence from excavated material being both geographically and chronologically narrow in scope. Therefore, while particularly relevant epigraphic evidence will be used throughout this thesis, it will not play a prominent part in the arguments presented here.

Oral History and the invention of tradition

One of the most pressing issues regarding the historical evidence for the Archaic period is that of orality on a number of grounds. These include the reliability of the sources of oral traditions, the lack of written records from the Archaic period, and the role that epic poetry played in narratives of the past from the Classical period onwards.

Ancient historians, both early and late, generally used living witnesses or oral traditions.[17] As the opening chapters of both Herodotus and Thucydides demonstrate, even for these early proponents of the historical genre, oral traditions and epics were considered accurate records of historical events. We must not downplay the fact that even for Thucydides, that most rational proto-historian, these mythical events *were* the past. Apart from some private epigraphic evidence from sanctuaries and cemeteries, and the first written laws, rare as they are and religious in nature, the Archaic world was an oral one.[18] Later historians did not have access to earlier public documents and records as they simply did not exist. Even Athens lacked an archive

[15] Hall 2014: 141.
[16] Osborne 1997: 39-41
[17] Thomas 1992: 7.
[18] Thomas 1992: 13. Thonemann 2016 on the difficulties of using even this ostensibly accurate epigraphic evidence to reconstruct Archaic history.

until the end of the 5th century,[19] and what is preserved in Herodotus is not always an official corpus of traditions,[20] but competing ones either between different factions of a community, or between different communities at large, indicating that these traditions were by no means fixed.

Oral histories are unstable and prone to change for a variety of reasons. They are often contesting interpretations or versions of events, not consensual accounts,[21] and which of the many fragments of oral history go on to become part of widely accepted oral traditions is a complex issue.[22] While they may be reliably transmitted over time, they have the potential to be fluid and changeable until they are written down.[23] Furthermore, while accounts that are closer in time to the period they pertain to are more *likely* to be accurate, this is not a rule of thumb, as Herodotus' account of Polykrates of Samos demonstrates. Herodotus spent time on that island only 60 years after Polykrates' death, and yet there are many clearly mythical elements to his narrative such as the story of his ring.[24]

Furthermore, oral traditions are not idly remembered but are carefully preserved and transmitted because they have a purpose, generally social, political or ideological, for example the invoking of common mythical ancestors in order to bind communities through shared loyalties.[25] Oral histories inculcate values and behaviours in groups through implying an important continuity with the past and drawing a community or group together through shared traditions even though these may be invented traditions having more to do with the present than the past.[26] Groups rely in part on myths of shared ancestry for their collective identity. It is a noted phenomenon that these myths take numerous forms, often at odds with one another, such as the various Athenian traditions about the fall of the Peisistratids and the birth of democracy,

[19] Thomas 1992: 13.
[20] Luraghi 2001b: 150.
[21] Vansina 1985: 196.
[22] Pretzler 1999:89.
[23] Cunnison 1957: 20; Beidelman 1970: 75, 96.
[24] Murray 2001: 21. Hdt. 3.40-2.
[25] Thomas 1992: 109. Hall 1997.
[26] Hobsbawm 1992: 1-2; Jones and Russell 2012: 269.

each representing a different elite family's interests.[27] These historical traditions need not be based on objective fact in the way that a history written in our modern, scientific style must.[28] This has led to no small amount of scepticism regarding our ability to discern information about oral cultures from their traditions, as it is difficult to determine which aspects of a tradition are invented, and reflective of pressures contemporary to their addition, and which aspects are genuinely historical,[29] particularly if no alternative source of information, such as an archaeological record, exists. The instability and changeability of oral traditions, even those relating to events relatively late in the Archaic period, is highly significant in the study of two of the areas studied here, Laconia and Arcadia, both of whom are well represented in ancient textual evidence.

Invented traditions are markedly present in Greek history of all periods. The ease with which this can be done for the Archaic period has been noted, as from the mid-7th century there were only scrappy remains of some laws and name lists but an almost total absence of dates on these before c. 500.[30] Even though writing was reintroduced quite early in the Archaic period, a society does not switch from being entirely oral to entirely literate immediately, and Thomas has estimated that Greece remained an oral society until the time of Plato,[31] although oral traditions persist far past that point. As such, most historians of ancient Greece are now increasingly wary of naïve, uncritical approaches to oral traditions.[32] While this is also true of Pausanias,[33] he remains one of the most frequently cited sources on events of the Classical period. However, an examination of his writing suggests that the extensive use still made of him, particularly by archaeologists, is unreliable.

[27] Thomas 1989.
[28] Nielsen 1999:19.
[29] Jones and Russell 2012: 269.
[30] Thomas 1992: 90.
[31] Thomas 1992: 4.
[32] E.g. Vansina 1985; Finley 1990: 29; Thomas 1992: 108; Hall 1997.
[33] E.g. Starr 1965; McDonald and Rapp 1972: 81; Alcock 1995; Hodkinson 1997: 44; Pretzler 2005; Luraghi 2008.

The Reliability of Roman Sources

Many of the most detailed narrative accounts we have of Archaic Greece date from the Roman period, in particular Pausanias, Plutarch, and Strabo. Despite the wealth of detail they provide, these accounts are highly problematic. Pausanias, writing in the 2nd century AD, visited many parts of Greece, including the Peloponnese, extensively and recorded numerous local traditions he came into contact with, often explicitly listing and evaluating them (e.g. Paus. 1.23.2, 2.1.1, 2.1.6). He was a proponent of the Second Sophistic movement, which valued Classical Greek text highly. He wrote during the height of the Roman Empire, in a climate of Greek scholarship which clung to the past, as a time of glory, intellectual superiority, and political independence, as opposed to their contemporary position in the empire. This explains the attachment to myth and history, and their local variants, in the work of Pausanias, and to a lesser extent other important sources such as Strabo.[34] It should also highlight the deliberately archaising tone of his work. It is because of his personal experience, and his focus on the pre-Roman past, that he is used by archaeologists to reconstruct the places he visited, in combination with the material remains more than any other ancient author.[35] For example, one of the French School's first projects in Greece was to reconstruct the city centre of Argos following the account of Pausanias.[36] However, his work is filled not just with his personal observations of sites he has visited, but also with historical information about them.

As well as serving as an archaeological guide, Pausanias is an almost unrivalled source of narrative Archaic history, particularly for the Peloponnese. As such, his accounts have often formed the basis of our own arguments about social organisation and leadership in this period.[37] Nevertheless, his work is strongly influenced by contemporary oral traditions, and the use of

[34] Pretzler 2005: 236-7.
[35] Stewart 2013: 231.
[36] Stewart 2013: 241.
[37] E.g. Tomlinson 1972; Kelly 1976; Cartledge 2001a; Koiv 2003.

unreliable sources. He discusses as fact what we would consider to be legend, for example the trials of the Danaids and the visible traces of the palace of Proteus in Tiryns (Paus. 2.16.1-2). He also uses Homer as his 'paramount historical authority' (see Paus. 1.41.3-6, 2.21.10, 4.1.3-4, and 4.2.2), [38] and also calls him persuasive (at 2.4.2). As well as relying heavily on myth and drama, Pausanias made use of Hellanicus of Lesbos, a 4th century historian, who was himself far removed from the events he described. He wrote an '*Argolica*' and a list of the priestesses at the Heraion going back to the Bronze Age, even though the sanctuary did not exist in this period. In fact, two of the three books of this work relate to the pre-sanctuary period, indicating that by the 5th century there was no reliable information about the EIA.[39] Pausanias' other main sources of information were his local guides. He refers to *exegetai*, expounders, who tell him local histories.[40] These local oral histories, at this point several centuries removed from the events of the Archaic period, suffer from all the issues of reliability and bias outlined above for oral traditions more generally.

The argument is often made in favour of using Pausanias' narratives for lack of an alternative.[41] The examination of his own sources above suggests otherwise. While he does provide an invaluable guidebook of sites it is a guidebook of them as they were – and as they were understood by local communities – over half a millennium after the Archaic period had drawn to a close. Habicht draws the distinction best when he says that Pausanias as a guide is highly trustworthy, but that the historical events he relates depends on the work of others,[42] work whose factual reliability is highly questionable. Though he is the most pertinent example, the same arguments apply to other key sources on the period such as Strabo and Plutarch, which date to considerably later than the Archaic period. As such, Pausanias and these later sources will

[38] Pretzler 2005: 242.
[39] Kelly 1976: 41.
[40] Jones 2001: 33-5.
[41] Quite explicitly in Cartledge 2001a.
[42] Habicht 1998: 97.

not form the basis for interpretation here and their narratives will only be discussed in a historiographical context.

Plutarch presents similar problems. While historians of Archaic Greece generally make less use of his writing than Pausanias', the subject of some of his works, especially his *Lycurgus*, make him a particularly pertinent source for Sparta.[43] Like Pausanias, Plutarch's own sources are highly problematic largely through for their distance from the events they describe.[44] Increasingly, the value of Plutarch's work to historians is not its factual content but its role in the perpetuation of the 'Spartan Mirage', a concept more closely examined in the chapter on Laconia but which broadly casts great doubt on our ability to reconstruct Archaic social and historical realities from later narratives, which present idealised versions of the Spartan past as a changeless ideal. This is largely due to the fact that his biographies, of which the *Lycurgus* is one, were moralising works written to serve as lessons, rather than records of fact as we might understand it.[45] Plutarch therefore will also only be discussed as a historiographer rather than as a factual source.

The other two main textual sources on the Archaic period, Herodotus and Thucydides, are more reliable. This is in part due to their temporal relationship with the period, both written comparatively soon after it drew to a close. Despite their difficulties oral traditions are preserved memories in some form and it is therefore likely that there is some factual basis to at least parts of these narratives.[46] They can be trustworthy for several decades, and Murray suggests a reliability for Herodotus that stretches back at least partly into the Archaic period.[47] However, it is impossible to measure the reliability of a tradition without incorporating other sources of information as a yardstick. Regarding those traditions that pertain to territorial claims and disputes, this information must come from archaeological sources, particularly those from the

[43] Figueira 2016: 11.
[44] Figueira 2016: 15.
[45] Figueira 2016: 11.
[46] Luraghi 2001a: 14.
[47] Murray 2001: 20.

territory and border regions themselves. Conversely, these traditions, particularly those that are demonstrably inaccurate, provide us with an insight into the contemporary conflicts and anxieties of the times when these traditions started to be solidified in the form in which we find them in our earliest textual sources, the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, and this research will use the survey evidence regarding territories and borders to examine which parts of these traditions do *not* reflect long-standing realities, and thus gain a more thorough understanding of Late Archaic and Early Classical *poleis*.

Lyric Poetry

One final significant category of literary evidence is Archaic lyric poetry which is contemporary to the period discussed but comes with a host of other interpretative problems. Lyric poetry is itself an oral genre.[48] Anthropological parallels to other non-literate and oral societies such as ancient Hawai'i, which is often compared to Archaic Greece,[49] show that in oral cultures songs and recited epics are not directly biographical but can relate to a host of things including creation beliefs, fictive genealogies, the origins of social practices and traditions about local landscapes, all expressed in a number of 'voices'.[50] As these are not necessarily biographical works it is not easy to decide which accounts are false and which might align more closely with fact. This, in turn, can make it difficult to determine which other aspects of lyric poetry are fictional and which are based in reality. For example, Alcaeus (Fr. 10) occasionally writes in a female voice, expressing feelings that are not his own and actions he did not undertake.[51] Furthermore, his compositions for female choruses were not simply for entertainment, but were highly ritualised.[52] This adds a further layer of obfuscation between lyric poetry and biographical reconstruction. The 'I' in Archaic lyric is

[48] Slings 1990: 10.
[49] E.g. Slings 1990: 5; Sahlins 2004; Kirch 2010.
[50] Nogelmeier 2006: 429-432.
[51] Slings 1990: 7, 15.
[52] Calame 2001, in particular pg 264-7.

prone to be somewhat misleading, and it is unclear where along the spectrum from true feelings to persona are represented in each fragment we have.[53] While this certainly problematises their use as historical evidence they cannot be entirely discounted as they resonated with their communities and indicate contemporary perspectives that were at least plausible even if they were not necessarily the actual viewpoints of their composers.

Greek Notions of the Past

For the reasons set out above there is only a small body of literary evidence that has a reasonable chance of accuracy. Nevertheless, this optimism must be tempered by the fact that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine which aspects of literary accounts are accurate and which are not. Given the size of the corpus and the problems associated with it there are strong arguments in favour of making this literary material secondary to archaeological evidence. As Finley argued, 'the plain fact is that the Classical Greeks knew little about their history before 650 BC (or even 550 BC) and that what they thought they knew was a jumble of fact and fiction, some miscellaneous facts and much fiction about the essentials and about most of the details'.[54] All historical narratives, from Herodotus to Pausanias, display an alarming lack of awareness of the Early Archaic period and make the leap from the legendary history of the Trojan Wars and the activities of Greek heroes such as Theseus, down to the earliest accounts of tyrants in perhaps the 7th century, with no apparent knowledge of a chronological gap, and with only occasional, and problematic interludes such as the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, or the mythical Argive king Pheidon. This is increasingly recognised by historians who now seek to understand these

[53] Budelmann 2009: 17.
[54] Finley 1990: 18.

narratives more within the socio-political frameworks of their writers, and not within those of the periods they discuss.[55]

This is clearest in work done on Archaic tyranny which is now often discussed with reference to, for example, increasingly hostile attitudes of writers towards tyrants due to contemporary concerns about Persia.[56] Tyrants are considered as stock literary figures particularly Polykrates, or Cypselus whose birth and early childhood differs little from that of a tragic hero.[57] Similarly, the traditions of lawgivers are considered to be highly mythologised,[58] and increasing notice is taken of the fact that the law codes preserved in literature do not correspond at all to the earliest epigraphically preserved laws which are narrowly focussed on the distribution of offices, and are often religious in nature.[59] This further supports the notion that while many of the named tyrants and lawgivers certainly existed, the stories that we have preserved about them and their leadership or law-making in 5th century and later texts are not reliable, and tell us far more about later perceptions of the past than about what happened in earlier antiquity. It is therefore important to use literary sources with a high degree of scepticism, to use sources that are contemporary or close to being so, and to be critical of these as well.

Historical Archaeology and Archaic Greece

These issues are counterbalanced by the increasing interest of archaeology in answering social questions. As summarised by Morris, the 1960s and 70s were seminal turning points for social/historical archaeology in the field of Ancient Greece.[60] Many seminal synthesising works were published which used archaeological evidence to provide broad narratives of changes in EIA

[55] E.g. Finley 1990; Lane Fox 2002: 38; Adornato 2012.
[56] Anderson 2005: 212.
[57] Gammie 1986: 191-4.
[58] Osborne 1997: 42.
[59] Osborne 1997: 39-42.
[60] Morris 1997: 121-2, citing Starr 1961; Boardman 1964; Snodgrass 1971; Desborough 1972; Coldstream 1977.

Greece, such as Boardman's examination of colonisation or Coldstream's regional study of pottery. The 1980s and following decades saw a greater self-reliance in Classical Archaeology for defining their research goals, no longer looking to Classical philology for guidance or framework but now to ancient social history and non-Classical archaeology.[61] But the Archaic period has not entirely kept up with this trend, coming, as it does, at a curious point in time. It falls between the clearly ahistorical EIA and the Classical period which contains a wealth of contemporary, narrative textual sources. Nevertheless, while we still have a strong impetus towards text-led research in Classical archaeology due to the origins and background of the field, in the last few decades it has benefited from greater involvement from anthropology and other subfields of archaeology.[62] This led to a focus on excavations on recognisable sites such as urban or religious centres, and an interest in organising the resulting data to be incorporated into historically-led questions about society.[63]

The topic of Archaic society and its organisation was originally a literary one; the subject was re-invigorated in the 1970s and 1980s as the archaeological concept of the 8th century renaissance came to the fore and became linked to it,[64] appearing to be the key turning point away from the relatively simple societies of the EIA. This renaissance was extrapolated from a large and growing body of archaeological evidence for several key phenomena in that century; increasing investment in sanctuaries, increasing visibility of settlements, changes to funerary habits, the re-adoption of writing, and movement of some communities abroad, among others.[65] These 8th century changes are indicative of rising populations, which created new possibilities and tensions which resulted in social changes, more overtly stratified hierarchies and at some point, changes

[61] Morris 1997: 126.
[62] Kardulias 1994: 39-41; Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004: 2.
[63] Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004: 2.
[64] Davies 1997: 14, citing Snodgrass 1980, Morris 1987, and Whitley 1991 as vital turning points. Finley 1990: 93 arguing that for this period the evidence is 'almost exclusively' archaeological even after the re-adoption of writing, Hall 2014: 69-70.
[65] Snodgrass 1993: 35. Roebuck 1972 formulating a very similar 'checklist' for Corinth.

in political form that gave rise to the *polis* institutions of the Classical period.[66] Though the exact processes of this change and just how novel some aspects actually were are questioned, the general fact of an 8th century revolution in some form is undeniable,[67] despite its complete absence from textual sources.

Many archaeologically focussed studies on the *polis* and on socio-political change in this period have favoured a Weberian approach in which politics and state organisation are understood through the urban centre. As such, detailed narratives for physical changes at the centres of later *poleis* and at the major sanctuaries have emerged, many of which are tied to increasing political complexity. These studies examine whether or not these centres match up with pre-determined checklists of features demonstrating an appropriate level of urbanism. These checklists focus on archaeologically-visible aspects such as city ethnics and indications of *proxenia* or inter-state relations both preserved in epigraphic evidence, a civic mint, and the presence of a structure such as a *bouleuterion* or *prytaneia*, and an *agora*.[68] Other indications in this regard are a concentration of large number of people in one area,[69] craft specialisation, and signs of social stratification.[70] A great wealth of excavated evidence in the last few decades pertains to these checklists and this approach has been useful because it facilitates comparison between urban sites across the Greek world,[71] and therefore the creation of narratives of general change.

Firstly, there were dramatic increases in population size, the evidence for which has been summarised by Morris,[72] who noted three major transitions in Greek history regarding the size of Greek cities and populations starting c.700 when the Greek settlements first grew larger. The second was c.500, when they grew again and became more complex administratively and

[66] de Polignac 1995: 151.
[67] Morris 2009: 31.
[68] Miller 1995; Morgan and Coulton 1997; Hansen 2000: 161-2; Nielsen 2002:43 following Fischer-Hansen and Hansen 1994:86.
[69] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 92.
[70] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 99-116.
[71] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 89.
[72] Morris 2009.

socially.[73] While demographic studies are notoriously problematic, it is hard to argue convincingly against the idea that the later 8th century saw a rising population.[74] The changing burial patterns from the 8th century onwards indicate that many of the key sites, such as Corinth and Argos, became nucleated in the 8th and 7th centuries and formed new communal, extra-mural cemeteries.[75] The other main arena for excavations apart from the urban centre has been sanctuaries.[76] Cult also changed drastically in the 8th century as is evident by the dramatic rise in votives and architectural investment in sanctuaries. This 8th century growth has most often been interpreted as providing strong evidence for an increase in the political role of cult spaces, acting as liminal spaces on the edge of the *polis* to help define its borders. The idea was first put forward strongly by de Polignac[77] and has now been criticised and re-evaluated,[78] partly because these sanctuaries existed before the 8th century,[79] and because the range of votives indicates that they functioned not as boundaries between delineated territories, but as meeting places between competing groups of elites. Though this particular aspect has been re-evaluated, the 8th century changes are still generally characterised as indicating increased social cohesion, expressed through community cult.[80]

In many ways, this Weberian approach has focussed attention on the 8th century where many changes by the above criteria are evident. However, the public architecture in urban centres suggests that not all changes can be dated to this century as well. Hall, briefly surveying the early

[73] Morris 2009: 27.
[74] Snodgrass 1992: 32. Demography is, however, difficult to reconstruct with any degree of certainty (Hansen 2006: 168). Our evidence is generally literary, providing only small windows of insight (Figueira 1986: 166-7). While this evidence can be converted into life tables or interpreted through other analytical tools, in combination with other sorts of evidence such as settlement growth, it can be difficult to combine these different types of evidence or to provide much detail about demographic change.
[75] Roebuck 1972; Hall 2014: 79-81, Dimakis 2016: 75.
[76] Morris 1987; Bowden 1995: 47, following Sourvinou-Inwood 1989; de Polignac 1995.
[77] de Polignac 1995: 154. Still put forward by some eg. Mackil 2017: 64.
[78] Morgan 1990, Hall 1995, Bershadsky 2013: 10. McInerney 2006: 56, which sees them instead as meeting points between communities, not as borders. In particular Hall 1995, who focussed on the Argive Heraion, one of de Polignac's main examples.
[79] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 247ff.
[80] de Polignac 1995: 78.

evidence for public buildings, notes that there is rarely anything that pre-dates the 6th century, aside from a possible 7th century structure at Koukounaries on Paros, and a small complex of rooms in the later Argive *agora* which had votive materials. He interprets this as suggesting that the communities were probably previously too simple to require these buildings and that functions could be discharged from the leaders' houses which are characteristic of the EIA.[81] The *agora* presents similar problems. The dating of the first *agorai* on the Greek mainland is problematic because an agora is fundamentally merely a space for activities of exchange defined more by its activities than by any inherent qualities it possesses, yet some of the earliest *agorai* we know of, Athens and Argos, do not appear to be formally laid out and demarcated until the 6th century.[82]

There were obvious and paradigmatic changes in the 8th century and yet this evidence relating to the architecture of political institutions summarises exactly why the rise and nature of the Archaic *polis* is still an open question; it is because of the focus placed on particular categories of evidence, understood from different viewpoints. Despite the wealth of evidence there are also many ongoing debates which centre on whether this was a process of revolution or evolution, and whether these changes constitute the appearance of the *polis*. While some still see the 8th century as the key period of change,[83] others argue that it was a more gradual process,[84] advocating for separating the study of urbanization, meaning here the creation of agglomerated/nucleated settlements, from the social construction of a community which came later.[85] But conversely, others have argued that the most important political changes occurred in the 8th century, not reflected in the archaeology fully until urbanisation increased in the 6th

[81] Hall 2014: 81-2.
[82] On the basis of Hall 2014: 82-5, although an 'Old Agora' at Athens is mentioned in one ancient source (Harpokration FGrHist 2b. 244 F 113) and is assumed to have existed on the lack of Geometric activity at the Classical agora. See Miller 1995: 202.
[83] E.g. Morris 1987; Whitley 1991; Snodgrass 1992: 32; de Polignac 1995; Dougherty and Kurke 1998: 1.
[84] Roebuck 1972; Foxhall 1995; Davies 1997: 15; Hall 2014: 85.
[85] Purcell 2005: 251.

century.[86] Much uncertainty stems from the fact that the *polis* can also be understood not as a physical location, but rather as a community of *politai* and other inhabitants who did not hold this status, and as a specific political system.[87] As has been pointed out,[88] we can easily chart the ordering of public space through new buildings indicating less personal power. But the essence and actual function of these structures is archaeologically invisible, and it may predate their formalisation through this new ordering of space. This is much harder to trace physically as, for example, while the earliest *prytaneia* or *bouleuteria* are possible to discern archaeologically, it is not certain that the concept and functions of these groups do not predate the existence of the structures that housed them later. This is not a problem that can be easily solved by the evidence from urban centres, or from Weberian checklists.

Nevertheless, this distinction between evolutionary and revolutionary change is highly significant for how we understand society and its evolution over the Archaic period. It also serves to highlight some of the key problems with this Weberian approach to the archaeological evidence, which has been criticised on the grounds that it is overly focussed on particular features, and therefore not nuanced enough.[89] These checklists also hide diachronic development and local variation through their homogenising focus.[90] It is also highly significant that these checklists are all inherently urban, relating to features that would be found at the *asty*, the urban centre of the *polis,* itself. There is therefore a limit to the depth of understanding that the evidence from excavations at urban centres and sanctuaries can provide us with, specifically pertaining to the question of how the *polis* arose.

Theory, Social Complexity, and the Archaeology of Greece

[86] Hansen 1997: 17-20; Morgan and Coulton 1997: 121.
[87] E.g. Hansen 1997.
[88] Van der Vliet 2011: 122.
[89] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 89.
[90] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 120, de Polignac 2005: 46.

The archaeological approach has therefore been limited by its arguably narrow focus on the civic institutions of urban settlements, and on large, extra-urban sanctuaries in both theory and the history of excavation. To move past this, it is necessary to examine the history of the theoretical underpinnings of social archaeology and how and when this theory has been applied to the study of Ancient Greece. This social approach to archaeology has been extremely fruitful in the study of the preceding period, the EIA.

Evolutionary Theory and its Successors

This socio-evolutionary theory has itself been subject to great change in the past few decades although its use by Classical archaeologists has not always changed at the same pace. Sahlins, Service, and Morton Fried were pioneers of this theory in the 1960s.[91] They developed schemes of social complexity from band up to state based on increasing centralisation, hierarchy, and depersonalization of power among other criteria.[92] Weberian/evolutionary theories for state/*polis* formation often centre on when we see a shift from personal to public/impersonal leadership structures.[93] The adoption of these models focussing on neo-evolutionary hierarchies of society and the so-called 'Big Man' model has transformed our understanding of society in the EIA.[94] These methods have also been applied to Greece in later periods,[95] and have demonstrated that social studies can be undertaken successfully without reliance on textual evidence. Studies of EIA society and the related study of Homeric *basileis* have come to rest largely on the anthropological model of the 'Big Man' adopted from Sahlins' study of Melanesian society. This contrasts with the more stable, hereditary system of chiefdom; in Big Man societies authority is entirely personal and based on charisma and the ability to provide goods, generally food, to

[91] Service 1962; Fried 1967; Haas 2001: 7.
[92] Haas 2001: 8.
[93] Davies 1997: 15, Donlan 1997: 21 as applied to the case of Archaic Greece.
[94] Most famously Whitley 1991; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.
[95] Kardulias 1994: 40.

people.[96] Although the exactness of the match between the Melanesian 'Big Man' and the Greek elites is highly uncertain, at its core it is seemingly a reasonable parallel. These might instead be chiefdoms,[97] although it is important to note that to archaeologists whatever is complex but is not a state is a chiefdom.[98] These categories of less complex societies from band up to chiefdom are often nebulous and difficult to distinguish from one another,[99] and even from more complex societies as the distinction is not always clear, on the path toward increasing hierarchy, centralisation, and complexity, between a complex chiefdom and an early state.[100]

However, they have generally been adopted from the earliest works of political anthropology which focussed on classifying societies on an evolutionary scale particularly in the classic band-tribe-chiefdom-state hierarchy.[101] These models, still largely used by Classical Archaeologists, have not gone uncriticised by anthropologists and archaeologists,[102] and have been called 'lightyears away from anything that modern anthropologists study',[103] replaced by an emphasis on fluidity and hybridity.[104] While some have rejected such schematic approaches, many archaeologists continue to favour them because they facilitate comparison between cultures and periods.[105] But while typologies simplify and facilitate comparison, they also homogenise societies and social forms.[106] Ancient states do not necessarily fit well with these criteria and in fact, more generally, while theories of less complex societies remains mired in difficulty and uncertainty the study of more complex societies such as complex chiefdoms and states has shifted radically in recent decades.

[96] Sahlins 1963; Hall 2014: 129.
[97] Donlan 1997, Hall 2014: 133 suggesting something between a chief and a Big Man.
[98] Falconer 2016: 65.
[99] Yoffee 1993: 64-71; Lewellen 2003: 26-31; Yoffee 2005: 23-6.
[100] Peebles and Kus 1977; Van der Vliet 2011: 122.
[101] Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940 was the first example and is still often cited in Classical work. Later examples are Service 1962; Fried 1967. Summarised by Lewellen 2003: 15.
[102] Yoffee and Sherratt 1993: 53; Haas 2001: 8; Yoffee 2005; Hall 2014: 130; Emberling 2016: 5.
[103] Yoffee 1993: 64, recent examples include Hall 2014: 127-9
[104] Shennan 1993; Yoffee 1993; Lewellen 2003: 15; Yoffee 2005: 24-6
[105] Yoffee 2005; Parkinson and Galaty 2007: 116.
[106] Drennan et al 2012: 2; Falconer 2016: 61.

Neo-evolutionary theory generally relates to primary state formation. Primary states are formed through the pristine development of chiefdoms or other non-state societies, and the focus is on how they change from one to the other.[107] Secondary states, far more common than primary ones, and the category to which Archaic Greece belongs, are states formed not through this isolated evolution,[108] but through other means such as the revival of fractured earlier states or through contact with other more advanced neighbouring regions. These cases of increasing complexity are not well accounted for within neo-evolutionary schemes. Furthermore, this body of theory focuses on complexity as expressed specifically through increasing hierarchisation and centralisation. But for many early states, this is inappropriate as their political institutions are 'flat' and non-hierarchical,[109] not corresponding at all well to the schema provided by these neo-evolutionary theories.

These problems with neo-evolutionary theory particularly as it pertained to early states led to the development of other theories, more applicable to a wider range of early states such as the *polis.* These include World Systems theory, which focuses on interactions between different societies, often concerned with the exchange of goods and the effects these interactions had; usually the tendency of core areas to exploit peripheral ones.[110] World systems analysis holds that sites cannot be understood by themselves but must be contextualised within wider events.[111] It therefore tries to balance the importance of the interactions between different societies, with the more inward focus of neo-evolutionary theory.[112] Other theories have chosen to focus less on hierarchy in complex social systems looking instead at heterarchy, in which elements are ranked in different ways depending on conditions, or on similar studies which encompass flat

[107] Parkinson and Galaty 2007: 114; Kirch 2010: 4.
[108] Faust 2003: 156.
[109] Van der Vliet 2011: 124-5.
[110] Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Parkinson and Galaty 2007: 117, Hall et al 2011: 241.
[111] Hall et al 2011: 234.
[112] Wason 1994: 19.

organisation into their understanding of complex societies such as a citizen state.[113] There is an increasing tendency towards not favouring one or other of these approaches over another, but combining these approaches on an ad hoc basis as seems to best fit with the evidence from the particular society being studied, enabled by the recent realisations that early states are highly varied.[114]

These new theories and approaches open up innovative lines of enquiry into the study of Archaic Greece that allow us to settle the ongoing question of whether or not the *polis* can be considered as a state, and then enables us to ask the questions of the *polis* that are asked of the early state.

Anthropological Models, the State, and the Polis

As these different approaches have taken hold, our understanding of early states has changed radically. Unlike modern nation states these are simpler. They must be stratified and contain a centralised government, and are more likely to regulate labour, perhaps in the form of soldiers, to wage war or to extract tribute. They are also able to conquer and keep territory.[115] They are otherwise more prone to fission than modern states, and more likely to have government at one centre, rather than offices distributed throughout regional centres.[116] The state is itself a nebulous and contentious term but not one wholly devoid of meaning. There are some basic tenets; a state involves a territory, a people, and a government which has the sole right to exercise a given legal order within a given area over a given population.[117] It is also, vitally, a 'continuous public power above both ruler and ruled' – that is, it is an enduring social set up, and

[113] Crumley 1995: 30; Feinman 1995; Grinin 2004; Terrenato and Haggis 2011: 3; Van der Vliet 2011: 127. N.b. Feinman 2011 who criticises this as only a modification of the problematic neo-evolutionary theory, by adding in another division of states as to whether their power is corporate or network.
[114] Terrenato and Haggis 2011: 1-3. They also note that for the Classical world we are very well placed to do this, having a greater amount of evidence and a robust historical framework and level of chronological precision to enable this.
[115] Marcus and Feinman 1998: 4-5; Kirch 2010: 6.
[116] Claessen and Skalnik 1978: 35-6.
[117] Hansen 1998: 35.

one with power that is removed from purely personal authority.[118] It is therefore a term that lacks much detail, in favour of flexibility, partly because a lack of uniformity between states is now emphasised, both in the past and today.[119]

The state is now understood not as a monolithic entity, nor one discrete social category, but a developmental phase with many different possible forms of organisation.[120] Since it is now understood that both the archaic states and the plethora of simpler forms of organisation such as tribes and chiefdoms that they grow out of are so varied,[121] it is clear that not strictly meeting Weberian or neo-evolutionary definitions of a state should not bar a society from being considered as an early state. State formation is now understood as a set of complex and interrelated processes of hierarchy creation, formalisation and depersonalisation of power,[122] and the institutionalisation of other aspects of social control such as laws. It is accompanied by and possibly correlated with increasing complexity of society in other matters such as the size and pattern of population, increased investment in communication, and economic complexity.[123] This opens the state up to much broader methods of investigation, and ones that can be applied to non-urban and non-excavated evidence, using material such as that gathered by surveys.

Is the Polis a State?

Whether or not the *polis* is a form of state is also a subject of contention, although unlike many other aspects of the *polis*, consensus favours a positive argument quite strongly.[124] The *polis* is

[118] Hansen 1998: 37.
[119] Krohn-Hansen and Nustad 2005: 4 Falconer 2016: 60.
[120] Cherry 1987: 149; Parkinson and Galaty 2007: 116.
[121] Van der Vliet 2011: 120-1.
[122] Kirch 2010: 4.
[123] Claessen 2000: 154-9; Van der Vliet 2011: 119.
[124] E.g. Hansen 1998: 34.

often discussed as a state[125] with no perceived need to justify this.[126] It is otherwise claimed as a microstate,[127] or an unusually decentralised, heterarchical one.[128]

Arguments against its status as a state generally rest on Weberian grounds. Weber focussed in particular on the legitimate monopoly on force,[129] a criterion also favoured by the original neo-evolutionists.[130] By this logic, the *polis* is a 'stateless society', defined by the absence of a class or group of people who monopolise the use of legitimate force,[131] and often viewed as comparatively primitive societies which predate the development of complex hierarchies.[132] However, this misrepresents the *polis* which did have legitimate force albeit one that happened to be spread across large proportions of the citizen body. Furthermore, it is possible to argue that this strict Weberian definition excludes almost all states before the Early Modern period.[133] There are other indications that the *polis* is a state. While power is disseminated very far through the population, Greek states nevertheless had complex infrastructure and could implement and enforce rules such as property ownership, legislation, and territory;[134] while stateless societies, almost by definition, lack defined territories.[135]

Semantics have also confused the issue. While, as outlined briefly above, the *polis* has many definitions that cannot be equated to a state, such as an *acropolis*, Hansen also noted that the word does usually refer to a conurbation with an attached territory and a community of *politai*.[136] This definition certainly holds for the communities of the Peloponnese investigated in this

[125] E.g. Berent 2000.
[126] E.g. Snodgrass 1993: 34.
[127] Davies 1997: 14.
[128] Morris 1994a: 50-1; Mackil 2017: 63.
[129] Weber 1972: 514-6.
[130] Service 1962: 171.
[131] Berent 2000: 258.
[132] Berent 2000. Hansen 2002: 18.
[133] Van der Vliet 2011: 121.
[134] Mackil 2017: 63-4.
[135] Hansen 2002: 27. Hall 2014: 128 assessing these arguments also agrees that the functions of the *polis*, which did have a central authority, corresponds more to a state than to a stateless society.
[136] Hansen 1993: 7.

research. It has otherwise been argued that the *polis* is too small to be called a city. However, this rests on modern notions of states, rendering it anachronistic.[137] Another problem is that of autonomy; many *poleis* were not fully autonomous, whereas an early modern or modern state by definition must be.[138] Not all the communities called *poleis* in ancient literature were states, and many of the smaller communities are likely not to have been so.[139] However, this issue is less relevant to the larger *poleis* of the Peloponnese, such as Sparta or Tegea, which are considered here, particularly with the broadened theoretical understandings of primitive states that have come to the fore.

We have therefore now reached a point of exciting new possibilities for understanding the early state and thus the *polis*. Conversely, we have also reached some limits of current investigation of the *polis* using the more traditional literary and archaeological approaches outlined above. As shown, the use of Classical and post-Classical historical sources on the Archaic period is mired in issues of reliability, especially for the later ones such as Pausanias. While these issues are increasingly understood and discussed by historians, it is very difficult to move past mere acknowledgement towards the critical evaluation of what aspects of the traditions they use are factual without comparative input from another area of study. Meanwhile, excavations at urban and cult sites have provided a remarkable wealth of information on the period, revolutionising our understanding of developments at these centres. Nevertheless, they are limited in their geographical and temporal scope which affects the breadth and detail of the overview they can provide for the sites themselves, and for a wider region or time period. It is not without good reason that an impasse has been reached in the study of this material. However, there is one particular aspect of the state, as a theoretical model, and the *polis*, as a particular example of a state, which has been comparatively neglected.

[137] Hansen 1993: 14.
[138] Hansen 1995: 21-4.
[139] Van der Vliet 2011: 123.

While the urban centre is highly linked to the state in scholarship,[140] these are not synonymous. As mentioned above the state is a combination of government, people, and territory.[141] This is if anything a more pertinent point for the Greek *polis* than it is for many other sorts of states. This is because in Greece there is, unusually, a lack of an inherent link between urbanisation and statehood since nucleated settlement did not fall out of favour after the palatial collapse of the 12th century,[142] and because some *poleis* such as Mantineia and Elis before the 5th century were non-nucleated. It is more focussed research into the *territory* that can provide new evidence for these discussions and shed new light on the period. Focussing not solely on the centre but also on the periphery will make it easier to look at social change from a different perspective, to more easily understand the formation of individual *poleis* as a result, and process, of interaction with neighbouring regions. It will also provide a different archaeological narrative within which to contextualise ancient textual evidence and explore the potential in the currently under-used resource of survey reports.

Territory and the State, Territory and the Polis

The concept of territory as a component of the *polis* has been the subject of previous study, in particular by de Polignac,[143] whose argument was that the rise of the *polis* was an 8th century phenomenon tied closely to the development of non-urban sanctuaries as liminal, defining spaces that marked the boundaries of a *polis*,[144] as noted above. However, this has been the subject of criticism. One of his key examples was the Argive Heraion, presented as a facet of Argive control

[140] Noted e.g. Sinopoli and Suvrathan 2016: 109.
[141] Hansen 1993: 8.
[142] A point previously noted by Osborne 2005:9.
[143] In particular de Polignac 1995.
[144] De Polignac 1995: 151-4. In more recent work his view has slightly shifted, placing slightly less emphasis on the 8th century as the period of *polis* formation (de Polignac 2005: 45-52), and urging a more integrated understanding of both urban and rural changes to fully understand *polis* development (de Polignac 2005: 63), although he still sees the 8th century as a watershed moment in the development of the *polis*, and has maintained his position on the importance of extra-urban sanctuaries as border markers in this early period (de Polignac 2005: 64 on Perachora and Corinth).

of the wider plain from an early date. However, Hall[145] has criticised this argument by noting, as did Strom,[146] that the evidence from the sanctuary does not support Argive dominance but is more suggestive of a meeting place between sites on the plain, and one in which Mycenae also played an important and active role. Therefore, there are strong suggestions that in the 8th century, extra-urban sanctuaries had not yet necessarily begun to fit comfortably into the category of *polis* boundary markers, and that this change can be sought later in the Archaic period. Additionally, this focus on large, extra-urban sanctuaries has pulled necessary focus away from contemporary developments at small rural cult sites and urban cult sites, without which a holistic understanding of the changes to the cultic landscape, and to territory, cannot be fully understood. There are also geographical issues with this interpretation; while his arguments work well with the process of urban and cultic development in, for example, the Greek colonies in Italy, such as Metapontum, their relevance to mainland Greece is more questionable. Furthermore, while de Polignac's focus on territory has particularly been on the topic of delineation, this is just one of many ways to consider the development of territory. The changes that occur *within* this territory are also vital and informative, and are complementary with the study of its delineation. I will therefore consider both the delineation of territory, by sanctuaries and other means, and the date at which this occurred. However, this will be accompanied by, and evidenced by, a study of the changes to the territory itself and the developments that occurred there over time.

Morris too has written extensively on the development of the *polis*, particularly by problematising the link between the 'Rise of the Polis' and the rise of the city or the state, and has argued for the separation of these into different phases of development, as noted above.[147] His work has therefore been instrumental to the study of the development of the Greek *polis* as a multi-faceted, evolutionary phenomenon, and to understanding social change through archaeology,[148]

[145] Hall 1995a: 613.
[146] Strom 1988.
[147] See also Morris 1990: 26.
[148] In particular Morris 1987, Morris 1998.

and as such provides an important background to this work. However, his most detailed work has often been focussed on earlier periods than this thesis tackles.[149] Secondly, his interest in survey data, the main evidence employed here, is from an agricultural and economic perspective.[150] This thesis, while building on his work, therefore attempts to use different evidence, contextualised into new understandings of the state and *polis* to advance the study of the *polis*, in particular its territory, in new directions.

Increasingly nuanced views of both the state and the *polis* fit better with a Durkheimian approach to the evidence, where the narrow focus on the urban centre and its evidence of political structures is contextualised into the 'totality of forms of social interactions'.[151] It is not a rejection of the Weberian focus on urban forms, but an incorporation of it into broader lines of enquiry, one of which is that of the territory itself. The territory is a significant, but understudied aspect of the state,[152] although it is commonplace to at least acknowledge that one cannot understand the state without this spatial definition to it.[153] Today all states are territorial,[154] which might explain why we fail to pay due attention to it. This lack of focus is also probably connected to Weber's own disregard for the territory as a facet of the developing state.[155] However, this approach drastically underappreciates the role of territorial formation in the early state and the wealth of evidence that it provides us with. There are many aspects of social change that relate to territorial formation in particular and there are lines of enquiry that cannot be answered by evidence from the urban centre of the state itself.

Territory is not a neutral concept. A territory is a place of social activity, the establishment and maintenance of which requires effort and the will of a group of people who lay claim to it.[156]

[149] E.g. Morris 1987.
[150] Morris 1994b: 352.
[151] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 89.
[152] Elden 2013: 9.
[153] Elden 2013: 6.
[154] Moore 2015: 6.
[155] Elden 2013: 9.
[156] Elden 2013: 5, Moore 2015: 16-17, Feuer 2016: 2.

Though territory can also refer to areas roamed by hunter-gatherers and can be held by other forms of organisation such as tribes,[157] it generally refers to states particularly in the sense meant here, that a territory is not simply an area in which people act and live but an area over which they have theoretical legitimated control. As territory is a social construct, formulated and practiced differently depending on circumstance, it can change easily.[158] Its articulation and expression are a means to an end, often involving survival, control of wealth, or definition of the self. It is not just functional but also highly symbolic and emotional.[159] When its manifestation drastically changes, this therefore reflects changes of both practical and symbolic kinds. Spatial organisation and social complexity change together. By which I mean, changing land use reflects not just practical developments of, for example, population size, but also tells us about identity and social elaboration. While understanding the delineation of territory is important, territory itself is a highly complex and changeable phenomenon, varying between places and over time, influenced by social development and change as much as the urban fabric of the *polis* is. Therefore, the changing *use* of territory, and the changing conceptualisation of territoriality, is also a highly significant area of study. Increasingly structured relationships between groups of people and the land, more precise boundaries between territories,[160] and conflicts over border territories, all elucidate the identities of the contestants who are increasingly defined through this confrontation and in contrast to one another.[161] Borders are points of difference; a demarcation of the self from the other. However, they are overlapping, liminal spaces of common use as well as conflict,[162] and it seems that a key difference between ancient and modern territories is that there is more scope for liminality in ancient regions.[163]

[157] Grant et al 2015: 260.
[158] Mullin 2011: 5.
[159] Smith 1990: 3; Feuer 2016: 2-3.
[160] Gottmann 1973: 128; Feuer 2016: 41.
[161] Bershadsky 2013: 13-14.
[162] Koparal 2017: 98.
[163] Osborne 2013: 1.

This certainly seems to be the same in Greece, where liminal cult sites act as places of interaction. Despite the existence of these liminal zones in Greece and other early states the appearance of border regions (and core regions) is still a significant development away from the EIA networks of small, nucleated settlements. Only a very small number of works have so far focussed on the nature of territory as a facet of *polis* formation, particularly beyond its sheer delineation by sanctuaries.[164] This may in part be because connectivity is a prominent concept in Classical archaeology,[165] which might perhaps be linked to the landmark publication of *The Corrupting Sea*,[166] since which time it has been more fashionable to consider the Greeks as 'frogs around the pond'. Few have overtly criticised the amount of attention that is currently paid to connectivity as opposed to boundaries.[167] While connectivity is a hugely significant topic, it has perhaps led us to divert attention away from borders. This is particularly surprising for the study of the 'Rise of the Polis', as borders are an important part of the *polis* in the Classical, Hellenistic, and later periods where many conflicts and a great deal of epigraphically visible mediation occur over boundaries. Similarly, territorial disputes are a key topic in textual evidence of the Archaic period and mark a notable change from the preceding period, where the nucleated centres appear to be the only areas of activity, seeming almost to float in an entirely irrelevant landscape, where there is no idea of a hinterland.[168] The use, and changing use, of this space is significant for our understanding of the *polis*, as the establishment of boundaries, as boundaries fit into the wider narrative of the development of territory which can be understood from survey and excavated material in conjunction. Nevertheless, the archaeological investigation of territorial formation and the formation of its boundaries has not reflected this. Furthermore, even if the *polis* cannot be considered a state,[169] or even if one wished to take a more insular viewpoint and discuss Greek

[164] E.g. Koparal 2017.
[165] As well as Horden and Purcell 2000 and Malkin 2009.
[166] Horden and Purcell 2000.
[167] E.g. Davies 1997: 13, Vlassopoulos 2007: 22.
[168] Ross 2001: 16-18.
[169] E.g. Terrenato and Haggis 2011: 5.

socio-political changes not with reference to general archaeological models but only in the context of other Greek evidence such as literature, this change from non-territorial EIA communities towards the *polis*, which is defined partly in terms of territorial limits, along with the more commonly considered definitions of common cult and a political centre,[170] is still worthy of investigation.

To phrase the above in more subject-specific terms, the *polis* is not just made up of the urban centre; it also consists of the *chora*.[171] Just as the territory is a vital yet comparatively neglected aspect of the state, the same holds for the *chora* with regards to the *polis.*[172] While the Greeks generally conceived of peoples rather than places as actors, land was highly important and many of the conflicts recorded are over territory and resources. The *chora* is a fundamental aspect of the *polis*, both as territory, and as a counterpart to the activities occurring in the *asty*. Considering both *chora* and *asty* together, and focussing more attention on the comparatively neglected *chora* is vital to understanding the *polis* as a socio-political entity. [173] The activity in the *chora* characterised generally as the creation of territory and borders/border regions, large-scale patterns of inhabitation and land use across an entire territory, and the increasing complexity and intensity of land use away from the centre, is therefore of great significance to our understanding of the 'Rise of the Polis' and changes in Archaic social organisation more generally as they provide a counterbalance to the evidence from centres and from textual sources. Despite this, studies of *polis* formation have tended heavily towards *asty* formation rather than *chora* formation.

The study of territory and borders is therefore important; it is also extremely practicable with the evidence that we possess for Archaic Greece. Borders are difficult to discern archaeologically.[174]

[170] Bowden 1995: 47.
[171] Pretzler 1999: 103.
[172] Morgan and Coulson 1997: 89; Foxhall 2006: 249.
[173] Morgan 1997: 17-20; Morgan and Coulton 1997: 121.
[174] Kyriakidis 2012: 115.

While they are sometimes comprised of obvious natural boundaries such as mountains these do not always mark the edge of a territory and, conversely, many boundaries are not naturally marked. They can be delineated overtly. In Greece these delineations exist in the form of military installations and boundary markers between *poleis* although these are rare,[175] and they are not usually marked in this way. Instead, territorial boundaries in states are extrapolated from settlement hierarchies using central place theory to map increasingly peripheral sites radiating outwards from the centre at the core.[176]

This involves preparing frequency histograms for sites in terms of size, arranging them in patterns involving a dominant settlement, generally measured by relative size, and its subordinates clustering around it, and looking for natural breaks of distribution to separate out different hierarchical groupings from one another.[177] It was developed in the mid-1960s as modern geographical theory, and adopted by archaeologists soon afterwards. Though there are problems with Central Place Theory, site size analysis is still accepted to be informative on a basic level, with some adjustments.[178] Its assumptions about the correlation between site size and importance is also debatable, and other factors are therefore also considered to determine if a site is dominant or subordinate.[179] Rather than just site size, archaeologists look for other signs of increasing complexity from the functions of buildings, such as elite residences, cult sites, garrisons, markets, to mark settlement hierarchies.[180]

Generally, the centre of power within a hierarchy is the largest settlement,[181] though features to indicate centres in addition to size can include investment of labour in their creation, functional aspects such as fortifications and monumental ceremonial centres.[182] Such centres are referred

[175] Hjohlman et al 2005: 98, Kyriakidis 2012: 115.
[176] Cherry 1987; Feuer 2016: 4.
[177] Cherry 1987; Renfrew 1995: 27, Feuer 2016: 4.
[178] Renfrew and Bahn 2016: 184.
[179] Renfrew 1995: 27.
[180] Grant et al 2008: 256.
[181] Steponaitis 1981: 320; Renfrew 1982 :3.
[182] Renfrew 1995:51.

to as being of 'higher order'. Higher order centres encompass all those features of lower order in addition to others indicating more complex functions such as trade, industry, and administration.[183] In more state-like societies such centres, generally large, complex and urban, are surrounded by towns, villages, hamlets and farmsteads; the more dominant a single site appears to be in terms of size and social functions, the more stratified the hierarchy of settlements which are controlled by the higher order centre. The broader the set of sites present which have different discernible functions from one another, and the greater the range of site sizes within the region, the more complex the hierarchy.[184] So a scatter of equally sized, materially homogenous settlements indicates a one tier hierarchy (or rather a lack of hierarchy), while a range of differently sized settlements with discernibly different functions, such as an administrative centre, smaller towns, farmsteads, military outposts and cult sites indicates a more complex, multi-tier hierarchy.

These settlement hierarchies can illuminate territory and its exploitation in other ways. The number of tiers of settlement within a territory have been used as markers of complexity, for example Renfrew's argument, generally adopted, that a three-tier system qualifies as a state,[185] and even if this particular figure is too restrictive, it remains a fact that the increasing use of the territory, and the increasingly complexity of its settlement patterns, are significant for understanding rank and social organisation on a macro-scale above that of the household or the individual settlement.[186] While in some regions it is notoriously difficult to distinguish the role and relative importance of different sites within a territory, especially where size is the only criterion available,[187] this is not the case in Greece where site size is complemented by the ability to discern particular sites most notably cult sites, by the ceramic assemblages found there. In

[183] Cosmopoulos 2001: 26.
[184] Renfrew and Bahn 2016: 184. Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982:246 - higher order sites being ones that contain all the functions of lower order ones, as well as certain religious, political, or economic functions.
[185] Renfrew 1986: 6-10.
[186] Wason 1994: 128.
[187] Wason 1994: 129.

Greece, these cult sites can serve as mark as signifiers of borders and liminal zones; however, states are not delineated by the sheer presence of sanctuaries away from the centre.[188] Instead, it is the presence of networks of urban, peri-urban and liminal sanctuaries, combined with other factors such as increasing architectural investment or the increasing overt dominance of one *polis* within these liminal spaces that supports the existence of a territory. Beyond this, growing levels of activity away from the centre indicate an expansion of population, as well as increasing wealth.[189] This territory was important for necessities of life, luxuries for personal consumption and for trade.[190]

It is therefore not only important and highly desirable to investigate the territory of the *polis*, but also theoretically highly possible. This can be achieved by using a category of evidence most pertinent to the territory of the *polis*. This investigative method is surface survey, the recording and selective collection of artefacts through systematic field-walking to map and understand past human activity across a landscape without excavation. Surveys reveal the settlement and land use patterns in the *polis* as a whole, and they have been noted for this ability.[191] Yet while these archaeological projects have revolutionised our understanding of life and other human activity away from the *asty* in recent years,[192] surveys have been incorporated surprisingly little into wider synthetic discussions of Archaic social organisation and the 'Rise of the Polis'.[193] This is a serious failing, given the potential of surveys to resolve questions that rise between text and excavation, a lacuna that my research addresses.

[188] As argued by Snodgrass 1993: 37 and de Polignac 1995.
[189] Schwarz and Falconer 1994: 2.
[190] Koparal 2017: 98.
[191] E.g. Stissi 2016.
[192] Foxhall 2006: 254.
[193] A lack noted by Vlassopoulos 2007: 54, 65.

Survey Data and Social Archaeology

A history of survey

The first survey of this sort in Greece was the University of Minnesota's survey of Messenia, undertaken in the 1960s, which aimed to contextualise the Bronze Age palace of Pylos into its territory although it covered several other periods in some detail.[194] The few earlier attempts at survey in Greece had a particular goal in mind, most often to find sites that merited detailed excavation.[195] It was therefore often biased towards large and historically famous sites.[196] However, during the 1970s and 1980s new methods were adapted from the New World and Near East, in which teams would walk limited areas intensively and collect artefacts systematically, with explicit statements about the aims and methods of the survey, generally with a wider question than that of the Messenia Expedition survey.[197] Though first applied in Italy,[198] they were soon adopted in Greece. These early surveys generally involved the study of statistically representative small samples though this was subsequently rejected as they were found to be less representative than had been assumed. Total survey, in which the entire survey area, rather than sections of it, are studied, is ideal, but was also found to be practically difficult, therefore, the compromise of thorough survey with detailed descriptions of the collection circumstances was settled on.[199] The surveys of the 1970s, often criticised as positivist,[200] were subsequently replaced by more pragmatic projects from the 1980s onwards, which emphasise the problems and complexities of surveying as well as the potential they can present us with. It was during this

[194] Jameson et al 1994:5.
[195] Keller and Rupp 1983:1.
[196] Alcock 2007: 123.
[197] Jameson et al 1994: 6; Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004: 3.
[198] Ward-Perkins 1972.
[199] Renfrew and Bahn 2005: 251.
[200] Cherry 2004: 23.

more developed phase that many of the surveys of mainland Greece began.[201] This new method of extreme openness of collection techniques and interpretative framework is first highly evident in the final publication of Keos.[202] This second phase of surveys, to which most of those considered here belong, were general in aim and method, investigating all periods of human activity over a large area, including ecological and ethnographic data to provide a general account of human settlement and its relationship with the environment.[203] This new phase has also been marked by its engagement with the region as a concept through which to investigate social questions, as is demonstrated by the surveys considered below.[204]

Only fairly recently, from the early 1990s onwards, has survey data been incorporated into what are traditionally seen as 'historical' questions of society,[205] although the long-term, large-scale nature of survey data lends itself to diachronic historical frameworks of interpretation, in particular the Annales School,[206] a structuralist approach akin to Durkheimian ones which fits well with archaeology in general but particularly with survey.[207] Surface survey is an important archaeological method for investigating the full spectrum of activity across a landscape.[208] It provides a necessary balance to the single-site, often urban, focus of excavation to enable archaeologists to understand rural landscapes,[209] and allows a view of the past that is both long term and regional, as opposed to site-based.[210] This was done so quite explicitly as this method was adopted largely in the post-war period partly as it was cheaper than excavation but also was

[201] Cherry 2004: 24.
[202] Cherry et al 1991.
[203] Keller and Rupp 1983: 1.
[204] Binford 1964: 426; Cherry 2004: 24.
[205] E.g. Osborne 1987, Foxhall 1990; Snodgrass 1990; Alcock 1993; Alcock 1994, Dimakis 2016.
[206] Cherry 1983: 389-90; Cherry et al 1991: 10; Bennet and Galaty 1997: 98; Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004: 4.
[207] Horden and Purcell 2000; Emberling 2016: 6. Bintliff 1994: 13 specifically on the benefits of applying this school to regional survey data to determine local as opposed to wider Greek trends.
[208] Renfrew and Bahn 2005: 250.
[209] Cherry 1983: 388; Osborne 1987; Cosmopoulos 2001:4; Bintliff 2005a: 20.
[210] Alcock 1993: 6. See also Kolb 2004, a volume containing several papers engaging in the connections between the territory and the urban centre e.g. Bintliff and Howard 2004 on the rural landscape of Roman Boeotia as reconstructed from survey.

a way of looking more in line with other archaeological disciplines and anthropological ones which were, as detailed above, now coming more into the discourse.[211]

Despite the many benefits of survey material, large-scale, synthetic works that use it to investigate social and historical questions in Greece are largely restricted to the Bronze Age or Neolithic,[212] or to later, specifically Hellenistic and Roman, periods,[213] for a number of reasons. Firstly, Aegean prehistory has always been more open, through necessity, to less text-driven archaeological methods such as this one. Secondly, as Hellenistic and Roman Greece are more peripheral historical periods, investigating them through text is more difficult. Additionally, much of the work done using survey on these later periods has been undertaken and inspired by one archaeologist in particular, Susan Alcock.[214] The lack of research through this data into the EIA and Archaic periods are for yet another reason. The EIA often produces a very small amount of survey data, making it difficult to make firm conclusions, in contrast to the spectacular findings from excavation at sites such as Lefkandi and Nichoria. The Archaic period, on the other hand, is generally considered as an essentially historical period, as the Classical period is, resulting in a focus on text in answering questions of society, despite the profundity of relevant survey data, which has expanded dramatically in the last 30 years or so,[215] and much of which relates strongly to economic change and urbanism, and does not necessarily match well with previous, text-based interpretations.[216]

Surveys are therefore an excellent tool for investigating long-term changes, though one which is still marked by problems of methodology and interpretation. It is also very well suited to investigate not just long-term change, but also geographical variation on a large scale, although

[211] Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004: 2-4.
[212] E.g. Halstead 1994; Cavanagh 1995; Cavanagh 1999; Cherry and Davis 2001.
[213] Osborne 1987; Alcock 1993; Alcock 1994; Pettegrew 2007b.
[214] Alcock 1993; Alcock 1994, Pettegrew 2007b.
[215] Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004: 1.
[216] Bintliff 1994: 11.

this aspect has been comparatively neglected in the study of surveys,[217] and for providing a counter-balance to the focuses of text-based narratives. However as with any other source of evidence its use presents some risks. The main points of contention regarding survey are its reliability, the extent of comparability between different surveys, and the ability of survey to inform us of social change or even society more generally.

The Interpretation of Survey Results

The great variety of methodologies used by different teams undertaking fieldwork has been argued to render comparisons meaningless,[218] although this is too extreme a position to take. Alcock, synthesising many different surveys of Greece, set out a few key issues with the combination of the results of different surveys. Those undertaken many years apart can be methodologically incompatible and often far less detailed the earlier they were done. Comparisons can also be problematic when surveys use chronological schemes which differ resulting in the same term being used for time periods that differ by several decades. One other main problem with comparison of surveys is the delay of publication.[219] Comparison of survey data can therefore be theoretically difficult if different methodologies have been used.[220] It is also difficult to directly compare surveys that are undertaken to different levels of intensity.[221] Therefore, on an ad hoc basis, the similarity of the methodologies employed by the surveys studied here must be evaluated.

The extent to which survey can be used to investigate social questions has long been a subject of debate. Several recent surveys, particularly on Cyprus, have aimed not just to provide an

[217] Caraher et al 2006: 7.
[218] Ammerman in Keller and Rupp 1983: 43; Witcher 2006: 49.
[219] Alcock and Cherry 2004: 4.
[220] Alcock and Cherry 2004: 4-5; Cherry 2004: 27.
[221] Alcock 1994; Attema and Van Leusen 2004; Terrenato 2004: 36-49; McHugh 2017: 10.

overview of the island, but to investigate how far society can be elucidated from survey data.[222] They have focussed on various aspects of landscape use, mostly as agriculture and settlement patterns to provide a coherent settlement history from the Neolithic to the present day, and to investigate how humans transformed the landscape, and vice versa, over time. They have achieved the above aims with a considerable degree of success, for example through the creation of some new syntheses of long-term Greek history, which focuses on large-scale demographic and patterns of land use as elucidated from surveys.[223] Some surveys of mainland Greece have also focussed on social organisation, notably Cosmopoulos' survey of Classical and Hellenistic Oropos. Cosmopoulos emphasised that survey data cannot contribute much to the definition of groups as social grouping is more easily extrapolated from burials and settlement architecture than from evidence of this sort. However, he also concluded that some informative aspects of the interactions of groups and settlements with one another, such as centre and periphery, nucleation and dispersion, could be elucidated from the study of their size, function and hierarchy.[224]

This principle is often difficult to put into practice for a number of reasons. Firstly, it rests entirely on the ability to discern sites in the landscape. To briefly tackle the concept of a site, this somewhat controversial term, most often used to describe concentrations of finds within a survey, is extremely problematic and fluid, and it has been criticised in the general field of surface surveys for a number of reasons. Firstly, the very concept of a site may be irrelevant for societies which are nomadic, or otherwise leave little impression on the landscape. Secondly, it is not always easy to determine where the boundary of a site is. For both of these reasons, many archaeologists have adopted a non-site approach of recording features and artefacts within and across an entire landscape rather than prioritising areas of concentration that would generally be

[222] Knapp and Given 2004; Todd 2004; Maliszewski 2014.
[223] E.g. Bintliff 2002; Morris 2009.
[224] Cosmopoulos 2001:21; Runnels and van Andel 1987 for the Argolid Exploration Project.

designated sites.[225] However, this approach is much more common in the New World where the landscape was often exploited in this nomadic, non-settlement-based way than it is in the Mediterranean, and none of the surveys were done with this approach in mind.[226] For surveys on the Greek mainland it is still the term most often used to describe, generally, an artefact density notably greater than that of the background,[227] and as this is the general definition used by all the surveys examined here, I will be following this.

Settlement hierarchies can also be difficult to discern for societies about which very little is known, or which have not been recorded historically. Lip service is often paid to the danger of assuming that the largest site is the most politically important.[228] But in fact this does not apply particularly to the surveys of Greece. The ceramic assemblages of ancient Greece are extremely well studied and determining site function from them, while still often difficult, is far easier than for many other parts of the world. For example, the general ceramic characters of, say, a votive deposit as opposed to a farmstead, are distinct from one another although it can be very difficult to draw a distinction between some types of small site, such as a large farmstead or a small hamlet. As discussed above, the purpose of a site is as significant to the construction of a site hierarchy as sheer size, further enabling hierarchies of this sort to be discerned from the survey material. Additionally, our comparatively detailed knowledge of Greek ceramics of the historical period enables us to date material closely, to centuries or even smaller increments, which is not possible in many other parts of the world or in earlier times. As the study of the location of central function and government can inform us about the organisation of society and the scale of the

[225] Renfrew and Bahn 2005: 252. The siteless approach is taken in some Greek surveys, e.g. the Eastern Korinthia survey project, but not in any of the surveys discussed here.
[226] Cherry et al 1991: 45. The surveyors at Keos integrated both, investigating the distribution of artefacts across the entire landscape, and designating those areas where they were most concentrated as 'sites'. In this they follow Gallant 1986: 403. A notable counterpoint is the Eastern Korinthia Survey and the Boeotia Survey Project, although both choose not to use the site as their basic unit of analysis for highly region-specific reasons that do not apply to the surveys examined here.
[227] E.g. Whitelaw 1991: 22, who defends a site-based approach specifically for Keos as the landscape has generally been exploited from sedentary settlements.
[228] E.g. Morgan and Coulton 1997: 124.

units within it, as well as how they relate to one another,[229] broad conclusions about networks of authority and control across the area surveyed can be made. However, a more detailed account of social ranking within individual settlements can be extremely difficult to link directly to survey.[230] Multi-period sites can make it difficult to discern the relative size and importance of the site across different periods, although intensive fieldwalking can help to alleviate this problem.[231] This has led to the creation of urban as well as rural surveys, which provide a large-scale, diachronic understanding of sites that excavation of small sections of the same site do not.[232] Therefore, only fairly broad, but nevertheless important, conclusions can be drawn from survey evidence regarding these topics.

How surveys engage with the landscape and how accurately the finds that have been exposed on the surface reflect the sub-surface situation, is another source of uncertainty regarding their reliability, although one that has received a lot of attention. These largely relate to the taphonomic processes that the landscapes, and the sites within them, undergo. Surface finds change constantly due to agricultural activity. New material is drawn up or re-buried by ploughing, which also homogenises and abrades the assemblages.[233] Studies of surface to sub-surface mapping are rare but indicate some potential issues. For example, some types of fabric survive less well than others on the surface and so are under-represented in survey.[234]

The possible erosion of sites is a very complex issue within survey regions and we cannot make blanket assumptions, instead each project must examine their own geomorphological processes which most of those considered here have done in great detail.[235] A resurvey project in Italy in groves and vineyards demonstrated that tilling moves artefacts vertically but not horizontally.

[229] Renfrew 1995: 25.
[230] Ulmschneider 2011.
[231] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 123.
[232] Bintliff 2004: 8.
[233] Millett 2000: 219.
[234] Millett 2000: 219.
[235] Gouma et al 2011: 2723.

Therefore, survey projects in areas of tilled soil, which applies to some of the survey material studied here, will retain the general area and distribution of sites well, but, depending on how recently they have been tilled, may have drastically different counts.[236] While this is problematic, it indicates that tilling will not hugely change the conclusions garnered about site placement and assemblage. It may impact how large the site is thought to be, although perhaps not that drastically; however, this will have a potentially significant effect on its perceived density. In upland areas, surface finds can be distorted by downslope movement, erosion, and terracing, which can all hinder the accuracy of interpretation and endanger the ability to distinguish between site and off-site. Meanwhile, in lowland areas, long term settlement and intensive use due to fertile conditions can hide earlier remains.[237] Vegetation can also hinder visibility badly, although study surveys suggested that 20m was a reasonable minimum distance between walkers for a relatively large (50% or more) recovery of sites.[238] All of the intensive surveys studied here spaced their walkers more closely than this. These problems are recognised and addressed by the majority of surveys examined here, and these topics will therefore be tackled during the study of the surveys individually.

There are therefore numerous issues of interpretation that come with survey data, some more severe than others. However, there are two main reasons that this should in no way discourage people from using it to tackle social questions. Firstly, survey projects are aware of these problems and frequently undertake numerous extra elements of fieldwork in order to overcome them. Secondly, the alternative sources of material, text and excavation, are both marked by their own sets of interpretative problems no less severe than those of survey data. Furthermore, the discipline has produced a large amount of survey data that is not being comprehensively studied and synthesised after its initial publication, a problem that has been noted specifically in regard

[236] Ammermann 1985: 39-40.
[237] Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004: 5.
[238] Banning et al 2006: 737-40.

to the 'Rise of the Polis'.[239] One of the most notable exceptions is Koparal's short study on territorial formation in Klazomenai, which focussed on defensive networks, *horoi*, and shrines, as order markers, and which therefore used survey data to understand how the limits of the *polis* were marked from the Early Archaic period onwards.[240] Otherwise, a couple of works have studied the changing size of towns over time, and briefly touched on the creation of dense networks settlements, considering them as a phenomenon of the Geometric to Classical periods, rather than specifically investigating these particular changes during those periods. Others have sought to investigate territoriality through the spatial arrangements of burials in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[241] None of these works have synthesised the material with reference to the 'Rise of the Polis', nor have they combined it with the textual evidence as I do in this study.

Research Questions

This research aims to incorporate these new theoretical approaches, and the underutilised evidence from Greek survey, to examine social change from the 8th to the 6th centuries, to break through the limitations currently existing in textual and archaeological sources and approaches. In particular, it aims to investigate changes to settlement patterns in the landscapes of Southern Greece, both those at the urban centre and away from it. It will investigate the changing concept of territory during this period, in order to further understand the development of the *polis*.

For the first time, it will synthesise Archaic survey material, contextualising it with the excavated evidence from settlements and with some historical sources. This material and these methods, which have not been employed in these discussions in detail before, will cast new light on a particularly formative period of Greek history. It also aims to provide a counterpoint to these

[239] Snodgrass 1993: 31; Vlassopoulos 2007: 54.
[240] Koparal 2017: 101-5.
[241] E.g. Dimakis 2016.

historical sources rather than to be led by them in order to contribute to the ongoing, critical discourse on how Classical and later sources which discuss Archaic history should be treated.

There is therefore a strong argument to be made in favour of an anti-historical approach to the Archaic period. It has been argued that merely acknowledging and attempting to allay a reliance on text does not go far enough and that it is important to produce histories using material evidence and not drawing on available literary traditions.[242] It rests on rejecting textual history and its details, which are frequently wrong, in favour of schemata investigating the *longue durée* on a broad scale.[243] This is because neither approach, either focussing brutally on impersonal processes, or approaching archaeology as textual illustration, are actually correct.[244] It is only through producing both sorts of narratives, and then combining them and using them to critique one another, that our understanding of the past can be more nuanced.

Focussing on the material from survey will cast new light on the numerous, vital changes that occurred away from the urban centre, as lower order centres emerged and spread to exploit the landscape, while borders and territories became increasingly evident, and disputed over, during this period. However, it will also provide a new overview of changes at the urban centre itself, particularly their dramatic increases in size and population, through the examination of urban surveys.

My research takes a Durkheimian approach which utilises a broader base of evidence than just the urban centre to gain a holistic view of the *polis*, as has been suggested before, in particular with reference to using surface survey,[245] but not previously undertaken. It will therefore take a broad, gradualist approach which does not focus on when the status of *polis* is achieved in Greece, but instead separates out different changes across this period for a more nuanced view

[242] Dawdy 2016: 328-9, Emberling 2016: 3-4.
[243] Dawdy 2016: 331.
[244] Dawdy 2016: 334.
[245] Morgan and Coulton 1997: 89.

of *how* the *polis* evolved across the Archaic period. Rather than looking for a tipping point at which point the status of *polis* has finally been reached, it will focus instead on neglected aspects of this early *polis*, particularly those outside the urban centre. This will be contrasted with the more historically-driven and Weberian lines of thought, which are prone to favouring single episodes for events, instead of viewing changes over the *longue durée*,[246] and to focus on changes in the urban centre alone. This will enable territorial changes and changes to land use to be incorporated positively with the changes of the 8th century, and with changes at the urban centre itself, and later to provide a more nuanced, balanced narrative overall.

A final point remains to be made on terminology. The term *polis* is used throughout this work, instead of possible translations such as city-state. This is partly because the topic of state formation in Greece is, as discussed above, tied extremely closely in modern literature to this term, as the 'Rise of the Polis'. Furthermore, the *polis* is an everchanging concept; not just applying to its Classical incarnations, but in use probably during the Mycenaean period,[247] and quite possibly the term that would have referred to EIA centres like Nichoria or Lefkandi. Therefore, *polis* is a term with the necessary fluidity of definition to appropriately apply to the places examined here at either end of the period of time considered, and at any point in between. However, instead of *asty* and *chora,* 'urban centre' and 'territory' will be used throughout, for various reasons. Firstly, both concepts lack the intensive history of scholarly interest that has advanced our understanding of the term *polis,* and therefore may not be appropriate for all times or places discussed. Secondly, *chora* also has wider connotations, for example 'hinterland' in a socio-economic and agricultural sense, which are not the focus of this discussion.

[246] This tendency has crossed back into some archaeological work as a result; for example in Morris 1987: 1-3 and de Polignac 2005: 45; the creation of stable and impersonal forms of power, the increasing complexity of society and full political restructuring, the relocation of cemeteries is necessarily associated with the entire reorganisation of society. Only rarely, e.g. Davies 1997: 15, has it been explicitly suggested that different phases of formation must be separated out from one another.

[247] Hansen 1993: 9.

There are several particular questions and lines of enquiry that the survey evidence, in combination with literary and excavated evidence, can answer to advance this project. For example, how can changing use of the territory inform us about of changing levels of complexity in the *polis* as a whole, increasing population and wealth extraction, both markers of complexity, changing notions of territory and claims to land and changing settlement patterns? Does the contribution of survey data favour an evolutionary or revolutionary approach to defining the 'Rise of the Polis'? When did settlement hierarchies appear across the landscape, and what do these suggest about the complexity and date of the *polis*? How might focussing on this idea of the wider territory balance the other studies focused on the urban centre? When did communities appear to make the vital shift from existing within relatively empty landscapes, towards demarcating and claiming them as owned? And, importantly, what does this particular change suggest about how neighbouring Archaic *poleis* actually interacted with one another? Finally, how might this all be used to critique the written evidence for this period, which is still one of the main guides?

To address these questions, my research focuses on several areas in the southern half of the Peloponnese; the Argolid, Arcadia, Laconia, and Messenia. These regions have all seen multiple intensive and extensive survey projects, and therefore provide a wealth of survey data to examine. Crucially, these form a contiguous area, which is necessary to study the interactions and border areas between different *poleis*. They also contain several excavated *polis* centres and sanctuaries, such as Sparta and Argos, to enable synthesis, where possible, with evidence from site-based excavations. Another benefit of focussing on the Peloponnese is its extensive archaic historical traditions, particularly those pertaining to Sparta and Argos, which provide two very different approaches to historical material, one critical, one positivist, and another pertaining to Sparta and Arcadia. Finally, these regions contain a number of overlapping surveys. These will enable not just the synthesising of results, but the comparison of their methodologies, and an evaluation of their comparative reliabilities. Due to their highly divergent historical traditions and extents of archaeological investigation, these regions are studied separately, using slightly

differing research questions according to individual situations, although these will encompass more general conclusions to allow for synthesis at the end of the work.

My research provides highly significant new evidence by moving away from more traditional lines of enquiry regarding public architecture and elite behaviour in the urban centre. Instead, it uses material previously overlooked, pioneering a far more socially and geographically broad perspective, to present a more nuanced account of the important social changes in the Archaic period. It will foster future interdisciplinary work, providing an important context for historical research. It provides fresh perspectives on a seminal period of Greek history, drawing on, and contributing to, several different fields of Classical studies.

The Southern Argolid

Introduction

Peripherality and the Southern Argolid

As elsewhere in this thesis, this chapter will focus primarily on the survey data gathered from the region, contextualising it with the material from site-based excavations and the historical narratives, and synthesising it in order to compare it with the surveys of the other regions. The overarching question, of how and when centres and territories emerged between the 8th and the 6th centuries, remains pertinent. However, some specific questions apply; in particular what effect did the Southern Argolid's geographical and historical peripherality relative to Sparta and Arcadia, have on these changes compared to other parts of the Peloponnese? Did its extremely small and comparatively late historical traditions reflect a genuine lack of Archaic activity in the region, and, if not, what we can infer about the reliability of these traditions?



(Ill. 2: Map of the Southern Argolid)

There is considerably less preamble for a discussion of the Akte compared to the other regions studied here. The Southern Argolid, also known as the Akte, comprises a large area of land between the Thyreatid (also known as the Kynouria) and Laconia to the west, Corinthia to the north east, and the Saronic Gulf to the north west. Most notably, its immediate neighbour to the north is the Argive Plain. It differs greatly from these neighbouring regions in its scholarly traditions, and the extent and type of archaeological investigation done there. Unlike its neighbours, it was a relatively socially peripheral region in antiquity, neither a major Archaic centre, like Corinthia or Argos, nor a hotly contested area like the Thyreatid. The region was peripheral not just historically but also physically; its mountainous terrain limited land routes to the rest of the Peloponnese,[248] and it lacks the attractive lowlands or coastal plains of other parts of the Peloponnese,[249] unlike the southern Arcadian *poleis*, which have extensive upland basins and good routes to nearby Laconia and elsewhere.

The Southern Argolid is traditionally thought of as a peripheral region. Peripherality, a complex and multi-faceted term, is used here in two distinct ways. It is, as mentioned above, a space that is in many ways 'in between', being geographically located near and between more famous neighbours such as Sparta, Argos, and Athens. It is also peripheral socially and historically, as it was the location of *poleis* that were small and relatively unimportant in literary sources; more affected by than affecting these larger neighbours.[250] While both concepts are somewhat intertwined, this work will specify which one is meant throughout. Lacking the rich, if problematic, historical tradition of Laconia and Messenia, or the bucolic charms of Arcadia, the region has inspired relatively little work today, particularly in contrast to the sites of the Plain: Argos, Mycenae, Tiryns and the Argive Heraion. Only Halieis and Asine have been subject to extensive excavations pertaining to this period. While excavation in the region has been a little

[248] Jameson et al 1994: 14-15.
[249] Van Andel et al 1990: 381.
[250] Dimakis 2016: 14, writing on the same region, also tackles the concept of peripherality here and defines it in these terms too.

patchy generally, two large survey projects have been undertaken: the Argolid Exploration Project (AEP), which covers the southern part of the Akte, and the Methana Peninsula Survey.



(Ill. 3: Map of the Southern Argolid with key sites marked)

These surveys have provided a large amount of information about the Geometric and Archaic periods, though it has been subjected to little secondary analysis or synthesis, nor has it been compared to the survey material from neighbouring regions.[251] This is especially true of the Methana Peninsula. However, they are both excellent candidates for such study. Firstly, they are both intensive surveys, and therefore more easily compared to one another, and more able to provide the necessary level of detail needed to make conclusions from survey data. Secondly,

[251] Notable exceptions being McHugh 2017, which focussed on Classical and Hellenistic farmsteads, and Alcock 1993, which covered Roman Greece.

two of the urban centres within one of the survey areas, Halieis and Hermion, have been excavated to varying extents providing helpful contextual information from these centres as they change over time, which can be synthesised with contemporary developments in the territory. Taken together these can provide a good overview of the interplay between changes in the centre and changes in the territory over the period. Nearby Palaia Epidauros and Troizen have also been the subject of more limited archaeological investigation, providing more site-based material for context and comparison.

While the Argive Plain has inspired a large corpus of historical works, to this day the main synthetic treatment of the textual sources on the Akte is the summary provided in the publication volume of the AEP. It takes a mere 15 pages to cover the entire EIA and Archaic period combined, much of which is just a summary of the material excavated at the urban centre.[252] The Methana Peninsula is even more textually obscure; the overview of literary attestations in the publication volume of that survey takes up about a page.[253] Therefore, while the true extent of the Akte's social peripherality in the Archaic and Classical periods has been questioned,[254] this status is undeniably correct with regard to their position in ancient texts and the histories derived from them. This raises two possibilities. Either the textual evidence is missing because it reflects a genuine lack of activity in the area in the Geometric and Archaic periods. In this case, the question of whether the relative geographical isolation of the region affected its development and history is quite straightforward. Alternatively, the historical traditions are lacking. This question can be settled by the archaeological evidence, both from excavations and surveys.

[252] Jameson et al 1994: 58-73.
[253] Mee et al 1997: 1-2.
[254] Runnels et al 1995: 144.

The Main sites of the Southern Argolid

To investigate these possibilities, it is first necessary to establish what was happening at the centres, as far as can be worked out, and how unusual this was compared to elsewhere in the region. For reasons of space this is a selective catalogue restricted to the centres contained within the survey, and those bordering on it: Palaia Epidauros, Hermion, Troizen and Halieis. Asine, although it was a significant site in the Southern Argolid, notable for its extensive excavation and its relatively prominent place in textual history, is not discussed here as it is much closer geographically, and more closely linked historically, to the Argive Plain and is better discussed in conjunction with it. The urban centre of Methana itself is not included here but is discussed in the survey section following as it was investigated through urban survey.

Palaia Epidauros

Little comprehensive work has been done at Palaia Epidauros relating to the Geometric and Archaic periods apart from the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas. Material from this period was principally found in two areas, the Nera site and the Nisi peninsula. The Nera site, which contained several LH II and LH III tombs, was probably also the site of Geometric and Archaic cemeteries, although this is uncertain,[255] while there was a sanctuary of Artemis on the Nisi peninsula, dated to the second half of the 8th century onwards by pottery.[256] There were imported Corinthian wares, Argive bronzes and a few kouros fragments from the mid-sixth century which find parallels with statues from Naxos and the Peloponnese.[257] It was identified as a sanctuary of Artemis on the basis of the votives found there which implied a female focus.[258] The dedication

[255] Proskynetopoulou 2011: 75.
[256] Proskynetopoulou 2011: 280-1.
[257] Proskynetopoulou 2011: 281.
[258] Proskynetopoulou 2011: 74.

of votives at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas was ongoing in this period.[259] There was also a sanctuary of Hera, identified by an inscription dating to the 6th or 5th century.[260] The majority of the finds are Late Archaic, and some building foundations were also discovered there.[261] Recent excavations uncovered a Protogeometric burial, and an LH IIIC one,[262] pushing the evidence for inhabitation further back. However, no settlement traces were discovered from the Geometric or Archaic periods and the excavators did not conclude that a settlement on the Nisi peninsula was certain at this early date.[263] The extent and significance of this site in the Geometric and Archaic periods is therefore highly unclear although imports, growing wealth, and new sanctuaries in the Late Archaic period, as well as a generally more visible presence of the site in this period, indicate that it saw significant changes and increase. While there is evidence for some degree of inhabitation from the PG period, the site saw typical growth in the 8th century at its cult sites, followed by a further phase of development at cult sites and more widely in the 6th century.

Hermion

Hermion, still inhabited today and therefore largely inaccessible to archaeologists, was only excavated briefly in 1909 by Philadelpheus, who focussed on the *necropolis*, and Stikas, who examined a Christian basilica, though neither of these were published in full. The excavators relied on Pausanias' description of the settlement, and the limited epigraphic evidence.[264] Philadelpheus cleared the foundations of a temple which were dated to the late 6th century, and much interpretation of Archaic Hermion has rested on this fact.[265] However, there is some uncertainty over this dating, as it was alternately dated to the late 5th or 4th century on the basis

[259] Proskynetopoulou 2011: 76.
[260] IG IV, 801, Jeffrey 1990: 176, 181.
[261] Proskynetopoulou 2011: 72.
[262] Piteros 2000: 187.
[263] Proskynetopoulou 2011: 75.
[264] Jameson et al 1994: 581.
[265] Jameson et al 1994: 590.

of its architecture and the subject of the *akroteria*. The surveyors agreed the *akroteria* were probably Hellenistic, while arguing that the polygonal foundations were more appropriate to the Late Archaic period; perhaps the site simply saw several different phases, beginning with a now-lost structure in the 6th century, which would explain why the foundations appear to be earlier than the architectural remains. The survey publication (E19[266]) indicates that, aside from the temple, the Archaic period saw a great increase in activity in the site as, although EIA inhabitation is extremely likely, they only found material dating from the Archaic period onwards. Although there is little to say on the basis of such minimal evidence, it appears that this too was in keeping with general trends, as the sanctuary at the site became far more heavily invested in during the 6th century.

Troizen

Recent rescue excavations in the area of the ancient cemetery have revealed a small number of burials from the 10th to 7th centuries.[267] Another excavation elsewhere in the modern city uncovered part of a Geometric cemetery containing a few adult and one infant burial, containing pottery and a bronze ring.[268] Other excavations also found pottery indicating Geometric burials.[269] Some Archaic architectural remains were found in the area of the temple, dating to the mid-6th century.[270] There was limited earlier material such as a Geometric grave and a sanctuary just outside the centre where a sanctuary has female figurines from end of the 7th century onwards,[271] perhaps suggesting that this period saw the establishment of a stronger sense of community,

[266] This and all following references of this kind are to the catalogue in volume II of the thesis which is divided by region and presented in the order in which they occur in the main body of the work. The catalogue entries contain the detailed descriptions of the sites found in the original publications.
[267] Yannopoulou 2006: 234.
[268] Yannopoulou 2006: 235.
[269] Yannopoulou 2009: 526.
[270] Welter 1941: 20.
[271] Welter 1941: 21, 38.

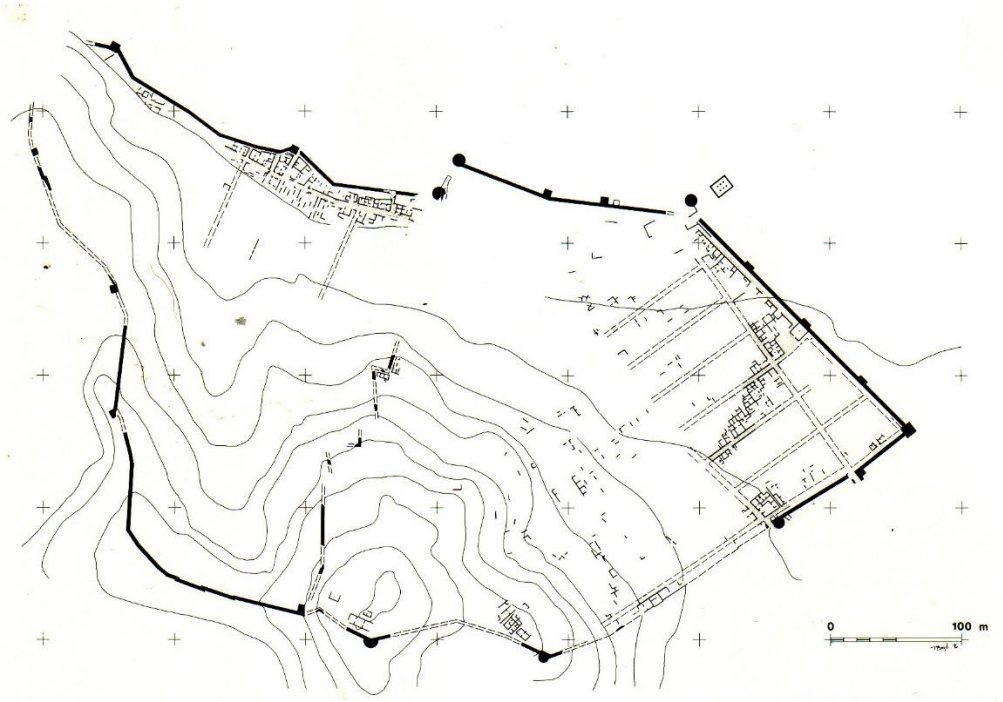
partly acted out at this suburban sanctuary. The remains of a temple from the first half of the 6th century at the sanctuary of Zeus were also uncovered.[272] As with the other centres, Troizen was inhabited to some degree in the Geometric period, but appeared to grow, and to invest more heavily in markers of community cohesion in cult places, in the late 7th and 6th centuries.

Halieis

One of the key components of the AEP was an in-depth study of the urban centre of Halieis itself, through excavation, during the 1970s.[273] The main points of interest were the fortification wall and the sanctuaries, though general inhabitation was indicated by the discovery of pottery from the Geometric period onwards. Halieis had three sanctuaries, one now submerged in the harbour, another on the *acropolis* and the third discovered to the east outside its limits. The submerged sanctuary had a large temple 27m long and c.4.5m wide divided into three rooms and a pronaos. The pottery indicates that the sanctuary was in use from the late 8th century to the mid-5th. There was also a *stoa* and a group of other rooms and two altars, which are all thought to date to the Archaic period. Starting lines indicate that this sanctuary held athletic competitions. The sanctuary on the *acropolis* was marked by two altars and a votive deposit which dated from the 6th century onwards or possibly the 5th, and the one on a hill east of the *acropolis* thought to be of Demeter, which is undated.[274] There was a fortification wall of mudbrick built on the *acropolis*, possibly in the 8th century,[275] but probably in the 7th or slightly later.[276] This was destroyed c.600 and then replaced by a stone circuit wall in the late 6th century.[277] A dedicated extra-mural cemetery is dated to the Classical period, though a small quantity of pottery from the

[272] Yannopoulou 2009: 524.
[273] Rudolph and Boyd 1978: 338.
[274] Jameson 1969: 340-1.
[275] Gadolou 2002: 41.
[276] Frederiksen 2011: 146.
[277] Pullen 2000: 133; McAllister 2005: 17, 76-77.

late 7th and 6th centuries possibly, although not certainly, indicates its use in the Archaic period.[278] The survey of Halieis (A65) also seemed to find Archaic and Classical finds more widely dispersed throughout the site than Geometric ones, again implying an increase in activity and size, although they did not investigate changing site area by period.



(Ill. 4: A town plan of Halieis.[279]

Halieis was therefore clearly a significant site during the 7th and 6th centuries. However, its extent during the 8th century and even the 7th is highly unclear and there is nothing to indicate that during the LG period it was a site of great size or importance. By the time of the construction of the stone wall, the site was quite large, as 18ha was enclosed, suggesting that by this point if not before it had become a significant site.[280] The features that mark it out as particularly significant, the stone wall and the extensive building activity at the sanctuary of Apollo, are both late in the Archaic period.

[278] Jameson et al 1994: 425-6.
[279] Illustration from Jameson et al 1994: 435.
[280] Pierart 2004: 604.

Synthesis

Certain trends of development at the urban centres emerge from these summaries. All of these sites were inhabited by the start of the period studied here, although the scale of this early inhabitation appears smaller than their Classical extents. Recent work at Epidaurus and Troizen indicates that they were inhabited from much earlier on, the 10th century in the case of Troizen and LH IIIC at Epidauros. Early activity at Hermion is far less clear as modern use of the site has hampered excavation, but it is possible that it too was in use at an early period. Halieis, despite the very detailed excavation, appears not to have come into use until later on, in the 8th century. At Epidaurus, Hermion, and Halieis, there appears to be a quite drastic expansion of inhabitation, particularly in the later Archaic period. This is particularly evident at Halieis, where the most detailed excavation project took place. Most obviously, the area the settlement covered increased. Furthermore, there were several changes to the civic architecture of the site. An earlier mudbrick wall was replaced by a stone one in the 6th century, the number of cult sites increased, and an extra-mural cemetery came into use. It is possible that this wall denotes a need for protection can be related to its relatively small size, particularly in combination with the closeness of neighbouring, larger Hermion, although it is impossible to be certain of this.

Notably, at every site, there was a marked development at urban cult sites during the 6th century. This consisted of both a growth in the number of such sites within urban centres, and an increase in architectural investment in the form of temples. At Epidaurus and Halieis, the number of cult sites rose. At these two sites, in addition to Troizen and Hermion, a drastic change to their physical appearance occurred. At Halieis, the most thoroughly excavated site in the region, this is most clearly exemplified in the form of a complex programme of development. The sanctuary now submerged in the harbour, having been in use since the 8th century, was now marked by a large series of structures indicating the creation or at least formalisation of games, and the formalisation of the cult space with a temple. Additionally, another sanctuary on the acropolis

itself came into use in this period, as did an extra-mural sanctuary. At Troizen, Hermion, and Epidauros cult spaces, both those newly created and those that that were enhanced through the construction of temples, marked the centre and the boundaries of these sites in a new and more formalised way.

In summary, the mid to late 6th century was a period of great change at the centres in the Southern Argolid. This is evident in three ways. Firstly, the sites grew in size, and probably population, as is demonstrated by the general increase in the amount of material found over a wider area, particularly at Halieis and Hermion.[281] Secondly, the significant changes to the cult sites at these centres indicate increasing formalisation of public spaces. Finally, at Halieis in particular, there were further indications of increased site demarcation through the stone circuit wall and the creation of the extramural cemetery and sanctuary. This, along with the other more general cult changes, indicated a shift in attitude to the urban centre through its increased formalisation. More nuanced conclusions and comparisons are made difficult due to the differing intensity and focus of the various excavation projects. However, at all sites, the late Archaic is a key period of change and growth. The centres of the Southern Argolid do therefore present a strong and consistent narrative of development towards increasing size and civic cohesion in the Late Archaic period. This brief overview of the evidence suggests that these settlements developed along similar lines. The excavations from centres present evidence of a dynamic region, with *poleis* becoming larger, more populous and more marked with public, non-domestic structures, generally cultic, from the 7th and 6th centuries. Further discussion and synthesis of this material is reserved for the conclusion of this chapter.

[281] See also Jameson et al 1994: 436, 584.

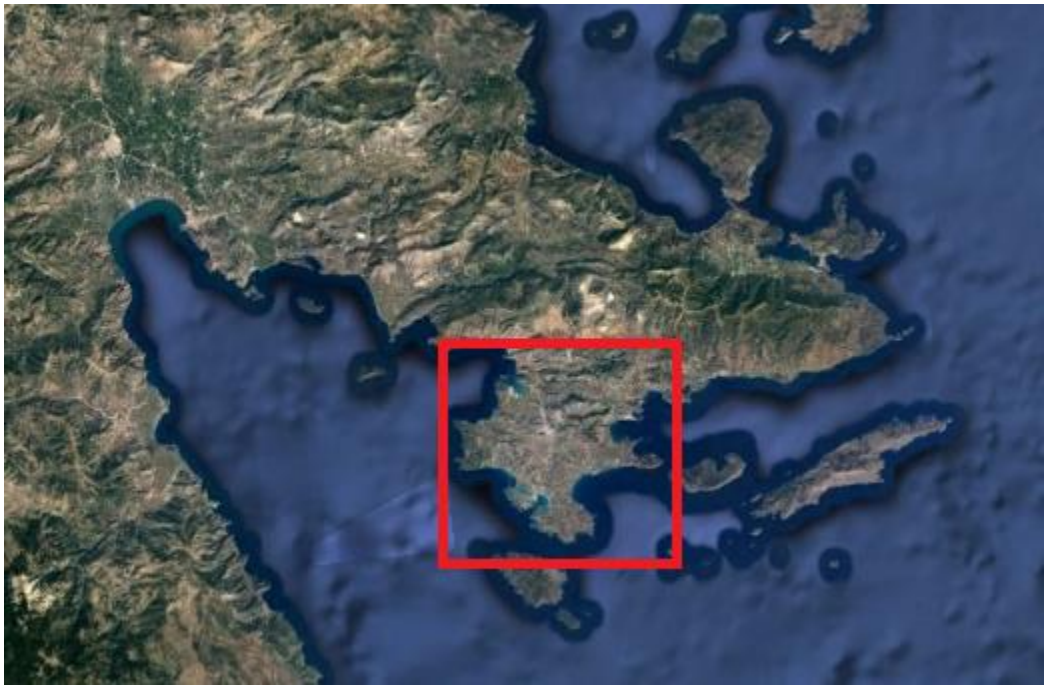
The Surveys of the Southern Argolid

In this region we are fortunate to have survey material directly relevant to two of these, Halieis and Hermion, as their territories were the subject of the AEP. These not only help us to understand these centres from a different perspective but also add a wealth of further detail to their histories that are otherwise lacking.

The Argolid Exploration Project

The AEP was a multi-disciplinary exploration of the areas around Franchthi and Halieis in the Southern Argolid containing geological, oceanographic and botanic studies and a survey of the region to accompany and contextualise detailed excavations at Franchthi and Halieis.[282] The survey focused on the southern end of the Akte. While it is less isolated than the Methana Peninsula, it is, and has been considered historically as, a small and somewhat peripheral region which reacted to and was affected by political and economic pressures generated by its more active neighbours rather than initiating them themselves.[283]

[282] Jameson et al 1994: 4.
[283] Jameson et al 1994: 11.



(Ill. 5: A map of the Southern Argolid with the Argolid Exploration Project's rough area marked)

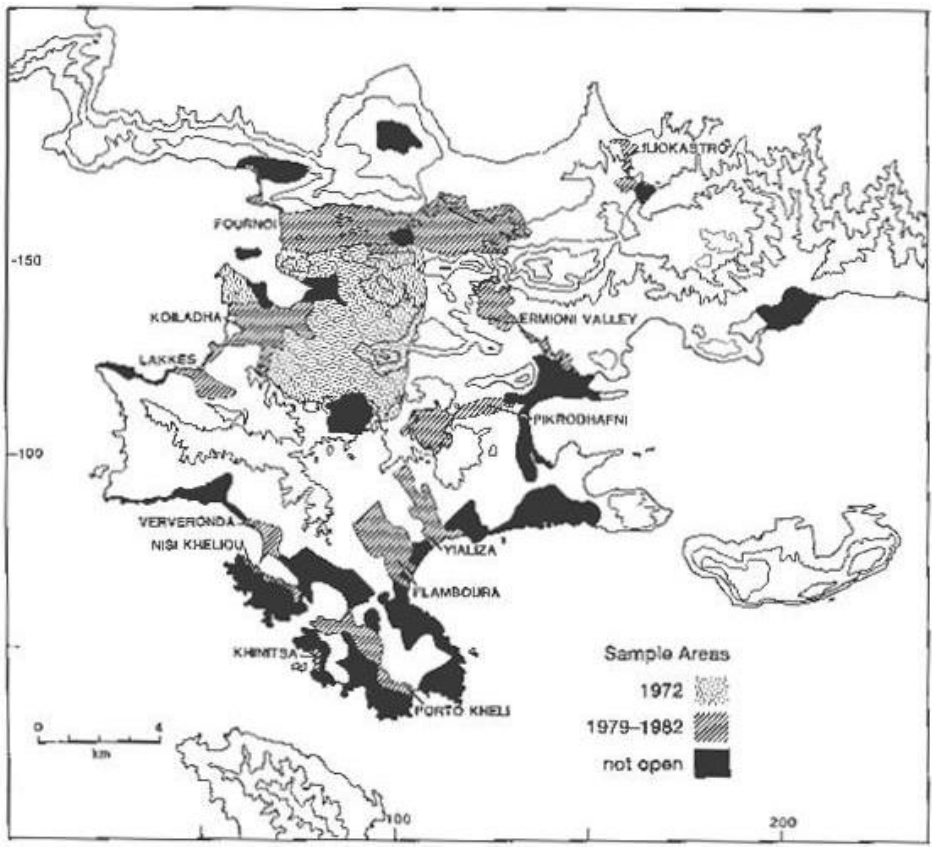


(Ill. 6: A close up of the Argolid Exploration Project survey area with key sites marked)

The survey comprised three field seasons and two study seasons, undertaken from 1979-1983.[284] Though it investigated environmental effects and changes in great detail it also focussed on human and social causes for change in this region, hypothesising that these had a much greater effect, as the landscape has remained extremely stable over time,[285] and suggesting a reasonable degree of correlation between surface and sub-surface material. However, the surveyors discussed social structures only infrequently as the evidence offered only fairly general conclusions.[286] The aim of the survey was to establish the pattern of human settlement for each period and co-ordinate this to the settlement histories of Franchthi and Halieis, and to reconstruct 'the human ecology of the Southern Argolid'.[287] While it was therefore quite an early survey, it was nevertheless impressively modern in its aims, breadth and focus on the effects of geomorphological processes and the environment.

Artefacts were collected from each site, with selective samples of diagnostic items.[288] Areas of the region which were destroyed or inaccessible were left while areas around Franchthi and Halieis were focussed on particularly to provide context for those excavations, which perhaps biased the findings towards those regions.

[284] Jameson et al 1994: 10 after a preliminary exploratory season in 1972, the sites of which were re-examined in the later seasons.
[285] Jameson et al 1994: 11; van Andel et al 1986: 124.
[286] Jameson et al 1994: 12.
[287] Jameson et al 1994: 214-5.
[288] Jameson et al 1994: 216.



(Ill. 7: A diagram of the AEP survey area with the areas sampled marked)[289]

Beyond that, diverse geomorphological and environmental units were selected to provide comprehensive results.[290] There were three teams in 1979-81 and only one in 1982. Transects were walked by teams of five with at least one experienced archaeologist per team. Walkers moved forwards in spacing from 5-15m depending on visibility, generally quite good as the region is arid, an intensive method of field walking.[291] While two teams operated in this manner a third re-examined the sites discovered during the 1972 season.[292] Instead of determining sites from arbitrary density counts they relied on the judgement of the experienced team leaders.[293] They noted that in the absence of special purpose sites such as walls or obvious votive offerings it was

[289] Jameson et al 1994: 217.
[290] Jameson et al 1994: 218.
[291] Jameson et al 1994: 219-20.
[292] Jameson et al 1994: 223.
[293] Jameson et al 1994: 224.

difficult to determine site use.[294] They classed sites with an area of less than 0.3ha as small, 0.3-1.0ha as medium, 1.0-10.0ha as large, and anything over 10.0ha as major, but they noted that these divisions were somewhat arbitrary, and used only to enable comparisons within the region to examine relative changes.[295]

The excavators broadly characterised population as increasing gradually from nearly zero over the 9th and 8th centuries, growing more markedly during the 7th-5th centuries, and reaching a peak at the end of the 4th century. They noted that the lack of mortuary evidence impacted on their ability to determine settlement size and growth.[296] Their findings are summarised here.

SM-MG periods:

The depopulation of the SM period was very severe in this region. No SM pottery was found anywhere south of Asine, and only very limited examples of PG and EG. However, as neighbouring Argeia and Attica both show evidence of habitation, and even prosperity, during these periods, the excavators concluded that there was likely to be a small but persistent population throughout this period which has left virtually no archaeological trace.[297] During the MG a 'thin network of sites' is indicated by scatters of pottery, indicating settlement of new sites and resettlement of LBA ones. The excavators suggested a pastoralist explanation of this pattern.[298] The few coastal sites dating to this period were on steep hills or not directly on the shore, perhaps indicating the potential for threats from outside the region.[299]

LG:

The 8th century saw an increase in the number and size of settlements, indicating that the size of the population increased too, in keeping with the general trend across Greece. As elsewhere in

[294] Jameson et al 1994: 248.
[295] Jameson et al 1994: 252.
[296] Jameson et al 1994: 548.
[297] Jameson et al 1994: 372.
[298] Jameson et al 1994: 373.
[299] Jameson et al 1994: 374.

Greece, the 7th century is difficult to identify in the Southern Argolid. Sites seem to be in recession, represented by fewer ceramics, of worse quality. This is exacerbated by the fact that 7th century pottery is not easily identifiable, and may be indistinguishable from that of the late 8th century.[300] The surveyors concluded that by the start of the 7th century a settlement hierarchy of sorts seemed to have emerged, as each area had one dominant site, F5 and C11 in their respective valleys, A65 (Halieis) south, E19 (Hermion) east, G1 in the north, and E3 in the east, perhaps accompanied by exploitation of the agricultural land nearby, e.g. E9. The surveyors argued that by the 7th century, several centres had emerged, of varying sizes, a situation rather different from the two *poleis* that dominated this area by the Classical period. They also noted that throughout the 8th and 7th centuries these smaller settlements, which seemed from their size to be hamlets rather than farmsteads, indicate that the larger centres had 'limited social and economic attractions',[301] and suggested that those living in the centres were farming the land in the immediately adjacent settlement area. Similarly, the appearance of major cult sites has been taken as a strong indication of the formation of the *polis* and was used by the surveyors to support an 8th century date for the major social changes in the region.[302] These arguments are questionable. In fact, the evidence more strongly implies that these smaller independent centres were already in decline, and the pre-eminence of Halieis and Hermion within the region began at an earlier point. While this problem has been noted before,[303] it is part of a wider issue with the survey results and interpretation that will be discussed in greater detail below.

The AEP decided that the artefacts gathered from surface surveys were suitable for more detailed analysis, found in the *Artifact and Assemblage* (hereafter A&A) volume.[304] Unfortunately, the second volume covering the Archaic and later periods has not yet been published so only the

[300] Runnels et al 1995: 70.
[301] Jameson et al 1994: 375.
[302] Jameson et al 1994: 375.
[303] Also argued by Osborne 2005: 10, who agrees with an 8th century pattern of village sites, but argues that the evidence indicates a decline of this pattern in the following period rather than a continuation.
[304] Runnels et al 1995.

pottery down to the late 7th century has been examined in depth generally with reference to connections to the Argive plain and other regions such as the Saronic Gulf, and questioning the validity of the peripheral identity of this region on the basis of the flourishing pottery industry and number of imports,[305] and therefore provides little material or interpretation of relevance to this chapter.

Archaic:

According to the excavators the Archaic period saw further social development building on the developments of the preceding period. It also saw the first evidence of larger, more fortified towns: Hermion and Halieis. However, their populations may have been around half that of the Classical period. Nonetheless, the surveyors' interpretation was that it was becoming 'the characteristic and prevalent, if not universal' habit of residence in a central town, though there were still medium-size settlements such as C11.[306] They hypothesised three classes of size in use below the major settlements; medium-size ones from 1-2ha^2 such as C11, another smaller in size from 0.2-1ha^2 which were villages or hamlets, and finally those under 0.2 ha^2, which could have been farmsteads and special purpose sites such as fortifications and votive deposits.

The excavators saw the Archaic period as one of increasing social and economic attractions of these centres, because the appearance of sanctuaries e.g. the sanctuary of Apollo at Halieis and the temple at Mases (C17), could be indicators of the existence of the strong collective communal identity, which they interpreted as a straightforward development from the 8th century origins detailed above. They particularly focussed on extra-urban shrines, which were found at Hermion, Halieis and Mases, as vital factors linking the members of the community to each other and to the land, and also linking the second order sites to the main community. There were also some indications of population increase in this period. The first wells were dug in this period, at Halieis

[305] Runnels et al 1995: 64-8.
[306] Jameson et al 1994: 549.

and at F27, though their number increased in the Classical period. However, despite the confident designation of the well at F27 as Archaic, the evidence is more ambiguous; the pottery fill, used to date it, was predominately Classical, with small amounts of Late Helladic and Geometric as well as Archaic. It is therefore possible it is Classical, and that the Archaic material is intrusive, along with the Late Helladic and Geometric. If this is the case, only one well dates to before the Classical period. However, this does not negate the general impression of population growth in this period.

The excavators suggested that this population growth and the rising complexity of site types indicated an emergence in the Archaic and Classical periods of a hierarchical settlement pattern resembling a classic central-place market model, associated by economists with state-level societies.[307] They viewed the Archaic period as fundamentally the same as the Classical; a three or more tiered group of settlements based on the main *polis* at Halieis and Hermion.[308] According to the excavators, the transition from Archaic to Classical across the Southern Argolid was not indicative of notable change,[309] with a strong continuity of use of sites and no changes to settlement patterns.[310]

In combination with their interpretation of the 8th century as the key period for the formation of territories and the establishment of second and third order sites, the surveyors therefore concluded with a traditional, '8th-century revolution'-based interpretation of social development across this period, smoothly transitioning into both the Archaic and Classical periods.[311] While there was a large groundswell of farmsteads in the Classical period in the AEP survey area, this was generally a phenomenon of the 4th century and its transition into the Hellenistic period, and only S80 and S92 are likely to have come into use in the 5th century rather than the 4th. Therefore,

[307] Jameson et al 1994: 255.
[308] Jameson et al 1994: 257.
[309] A strong distinction was not always made between Archaic and Classical material in the catalogue, making comparisons between these two periods difficult. E.g. B56, B67.
[310] Jameson et al 1994: 379.
[311] Jameson et al 1994: 374-5.

in some respects their analysis that the Archaic to Classical transition was smooth is not incorrect, as, in terms of third order sites, i.e. farmsteads, this is broadly correct. However, their assessment that the pattern was essentially a continuation of one established in the 8th century does not hold up well to close scrutiny of the survey data.

Present Analysis of the AEP

Aspects of the surveyors' interpretation have already been called into question. Acheson, focussing on the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic material, criticised the survey for not elucidating the range of rural sites of different size and function, many of which were not inhabited but were only used seasonally or for storage.[312] Her careful re-study of their own results suggested that the boom in rural sites in the 4th century was not purely driven by the wish of elite landholders to extract more profit but in fact represented the activity of smaller landholders driven by necessity as competition for land grew.[313] This is perhaps supported by the geological study done by the AEP which noted that earlier small sites were on more fertile soils but that later ones expanded onto less attractive soils, on steeper slopes,[314] as well as the epigraphic evidence which attests to fierce competition for land between the different *poleis* of the Akte at this same time.[315] Taken together this suggests that fierce competition for land was a phenomenon of this later period. This re-evaluation of the Hellenistic material also lends support to the idea that while their methodology for collection was careful and detailed, their interpretation methodology was unreliable. As the interpretation is the most immediately readable section to people from other disciplines, it is vital that this is undertaken to the same

[312] Acheson 1997: 167.
[313] Acheson 1997: 182.
[314] van Andel et al 1986: 117.
[315] Pierart 2004: 600.

high standard as collection to prevent errors from being transmitted into further scholarly work on the region.

Their interpretation of the Geometric and Archaic material is also open to criticism,[316] particularly their assertion that the transition from the Geometric to the Archaic period was one of only slight change and their argument in favour of an early date for the formation of territorial boundaries within the Akte. When the sites are remapped by period by size or, where possible, settlement function as I have done below, as opposed to representing them all just as uniform dots,[317] the settlement pattern can be seen in an entirely new light. The entire notion of continuity of settlement in the region becomes highly problematic, which in turn casts doubt on their territorial divisions.

[316] Noted already by Osborne 2005: 10-11. He emphasises that the Archaic pottery at Iliokastro (G1) and Fournoi (F5), two of the surveyors' main 7th century centres, comprise 8% and 1% of the finds respectively, and suggests a greater discontinuity of settlement during this century than they themselves concluded. F5 does indeed comprise only 1%, although the related sites are less stark. F1 is 32% 'Archaic or classical', F27 'small quantities' are Archaic, at F29 none is Archaic, as is the case at F60, so although he is in principle correct, the figure of 1% is too extreme. For G1 his figure of 8% is correct.

[317] The value of which is noted by Renfrew 1984: 56; Alcock and Rempel 2006: 27.



(Ill. 8: Sites in the Late Geometric period)[318]

[318] Key: White – very small settlement/'farmstead', Grey – small settlement/'village', Green – small settlement/'town' Yellow – medium settlement/'town', blue – Major settlement, Black – special use site.



(Ill. 9: Sites in the Archaic period)



(Ill. 10: Sites in the Classical period)

The Late Geometric-Sub Geometric[319] material:

Firstly, the sheer abundance of sites in the first map indicates that the LG-SG patterns in the survey is highly unusual, compared to the patterns that will be seen in Arcadia, Laconia and Messenia. While the Laconia and Asea Valley surveys reveal an intense degree of nucleation in centres in this period, here, the map shows a scatter of relatively small sites. Due to the highly unusual nature of this pattern, it is worth considering how strong the evidence for use this early is.

The early farmsteads are particularly strange in this respect, pre-dating comparable sites from other regions by well over a century. Nevertheless, the evidence for these is fairly secure. One of these sites, B2, is 0.6 ha which is quite small, and within the range for a farmstead. A large number of sherds, several roof tile fragments, and, importantly, the presence of 3 spools and a loom weight, do indicate quite strongly that this was a small permanent residence, as does the presence of pithoi and amphorae and other domestic coarsewares. Most of the pottery seems to be dated to the LG-SG period. C12 also produced many sherds, mostly table wares and pithoi, and roof tile fragments which also suggest a residence. Its area was recorded as 0.4 ha but what part of the site's life this relates to, as it was also a Late Roman shrine, is unclear although presumably it was still a small site in this period. Other sites designated as LG-SG farmsteads are less certain.

C10, called a LG-SG farmstead, produced only 7 datable sherds in total of which 5 were LG-SG, although roof tiles were apparently noted but not collected, nor was the area determined. The small amount of material and lack of detail make this interpretation somewhat less certain than those of B2 and C12. E40 is also called a farmstead. 22% of its sherds are LG-SG, and 34% Archaic. However, while the Archaic pottery was a mixture of finewares, coarsewares and storage wares, the Geometric pottery consisted entirely of finewares. Its identification as a farmstead is

[319] Hereafter abbreviated as LG-SG. The publication volume defines this as 750-700/675.

therefore also highly uncertain although it certainly was a small site, at 0.37 ha. The description of G22, another farmstead, is vague, noting some sherds and roof tiles which were apparently largely Archaic although with some LG-SG, a mix of finewares and coarsewares, perhaps suggesting a permanent residence.

Undeniably, there were numerous small settlements in use in this period. However, their identification as farmsteads in particular is problematic. 'Farmstead' is a loaded term, implying, in surveys of the Greek world, the presence of a site hierarchy from centre to village and down to farmstead. However, this hierarchy as the next section explains did not exist in this period. The classification of these sites as farmsteads is further problematised by other sites such as E3, interpreted as a LG-SG village even though it only produced 12 Geometric sherds, a non-negligible but still small number, particularly compared to some of its contemporaries that are designated as farmsteads, although its area was not determined and might have been larger. The period of use of some of these sites, from the Late Geometric until the Archaic or even Classical periods, is also noteworthy as it is highly unusual for farmstead sites which rarely last even the duration of a single period, but this is not commented upon in the interpretation of this survey.

LG-SG 'Egalitarianism' and the LG-SG to Archaic Transition in the Southern Akte

Despite these problems, the fact remains that there were small settlement sites outside centres in the LG-SG period. This is an extremely unusual situation compared to other regions, and it is necessary to try to explain these patterns.

As detailed above there is very little information about Hermion and Halieis, the main urban settlements in the AEP area, before the 7th century, even though Halieis has been excavated in some detail. This suggests that these centres were genuinely smaller and far less architecturally marked in the LG-SG period than they later became. Their significance, even their very identity,

as centres of any kind in this period are highly questionable. It is possible that at this early date they were already clear forerunners in terms of size and wealth compared to other settlements in the area, but this is by no means certain. Nor is there any evidence whatsoever to indicate that, even if they were larger or wealthier than the surrounding small settlements, they were in relationships of dominance with these neighbouring sites. Instead together with this spread of small residential 'farmstead' and village sites, they indicate a genuine difference from elsewhere; the pattern in the 8th century appears to be non-centralised and dispersed, with numerous small settlements scattered across the landscape. This non-centralised pattern was at odds with the social organisation more frequently associated with Greece in this period, of a nucleated settlement in a comparatively empty landscape. Due to an absence of evidence to the contrary, it is possible that these settlements were egalitarian, a point not unlike the survey team's own observation about the lack of attractions urban centres held at this time, [320] although there is also no positive evidence to suggest egalitarianism. As has been done elsewhere, such as in the Eurotas Valley, a more detailed study of the quality and types of pottery found at these different sites could have helped to settle this question, but with the AEP results as published, this was not possible.

This spread of small settlements, however, reveals a highly significant change in the Archaic period that was not noted by the surveyors. The change is clear once the sites are mapped by period as I have done above as this reveals the stark discontinuity between the LG-SG and Archaic period settlement patterns. For example, E9 declines between the Geometric and Archaic periods from 35% of overall pottery finds, to 5% (also including the Classical period). F32, from which 8% of the finds were Geometric, has no finds from later periods. F5 similarly declines from 5% to 1% in the Archaic period. B2 sees a similar drop, described as majority LG-SG, with only a handful of Archaic and Classical finds, the same pattern at B16 and C12. This is a very strong trend which is

[320] Jameson et al 1994: 375.

not discussed in the survey volume,[321] and one that has very few exceptions; one being E40, interpreted as a farmstead, which instead saw an increase in material, from 22% in the LG-SG period, to 34% in the Archaic. Another is G22, also interpreted as a farmstead, which produced mostly Archaic pottery, with the next largest category being LG-SG.

This is in great contrast to the pattern more typically found, where central settlements grew over time, most notably in the late Archaic and Classical periods, accompanied by similar patterns of increasing settlement and exploitation of the wider territory. Here, this more common pattern exists *alongside* these short-lived, anomalous settlements. These expected patterns are evident in the material from the centres at Halieis and Hermion themselves, and at C11 (Mases) a secondary centre that followed a typical trajectory of steady growth over time, as 2% of its pottery was LG-SG, 4% was Archaic, and 11% was Classical. It had an accompanying cult site C17, where a temple was built during the Archaic period, to match the increased level of dedications; 22% of the pottery there is LG-SG, while 55% is SG or Archaic, again matching more expected patterns.



[321] Runnels et al 1995: 57 raises the issue of Geometric settlements dying out as their populations moved to larger centres such as Halieis, Hermion, or C12, but this argument explicitly leaves out all of the sites noted above, focussing instead only on sites which produced 7 or fewer Geometric sherds.

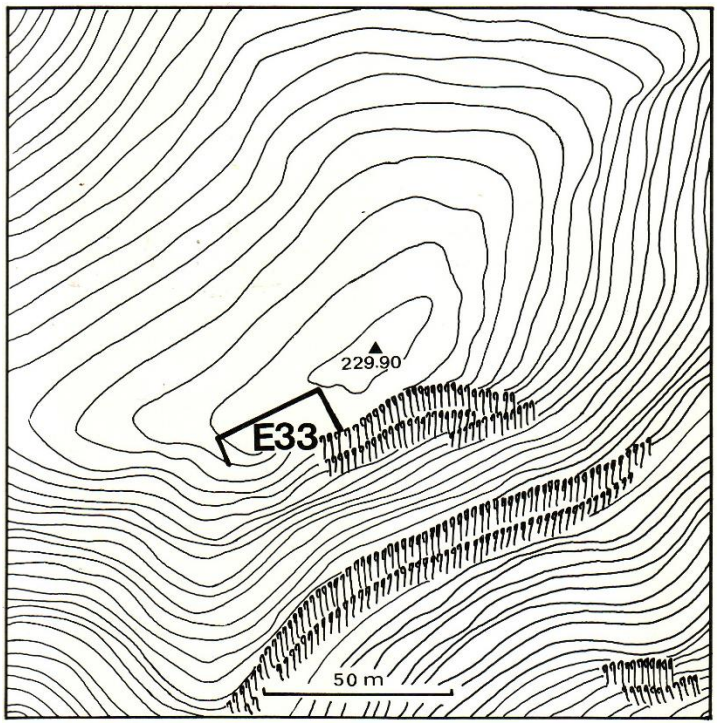
(Ill. 11: The temple terrace at C17)[322]

The patterns in cult site usage in the survey area presents a very similar picture. Of the 8 sites designated as probable or certain cult spaces by the excavators that dated to between the LG-C periods, only 3 (A9, C17, G1) were certainly in use in the 8th century, the other 5 (A5, A15, B10, B56, E33) do not have strong evidence of having been in use before the Archaic period. Furthermore, G1 went out of use entirely before the Classical period, after a steep decline from 45% of overall finds dating to the Geometric period, down to 8% in the Archaic, perhaps replaced by G2 in a wholesale shift of settlement. C17 had only a 'handful' of Classical sherds indicating a drastic decrease in usage from these earlier periods and A9 saw a decline from the LG-SG period to the Archaic and Classical periods, from 44% of finds overall being Geometric, to 5% Archaic and Classical combined. Therefore, all three cult sites that persisted across the SG to Archaic divide saw a drastic diminishing in their importance although in the cases of A9 and in particular G1 their identification as cult sites rather than small settlements was not certain. If they were in fact settlements, this only adds to the number of small settlements that went out of use between the LG-SG and Archaic periods and emphasises the discontinuity of cult practice between these two periods. This pattern, which is highly unusual compared to that of other surveys of 8th century Greece, was not noted by the survey despite the insight it provides into an alternative Geometric settlement pattern in a severely understudied part of Greece at a vital period of time.

By far the largest cult site, A5, estimated at 2.7 ha^2 was an Archaic foundation not in use earlier. This corresponds with the cult evidence from the excavations at Halieis and Hermion, and elsewhere in the region, to present a compelling narrative of the Archaic period as the one that saw the key changes, which persisted into the Classical period, at cult sites, such as their articulation with stone temples, at all the sites, and also E33 which may be the ruined temple

[322] Illustration taken from Jameson et al 1994: 470.

noted by Pausanias (2.36.2), a large enclosure several metres long which surrounded an ash altar. As the only pottery found here was Archaic, it seems likely the structure was too.



(Ill. 12: A plan of the structure at E33)[323]

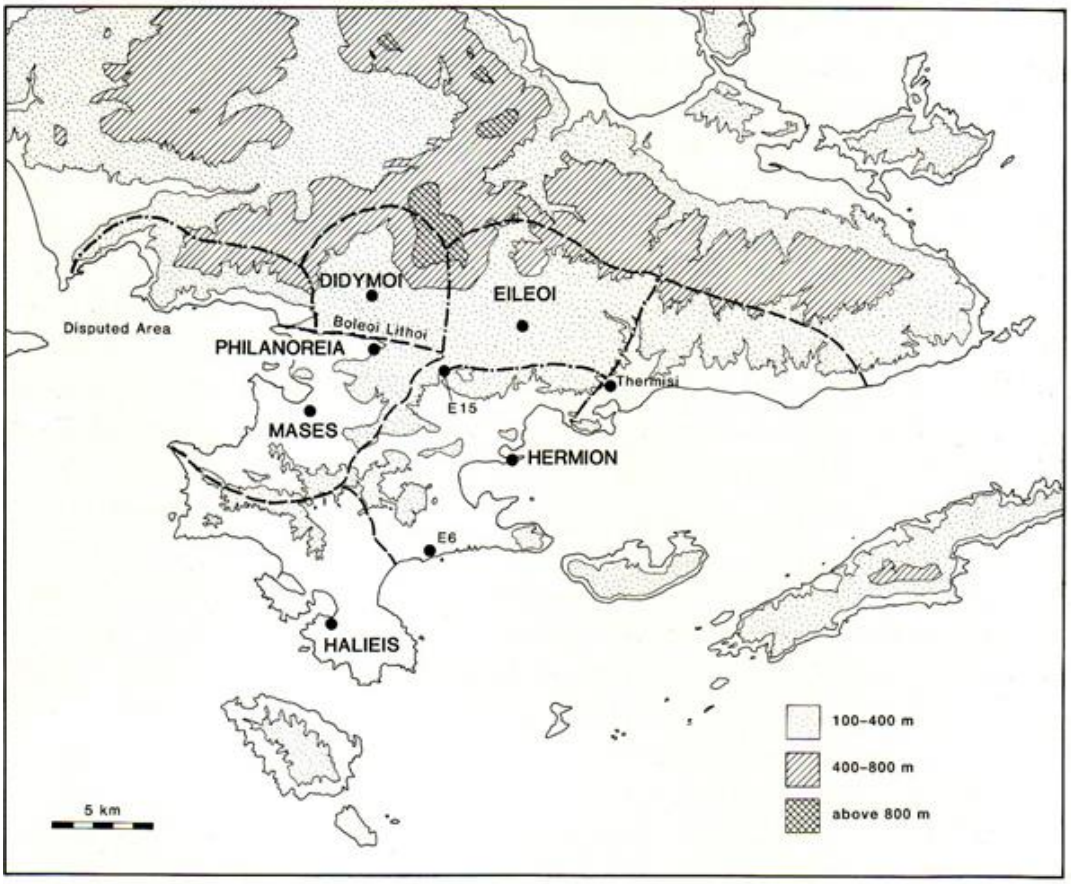
These suggest that there was major discontinuity of cult sites in this region between the 8th century and the Classical period, and that the Archaic period itself was extremely significant in the formation of cult sites that persisted and remained important during the Classical period, itself significant as the proliferation of cult sites is often linked to *polis* formation.[324]

These early sanctuaries, and their cessation, are as unusual as the early settlements. Together they indicate a more dispersed, possibly egalitarian settlement pattern, completely different to those seen in other regions – but they do not present one that is entirely *at odds* with this more usual pattern. The centres, Hermion and Halieis, and the smaller town, C11, experience steady growth and increasing investment during the Archaic period, as expected. Similarly, the sudden

[323] Illustration taken from Jameson et al 1994: 491.
[324] de Polignac 1995.

groundswell in cult activity at these centres and in the territory during the Archaic period, conform to the pattern seen in other regions, such as the Asea Valley in Arcadia, by which time these aberrant sites had largely vanished, and this earlier pattern was no longer in evidence. Two points here, both the lack of evidence for dominant centres in the 8th century and the cessation of this earlier pattern, argue against the surveyors' hypothesis that this early period marked the establishment of *polis* territories.

8th Century Territories? Further Problems in Interpretation in the Southern Akte



(Ill. 13: The surveyors' interpretation of territorial divisions in the 8th and 7th centuries)[325]

[325] Jameson et al 1994: 374.

This map of the territorial division proposed by the surveyors reveals key interpretive problems with the AEP survey particularly regarding their interpretation of certain sites as second or third order sites in a hierarchy and their interpretation of proposed centres as centres. Firstly, this territorial formation would be, as the other two chapters of this thesis argue, markedly earlier here than elsewhere in the region although this in itself is not a completely sound argument as this peripheral region clearly did differ from elsewhere in the 8th century. Far more convincing though is the fact that these apparent markers of the establishment territorial divisions which persisted for centuries themselves largely vanished by the Archaic period. The scarcity of certain cult sites in the LG-SG period and their early cessation is also telling in light of the role sanctuaries played in Greece at this time as markers of liminal spaces and boundaries. Additionally, there are some chronological and logistical issues with the surveyors' own suggested territorial divisions of the 8th and 7th centuries. For example, E6 is marked even though the survey produced nothing earlier than the late Classical period here, similarly E15 is listed on the map even though it is a Classical inscription. G2 which they suggest is ancient Eileoi and the centre of one of these proposed territories, also did not produce material earlier than the Classical period. It is possible that here they are referring to G1 instead, although this is unclear. F5, another proposed centre, is also hard to justify as a central place as its area was not determined and it produced a mere 27 LG-SG sherds, hardly indicative of a large centre. Finally, E3 is listed as the central site of a territorial unit. This is a surprising hypothesis given that there were only 12 Geometric sherds collected there and no architectural or other finds that would lead one to conclude that this was a thriving centre. Furthermore, the area of E3 was not determined, although it was small enough to be considered a village, so it is hard to see how it is also the central site of a territory.

These problems also pertain to sites in this period not marked on the territorial map. E9, which is also distinguished by being the only site with Protogeometric pottery, was interpreted by the survey as a village although its size is below the cut off for that category at 0.16 ha. The surveyors identified it as Eionai found in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Il. 2.559), again, perhaps surprising

given its small size particularly compared to another site, B2, which is 0.6 ha and yet deemed to be merely a farmstead, despite producing 255 datable sherds the majority of which seem to be LG-SG although the wording is unclear. This is considerably more than the 92 PG-G sherds that represent E9. These inconsistencies in site categorisation and size are troubling, particularly in combination with their overly-rigid adherence to a particular model of 8th century *polis* formation to the exclusion of contradictory evidence. Their interpretation of the LG-SG findings is impacted by their wish to create a pattern of territorial division and settlement hierarchies as early as the 8th century which is simply not supported by the evidence. Instead, the lack of continuity of settlement and cult sites between the 8th and the 5th centuries is a strong indicator against stability during, and between, these periods. Additionally, it raises serious questions about what being a nucleated settlement centre in this period actually means. Their very use of the concept of central sites in this period is problematic. The concept of a central site implies a level of control and dominance that is simply not indicated in the evidence; it also suggests a level of complexity and wealth that is similarly anachronistic until the Archaic period when lasting patterns of hierarchies, and a demonstrable gap in wealth and complexity appears between centres such as Halieis and Hermion is evident. Again, even if Halieis and Hermion were larger and wealthier than their neighbours at this early point, there is still no convincing argument in favour of their control of these other settlements. The surveyors' claim of central sites in their proposed territories where there were *no other* sites is even more problematic; how can a central site exist in isolation?

This desire to make the 8th century a focal point of activity is also notable in the questionable interpretation of the two alleged LG-SG fortified refuge settlements B16 and C43. While much of the pottery at C43 is indeed LG-SG, the wall's fill contained C-H material rendering the site's interpretation as a LG-SG fortified habitation extremely unlikely. Instead this site is probably merely part of the larger nearby settlement of C11, as they themselves argue in the catalogue entry for C11, while the wall is probably a much later addition. B16, about 2 km away, is also

interpreted as an LG-SG fortified habitation, and the majority of the pottery there is LG-SG, although some is Archaic and Classical. However, as the wall at C43, and the comparable walls at G10 and F12, were all dated to the 5th and 4th centuries, it again seems entirely possible that B16's walls too are later, although this cannot be proven.

Instead, the evidence suggests a radical pattern of cessation of activity at the start of the Archaic period at these smaller, dispersed sites, normalising the settlement patterns with those seen in other areas. This is perhaps comparable to the situation described in the chapter on Arcadia, where settlement patterns in the region normalised in the 7th century, after a slightly elliptical 8th century pattern. Perhaps the change here can be linked to the movement of people away from these smaller dispersed settlements towards what were now the centres, Halieis, Hermion, and possibly C11 which was also a notable settlement in this period, although very small numbers of these earlier small settlements did persist into the Archaic period. This argues quite strongly against the picture provided by the excavators of a nascent sense of community in the 8th century, reinforced by persistent religious ties. All of this suggests that while the 8th century was a period of expansion and growth, it was not necessarily as significant as the Archaic period as a time of social change that was foundational to the development of the Classical *polis*.

Archaic:

As detailed above, the Archaic period saw the foundation of new cult sites or a dramatic increase in their use and a dramatic increase of population and markers of *polis* identity such as increased investment in cult sites, at the centre Halieis, and seemingly at Hermion too. The surveyors estimated a significant increase in the surface area of Halieis and Hermion in the Archaic period, but hypothesised that these Archaic centres were perhaps still only half the size of their Classical counterparts.[326] Furthermore, Halieis' *necropolis* came into use now and persisted into the Classical period, an indication of a more developed sense of community and possibly increasing

[326] Jameson et al 1994: 549.

population.[327] In the Archaic period there also appeared to be a greater degree of stratification linked to these developments at the central sites and to the appearance of several new small sites, generally interpreted as farmsteads, in particular B67, which may not have been permanently inhabited as it did not contain any storage wares but only fine wares and one cooking pot.[328] E47 similarly produced only around 20 sherds, none of which were from storage vessels, again suggesting that it may not have been a permanent inhabitation. E71, a small, dense concentration of only 0.05 ha, also lacks storage wares. G11, a small settlement of 0.5 ha, also came into use in this period. The quarry E7, for which the first evidence is late-6th century, although the majority is Classical to Roman, came into use now. This quarry site indicates an increase in the economic exploitation of the resources of the region, a move that, as demonstrated in the other regions, is also a marker of increasing complexity.

Classical:

Unlike the preceding transition from the LG-SG a great many sites continued to be in use from the Archaic to Classical periods,[329] suggesting that as the surveyors argued this transition was not a particularly radical one although there were some notable changes in the Classical period. Firstly, the size of the centres seemed to increase again quite dramatically,[330] and secondly the settlement hierarchy became more complex, most evident in the spread of farmsteads (A47, B9, B25, B54, C37) which unlike the small sites of the LG-SG period, were now part of a hierarchy of the centres, villages (F1, G2), and other sites such as a cult site (A24), a cemetery (A25) and a fortified watchpost (G10), all of which were in use in the 5th century, although the most dramatic change, the huge increase in the number of farmsteads, did not occur until the 4th century. Nevertheless, the survey data clearly demonstrates the increasing complexity of this hierarchy.

[327] Jameson et al 1994: 426.
[328] B67 also raises another problem with the AEP's interpretation as, while the pottery is described in the site catalogue as either Archaic or Classical, only the Archaic period is proposed for it use.
[329] A5, A15, A21, A65, B2, B16, B10, C11, C17, C41, E3, E19, E36, E40, F4, F5, G1.
[330] Jameson et al 1994: 549, and supported by the increasing numbers of wells (A20, F27) noted by the surveyors.

The main centres began to pull even further away from other settlements, both in size and in investment, particularly in their cult sites. Meanwhile, second order centres, in particular C11, had been firmly established in this role, as sites considerably larger than the smallest category, but lacking the investment and wealth of Halieis or Hermion. The 5th century evidence represents a development of patterns established in the Archaic period rather than a straightforward continuation of the same; not merely population growth but increasingly complex patterns of settlement and cult sites are indicated. Therefore, the picture of social change over this period seems to be more complex than the conclusions of the excavators indicated with less importance ascribed to the 8th century, in favour of the later periods, particularly the 7th and 6th, but also the 5th centuries. Although the LG-SG patterns are different to other regions, these patterns for the Archaic and Classical periods are far more regular.

The AEP and its Methodology

The territorial divisions proposed by the AEP surveyors were not the only troubling aspects of their publication and interpretation.

The companion volume to the survey, A&A, which provided a detailed analysis of the pottery down to the end of the Geometric period,[331] raised some of these problems. By comparing them I discovered some discrepancies in the reporting of Geometric material between the volumes. For example, C12 is reported in A&A as having 331 Geometric sherds. Meanwhile, the original survey said 'by far the majority of identifiable sherds' were of Geometric date, while also reporting that 3,224 sherds were collected. This indicates that they collected nearly 3,000 unidentifiable sherds, a curiously high number not explained anywhere. The main problem with the survey entry on this particular site is that it can be too easily misinterpreted as suggesting

[331] Runnels et al 1995.

that there were far more Geometric sherds at C12 than there really were. While its actual number as reported in A&A is large, it is nowhere near as high as 'the majority' of 3,224 sherds would imply.[332] Otherwise, A9 is claimed in the original survey to have c.161 Geometric sherds, but only 106 in the A&A volume, an increase of around 52%.[333] Meanwhile, C27, cited by the A&A volume as containing 16 G sherds, is not in the register in the original publication.[334] As this volume focussed largely on the nine sites with more than 65 Geometric sherds, to have three sites with such discrepancies is quite a high proportion, and raises questions about the over-all reliability of the survey that cannot be independently answered.

In addition, the extreme longevity of some of these small sites, for example B2, a small site interpreted as a farmstead which persisted from the LG to Classical periods which spans several centuries is highly unusual particularly in comparison to farmsteads or other small rural sites from other surveys. As previously noted, these last for a short time, generally for a few decades, and rarely last from one period to another. There is no consideration of this in the survey volume or alternatively of the possibility of changing site purpose from period to period. A related issue, alluded to above, and already noted by Acheson, is the lack of consideration of the definition of a farmstead. In general, the term covers a variety of site types, many of which were not permanent dwellings. Drawing this distinction on the grounds of the types of pottery found, e.g. storage wares, is possible, as demonstrated most clearly by the findings of the Laconia Survey project, however, this was not done by the AEP surveyors in their interpretation.

The dating of black glazed wares is also problematic. The catalogue entries are quite vague resulting in the kind of difficulties exemplified again by site E3. Its entry lists sherds from the 7th-5th centuries and describes them as mostly black glazed finewares. This implies that they may have counted black glazed wares as 7th century, a view not held by other surveys, where they are

[332] Runnels et al 1995: 57, Jameson et al 1994: 467.
[333] Runnels et al 1995: 57, Jameson et al 1994: 423.
[334] Runnels et al 1995: 57.

interpreted as belonging to the 6th-4th centuries. The entry for F5 also seems to imply that LG-SG, Archaic, and Classical periods all produce black glazed finewares although the phrasing is too opaque to be certain either way. This obviously casts serious doubts on how reliable their dating may be and could be one of the explanations for the extreme longevity of some of the smaller sites noted above. This uncertainty is compounded by the vagueness of the catalogue as there are a very large number of sites in use from the LG-SG and A periods that *could* be dated this early on the basis of allegedly 7th century black glazed finewares,[335] because the catalogue does not provide the necessary level of detail about the pottery found at these sites. In fact the catalogue entry for G1 restricts its mentions of black glazed finewares purely to the Archaic and Classical periods perhaps indicating that the entries for E3 and F5 are merely badly phrased. I am not arguing that all these sites actually *were* dated to the 7th century or even earlier based on the presence of this particular class of pottery which, elsewhere, would not indicate presence until later on. I am merely arguing that survey publications should not be so open to uncertainty and that this emphasises the necessity of providing catalogues in surveys that are as detailed as possible to enable them to be more effectively used in further research such as this thesis. These problems with the dating of black glazed finewares would be settled by the publication of the second volume of A&A, to accompany the first, published 23 years ago, which serves as a reminder of the importance of publishing survey data in a timely fashion.

While the survey is admirable in its scope and detail, and adhered to rigorous collection methods, the catalogue is often too vague to be helpful, particularly in light of the fact that we still lack the second A&A volume. Despite the difficulties outlined above, when subject to re-evaluation such as I have undertaken here, the survey data from the AEP region demonstrates that, while settlement patterns regularised by the Archaic period, which saw the steady growth in the size and complexity of both the centres, and of the settlement hierarchies they fit into, the LG-SG

[335] A9, B2, B16, C10, C11, C12, C17, C43, E9, E40, F32, G22 are all extremely vague in their descriptions of the LG-SG pottery.

period saw a highly unique, but short-lived pattern of more dispersed living, for reasons that are at present unclear.

Present Conclusions of the AEP

Firstly, it is necessary to acknowledge that in the survey region during the 8th and 7th centuries, one of the most notable and unusual aspects is the number of smaller sites scattered across the area. Despite the arguments of the surveyors, this earlier pattern of dispersal appears to have changed in the Archaic period towards the more nucleated patterns found elsewhere. In terms of size, the sites that were major centres later on began to pull away from others in the area. Although the whole spectrum of site sizes was still represented, there was a shift in the size of settlements, particularly a polarising through the growth of main sites and medium settlements and the cessation of smaller village-sized sites, creating a larger division between these settlements and the individual farmstead sites that appeared early in this region and persisted in small numbers. This period also saw the cessation of focus on Mases and the surrounding area, and a new focus on the area around Hermion instead. This was the start of a pattern that was solidified in the Classical period and later on. Significantly, the proportion of rural cult sites also increased dramatically. The geographical spread of the sites across the survey area changed as well. While in the LG period there was a more notable cluster in the area of C11, in the Archaic period this was far less pronounced, and the sites were spread more widely across the area. All of these changes suggest a significant change in settlement patterns towards more complex, unequal settlement hierarchies, while the changes to cult sites suggest a changing conceptualisation of territory. The Classical period saw further, drastic changes. It is first of all important to note again that much of the area immediately around Hermion was not accessible by the survey team, and that many sites may have been around it may therefore not have been recorded. Nevertheless, strong patterns emerged across the rest of the area, and much of the

territory of Hermion aside from this particular area was available to the survey team. In the area of Mases, the number of small, farmstead sites increased. Mases and its surrounding area form their own interesting microcosm, with a small centre, a cult site nearby, and a small number of rural sites nearby.

There were significant differences between the two *poleis* of Halieis and Hermion. Although there aren't obvious border markers between the two, there are strong indications that Hermion is much larger. This partly stems from the fact that Halieis has only one centre, while Hermion has a larger number of smaller centres such as Mases. It also, unlike Halieis, provides evidence of having a territory large enough to require formalised internal divisions at least in the 5th century, such as the boundary marker with Fournoi (E15). There was an early indication of the later differences between Hermion and Halieis within the survey evidence of the 8th and 7th centuries as there were more sites around Hermion itself, and only a couple of sites around Halieis, which were not settlements. There was a general growth in settlements in this period too. Firstly, Hermion and Halieis appeared, as discussed above, to grow larger. Secondly, there were now three medium settlements and two small-medium settlements. The medium sites are interestingly located, with one near Halieis, and two around Mases (F4, C11). Two of the small-medium sites are near Hermion itself (F36, G1). This increase was perhaps at the expense of the smaller village category which saw a decline in this period. There was also an increase in medium sites around Hermion, particularly around the eastern coastal area (E36, G1, G2). This complex arrangement of large secondary sites is in great contrast to the area around Halieis which, apart from the main centre itself, is made up of farmsteads and small rural cult sites. This marks the intensification of the structural difference between Hermion and Halieis. While Halieis is a single centre surrounded only by a large number of small rural cult sites and farmsteads, Hermion has a far larger and more complex network of medium and small settlements, farmsteads, and cult sites. Even within the territory of Hermion, there is a difference between the network around Mases, and, on the east coast, the spread of quite isolated medium settlements.

While there was a large variation between the two *poleis*, Hermion, as a larger and more complex territory, saw a large amount of internal variation particularly between Mases and the new, more isolated settlements in the eastern part of the territory. This difference may be predicated by the fact that Mases already existed and was merely absorbed into the wider territory of Hermion at some point, unlike the settlements on the east coast which were founded later on, indicating that previous settlement patterns played a role in this later period. This complexity appears to be linked to the size. In fact, the pattern may be even more complex than this due to the unfortunate fact that the land immediately around Hermion could not be surveyed, and may have presented a different pattern entirely, perhaps one more like that seen around Halieis.

The situation at Mases (C11) raises an interesting concept, that of the failed *polis*. There are some indications of this status, among them the existence of C41. This was a cult site very near Mases which came into use by the LG period. It therefore stands in contrast to many of the other cult sites in this region which were either small and rural, coming into use later, or fell out of use before the Classical period. It was also unusually close to Mases which was quite a large settlement. It is possible, therefore, that it could have functioned as an extra-urban sanctuary, such as, for example, Epidauros' sanctuary of Apollo. Firstly, there are some indications from the survey evidence as to when this area was absorbed into Hermion's territory. There is no indication that this had occurred in the LG period, and in fact given the general preponderance of smaller, equally sized settlements in this period, it is particularly unlikely. Certainly, this absorption had occurred by the Classical period, when Hermion was a main centre in the region, and when survey evidence such as the *horos* at E15 indicates that it had a large territory with internal divisions. It therefore seems that Mases must have been absorbed some time during the Archaic period. However, narrowing this down further is difficult. It is possible that since there was a lot of change in this particular area in the 7th century that it might date to this period, but it is impossible to narrow it down further than to the 7th or 6th centuries.

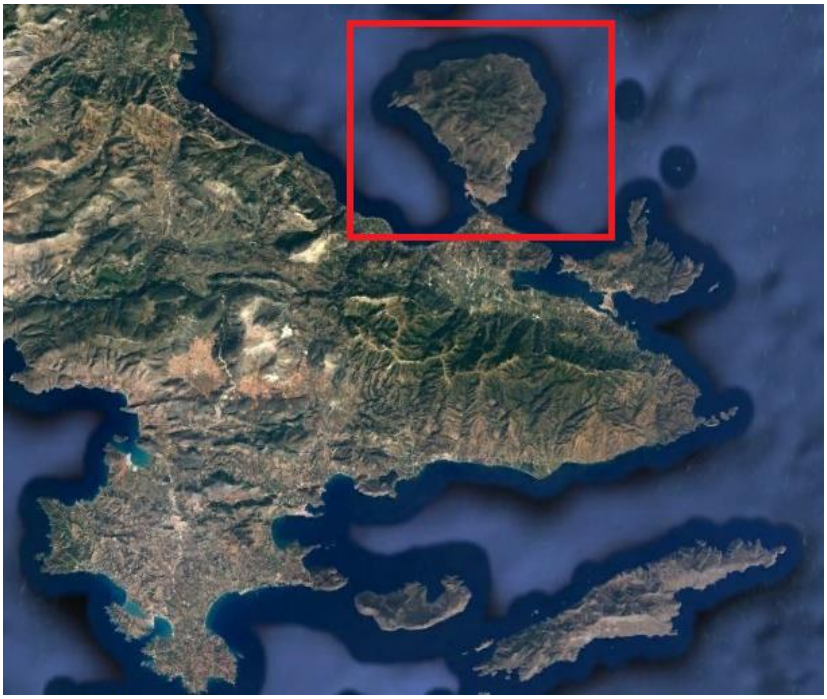
For both Hermion and Halieis the Archaic period was one of key change. While the centres had become larger and more physically defined through construction at cult sites and, at Halieis, through the construction of the extra-mural cemetery and stone wall, the evidence from survey shows that these urban changes did not occur in isolation. The main centres grew in size and complexity, while the settlement hierarchies attached to them became more polarised and complex at around the same time. The spread of small, rural cult sites, in particular around Halieis, indicates a greater interest in physically marking out territory, and thus a growing concept of territorial ownership by the centre. There was a drastic change in the landscape, from a relatively small and thin scatter of settlements in the 8th century, of differing sizes, to a set of territories filled with complex hierarchies and, in the case of Hermion, marked by internal boundaries. There was also a greater degree of polarisation within site hierarchies, through the growth of the largest urban sites and in the number of small, rural sites, combined with the cessation of the village-sized sites that had been more common in the preceding period. This demonstrates that the settlement hierarchies into which these urban centres fit became larger and more complex during the 7th and particularly 6th centuries, with a high degree of variation not just between *poleis* but even within their territories.

The Methana Peninsula

The Methana Peninsula had its own unusual settlement patterns although they differed from those of the rest of the Akte. The peninsula was highly socially peripheral in ancient historical accounts of the Argolid and little-explored before this survey.[336] It was selected by its surveyors for this reason as it is not quite connected to the mainland, but not an island: on the edge of the

[336] Mee et al 1997: 1.

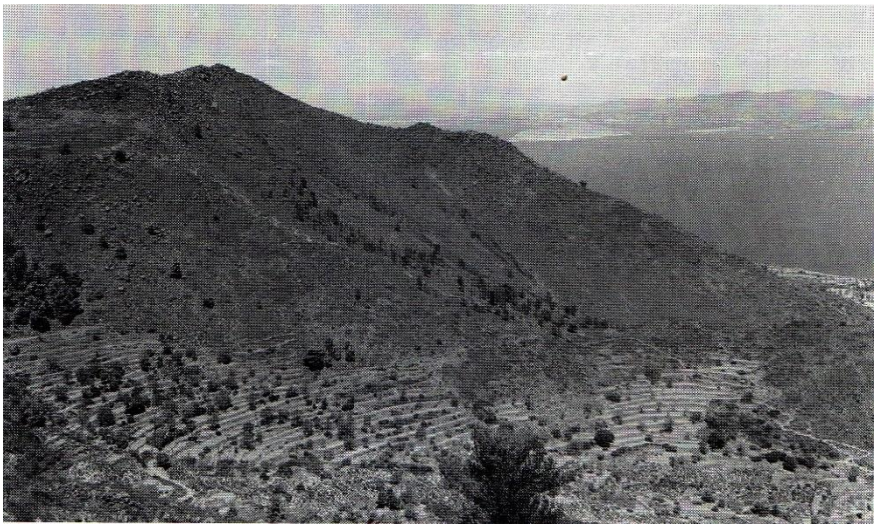
Peloponnese and also the Saronic Gulf and therefore in the orbit of several centres; Athens, Argos, and Corinth, which would perhaps highlight their influences on the region over time.[337]



(Ill. 14: A map of the Southern Argolid with the Methana Peninsula marked)

As well as being geographically distinct from the rest of the Argolid, its geology and terrain differs greatly due to its volcanic nature, and much of the peninsula is elevated and steep, limiting its use and exploitation.[338]

[337] Mee et al 1997: 2.
[338] Mee et al 1997: 2.



(Ill. 15: The dramatic landscape of Methana)[339]

Much of the landscape is thickly covered in spiny vegetation, influencing their field walking methods.[340] To overcome the visibility problem, they kept to more visible terrain and were mindful about reporting on the visibility in their survey catalogue. The survey's study of the geology and geography of the peninsula addressed some taphonomic problems. The steep landscape had caused concerns about overland flow, which can be channelled, creating rills but can be catastrophic leading to permanent gullies. However, a study of the possible effects of erosion on Methana found that rills and gullies were rare. The removal of fine soil particles by overland flow had left artefacts exposed on the surface and this actually enhanced their visibility.[341] Furthermore, some terraces, possibly Classical, had remained stable for a long time, and there was evidence for low rates of soil erosion.[342]

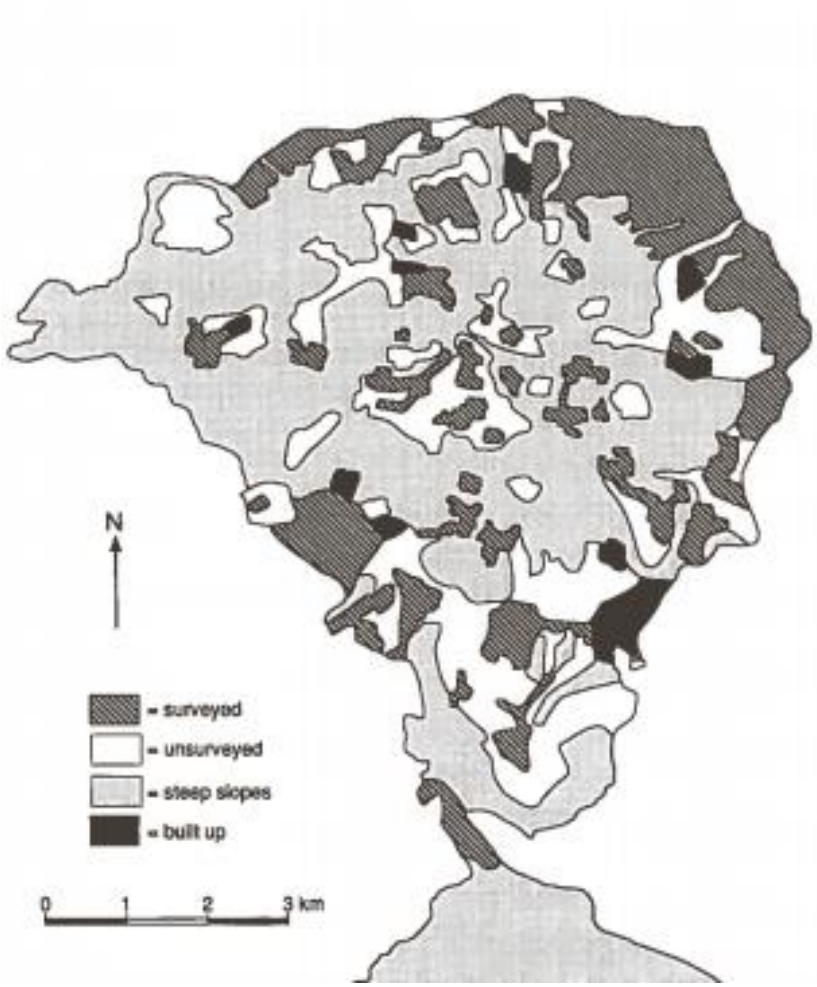
[339] Mee et al 1997: 6.
[340] Mee et al 1997: 4.
[341] James et al 1994: 412-14.
[342] James et al 1994: 414.



(Ill. 16: Agricultural terraces on Methana)[343]

This suggested that the correlation of the survey to sub-surface finds was reasonably high. As the region is a peninsula of only 50km^2 boundary definition was unproblematic. However, a total survey was difficult due to the terrain and size of the team. The area was therefore not surveyed randomly which would have theoretically given the most objective overview of the area; instead they focused on areas that were likely to be inhabited such as certain coastal zones and the gentler slopes, while covering as topographically and environmentally diverse an area as could be practically managed. As a result, 21% of the peninsula was surveyed, nearly half the area that the excavators deemed habitable.[344]

[343] Mee et al 1997: 27.
[344] Mee et al 1997: 33.



(Ill. 17: A diagram of the Methana Peninsula with the areas sampled marked)[345]

This was undertaken in three seasons, 1984-1986, fielding 2 teams of 5 or 6 in 1984 and 1 team of 6 in the other two years.[346] The walkers were spaced closely at 10m apart, with an estimated field of visibility of 2-3m for large artefacts such as press beds, and 1m for sherds.[347] A site was determined by the concentration of five artefacts per square metre but this was not applied rigidly and contrast between on-site and off-site density contributed to interpretations. The edge of the site was determined when artefacts dropped to a density of below two per square metre.[348] Total collection of artefacts was deemed impossible on logistical grounds, and unlikely

[345] Mee et al 1997: 34.
[346] Mee et al 1997: 34.
[347] Mee et al 1997: 34.
[348] Mee et al 1997: 35.

to contribute information,[349] and representative/diagnostic sherds were gathered.[350] The survey focussed on site area to distinguish between different types of site. The vast majority (86%) were <5000m^2. They categorised sites <2000m^2 as farmsteads, 2000-10000m^2 as hamlets and those over 10000 as villages.[351] 103 sites were registered in total.[352] As a smaller area, with smaller settlements, the findings were recorded in more detail than those in the Southern Argolid, though the same collection techniques were used, as mentioned above. Unlike the AEP, the changing surface area of large sites between periods was investigated and recorded, allowing for more in-depth analysis of their changes over time.

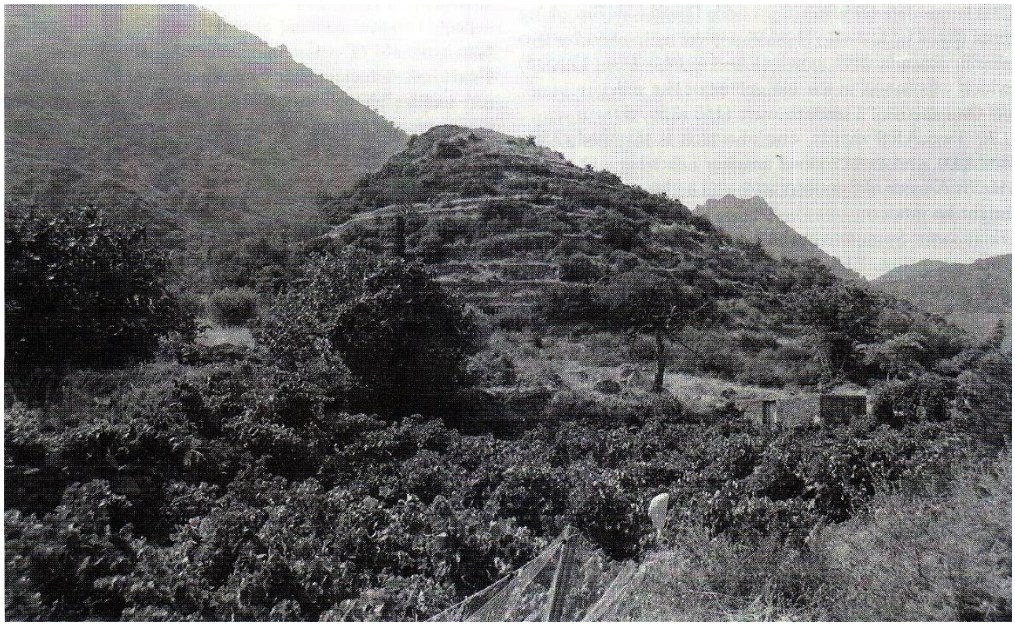
EIA:

There was EIA pottery at 5 sites, with a further 3 producing fewer than 5 sherds; starting in the PG period. These included the main settlements of Oga, Methana and Magoula.[353] This included imports from the Argive plain and Attica with those from Attica being less common. For this reason the excavators concluded that in this period the peninsula was culturally part of the Argolid with some contacts to the Saronic Gulf.[354] As in the AEP survey area the earliest evidence was from the Protogeometric period.[355] The distribution reveals a major site was located on each of the three coasts although one site was slightly larger than the other two although in this period a hierarchical relationship between them is far from certain.[356]

[349] A decision supported by one of the general conclusions of the Laconia Rural Sites Project, that increasing the intensity of collection did not alter the overall impression of the site that intensive, but slightly less so, methods produced.
[350] Mee et al 1997: 35.
[351] Mee et al 1997: 38.
[352] Mee et al 1997: 37.
[353] Mee et al 1997: 57.
[354] Mee et al 1997: 57.
[355] Mee et al 1997: 60.
[356] Mee et al 1997: 58-9.

Archaic:

In the Archaic period there were 6 sites, with a further 4 producing fewer than 5 sherds.[357] There was a drop in the number of settlements indicating increasing nucleation based at the remaining sites. The excavators also wanted to emphasise that this small-scale abandonment of some earlier sites does not indicate a period of decline.[358] And in fact this situation is comparable to that in the AEP survey data, where there is a wide range of 8th century sites that disappear before the Archaic period, perhaps lending further support to my interpretation. This is plausible partly because the size differences between these and the other sites were extremely high and because only these sites and the cult sites had Corinthian imports, which increased at the three main sites (MS10, MS60, MS67) over the Archaic period.[359]



(Ill. 18: A view of MS60)[360]

[357] Mee et al 1997: 58.
[358] Mee et al 1997: 60.
[359] Mee et al 1997: 59.
[360] Mee et al 1997: 143.

There were several rural sanctuaries in this period, most notably Oga (MS68) in use since the PG period,[361] here in contrast to the Akte which did not see this level of continuity of cult sites. This period also saw the first definite evidence of graves, on the plain near Throni, a rough block 0.78m long, 0.45m wide, 0.45m thick was inscribed, dedicated by Eumares for his deceased son Androkles; dated to the 6th century by letter forms.[362] There was another possible grave marker, a stone 'throne' from the same region.[363] As elsewhere, the 7th century is largely invisible.[364]

The excavators addressed the topic of the rise of the *polis* concluding that the 8th century was not a period of major social upheaval in this region. They pointed out that MS10 was always slightly larger than the other PG and G settlements on the peninsula, and that this did not seem to be a development of the 8th century but rather earlier. They also emphasised that the size differential between settlement sites increased during the Archaic period and generally placed more emphasis on this period as one of great social change. They pointed to the relationship between MS10, the site that became the Classical *polis*, and another site MS67, which was larger during the Archaic period and near an earlier cult site that could arguably be deemed an extra-urban sanctuary. They interpreted these very plausibly as competing communities, from which a clear winner did not emerge until after the Archaic period, as MS67 did not decline until the Classical period. They therefore pointed out that 'no 8th century watershed is visible' and that social change should instead be situated in the Archaic and Classical periods.[365]

Classical:

Methana in the Classical period contained 22 sites with a further 6 represented by fewer than 5 sherds, a great increase in site density compared to the 6 Archaic sites, though it followed the same patterns on the landscape. The spread of farmsteads was not a phenomenon of the Early

[361] Mee et al 1997: 59.
[362] CEG I. 137.
[363] Mee et al 1997: 59.
[364] Mee et al 1997: 60.
[365] Mee et al 1997: 60.

Classical period, but instead was largely restricted to the last quarter of the 5th century, although MS3 and MS56 were probably in use earlier in the century. Therefore, as with the AEP survey area, the transition from the Archaic to Classical period was not an immediately dramatic one. Oga and Magoula maintained their size from the Archaic period, while Methana itself doubled in size to c. 8 ha, indicating significant population increase.[366] The proliferation of small sites across the countryside suggests a significant increase in settlement stratification in this period,

Settlement in the Methana Peninsula was on a smaller scale than in the Southern Argolid and the Argive Plain, with only simple hierarchies of settlements and cult sites. The sites themselves were smaller and were represented by less surface material than elsewhere. The region nonetheless demonstrates similarities to its neighbours; a complex set of changes to settlement patterns from the PG period down into the Classical, with more significant changes, indicative of the growth of a *polis*, occurring in the later Archaic and even Classical periods.

[366] Mee et al 1997: 65.



(Ill. 19: Sites in the Late Geometric period)[367]

[367] Key: White – Farmstead, Yellow – medium site, Blue – major site, Black – special-use site.



(Ill. 20: Sites in the Archaic period)



(Ill. 21: Sites in the Classical period)

My detailed breakdown of the use of sites over time supported this interpretation, emphasising the large increase in the size of the urban centre itself, MS10, in the Classical period, and in the steady increase in the numbers of small rural sites with two appearing early in the century, before their sudden proliferation at a slightly later date. The pattern of farmsteads around the Classical *polis*, MS10, illustrates a typical view of a *polis* and its territory while MS67 though still a large settlement is not surrounded in this way. Its territory was therefore still likely to have been exploited purely from the site itself. My analysis therefore agrees very strongly with the interpretation put forward by the surveyors. Their careful focus on changes at individual sites over time, unlike the AEP survey, is extremely helpful in drawing out narratives of change.

At its core this pattern is similar to the one from the AEP, and from elsewhere, as the main periods of change were the Archaic and Classical. However, it differs notably from elsewhere in the sheer

number of competing centres there were before this period in such a small area. It also differs from the AEP in not adhering to its curious pattern of LG-SG dispersal of settlement as, though there are three different centres on the peninsula, they are all comparatively isolated from one another, and do not present the same pattern as the large scatter of small sites the AEP recorded. Nevertheless, the end of the 8th century saw the movement of people from smaller settlements to larger ones in both parts of the Southern Argolid for reasons that are not clear. The pattern on the Methana Peninsula of three centres all fairly equal until the 5th century, can be explained by the geography of the peninsula. It is harsh and rugged rendering it a relatively unattractive area for settlement, and one difficult to exploit as terracing is essential, and also making travel around the peninsula relatively problematic. It is therefore not surprising that three sites on different parts of the peninsula would persist in competition for a long time.

Summary of the Methana Peninsula

As discussed above for the AEP results, the settlements in the 8th century seem to be of a far more uniform size than those later on, distributed quite evenly across the landscape, and there are no other indications that these sites fit into hierarchies which saw the exploitation of smaller sites by larger ones, despite the arguments of the AEP surveyors. This early scatter of small settlements - always remembering that we don't know the sizes of the later centres at this time but given the paucity of the finds, it seems very possible they were quite small and insignificant - was a pattern that ended abruptly, with the cessation of many settlements and sanctuaries, after the end of the LG-SG periods. Only in the Archaic period do the main centres in the AEP region become markedly and notably different, through architectural investment and wealth, from neighbouring, medium to large sites such as C11 or E36, and it is only in this period that sites such as these to seem to fit into the role of second order sites. The farmsteads also start to become more pronounced here in number, although they are generally a later phenomenon.

As the surveyors concluded, there was a clear pattern of development over time. In the Geometric period, there were three large settlements with a further four small sites with only peripheral activity. The Archaic period saw a phase of nucleation, as there was in the area around Hermion. Unlike in the Akte, apart from Mases, two of these settlements had long-standing cult sites nearby. A third settlement, MS10, did not have this extra-urban cult site. This perhaps indicates that in this period already, some difference had occurred between MS10 and MS 60 and MS67, an initial step towards the later dominance of MS10 within this region. In this period there was only one isolated cult site (MS220), a very small number compared to the neighbouring Akte. There are a few possible explanations; firstly, that fewer people lived away from the larger settlements, and that therefore there was less need for rural cult sites. Secondly, that in this relatively inaccessible, rugged peninsula, there was less of a need to demarcate territory, particularly as the area became increasingly mononuclear. Though Methana had one dominant settlement in the region, at least from the 5th century, the situation in the Southern Argolid was less straightforward due to the presence of both Halieis and Hermion. The differences in detail between these two regions is probably due to the fact that the Methana Peninsula is both smaller and more peripheral than the rest of the Southern Argolid. Beyond this the developments both inside and outside the centres are both characteristic of the general patterns for growth in the Classical period.

Conclusions

Comparisons and Synthesis

Both the AEP survey and the Methana Peninsula experienced great change during this period. While later urban centres were in use from the start of the period, their role as central places in a meaningful, hierarchical sense during the 8th century or earlier is highly debatable. Instead, they were only a few within a larger group of settlements. In the Methana Peninsula, these were three

roughly equally sized, dispersed settlements. In the AEP area, particularly the region that later became Hermion's territory, the situation was more complex, made up of a larger number of more equally sized settlements, with no indications of a hierarchy. The other main difference was the appearance of visible, defined territories, particularly in AEP area, suggested by the presence of urban centres at the top of increasingly complex arrangements of smaller settlements and rural cult sites marking ownership, possibly delineating boundaries, and internal boundaries such as that denoted by the *horos* at E15. While this was the situation in the 5th century, when it began is less clear. The earliest evidence from the survey, from the 8th century, certainly provides no evidence of this sort of delineation and hierarchy. These changes began in the Archaic period, before intensifying in the Classical period.

The Archaic period saw a marked change at urban centres. There was a phase of development of urban cult sites, both through their creation, and their increasing visibility and presence via the construction of the earliest cult structures at existing cult sites. These developments indicate an increase in the complexity of *poleis*. The appearance of multiple cult sites within urban centres, and particularly the construction of temples in them, and the increased investment in public community spaces and signifiers they provide evidence for, suggest a development in the community's attitude to such spaces.

Osborne has raised an interesting point about urban cult sites. Regarding the great degree of influence that de Polignac's interest in extra-urban sanctuaries, he suggests that it has been to the detriment of similarly focussed studies on urban cult activity.[368] Indeed, the evidence from the urban sanctuaries is particularly helpful for understanding these patterns and the relationship between developments at the centres and away from them. Although direct synthesis is only possible for Hermion and Halieis which lie inside the survey area, the sites elsewhere in the Argolid generally present a uniform set of trends in development across this period in keeping

[368] Osborne 2005: 4.

with the evidence from these two sites. This type of direct comparison is not possible in the Methana Peninsula as the settlements there have not been subject to excavation in the same was as those on the mainland have. In the same period, there was, as detailed above, a sudden proliferation of small cult sites outside of the centre too and the polarising and increasing complexity of the settlement hierarchies. Together these urban and non-urban developments present a strong and compelling narrative of development in the Archaic period, particularly in the 6th century, when many of these changes occurred. The Classical period saw a development and intensification of this Archaic groundwork. The main sites became larger and the settlement hierarchies became more complex, particularly in the addition of more small rural sites. Hermion's territory too became more complex or overtly defined, as evidenced by the formal marker of an internal division with the horos (E15).

There was a considerable degree of variation between the three neighbouring *poleis*, Haleis, Hermion, and Methana. Halieis was small and mononuclear; Hermion larger and with more secondary centres. The Methana Peninsula itself was nearly as large as Hermion's territory, and the urban centre there had secondary and tertiary sites, though lacking the complexity and internal divisions of Hermion. The comparative size of these territories provides some explanation for these differences, although the geography of these regions is also highly relevant. The Methana peninsula is very different from that of the rest of the Argolid; far more rocky and inhospitable. In terms of usable land, its size is far more similar to Halieis than Hermion, which may explain the simplicity of its hierarchy compared to Hermion. Meanwhile, the pattern of its usable land, which is patchy and somewhat restricted to the costal areas of the peninsula, may explain why its settlement pattern is less centralised than Halieis, and why its three main sites are dispersed fairly equally around the peninsula.

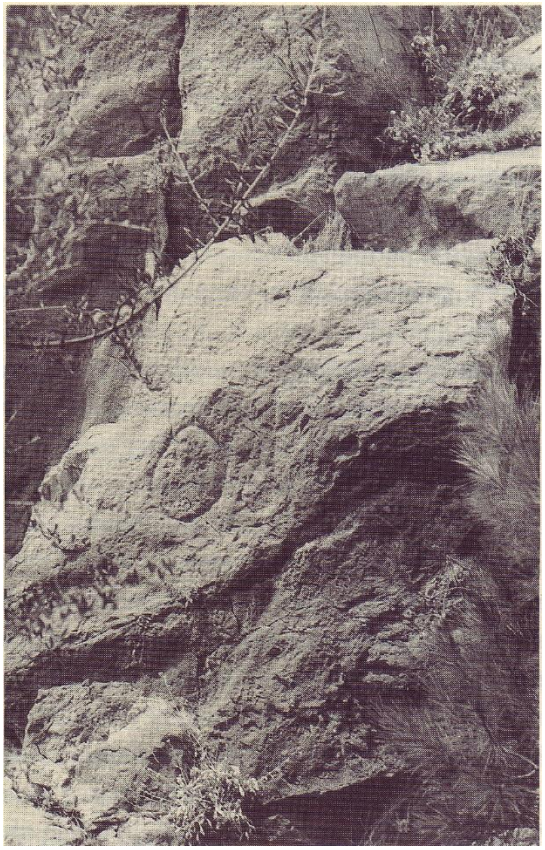
In the Methana Peninsula, the Classical period saw little change in this set up until the late 5th century. The three cult sites remained in use, two of which, MS11 and MS68, had been in use

since the Geometric period, in contrast to the patterns in the AEP survey area, in which cult sites saw far greater discontinuity across the period. The lack of expansion in the 5th century, and the strong continuity of cult generally in the Methana Peninsula across the period, indicate a different approach to the peninsula, less marked by competition, and territorial interests than the Akte. Instead, the Methana Peninsula contained three settlements that all persisted, even though one became dominant later on this period. Within even this geographically and socially peripheral region, the Methana Peninsula stands out for its isolation and historical insignificance. Its settlement pattern can be more closely linked to the geography than that of the mainland Argolid, due to the extremity of its landscape. This terrain, intensively covered by rocky and volcanic zones, particularly covering the interior of the peninsula. This provides a plausible explanation for the pattern of equally sized settlements distributed close to or on the coast, on opposite sides of the peninsula, a very different pattern from that of either Hermion and Halieis. The number of cult sites, particularly small, rural ones, on the peninsula is also notably smaller than the rest of the Argolid, which again may be explained by the more natural, geologically-driven divisions within the land, negating the necessity for them as found elsewhere. This may otherwise, or additionally, be due to less competition over land in the peninsula as it was socially more peripheral as well as geographical.

Territorial Boundaries and the Polis

The markers which signify territorial claims and exploitation are also different from elsewhere. While the Laconia survey found buffer settlements against hostile Tegea, such as Sellasia and Agios Konstantinos, and fierce competition over buffer zones such as the Thyreatid, is attested between Argos and Sparta, the Akte presents these conflicts in different ways. The discovery of a Classical *horos* in the AEP survey area (E15) marking an internal boundary within Hermion

suggests that by this period a need had arisen to delineate these two areas, perhaps due to increasing competition for resources.



(Ill. 22: A photograph of the horos (E15)[369]

In this the Southern Argolid is not exceptional. Evidence of territorial boundaries from elsewhere in Greece in the form of military installations one of the few archaeologically obvious markers of a boundary, and *horoi*, did not become common until the Classical period.[370] However, this conflict is both later and seemingly less violent than it was in less peripheral parts of the Peloponnese.

On the other hand, territory can be investigated instead in the Akte through competition in a way that does not factor into the other surveys or regions examined in this research. For example, the divergent trajectory of Mases (C11), detailed above, indicates that the hierarchy of the region

[369] Illustration taken from Jameson et al 1994: 603.
[370] Hjohlman et al 2005: 98; Grant et al 2008: 262.

was not actually settled until the 6th century. That it did not subside into obscurity until the Classical period indicates that its position within the region compared to that of nearby Halieis may not have been determined until that time. In this respect it is not unique; E36 a large town of c.6 ha sprang up in the Archaic period and persisted into the Classical but remained at the same size rather than growing. In addition to this, there were numerous sites that did not persist from the Archaic to the Classical period, notably A9 an Archaic medium-sized settlement also near Halieis. The late emergence of a dominant *polis* in even such a small region as the Methana Peninsula is comparable, and these all imply a higher degree of competition between higher order settlements than, for example, in the comparable Asea Valley, where Asea was the only possible centre from the Protogeometric period onwards. This is therefore a phenomenon of both the Methana Peninsula and the mainland Akte, although not a uniform one. For example, the absorption occurred earlier at Mases than it did at the other two centres on the Methana Peninsula, in particular that with an attached cult site. There are other similarities between Mases and the failed *polis* on Methana. Both came into use early on in this period or before the start of it, both had an attached, 'extra-urban' sanctuary from an early period, and both persisted in use past the end of this period, suggesting perhaps a certain degree of uniformity to this phenomenon. Explaining this phenomenon of failed *poleis* in the Argolid is a difficult and potentially impossible one.

The possible reasons for the success of some centres and failure of others nearby are essentially either geographical or social in nature. A geographical reason would be rooted in some fundamentally increased suitability at the successful centres on the grounds of, for example, a better climate or more suitable agricultural land. Geographical reasons of this sort seem unlikely as these places are so close to one another and are therefore subject to the same geographical or climatic conditions.[371] It is therefore far more likely that these failures rested on more social

[371] Contrast these sites to, for example Halstead 1994 which, using surveys, investigates the role that environmental factors played on Neolithic settlement patterns. His comparisons were on a very large

factors. The later Archaic and Classical pattern around Hermion may provide one explanation. While Mases was on the western coast of the Akte, Hermion itself was on the eastern, as were the medium-sized secondary sites which appeared in its territory during this period. It is possible that this shift was a matter of location, and that the eastern coast, which led to the Saronic Gulf, became more significant at this later point in time, although this is merely conjecture. Additionally, while the location may have played a part in the Akte; this explanation does not seem as convincing for the Methana Peninsula. This highlights a weakness of using survey data, that it is not helpful for answering questions reliant on social trends and factors.

While competition for the central position within a *polis* persisted longer than elsewhere, perhaps a hangover from its earlier pattern of more dispersed living, counterintuitively, competition *between poleis* in this region was far less pronounced than in other parts of the southern half of the Peloponnese. This argument that competition was not as severe between *poleis* in this region compared to those in less peripheral parts of the Peloponnese, specifically *because* this was a comparatively peripheral and unimportant place, may find support in observations made about the Late Classical and Hellenistic sites in the region. That fierce competition for resources was not a serious issue until the later Classical period is supported by Acheson's and Pierart's conclusions about the increased intensity of land exploitation and border disputes at this time, detailed above. Additionally, the persistence of competing higher order sites into the Archaic period lends further support to the idea as it demonstrates that serious competition was lacking. For example, sites were not destroyed in the manner that Asine was because unlike the Methana Peninsula or the AEP survey area, it was extremely close to the Argive Plain. Instead they were peacefully assimilated into the forming *polis* hierarchies but this didn't occur until the Archaic and Classical periods. This also raises the question of the status of Halieis and the issue of dependent *poleis*, *poleis* that still retain their social organisation and identity as a *polis* but are in some way

scale, comparing e.g. Thessaly to Southern Greece, in great contrast to the situation here where the sites are only a few miles apart at most.

deferential to a more powerful neighbour. Halieis is not listed on the Serpent Column,[372] on the basis of which it has been argued that by the early 5th century it was already dominated by Hermion, its closest neighbour, which is listed.[373] Certainly, Halieis at least by the Classical period does seem to have been smaller than Hermion, and to have had a much smaller territory,[374] and therefore to have easily been dominated by it despite remaining a *polis*. This points to one of the limitations of survey evidence; it cannot tell us whether a *polis* was independent or in some way dependent on a more powerful neighbour. Instead this status that can be determined more easily from textual evidence which is severely lacking from this region.

The History of the Southern Argolid

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter the history of the Southern Argolid is far from expansive. Even Pausanias who often provides early Archaic narratives jumps from mythical characters such as Herakles to stories from the Hellenistic or Roman periods (e.g. 2.28.2, 2.30-1, 2.34). The curiously disrupted settlement patterns in this region suggest that the paucity of textual evidence for the Archaic period ought to surprise us.

The textual evidence for the region in the Geometric and Archaic periods, aside from the destruction of Asine covered above, can be quickly summarised. The only other point of interest that the pre-Classical Southern Argolid held for later authors, is one brief mention by Strabo (8.6.14) of the Kalaureian Amphictyony. He briefly describes an association of 7 *poleis*; Hermion, Epidauros, Aigina, Athens, Argos (through Nauplia), Sparta (through Prasiai), and Boiotian Orchomenos. It is interpreted as being purely concerned with trade rather than control in the way that other leagues were.[375] However, this *amphictyony* which certainly existed in the

[372] Meiggs and Lewis no. 27.
[373] Pierart 2004: 609.
[374] Jameson et al 1994: 18.
[375] Jameson et al 1994: 68.

Hellenistic period,[376] is highly problematic as an Archaic organisation. Firstly, it is perhaps surprising that Demosthenes while mentioning the Kalaureian sanctuary often does not refer to an amphictyony either during his time or earlier. In their discussion of it, the AEP surveyors argued that Ephorus, whom Strabo cites at 8.6.14 about the ranking of Kalaureia, in relation to Delphi, Delos and Tainaron, must be the source for his next sentence about the members of the league, thus supporting the historicity of the league before the Hellenistic period.[377] In reality, there is no reason to be so sure of this; for example, the very *next* sentence after these two deals with the death of Demosthenes, which Ephorus cannot have described, as it took place after his account had ended,[378] and the AEP surveyors themselves state that Strabo probably took 'all his information' about Kalaureia from Ephorus.[379] Even if this trade-based *amphictyony* existed in the 7th or 6th centuries it provides us with very little information. The amphictyony's existence in this period is debatable. It was certainly active in the Hellenistic period,[380] although our evidence for earlier use is much later, as it is mentioned as an Archaic institution in Strabo's work (Strabo 8.6.3ff). It is also not certain if the island and its sanctuary was a possession of Troizen earlier than the 5th century.[381] Hornblower notes with interest that Herodotus never mentioned the league but maintains that it was not a Hellenistic fiction, on the grounds of the inclusion of Nauplia and Prasiai amongst the members of the league.[382] However, Hall's counterarguments are persuasive. He attaches more importance than Hornblower to the lateness of the evidence for an Archaic Kalaureian league, and also notes that the inclusion of Nauplia and Prasiai could easily have been added at a later point.[383] Although the question is far from settled, there is simply no reliable evidence that this league existed earlier than the Hellenistic period and its

[376] Jameson et al 1994: 68.
[377] Jameson et al 1994: 68.
[378] Drews 1963: 251-3 discussing the fact that Ephorus never even completed his account of Philip II, who died nearly a decade before Demosthenes.
[379] Jameson et al 1994: 69.
[380] Figueira 2004: 622.
[381] Figueira 2004: 622.
[382] Hornblower 2013:234
[383] Hall 1995: 585.

absence from earlier sources such as Herodotus and Thucydides is notable. Although some have attached some importance to the increased activity at the sanctuary in the 7th century regarding the start of this league,[384] as Hall notes, this ignores the fact that this was a period of expansion and consolidation through construction at many sanctuaries in the region.[385] As a result, the league will not play a notable part in the interpretation of the Archaic Argolid.

Aside from this we have very little information. Instead the *poleis* of the Akte emerge in the 5th century textual sources generally only when they appear within the narrative of far more widespread events. They are active participants in the Persian Wars as 700 Epidaurian soldiers, along with 1000 from Troizen and 300 from Hermion are listed on the Serpent Column.[386] Its other main appearance in history was as a participant in, and theatre for, the Peloponnesian Wars (e.g. Thuc. 1.105.1, 4.45.2, 5.53.1, 5.56). There are two possible explanations for this. The textual history of the 6th century Peloponnese is largely one of conflict. Is an earlier tradition therefore lacking here because, as has been argued, territory was less disputed, and seemingly less violently so, in this peripheral and less attractive region? Perhaps, although this does not account for the extreme changes in settlement pattern in the LG-SG to Archaic periods being entirely absent. This strongly suggests that the history we still have, which authors such as Herodotus and Thucydides took an interest in, is only a tiny fraction of the traditions both invented and more factually based that once existed. It points to the difficulty of using the Archaic historical tradition and is an interesting insight into something that is entirely lost. Both explanations probably play a factor in the disparity between the archaeological and textual histories of the Archaic Akte. On the other hand, the AEP and Methana surveys both preserve evidence of historical events vividly. The Akte was heavily involved also in the Peloponnesian Wars, and Methana itself was garrisoned (Thuc.

[384] Kelly 1966: 121.
[385] Hall 1995: 585.
[386] Meiggs and Lewis no. 27.

4.45.2). This act is very clearly marked in the survey as the fortifications from this garrison, MS200 and MS202, were recorded by the survey team.



(Ill. 23: A photograph of the fortifications from MS200)[387]

G10 in the AEP survey area also dates to the right time to be related to this conflict as it is mid-5th century and well placed to view Troizen.[388] Particularly in the case of Methana where these installations cannot plausibly be linked to any other activity such as land control they are a nice example of the reliability of contemporary written accounts, which Thucydides' was. Conversely, this adds weight to the idea that while reliable history can sometimes be complemented by survey data, when the historical evidence strays far from the physical, it must be viewed with a critical eye. There is little historical evidence relating to this region, and the relationship between archaeology and history in this region is rather tenuous and fleeting. While the region saw a major and dynamic set of changes, particularly in the 6th century, preceded by an unusual settlement pattern in the 8th century, none of this is preserved in the history of the region. Conversely, one of the main focuses of small textual tradition that survives, the Kalaureian Amphiktyony, is not well evidenced by the archaeology, or particularly reliable as a piece of historical tradition in its own right. However, one interesting point of concordance between the archaeology and the

[387] Mee et al 1997: 164.
[388] Jameson et al 1994: 522 although the surveyors do not suggest a connection to this particular conflict.

historical tradition is the Athenian garrison on Methana. Unlike the Kalaureian Amphiktyony, this garrison was described by Thucydides, a contemporary source, indicating that contemporaneity plays a part in the reliability of the historical sources.

Summary remarks

Both of the surveys in this region demonstrate the varying effects that its comparative geographical and social peripherality has had throughout history. Both followed, in broad terms, the trajectories of other regions towards increasing wealth and size at the centres accompanied by increasingly complex secondary and tertiary sites, articulated particularly by the changes to cult spaces in the 6th century, during the Archaic and Classical periods. However, both also have their different, local peculiarities. In the Methana Peninsula three different centres remained in competition until the Classical period. The existence of multiple centres in such a small region, as well as the late date of the eventual dominance of just one, is probably due to the geography of the peninsula. Meanwhile, in the less harsh or geographically peripheral south of the Akte, the AEP survey data presents a picture of unique dispersed settlement patterns before the Archaic period. What caused the AEP survey area settlement patterns to normalise in this period is unclear, but it might be explained by the movement of the inhabitants of these small sites, for unknown reasons, to the settlements such as Halieis which were now undoubtedly central places.

It is possible that the effects of social peripherality are reflected in the interactions of these *poleis* with one another, suggested by persistence of competition between the larger settlements, for example, between Halieis and nearby Mases, or between the three large sites on the Methana Peninsula, into the 6th and 5th centuries without, seemingly, violent conflict which is not evident in either the archaeological evidence or the extremely small historical tradition. Otherwise, this persistence could be viewed as a consequence of the dispersed settlement patterns from earlier in the period.

While geographically and socially peripheral, the Akte is by no means unimportant, nor is a narrative of its Archaic development impossible to reconstruct. The survey data presents a picture of a region different in many respects from its more exalted neighbours, particularly during the LG-SG periods, and different in the ways in which inter-*polis* conflict was played out. It also light on the 7th and 6th centuries, as periods of great change and increasing complexity at both the urban centre and the territory of the *polis* and of increasing evidence of territorial articulation. The evidence in particular from the AEP survey highlights the importance both of clear and detailed survey reports to enable their effective use in further research. Most importantly, the Akte demonstrates that history can be written using archaeological evidence, particularly survey data, to present a picture of this textually peripheral region as dynamic and ever-changing, internally competitive in its own way, and highly worthy of study.

Arcadia

Introduction

Peripheral Arcadia – Myth, Reality and Research

Arcadia has often been considered a peripheral, almost unimportant, region of Greece both historically and archaeologically,[389] and one that experienced *polis* formation in a late and unusual way if at all.[390] To some extent this is predicated on geography. Arcadia differs from the rest of the Peloponnese in being cut off from the sea[391] and while the eastern and southern parts of the region contain fertile and cultivable elevated plains which bordered on the Argolid and Laconia, the north, west and centre are highly mountainous and are characterised by harshness and a greater reliance on pastoral lifestyles.[392]

Perhaps as a result of this the Arcadians had a reputation for primitivism from an early period. They were referred to by the Delphic Oracle as βαλανηφάγοι (acorn-eaters) (Hdt 1.66), while Aristotle claimed they were προσέληνοι (older than the moon) (Aristotle Fr. 591). Even earlier than this Hecataeus wrote a treatise on the traditions of the region suggesting they were notably different from elsewhere.[393] This continued as later writers such as Ariaithos of Tegea and Plutarch also wrote on its unusual customs.[394] In some ways this reputation appears to have been deserved; in Pausanias' time it was curiously old fashioned in its religious and linguistic traditions and from the EIA onwards its dialect most closely resembled that of the Bronze Age.[395] Nevertheless, linguistic evidence is notoriously difficult to relate directly to social realities.[396]

[389] Østby 2005a: 11.
[390] Snodgrass 1980: 45.
[391] Though in the 4th century the coastal region of Triphylia was incorporated, earlier and later it was entirely cut off. See Nielsen 2002: 92.
[392] Voyatzis 1999: 142.
[393] Nielsen 1999: 17.
[394] Nielsen 1999: 17.
[395] Østby 2007: 1-2.
[396] Hall 1997: 133-81.

Strong arguments have been put forward that this picture of Arcadia as a backwards 'other', though rooted in the Archaic period, grew much stronger across the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, as part of a consciously archaising movement.[397]

Similarly, the idea of Arcadia as cut off appears as early as the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, where:

> 'αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
> νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους περάαν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον
> Ἀτρεΐδης, **ἐπεὶ οὔ σφι θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.**'
>
> (Il. 2.612-4).

(for the lord of men Agamemnon, son of Atreus, gave [the Arcadians] well-benched ships to cross the wine-dark sea, **since they did not know seamanship**), but this must be balanced against historical realities. The numerous imports at the sanctuaries across the region from LBA onwards and the preponderance of mercenaries who travelled from Arcadia to the East during the Archaic and Classical periods[398] are just two examples demonstrating that Arcadians were willing and able to travel out of the region quite easily and were fully engaged in much wider economic and social spheres.

The region has also been noted in antiquity for its pastoral nature. The first examples of this were the Homeric Hymns to Hermes and Pan both set primarily or partly in the region and presenting it as a land which was πολύμηλος (rich in flocks). This is most notable in the Hymn to Hermes, which depicts Hermes rustling cattle in the region and interacting with a human shepherd.[399] This was a phenomenon that grew over time reaching a zenith in the ancient world in Virgil's highly idealised views of pastoral life the Eclogues,[400] before forming the basis of the Renaissance concept of Arcadia, or Arcady, as a utopian construct of man's harmony with nature made most

[397] Morgan 1999a: 385
[398] Roy 1967; Nielsen 1999: 42.
[399] The Hymn to Hermes, as well as being primarily associated with Arcadia, is also one of the most unusual of the Homeric Hymns, notably late in its composition (6th or perhaps even 5th century) and unusual in its language, which has a much greater degree of affinity with Classical comedy than with other hymns. See Richardson 2010: 20-4.
[400] Snell 1953: 281.

famous in the writing of Sannazaro and Sidney.[401] Arcadia has therefore long been a highly mythologised region seen as inherently other and one existing in a more natural state. All of this is, both implicitly and explicitly, the background to modern studies of Arcadia. It was long held and is still commonly argued that Arcadia was a backwards region where the *polis* developed later than other regions,[402] if at all.[403]

However, our understanding of Arcadia has drastically changed in recent years through new archaeological research and detailed synthetic studies which have questioned these stereotypes particularly those regarding the abnormality and lateness of *polis* formation in the region.[404] Using primarily epigraphic and literary evidence, Nielsen has determined that by the Classical period, at least Asea, Dipaia, Eutaia, Helisson, Oresthasion and Pallantion were already *poleis*.[405] Voyatzis, who has worked extensively on the sanctuaries of the region, linked the widespread trend of temple construction in the 7th century to the start of *polis* formation in the region, arguing that the construction of a temple required a certain degree of community cohesion and complexity, involving a claim on the land around it and the unification of the inhabitants around a common deity.[406] A growing body of settlement evidence from the 8th and 7th centuries also adds more weight to criticism of traditional interpretations of the region. Importantly, since the 1980s numerous survey projects have added to our knowledge of the region, but have not been brought much into these debates, due in part to their lateness and publication records.

[401] Jenkyns 1989: 26-7.
[402] Parke 1933: 14; Jameson 1989:14; Stronk 1995: 34-5; Howe 2008: 73.
[403] Snodgrass 1980: 45, who argued that Tegea and Mantineia were curiously developed ethne rather than *poleis*.
[404] Nielsen and Roy 1999: 12-13; Morgan 2003: 176; Maher 2017: 1.
[405] Nielsen 2002.
[406] Voyatzis 1990; Voyatzis 1999: 151.

Research Questions

The general question of this research of how settlement patterns and territory changed between c. 800-500, applies. However, there are many region-specific questions that arise out of the peculiar circumstances and the academic debates surrounding Arcadia. Firstly, the question of whether Arcadia is notably different from other regions of the Peloponnese or not. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, much of the rest of Greece was settled in small, nucleated settlements or close agglomerations of hamlets from the earliest part of the EIA. It was common for centres that later became the Classical *polis* to be settled from this time, for example Sparta, Corinth and Argos. However, this does not seem to be the case in Arcadia where settlement and mortuary evidence for the EIA are curiously lacking.[407] This would possibly bring it more in line with more traditional models of state formation than other Greek *poleis*, as in these models urbanisation is a fairly late stage in the process, rather than a precursor. I will therefore be examining when nucleated settlements appeared in the region. I will also be looking at the survey data, and whether it indicates that settlement patterns were notably different here from elsewhere; and if so at what points during this period they were different and whether this changed over time.

Related to this first question is another, of whether the urban centre of the *polis*, in an architecturally recognisable way, appear in Arcadia later than elsewhere. The Archaic political organisation of the region has often been assumed on the basis of later literary evidence to have been made up of loose confederations of villages, only forming *poleis* much later, in the 4th century, based at recently *synoikised* centres, contributing to this view of the region as backwards. Though Nielsen's work establishing the existence of the *polis* as a *citizen* community in the 6th and 5th centuries has demolished this stereotype to a large degree the *polis* as a *physical entity*, denoted architecturally by certain features such as civic structures and temples (and thus

[407] Morgan 2003: 38.

distinguished from the mere presence of people settled on the later centres, as evidenced by, for example, pottery), is somewhat more elusive. Limited evidence from excavations and surveys and recent geophysical analysis projects have much to contribute to this question.

Thirdly, in an area noted for its pastoralism rather than its agriculture the question arises of whether this different way of life and land use manifests in the survey data. It has been argued that Arcadia is a primarily human concept rather than a geographical one, that the term 'Arcadian' refers more to the peoples who inhabited this region, rather than to the sites themselves,[408] although by the 5th and 4th centuries, there was a strong geographical component to the concept, and many settlements are described as Arcadian.[409] Arcadia as a human rather than geographical concept is linked inherently to the idea that the people here might have had a fundamentally different relationship with the landscape than other inhabitants of the Peloponnese, a looser one, less settled or territorial; or that subsistence territory and political territory may have been different concepts, more so than in other regions.[410] Is a different relationship with the land from the neighbouring communities of Laconia, Messenia and the Argolid indicated by the survey data?

The final region-specific question is one of history. Historical narratives of Arcadia in the Archaic period are very limited and focus primarily on its interactions with Sparta. Does this relationship manifest at all in the survey evidence? Additionally, the locations and types of surveys undertaken in Arcadia enable important methodological questions on survey's reliability and interpretation to be asked and answered.

[408] Nielsen and Roy 1999; Morgan 2003: 39.
[409] E.g. Xenophon Hell. 4.4.16, 6.5.21, 6.5.51. Herodotus 1.67 discusses Tegea *in Arcadia*. Herodotus also describes some sites as Arcadian – Tegea (1.66 1.67 7.170 7.202 8.27 8.28), Mantineia (4.161 7.202), Nonakris (6.74), Pheneos (6.74), Phigaleia (6.83.2), Trapezous (6.127), Paion (6.127), Orchomenos (7.202, 8.28), and possibly Stymphalos at 6.76.
[410] Morgan 1999a: 388.

Evidence and limitations

Physical evidence is both problematic and scarce in this region. Urban centres and burial sites in particular are not well known or extensively excavated especially in the Archaic and early Classical periods. Therefore, many physical markers used to determine the status of a *polis* such as the presence of civic structures or extra-mural cemeteries are unknown. In this regard and particularly with reference to the burial evidence it stands in stark contrast to its neighbouring regions. Survey evidence is therefore even more significant in this region than elsewhere as numerous survey projects have been undertaken in different parts of the region, though some of the most significant synthetic works on this region predate the publication of survey data.[411] Aside from the more general issues related to surface survey, the surveys of this region are beset by a number of problems which I will address below.

Though there is literary evidence it too is scarce and narrative accounts are lacking. The first mention of the region is in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships, and the first narrative is Herodotus' description of the mid-6th century conflict between Sparta and Tegea (Hdt 1.65ff). As such, the Catalogue of Ships, while generally an important piece of evidence pertaining to the EIA and Archaic periods, is even more significant in Arcadia where so few settlements have been discovered archaeologically. It has therefore been used extensively in the study of this region.[412] However, it is as is commonly acknowledged a highly problematic source of information. It is part of an epic oral poem and therefore open to scrutiny as a source, made all the more necessary by the fact that it is not from a narrative section of the poem but from a catalogue. Catalogues are notable for their simple construction and loose connections from section to section. They are sequences of more or less disconnected elements. While they can appear to be just a list of the basic facts, this is a misleading assumption. As is often pointed out by literary specialists,

[411] E.g. Nielsen and Roy 1999; Østby 2005a.
[412] E.g. Voyatzis 1990; Morgan 1999a; Nielsen 1999; Nielsen 2002.

information is not bound to be related chronologically or causally as in narrative passages and so the relative importance of elements is far less clear. Catalogues therefore present more complex challenges of interpretation to the audience.[413] This can be seen in the Catalogue of Ships by the geographically illogical course the list takes.[414] Furthermore, we cannot always be sure of where the settlements listed should be located, such as Enispe, which has been located at one place by Howell, and at another by Syriopoulos.[415]

The catalogue has been characterised variously as a preserved geography of Mycenaean Greece, to an unknowable degree of accuracy[416] a fantasy mix of fictional and real settlements reflecting to some degree an EIA reality with archaic additions,[417] or an entirely mythologised historical geography created in the Archaic period to contextualise the Iliad as history.[418] It is therefore not a reliable source of information on what locations were settled, or when the catalogue claims they were settled. The hazard of using the catalogue to talk about settlements is further compounded by the fact that one of the entries in the Arcadian section, Parrhasia, refers not to a single location but to an entire area that was inhabited by the Parrhasian tribe. It is therefore dangerous to assume that when it refers to locations that are known as settled communities in the Classical period such as Tegea the same meaning was attached to that name in the catalogue. For these reasons, my use of the catalogue will be more restricted than in many other studies of the region.[419]

There are further geographical caveats to the archaeological evidence from Arcadia. The eastern and southern parts of the region have been explored more thoroughly than the rest.[420] In addition

[413] Spufford 1989: 1; Sammons 2010: 17.
[414] Sammons 2010: 136-7.
[415] Howell 1970 n. 45, Syriopoulos 1973: 195-6.
[416] Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970; Latacz 2004: 219-48
[417] Anderson 1995; Sammons 2010: 139.
[418] Visser 1997: 742-50.
[419] Reliable here meaning literary sources written contemporaneously, or within the reach of oral memory, of the events described. This is effectively limited to the Archaic and 5th century authors.
[420] Morgan 1999a: 387.

to a landscape more amenable to settled agriculture the eastern part of the region also has notably stronger impressions of community ties than the rest.[421] It is therefore possible that this study will be biased towards areas that more closely resemble those of neighbouring regions because they are more geographically and therefore economically similar. It is therefore also possible that this evidence cannot be extrapolated and applied to the rest of Arcadia. This in turn makes some of the questions pertaining to pastoralism difficult to answer as the practice is associated primarily with the mountainous regions and not the plains. One counterpoint to this problem is the existence of the survey of Pheneos and Lousoi, which are in the far north of the region.[422]

With these caveats I will be examining the evidence century by century with a focus on the survey data for the 6th century when it becomes common. Though there is very limited earlier evidence in some of the surveys, I will discuss these with the rest of the survey data in the 6th century section of this chapter.

Protogeometric and Geometric Arcadia

The Preceding Periods

A short background to the 8th century provides some necessary context. Mycenaean Arcadia appears to have been somewhat peripheral. No administrative centres have been discovered except perhaps Analipsis, a site of some importance regarding inter-*polis* relations and borders, and which will be referred to in more detail in the next chapter. It, along with Palaiokastro, were the only two sites with imported, fine quality Mycenaean wares, though it is possible that due to the scant nature of archaeological investigation of this period, more remains to be found.[423]

[421] Morgan 1999a: 382.
[422] Tausend 1999.
[423] Salavoura 2005: 35.

However, it was by no means cut off nor was it notably more peripheral[424] than some other regions, such as the Southern Argolid. On the contrary, some Arcadian poleis, in particular Tegea, played a major role in the Archaic history of the Peloponnese. During the Mycenaean and LH IIIC periods, Palaiokastro in Arcadia has demonstrated links to the western Peloponnese and Italy.[425] Two LH IIIC stirrup jars, a psi figurine, and two bronze fibulae demonstrate that the later sanctuary of Athena Alea in Tegea also saw use in this period, though whether as a cult place or as a burial ground is unclear, though the bronze fibulae perhaps indicate the presence of burials.[426] The sanctuary at Mt Lykaion was also in use from LH IIB onwards and received imported pottery from neighbouring regions.[427] Naue II swords were also found at Palaiokastro, confirming that it was part of the Peloponnesian koine that favoured this type.[428] The region therefore appears to have been engaged in connections and trade with other regions of Greece and the wider Mediterranean. Nevertheless, inhabitation in the LH IIIC period appears to have been limited. It is difficult to say anything at all about society in this period as possibly distinct from that of other regions of Greece. The lack of early nucleated settlements, and the discontinuity of Analipsis and Palaiokastro, indicate that this region was more similar to the Southern Argolid and Laconia, where LBA settlements also did not persist into the EIA. In this respect it contrasts with the Argive Plain.

The Nature of the Evidence

The primary evidence for the PG and 8th century is the sanctuaries which have been thoroughly documented by Voyatzis.[429] However, some important material, most notably the finds at the

[424] Peripheral referring, as it did in the previous chapter, to geographical location in relation to more major centres, and to a relatively minor role in historical events, i.e. socially peripheral.
[425] Cultraro 2005: 18.
[426] Cultraro 2005: 21.
[427] Romano and Voyatzis 2014: 581.
[428] Salavoura 2005: 36.
[429] Voyatzis 1990; Voyatzis 1995; Voyatzis 2005.

Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt Lykaion, post-dates her publications. At some sites evidence that pertains to settlement rather than cultic activity is discussed separately.

The Sites

Bassai/Phigaleia

Bassai on Mt Kotilion, very close to the Classical *polis* of Phigaleia, was its main sanctuary by the Classical period. In the 8th century bronze figurines, seemingly Laconian in style, were dedicated here, indicating that the sanctuary was in use at this early period.[430]

Lousoi

Sacred:

From the end of the 8th century, terracotta figurines were offered, at the later Sanctuary of Artemis, though in relatively small numbers.[431] Their designs were influenced by those of Corinth, Tegea, Tiryns, Argos and Laconia,[432] indicating extensive and widespread contacts outside of the region. Soundings in 2007 found a large number of Geometric and Archaic drinking cups, suggesting cult activity from the 8th century centred on feasting. The excavators suggested this was an extra-urban sanctuary of Artemis.[433] In 2008, the remains of an apsidal structure, dated to the Geometric period by pottery found inside, was discovered, perhaps a heroon.[434]

[430] Voyatzis 1999: 149.
[431] Mitsopoulou-Leon 2009: 256.
[432] Mitsopoulou-Leon 2005: 446-52.
[433] https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=308
[434] https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=874

Secular:

A deep sounding 1km SW of the sanctuary of Artemis uncovered 8th century pottery, suggesting either a second, competing cult site, perhaps surprising given their close proximity, or a Geometric settlement accompanying the sanctuary, or otherwise a competing sanctuary.[435] This is significant in light of earlier suggestions that, due to the lack of pottery at Lousoi dating further back than the late-4th century, perhaps the urban centre was a genuinely late development, much later than their political community. This apparent lack was used to hypothesise a less nucleated settlement pattern for this *polis* and perhaps others in the region such as Gortys.[436] However, it now seems likely that previous, limited excavations at the site simply missed the evidence from the soundings.

Mavriki

From LG II, bronze figurines and pottery were dedicated at this small sanctuary site.[437]

Gortsouli/Mantineia

Sacred:

This site lay just north of the site of Mantineia and was almost certainly the site known as Ptolis by Pausanias' day (*Paus.* 8.8.4). A sanctuary had certainly been established by the end of 8th century.[438] LG bronze figurines were found there.[439]

Secular:

[435] Morgan et al 2009: 28-9
[436] Nielsen 2002: 164-5.
[437] Voyatzis 1995: 27.
[438] Morgan et al 2009: 26. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2008: 143.
[439] Voyatzis 1995: 277.

Karagiorgia, who partially excavated the site in 1962, suggested that it may also have been a settlement in this period.[440] Morgan reported some unpublished pottery dating to the PG and G period from Mantineia, and G pottery at Milia 200m SE of the later city walls of Mantineia.[441] Whether or not this was itself a votive deposit is unclear but, as at Lousoi, to have two competing cult sites in this period in such close proximity would have been highly uncharacteristic in Arcadia.

Orchomenos

In the region of the later lower town, G bronze votives and pottery were discovered. In another section of the later *polis*, G bronze discs and bands were allegedly found although they were never published and are now missing.[442]

Gortys

G and SG pottery was found under the cella of the later temple at this cult site.[443]

Petrovouni

This site, otherwise largely unknown, produced a very unusual G bronze figurine group of four ithyphallic, horse-headed/masked figures.[444]

[440] Karagiorgia 1963: 88, also supported by Howell (see Howell 1970: 87), who visited the site as part of his survey.
[441] Morgan 1999a: 390.
[442] Voyatzis 1995: 278.
[443] Voyatzis 1995: 280.
[444] Voyatzis 1995: 280.

Alipheira

G bronze pins, fibulae and votive shields were found at this site.[445]

Tegea

The sanctuary of Athena Alea has been the subject of multiple phases of investigation, most recently detailed excavations by the Norwegian school.[446] The earliest material at the sanctuary is 10th century pottery.[447] The sanctuary's early use and pottery perhaps indicates that it was a meeting place due to its position on routes of communication.[448] This is perhaps linked to the variations of the imports found there; the earliest material in the PG period had a strong bias towards Laconian wares but by the 8th century an Argive influence was more dominant, perhaps suggesting changing links over time. Voyatzis has suggested that pre-synoikised Tegea was to some extent under Laconian control until the 8th century, at which point this connection weakened. In support of this she cites the construction of late-8th century apsidal, wattle and daub structures, thought to be temples, through a desire for the local community to establish a separate identity,[449] though there is no evidence for Laconian control in this early period.

Asea

Sacred:

A sanctuary at Agios Elias near the site of Asea has produced abundant ceramic and metal finds from the 8th century, possibly focussed on an ash altar, as c.5000 burnt bone fragments of bovines

[445] Voyatzis 1995: 280.
[446] Bakke-Alisøy et al 2014; Nordquist et al 2014.
[447] Nordquist et al 2014: 13.
[448] Østby 2007: 5.
[449] Voyatzis 1999: 144.

and caprids were also found in the area.[450] Some Laconian PG imported pottery was also found at the sanctuary indicating that it was used even earlier than was previously assumed.[451]

Secular:

In the 1930s Holmberg conducted excavations on the *acropolis* of Asea. His excavation found some LG and A pottery, of the LG one was possibly Argive and another possibly Laconian. LG bronze pins and rings were also found, possibly from graves, as they were found intact, but with little description of their context.[452]

Mt Lykaion

A new excavation and survey project at the famous sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios which was previously known only from the Archaic period onwards,[453] has revolutionised our view of the site.[454] Excavations from 2006-2010 in the area of the ash altar found material from the Final Neolithic onwards. Pottery from the LH IIIC period into the EIA including SM and PG pottery, indicated continuous use from the LBA onwards. The finds from this transitional period and the EIA contained Messenian and Laconian imports. Patches of burning and animal remains suggested that the patterns of animal sacrifice common in the Classical period began in the 10th century.[455] A 10th century iron double axe, and multiple 10th century full-size bronze tripods were also found, as well as LG pottery and numerous bronze miniature bronze tripods.

[450] Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999: 179.
[451] Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999.
[452] Holmberg et al 1944; Forsén and Forsén 2003: 32.
[453] Kourouniotis 1904 col. 166.
[454] Romano and Voyatzis 2014.
[455] Romano and Voyatzis 2014: 581 and 589.

Oresthasion

This site, in the area of Megalopolis, was excavated from 2008-2011. The oldest finds, in the foundation of two structures, were late Geometric pottery sherds.[456]

Summary

Some limited conclusions are possible from this evidence. The early sanctuaries are largely concentrated along the eastern edge of Arcadia, perhaps due to the bias of investigation although they are found throughout the region, suggesting that it was widely settled in this period.

It was previously believed that the earliest sanctuary and therefore earliest known site in the region dating to the EIA was Athena Alea at Tegea, which is the only one to date earlier than the mid-8th century as Laconian PG imported pottery has been found, and MG II Argive wares.[457] The new material from Mt Lykaion demonstrates that it was in in use at an even earlier date and excavations at Agios Elias near Asea have pushed the date of this sanctuary back to the PG period as well. The imported wares at these locations indicate that Arcadia was not cut off from the rest of the region.

These sanctuaries have been used to hypothesise the social structure of PG and G Arcadia. Morgan has written on the visibility of cultural sub-zones centred on the different sanctuaries; this is most visible in the curious lack of similarity between votives at Tegea and Gortsouli despite their geographical proximity, taken to indicate a social difference and perhaps tension between two different communities. Within these cultural subzones, elites met and competed at the sanctuaries.[458] Stathakopoulou similarly noted that Gortsouli was a major shrine with aristocratic votives supporting the interpretation that it was a central cult place for the community in the

[456] Karapanagiotou 2011: 201-12.
[457] Voyatzis 1990: 252.
[458] Morgan 1999a: 391.

Mantinean plain.[459] In her intensive study of the pottery at the sanctuaries Voyatzis similarly noted that there was very little uniformity across the region, supporting the idea of cultural sub-zones. In the southeast ceramics demonstrate an affinity with Argive and Laconian wares,[460] supporting the idea of strong and persistent contacts with neighbouring regions. This interpretation of small social groups which met and competed at these sanctuaries is perhaps also supported by the fact that only one temple was erected before the end of the 8th century, which was a wattle and daub rather than a stone construction suggesting a much lower level of investment of resources and time. As is implied by these theories, work focussing on the sanctuaries generally hypothesises scattered communities living in the vicinity which are archaeologically invisible due either to their settlement patterns or to problems and gaps in our knowledge of pottery from this period.

Though it remains the case that the amount of settlement and burial evidence, particularly in contrast to the number and wealth of the sanctuaries, is notably small in Geometric Arcadia,[461] there are indications that this dearth is not as severe as it once appeared to be. As detailed above Lousoi, Gortsouli, Mantineia and Asea have produced some limited evidence for settlement in this period as has one other small site near Pheneos.[462] It therefore seems that people were already living at these sites which by the Classical period had become *poleis* and that, as a result, in some parts of Arcadia settlement patterns followed those of other regions. This cannot be applied universally though as the sanctuary of Athena Alea was in use from the PG period but the later urban centre was not settled until the mid-6th century.[463] A mix of more nucleated and more scattered communities is therefore perhaps suggested by the evidence, limited though it is. Nevertheless, there is very little in the sanctuaries, settlement evidence, or the hypothesised

[459] Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1989.
[460] Voyatzis 2005: 467.
[461] Voyatzis 1995: 271.
[462] See The Pheneos Survey in the Catalogue (entry 1 – Agios Charalambos)
[463] Nordquist et al 2014: 17.

social structure that indicates a great degree of distinctiveness in Arcadia in this period compared to neighbouring regions.

The 7th century

The use of all sites continued in this period, though with some changes, most notably in the appearance of the first rectangular, stone-built temples.

The Sites

Bassai/Phigaleia

The first temple was constructed at Bassai at the end of the 7th century.[464] In the mid-7th century, miniature bronze pieces of armour were dedicated in small numbers, along with lead and iron figurines.[465]

Lousoi

Use of the site continued and the clay figurines which began to be dedicated in the 8th century reached a peak in this period,[466] along with bronze figurines, some of which were reminiscent of Laconian examples, and jewellery.[467]

[464] Voyatzis 1990: 37.
[465] Voyatzis 1995: 279.
[466] Mitsopoulou-Leon 2005: 446-52.
[467] Mitsopoulou-Leon 2009: 260.

Mavriki

The dedication of bronze figurines and pottery continued in this period.[468]

Gortsouli/Mantineia

A temple was constructed here in the 2nd half of the 7th century.[469]

Orchomenos

Use of both cult sites with in the area of the later lower town continued in the 7th century.[470]

Gortys

SG pottery with Corinthian affinities was found suggesting that a sanctuary came into use here.[471]

Alipheira

The dedications of bronze items continued.[472]

Tegea

A stone temple at the sanctuary of Athena Alea was constructed in the late 7th century replacing the earlier wattle and daub structures. Laconian and Argive imports at the sanctuary continued.[473]

[468] Voyatzis 1995: 27.
[469] Voyatzis 1995: 277, Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2008: 137.
[470] Voyatzis 1999: 135.
[471] Voyatzis 2005: 473.
[472] Voyatzis 1995: 280.
[473] Nordquist et al 2014: 17 and 35.

Pallantion

The cult site at Pallantion seems to have come into use in the 7th century.[474] A few bronze pins dating to this period were found there, and the oldest of the 4 temples was dated to c.600 on the basis of architectural parallels to the temple of Hera at Perachora.[475]

Asea

The famous late-6th century temple at Agios Elias was preceded by at least one earlier structure which may have been late-7th century or perhaps early-6th; excavations in the cella of the later structure uncovered a rudimentary stone wall under which was a bronze pin dating from the mid-7th to mid-6th century. An even earlier temple is suggested by the fact that there are numerous roof tiles in two distinct styles; one group Laconian and the other Argive. The Laconian are dated to the end of the 7th century or the start of the 6th and the Argive to c.560 on the basis of their shape.[476]

Mt Lykaion

Use of the sanctuary continued in this period, and the site expanded in this period into the lower part of the sanctuary.[477]

[474] Fritzilas 2011: 126.
[475] Voyatzis 1999: 134.
[476] Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999: 178.
[477] Romano and Voyatzis 2014: 632.

Oresthasion

Use of the site continued. Sherds of 7th century pottery were found in the two locations where LG pottery had previously been found. One of these buildings may have been destroyed during the 7th century, and there was a general layer of destruction from this period.[478]

Summary

The changes in the 7th century indicate both developments and divergence in the region. To address the divergence first, in many other urban centres, as demonstrated in other chapters of this thesis, the 7th century marks the start of the monumentalisation and demarcation of urban space, and the first clear indications of a *polis* structure, in the form of temples and civic structures, for example Halieis. Aside from the examples at Orchomenos and Pallantion, which later on were *polis* centres but were of unclear status in this period, all the new temples are at sanctuaries. While people were living in some later centres such as Asea and perhaps Mantinea/Gortsouli they did not begin to articulate them architecturally in this fashion.

On the other hand, the notably large numbers of temples constructed in the late 7th century near the later centres of Tegea, Mantineia and Orchomenos have been interpreted as signs of changing social structure.[479] While one temple was constructed in the 8th century the trend really began in the 7th. Voyatzis has argued that once a temple, particularly a large, monumental one, is built it must by necessity indicate a more complex formal sort of political organisation, as the degree of cohesion required to build a temple is high.[480] She links temple building to laying claim to the land and to the unification of the people around a common deity, a concept closely linked to the

[478] Karapanagiotou 2011: 211-5.
[479] Voyatzis 1999: 151; Forsén and Forsén 2003: 253.
[480] Jost 1999: 234; Voyatzis 1999: 151-2; Nielsen 2002: 184. More generally on this point see Snodgrass 1991: 17-18, Burkert 1995: 205-7.

theories of state formation put forward by de Polignac.[481] As a general point the necessity of a *polis* structure for the construction of temples in the 8th and 7th centuries is assumed rather than argued, though it should be subject to a greater degree of scrutiny on two grounds, firstly that the ability to undertake large-scale expensive projects is held by leaders in many sort of societies from chiefdoms to states, and secondly due to the existence in the literary record of individuals or families who were able to fund projects of this kind from private wealth.[482] Furthermore, these temples were all built near the end of the 7th century suggesting that whatever models apply to the 8th century, apply to most of this period as well.

It therefore seems likely that these were the places where local elites whether in scattered or nucleated communities continued to meet and compete in displays of wealth through the 7th century as evidenced by the increase in adornment through temples, or an increase in votive offerings or size, as at Lousoi and Mt Lykaion. Therefore, a divergence of customs distinguishing Arcadia from expected patterns, which was not seen in the 8th century, seems more likely in the 7th. Some support for this distinction can perhaps be found in the limited contemporary literary evidence such as Hesiod as Nielsen noted that Arcadia is missing from Hesiod's early genealogical systems of the Greeks and that, already at this early point, Arcadians claimed the unusual title of being autochthonous.[483]

The 6th century

The Nature of the Evidence

As well as evidence from sites, the 6th century sees a groundswell of evidence from survey projects too.

[481] de Polignac 1995: 19-20.
[482] Hdt 1.14 on Cypselus' treasury, 5.62 on the Alkmeonid temple, both at Delphi.
[483] Nielsen 1999: 35.

The Sites

Phigaleia

It is possible that the temple at Bassai was rebuilt some time during this period although it is equally possible that there were only two temples one dating to the 7th century and the other the famous Classical example.[484] The Doric temple at the sanctuary of Athena within Phigaleia itself may also date to the 6th century but perhaps the 5th instead.[485] On Mt Kotilion, near Bassai, a modest sanctuary came into use in this period at the site Kotilon. Two small temples were constructed, and archaeological remains suggest that an associated settlement came into use in the 5th or 4th century.[486] At the site of Phigaleia itself numerous Classical roof tiles suggest several roofed buildings,[487] and pottery from the Archaic period onwards was also noted more generally across the site suggesting that it was settled by this period.[488]

Lousoi

The sanctuary continued to be used evidenced by the ongoing dedication of clay votive figurines.[489] Architectural terracottas also indicate that a temple was built in the 6th century, although all other architectural remains are from later periods.[490]

[484] Voyatzis 1990: 37ff.
[485] Voyatzis 1999: 149.
[486] Jost 1999: 200.
[487] Cooper and Myers 1981: 133.
[488] Cooper 1976.
[489] Mitsopoulou-Leon 2005: 446-52.
[490] Mitsopoulou-Leon 2009: 263.

Pheneos

A sanctuary on the east slope of the acropolis came into use in the 6th century, when votives in the form of pottery and terracotta and bronze figurines, and other bronze items, were found. A rectangular temple was also built in this period, gaining a large cult statue in the 5th century. 5th century sherds were also noted on the acropolis.[491]

Mavriki

A small stone temple was constructed here in the mid-6th century and offerings continued.[492] It was the first temple in the region built entirely of marble.[493] Voyatzis suggests that the temple building there in the 6th century was a physical marker of Tegea's claim to this place, and to the Doliana marble quarries nearby, from which the stone used for the temple construction was quarried.[494]

Gortsouli/Mantineia

Use of the sanctuary at Gortsouli continued during this period. There was a change in the character of the votive deposit here at the middle of the 6th century, notable in the focus on locally produced figurines which are found in large numbers.[495] The founding of Mantineia itself appears to tally with the possible start of the gradual reduction of the use of the sanctuary at Gortsouli, in the second quarter of the 5th century.[496]

[491] https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=5051; Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 91.
[492] Voyatzis 1999: 132.
[493] Jost 1999: 211; Roy 1999: 211.
[494] Voyatzis 1999: 145.
[495] Karagiorgia-Stathakopoulou 2008: 134-5.
[496] Karagiorgia-Stathakopoulou 2008: 136.

However, the Classical *polis* of Mantineia appears to have been established between 550 and 450, destroyed by the Spartans and Macedonians in the 4th and 3rd centuries, before being rebuilt.[497] Morgan has written on the consolidation of the territory of Mantineia during the 6th century through sanctuary remains. The earliest physical evidence, aside from the unpublished pottery from the 8th century, is a mid-6th century kore head found as *spolia* in a Roman wall, though Herodotus (Hdt. 4.161) also records a certain Demonax of Mantineia arbitrating the constitution of Kyrene, a claim of uncertain reliability. However, this period also saw the first use of later important sanctuaries in the territory particularly the spring at Alalkomenia where an inscribed dedication can be dated to c. 520, and at Alesion 1km outside the city where an archaic Doric capital was found at the sanctuary of Poseidon. Finally, at Tripekhi to the SE pottery and figurines date a sanctuary to the late Archaic onwards.[498]

Orchomenos

In the lower town a Doric temple was constructed in the 6th century, c. 530.[499] Another structure was found of uncertain purpose, a monumental peripteral building c. 38.5 x 15.5m on a marble and limestone terrace to the east of which was a pottery deposit dating to the Archaic period. Late 7th century *acroterion* fragments suggested an earlier structure too of which nothing else remains.[500] Regarding the formation of boundaries, a small shrine at Mitikas Palaiopirgou contained figurines and pottery from the 6th century.[501] A later investigation of the lower city of the Classical *polis* noted large quantities of Archaic material.[502] This perhaps suggests that Orchomenos was a nucleated site of some size in the Archaic period.[503]

[497] Sarris et al 2015.
[498] Morgan 1999a: 392, Karagiorgia-Stathakopoulou 2008: 138.
[499] Voyatzis 1995: 278.
[500] Morgan 1999a: 393.
[501] Morgan 1999a: 393.
[502] Hejnic 1961: 39.
[503] Nielsen 2002: 165.

Petrovouni

Disc *acroteria* and architectural terracottas have been found dating to the early 6th century, indicating the existence of a temple.[504]

Alipheira

A temple to Athena was constructed in the mid-6th century. Occupation of the site was attested from c.500, perhaps due to its location on good route through Megalopolis and Elis.[505]

Perivolia

In 2010, rescue excavations near Megalopolis discovered the remains of a settlement on a grid plan, with paved streets, in the area of Perivolia. Although the earliest evidence from the site dated to the 8th century, the grid plan itself appears to be a phenomenon of the 5th century settlement.[506] The site had previously been identified with Haemoniai.[507]

Tegea

Sacred:

The Norwegian Arcadia Survey (hereafter NAS) found, within the confines of Tegea itself, Doric capitals dating to the 2nd half of the 6th century, indicating at least one urban sanctuary.[508]

[504] Voyatzis 1999: 140.
[505] Voyatzis 1995: 280.
[506] Roy 2015: 8
[507] https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=2429
[508] Ødegård 2005: 216.

Secular:

The mid-6th century saw the first settlement evidence in the region although its extent and nature are somewhat unclear.[509] the magnetometry survey of Tegea which has revealed a grid plan and agora dated by Ødegård to 6th century BC, evidenced by the widespread distribution of Archaic pottery.

Pallantion

The latter three of the four temples at this site were built during this period. All were in use at the same time,[510] an unusually high number for what was otherwise a small site. The reason for this is unknown. Excavations at the site unearthed several buildings dating from the Classical to Roman periods particularly in the area of the agora,[511] although the concluding summary suggested that the area was in continuous use from the Archaic period rather than the Classical.[512] This suggested the appearance of a demarcated urban civic and commercial space at this period at the same time as the doubling down on the temples, after the start of this through the creation of the sanctuary and then the temple in the late 7th century.

Berekla

A sanctuary of Pan was constructed at this rural site. A 6th century temple is indicated by column fragments. Locally made terracotta and bronze shepherd and *silenus* figurines were dedicated.[513]

[509] Nordquist et al 2014: 17.
[510] Voyatzis 1999: 134.
[511] Fritzilas 2011: 132.
[512] Fritzilas 2011: 138.
[513] Voyatzis 1999: 130.

Mt Lykaion

Use of the sanctuary, now expanded into the lower part, continued.[514]

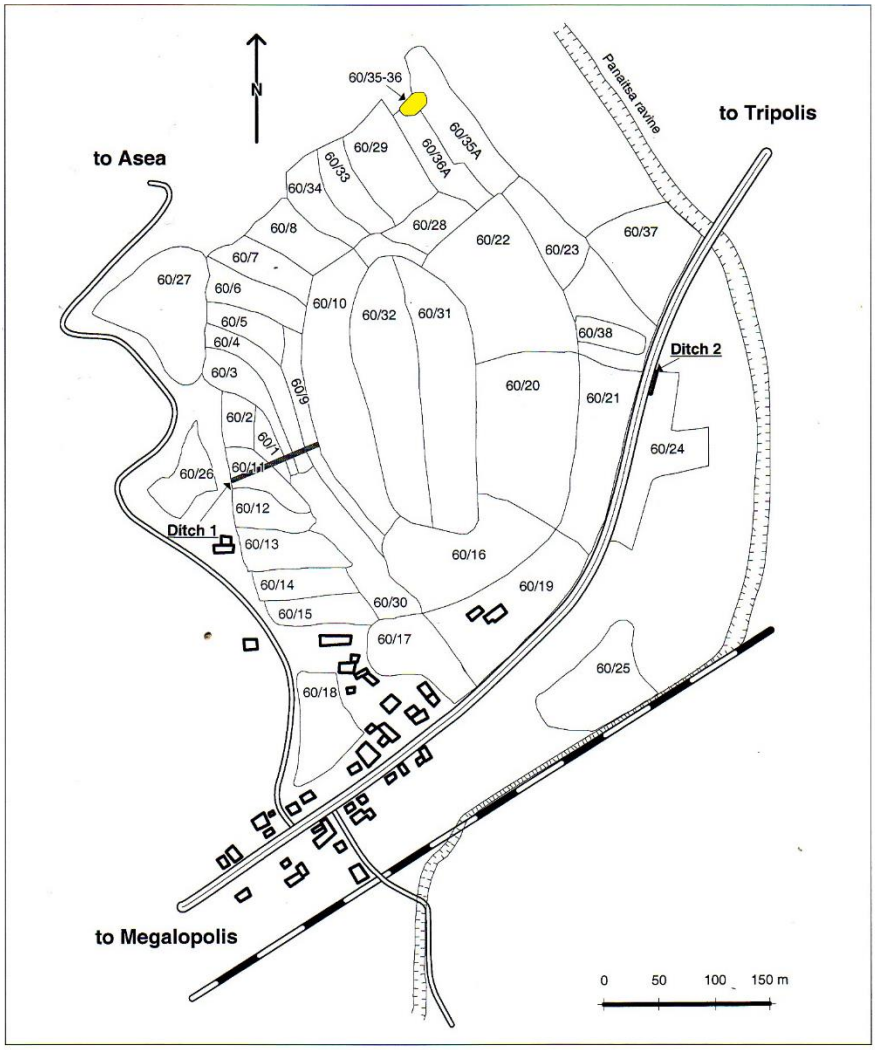
Arachamitai/Agia Paraskevi

This site, on the highest point of the pass from Asea to Arachamitai, was excavated by Forsén from 2007-12.[515] It appeared to be a sanctuary, with the earliest identified material, including a bronze hydria, dating to the 6th century.[516] A structure was also built in the 6th century, although not discussed in much detail, but may have been a temple.[517]

Asea

Use of the settlement continued. A sanctuary within the site of Asea itself came into use during the 6th century, marking its edge.[518]

[514] Romano and Voyatzis 2014: 632.
[515] https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=302, https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=753, https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=1926, https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=3257
[516] https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=302
[517] https://chronique.efa.gr/?kroute=report&id=1926
[518] See catalogue entry S 60/35-6.



(Ill. 24: A map of the survey of Asea itself with its liminal cult site highlighted)[519]

As at Mantineia and Orchomenos, a network of new sanctuaries in Asea indicated nascent territorial boundaries. The 'Agemo statue', dated to the 6th century and representing a seated female figure, was found, indicating an Archaic sanctuary at some distance from the centre.[520] A marble temple was constructed at Vigla, also in the valley, in the mid-6th century, followed soon afterwards by the new temple at Agios Elias in c.500. All were interpreted as markers of control to the territory created by Asea itself.[521]

[519] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 95.
[520] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 27.
[521] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 34.

Kyparissia

Kyparissia, a settlement on the eastern slopes of Mt Lykaion near the sanctuary has recently been excavated. Ceramics dating from the 6th to the 4th century were found. The area appears to have been laid out on a grid system from its earliest days.[522] Excavations undertaken from 1998-2002 provided further details. The settlement was found to be laid out on a grid plan, seemingly from its start in the 6th century, although the town's main period of use appeared to have been in the later 5th and 4th centuries.[523]

Kleitor

Some information is known about the *polis* Kleitor, though indirectly. This community dedicated a statue of Zeus at Olympia c. 500, explained as possibly due to their sacking of many *poleis*, although the evidence for this is literary (Pausanias 5.23.7). A spear-butt dating to the early 5th century mentioning a victory over Heraia possibly comes from here, although it may also have come from Mantineia.[524] Some Late Archaic graves were found outside the Hellenistic walls.[525]

Heraia

Though the site is little known in this period archaeologically, Heraia had coinage inscribed with its city ethnic from c. 510.[526] Though the visible fortifications and other structures are Hellenistic, Archaic and Classical pottery was also found at the site indicating that it was inhabited earlier as well.[527]

[522] Karapanagiotou 2005.
[523] Karapanagiotou 2010: 130-4.
[524] Jost 1999: 227; contra Jeffreys 1990: 210.
[525] Petritaki 1996: 84.
[526] Nielsen 2002: 120.
[527] Meyer 1939: 102.

Stymphalos

The sanctuary of the *acropolis* has produced late Archaic and Classical sculptural remains, and a Hellenistic artillery tower was constructed from rubble including a broken limestone Doric capital of the late Archaic or early Classical period, perhaps suggesting a temple.[528] More generally pottery indicates that a settlement existed here from the late Archaic period onwards.[529]

Oresthasion

Inhabitation of the site continued in the 6th century. Another of the excavated structures was destroyed in the late Archaic period. A well was dug during this period too. However, the majority of the finds from Oresthasion dated from the 5th and 4th centuries.[530]

The 6th century - The Survey Data

The 6th century differs markedly from the preceding periods due to the appearance of evidence from survey data which is severely lacking for earlier periods. The details from the survey publications, referred to below, are provided in the catalogue at the end of the chapter.

In one sense, the surveys of Arcadia are as significant from a methodological standpoint as a factual one, and perhaps more so due to overlapping surveys and problematic publication records. Only one survey out of the six projects formerly or currently undertaken is published to the same level of detail as those of Laconia, Messenia and the Southern Argolid, due either to lack of publication or the use of extensive, rather than intensive, survey techniques. However,

[528] Williams et al 2002: 155.
[529] Williams and Price 1995: 8; Williams et al 1997: 44.
[530] Karapanagiotou 2011: 211-4.

interesting questions are raised here regarding the dating of sites which I will return to in the concluding section of this chapter. The surveys here are also distinct from those of other regions because they are so numerous, and because they cover a continuous sweep of different *poleis* through the Megalopolis basin, Asea Valley, and Tegean Plain. There are also two different cases of overlap of survey region between different projects.

The Norwegian Arcadia Survey

NAS is to date a three-phase operation. The first survey of the region of ancient Tegea, NAS I, was undertaken from 1999-2001 and has so far been reported only in scattered, preliminary reports,[531] ahead of its intended full publication in *Tegea III*, following *Tegea I* and *II,* which both detail the excavations at the sanctuary at Tegea.[532] NAS II, a wider survey of the region under the title *Sites and Marginal Landscapes* undertaken from 2008-11, has also yet to be published. NAS III, another project focussing on the pre-urban landscape around Tegea and the sanctuary of Athena Alea, is currently being undertaken. Therefore, of their survey projects only NAS I is currently available for study, and only in a very preliminary fashion.[533]

The survey of this region worked with the explicit aim of describing 'the urban area of Tegea and its neighbours'.[534] It also aimed to investigate the models and methods of *synoikism* in the region.[535] In this regard it is therefore a less general survey than most of the others considered here which can be problematic although in this case the bias within the survey corresponds to the focus of this research. The pottery gathered by the survey was presented as a preliminary report.[536] This stated that the survey found pottery dating from the Bronze Age to the Medieval

[531] Cracolici 2005.
[532] Nordquist et al 2014: 9.
[533] Bakke 2007: 264.
[534] Cracolici 2005: 123.
[535] Bakke 2007: 138.
[536] Cracolici 2005.

period and indicated that there was extensive local production in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. There were limited imports of Laconian, Corinthian and possibly Argive pots.[537] The report mentioned Archaic imports from Laconia and Corinth, and perhaps also the Argolid, in small quantities, followed by a shift entirely to locally produced wares in the Classical and Hellenistic period. The survey also identified a potential production site for Classical and Hellenistic pottery within the surveyed area.[538] No evidence at all was found for settlements, either villages or farmsteads, in the region north of the sanctuary until the late 6th century BC, and even then only part of the plain near the agora was settled.[539] The survey included geomorphological studies which indicated that Tegea was on a series of low hills, unlike the modern village which is much flatter. This was used to explain the curious surface patterns at the survey site, where areas covered densely by much older, e.g. 5th and 4th century, pottery were immediately next to large areas covered in Medieval or Turkish material. Though this indicated some degree of distortion in the surface record this was not assessed by the surveyors to be a major problem.[540] Their study of alluviation in the region noted one further complication, that there were many areas of dense surface concentration with contained mixed surface soils indicating that redeposition of alluvial sediments by flooding, at least in some areas near the river may also have had a distorting effect.[541] On the other hand, the curiously empty southern half of the urban area, was not due to the distortions of later sediment build up but was shown, through detailed studies of the sediment and the ancient landscape, to have never been developed as it was a marshy area of ponds and wetlands, indicating again that the distorting effect may not have been particularly strong.[542]

[537] Cracolici 2005: 123.
[538] Cracolici 2005: 125.
[539] Nordquist et al 2014: 17.
[540] Cracolici 2005: 124.
[541] Bakke 2007: 33
[542] Ødegård 2005: 214.

The Asea Valley Survey

The Asea Valley Survey remains, to this day, the only fully published intensive survey project in Arcadia. It is therefore an invaluable resource on this region. Asea is a small valley in the central part of the region, between Tegea and Megalopolis. Though small it was by no means peripheral; lying on key communication routes not just between sections of Arcadia, but also on the main thoroughfare between Corinthia/Argolid and Messenia, and also on one of the main routes between Arcadia and Laconia.[543]

The aims of the survey were broad; to identify activity in the region before the modern agricultural village of Asea came to be, the location of Classical Asea which Holmberg had not located during his excavations, if there were other important sites in the valley, the use of the valley across time, the influence the road network had on the valley settlements, and the impact of erosion. They worked using the same techniques used by the earlier projects in Keos, Berbati-Limnes and the Southern Argolid facilitating comparison between this data.[544] To overcome the problem of background noise and site identification the team followed the criteria used on Keos to class a continuous area with an anomalously high density of artefacts, with a discrete edge to it where the density falls away rapidly, as a site; building on the Keos criteria, they also added areas with anomalously high amounts of phosphorus in the soil as sites.[545]

The centre of the valley was already known to have been dominated at many points in its history by the *acropolis* site of Asea Palaiokastro, excavated in the 1930s by Holmberg, who found evidence of a significant site in the Neolithic-MBA period and also in the Hellenistic, along with some Geometric evidence at the site.[546]

[543] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 13.
[544] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 13-14.
[545] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 15.
[546] Holmberg, Hammarstrand and Pain 1944.

The survey fieldwork was undertaken from 1994-6 to survey the accessible sections of the valley. They investigated 18.7km^2 out of the available area of 40.2km^2 and walked the rest cursorily. 1/3 of the region was unwalkable due to impenetrable vegetation or swathes of sterile, modern alluvium, though the remaining 2/3 was walked intensively.[547] This avoidance of alluviated regions in favour of focussing on other parts of the plain helps to allay possible concerns over the distorting effect of heavy alluviation. The survey detected 85 sites within the region.[548]



(Ill. 25: The survey area in the Geometric Period)

EIA-LG:

[547] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 13.
[548] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 19.

After the LH III period there was a long gap in the valley. Only three EIA sherds were found, dating to the LG/EPC (Early Protocorinthian) period, all from the later centre of S 60 (Asea Palaiokastro) itself. This was perhaps surprising, given the contrast with the 1997 excavation at the sanctuary at Agios Elias in Asea, which produced a lot of Geometric pottery. It raised questions about the visibility of Geometric pottery. It was possible that the distinctive decorated fine wares were mostly restricted to the sanctuary, and that another class of contemporary pottery, which was too generic to be visible among the other survey finds, was used in the settlement, which could itself suggest that unknown amounts of Geometric pottery from other areas of the survey went similarly unnoticed or were present elsewhere but was too worn on the surface from post-depositional conditions that it could not be identified.[549]

As well as being highly conjectural, this explanation is perhaps unnecessary for two reasons. Firstly, the survey did uncover evidence, however limited it was, of 8th and 7th century use of the later centre of Asea. Secondly, as was noted by the Asea surveyors, this dearth of evidence for more widespread settlement or exploitation of the rest of the valley was in fact paralleled by the surveys at Berbati Limnes and the Nemea Valley in Corinthia,[550] and it is also paralleled in the Laconia Survey.[551] Furthermore, other surveys such as the Argolid Exploration Project have found pottery dating to the PG and EG periods on the surface, indicating that there is not something inherent to the pottery of this period that makes it and its surface decoration more susceptible to damage, as was suggested by the surveyors.[552] It was thought possible by the team that the local Geometric wares were unidentified through unfamiliarity, as Arcadian pottery from this period is not well documented, compared with the more easily datable imports found in sanctuaries, such as the one at Asea, or that at Tegea.[553] This also touches on the issue of what

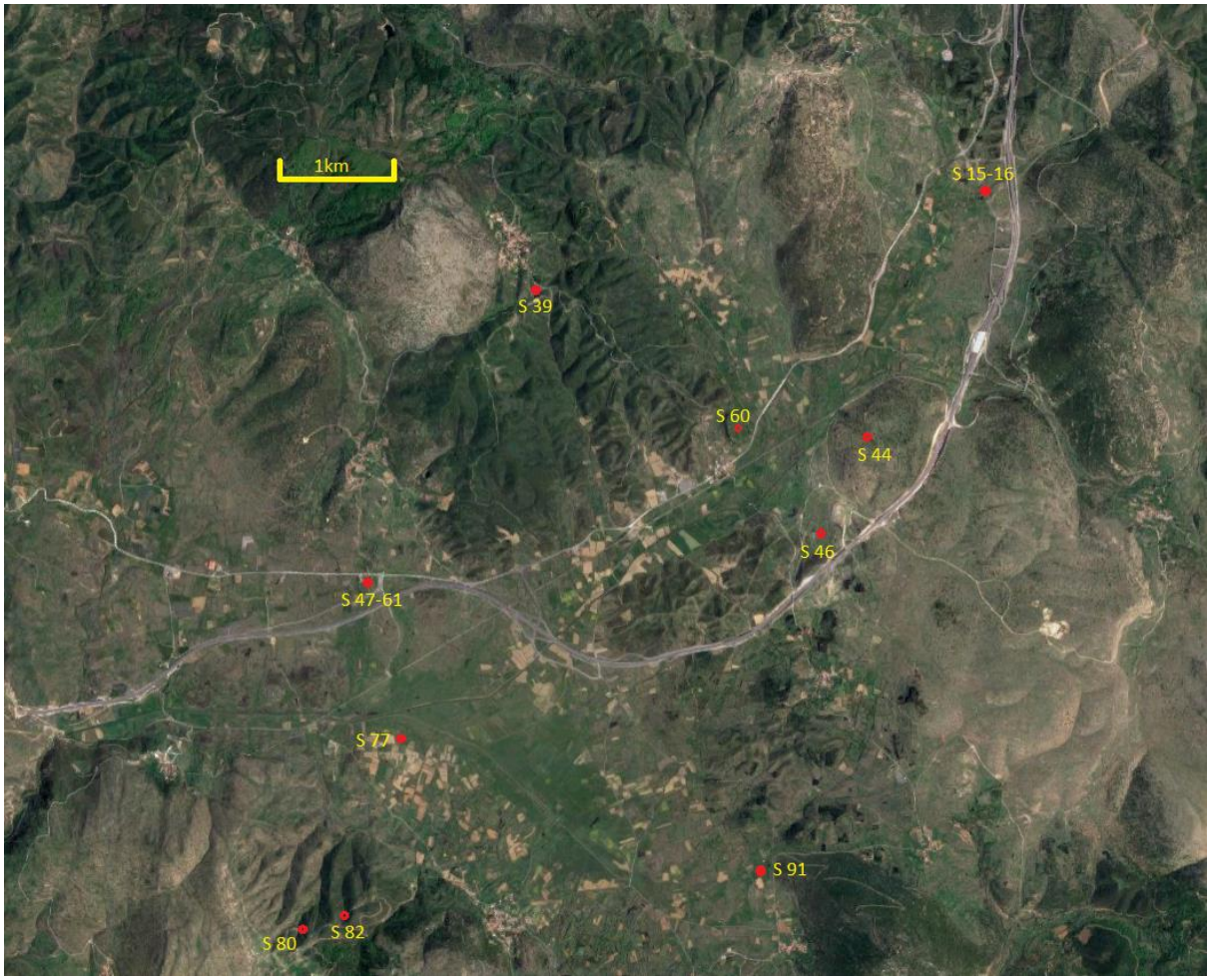
[549] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 183.
[550] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 199.
[551] Cavanagh 2002a: 156
[552] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 199.
[553] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 199.

one should expect to find in an intensive survey of this sort. While the surveyors found it strange that the only site within the survey region visible in the 8th century was Asea itself (the sanctuary of Agios Elias was not surveyed), comparison with other regions demonstrates that this was not unusual but is paralleled at Sparta and in the Methana Peninsula.

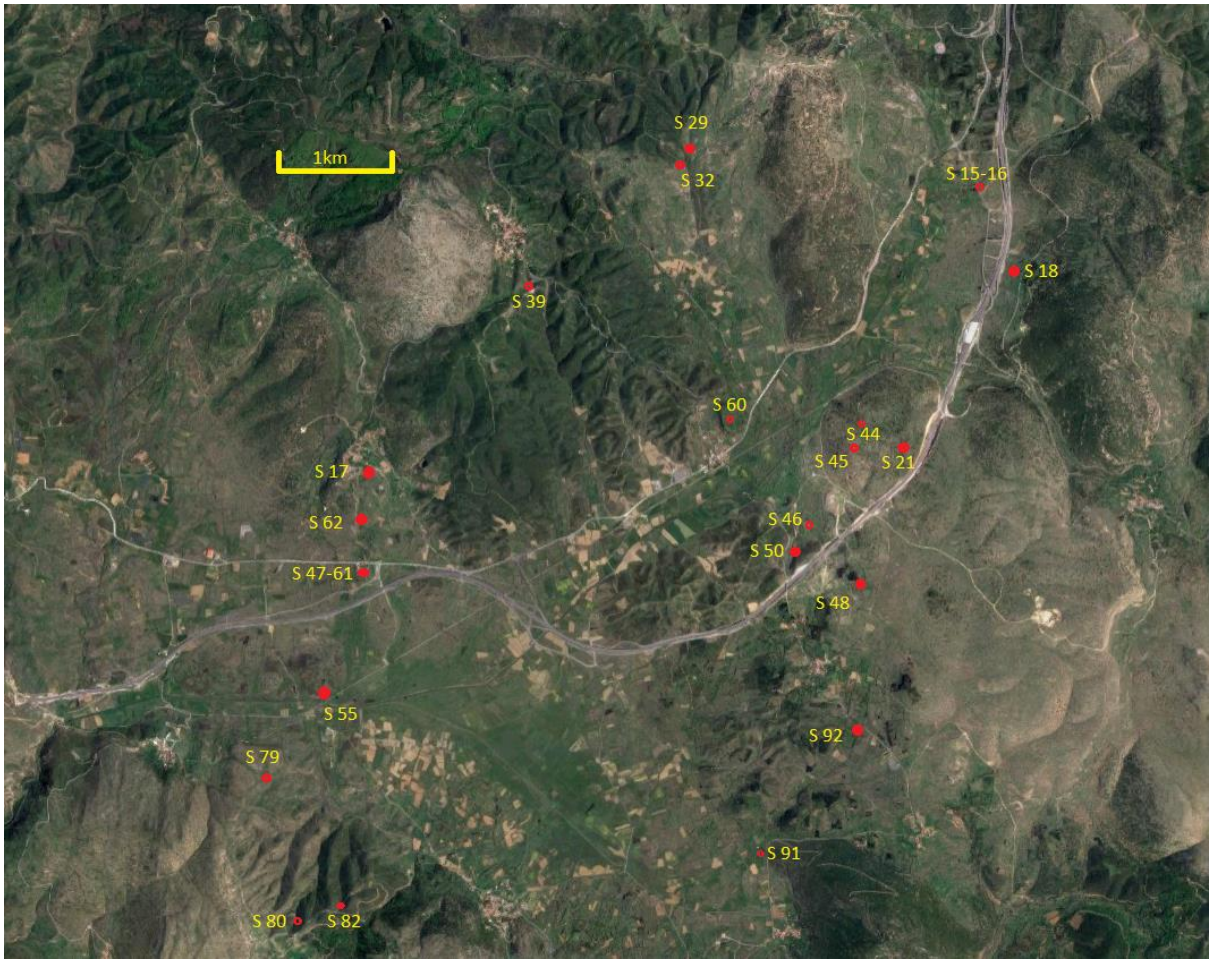
Due to the evidence for the use of the sanctuary from the PG period onwards the surveyors determined that Asea Palaiokastro must have been inhabited from this time as well not so much on the basis of the extremely fragmentary finds but instead 'stemming from logic'.[554] At its core this logic is entirely sound; after all, there must have been people using this local sanctuary and depositing the imported pottery from the PG period onwards. However, whether they were based at Asea itself, or were in some way dispersed as has been hypothesised for the Tegeans in this period by the survey team there, is unclear though the limited finds at Asea itself lend support to the idea that at least some people were living here.

Archaic-Classical:

[554] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 199.



(Ill. 26: The survey area in the Archaic period)



(Ill. 27: The survey area in the Classical Period)

There was a large jump in the amount of evidence for the Archaic period, and seemingly another increase in the 5th century, though making this distinction was not always possible. The surveyors were forced to consider much of the Archaic-Hellenistic pottery as one category. This is because many of the fine wares consisted of the generic black glazed pottery in use from the Late Archaic to the Hellenistic, and not understood well enough to be separated out into phases or even regional groups. Though attempts were made to separate the Archaic/Classical from the Hellenistic on the basis of fabric, there were too few sherds to do this with any degree of confidence. Due to a lack of more local material, this body was considered with comparison to

that of the Laconia Survey, collected in a very similar way, from the same period, and from the same types of site.[555]

Aside from this generic fineware painted tile fragments were the most common find from this survey in the A-H period. In the Laconia survey a distinction was made between ridge tiles, which were only used at sanctuaries, and pan tiles, which may only have been used at private buildings, a principle which was supported by, and helped in the interpretation of, the Asea Valley survey data.[556] The tiles were therefore a significant factor in identifying farmsteads although as with the pottery it was difficult to draw a distinction between those from the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods. Fortunately, many of the farmsteads had fine wares other than the black glazed wares which helped to date them slightly more accurately to one period or another and it was on the basis of these that the farmsteads are dated. There were only 5 farmstead sites that were only dated by the black glazed finewares, S29, S38, S50, S92, S67. These were all dated to the C-Hl periods, indicating a preference for downdating when a choice had to be made. While these may have been Archaic as well, they are few in number and do not actually change the overall interpretation.

The surveyors determined a three-tier hierarchy, with Asea at the top followed by a small collection of villages, and then smaller sites. The second order sites were S15-16, S47-61, and S91. S39 was also quite large but was a sanctuary site. The second order sites seemed to have been settled in the LA period. There were 15-17 third order sites often detected from tile scatters. These sites were often 1-2km away from larger sites and were interpreted as isolated farmsteads. Most of these seem to have been Classical or Hellenistic. In this they saw parallels for the three tier systems in the Southern Argolid and Boeotia.[557] An unusually large number of them, once established, persisted on to the Hellenistic period and there are almost no single period sites.

[555] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 203-4.
[556] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 229.
[557] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 262-5.

There are no fortifications or special use sites aside from sanctuaries, which distinguished the Asea Valley from Laconia, the Southern Argolid and the Methana Peninsula.

The surveyors noted that while many categories of fine ware, such as mould-made bowls, lekythoi and unguentaria were only found at S60, unsurprising considering its position in the hierarchy, pithoi and transport amphorae were also restricted to this site. The lack of storage vessels at smaller sites was unparalleled and was interpreted as a precaution against theft by armies travelling through the region.[558] This lack is perhaps surprising as Pikoulas, in his survey of the same area, noted abundant pithos sherds, e.g. at S38, which both interpreted as a farmstead.[559] At S45 the Asea surveyors themselves noted a storage vessel, indicating that this was not a complete lack.

The surveyors' main question for the A-Hl period was when Asea became a *polis*. Much of the survey focussed on the site of Asea itself, to determine its size and date. Through surface survey and coring down to 6m, a persistent pattern of frequent Late Archaic to Hellenistic pottery was found across an area perhaps as large as 25-30ha though the alluvium made determining the extent of the site to the south and east difficult.[560] They noted the 'handful' of sites large enough to be villages generally covering an area of 1-4ha, much smaller than Asea itself, and also with far less, and less varied, pottery. Therefore from at least the Late Archaic, this settlement clearly dominated the valley.[561] They discussed the difficulty of establishing when a *polis*, as opposed to just a nucleated centre, arose, settling on the size of the settlement and the existence of religious sanctuaries as determining factors. For size, they noted that there was clear, steep increase in finds at the site in the 6th century.[562] Following de Polignac, they considered the emergence of a major cult centre as a secure sign for the emergence of the *polis*. They settled on the 2nd half of

[558] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 265.
[559] Pikoulas 1988: 61.
[560] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 247.
[561] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 247.
[562] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 249.

the 6th century as the date for the creation of the *polis*, based on the increase in size at the site, and the construction of marble edifices at nearby Vigla and Agios Elias sanctuaries.[563]. The spread of farmsteads in the Classical period and the increase in the size of Asea Palaiokastro in the later 6th century were both taken to be signs of general population growth in the area.[564]

A large part of the centre of the map, where the land appears to be highly amenable to agriculture, is notably blank. This is the area, noted above, that was avoided by the team due to heavy alluviation, as it was previously the site of a lake. There may be further sites located here but there is no strong indication that this would change the overall picture much, especially as the area may have been too marshy for extensive exploitation in this period.

Comparisons between the Asea Valley Survey and Intensive Surveys of Other Regions

There was a clear pattern in the growth of 2nd order sites in the 6th century, where there had previously been none (S15-16, S 47-61). This differs from the situation in the Southern Argolid and the Methana Peninsula, where competing centres persisted within one region up until the 6th and 5th centuries, when one clearly dominant settlement finally arose. It is difficult to compare this to the Laconia Survey, as this was a smaller, suburban survey in the immediate hinterland of Sparta. It does, however, suggest that the entire valley was perhaps not being as intensively exploited as these other regions.

Regarding the spread of farmsteads the Asea Valley finds its closet parallel in the Laconia Survey, where farmsteads spread fairly drastically in the 6th century, with a further increasing in the 5th, whereas in the Southern Argolid and Methana Peninsula, this phenomenon is far more restricted to the 5th century. As in Laconia, too there was a very strong degree of continuity of sites from A-

[563] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 251. Nielsen also lends some support to the development of a *polis* identity here already by the late 6th century, although somewhat tentatively; Nielsen 2002: 163, 182.
[564] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 270.

C period, all except S77 which was a very unusual cult deposit under a standing stone. The lack of any sort of military installation is perhaps surprising but not at all unusual for the region, where there were no fortifications until the late 5th century.[565] The sudden explosion of sites in the Archaic period marking a far greater degree of exploitation of the entire valley by the inhabitants at Asea is closely paralleled by similar developments in survey projects elsewhere. The situation in the Asea Valley in the 6th century is therefore broadly similar to that of other regions although, as emphasised in the chapter on the Argolid, there are variations between all *poleis*. It is possible that other intensive surveys of the region would also conform quite closely to this model, particularly at the other sites in Arcadia where 8th century inhabitation at the later centres is suggested by the archaeological evidence.

Howell's survey of Eastern Arcadia

In 1963 and 1964, Howell undertook an extensive survey of Eastern Arcadia, focussing on the highland plains around Tegea, Mantineia and Orchomenos. He emphasised that this was in no way an exhaustive survey, but instead preliminary work intended to stimulate further fieldwork.[566] It was also undertaken extremely early on in the history of Greek survey, before many of the standard methods relied upon by the other surveys were developed. Furthermore, his survey was a combination of previous publications and sites that he walked himself, making it as much a gazetteer as a survey, which may have led to some internal inconsistencies. His survey covered the prehistoric period providing summaries and analysis of the Neolithic to the Geometric, though he mentioned later finds when relevant. It is therefore, like the UMME in Messenia, focussed on a different subject to this research and will therefore only offer some partial coverage.

[565] Maher 2017: 63.
[566] Howell 1970: 79.

Howell noted that there was very little PG material in Arcadia; only very small amounts from the sanctuary at Tegea and from a tholos tomb near Alea-Palaiokhori. In the surface collection two possible PG sherds were found at Khotoussa-Ayios Yeorgios and Pikernis-Gortsouli, though neither can be identified as PG with certainty. There was more G material although he noted that these often came from inadequately published excavated sites rather than survey, though he found G sherds at Kandhila-Bikiza, Sangas-Portes, Kalyvia-Pyrgos, Lasta-Kollinos, and possibly at Khotoussa-Ayios Yeoryios, Karterion-Ayios Konstandinos and Dhimitsana.[567] It is difficult to make many conclusions on the basis of this survey. He noted several long-lived sites, however, these were sanctuary rather than settlement sites. He didn't spot other trends such as the increase of 6th century activity, as his survey was focussed on earlier periods and was not intensive enough to spot these small sites.

The Megalopolis Surveys

Two different surveys in the region of Megalopolis were undertaken in the early 1980s.

The British Megalopolis survey:

In 1981-2, a British team undertook a survey in the Megalopolis basin.[568] The results have never been published and are now only accessible in the form of three very brief reports.[569] The aim of the survey was to discover what tribal settlements comprised the landscape before the 4th century *synoikism* of Megalopolis, and how this *synoikism* changed the settlement patterns. The region was too large to survey entirely so smaller areas were picked, aided by the existence of large modern structures such as a power station and open case coal mine which covered much of the landscape. In each year they covered an area c.30km^2 making this a fairly intensive

[567] Howell 1970: 116-7.
[568] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 179.
[569] Roy, Lloyd and Owens 1992; Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988; Roy 1983.

survey.[570] In the two seasons they found 232 findspots, though had not yet completed their calculations on background noise by the time of the most recent publication and noted that further analysis might prove some find spots to be insignificant,[571] though it seems unlikely that this would negate the overwhelmingly strong impression given by the preliminary results.

	Total findspots	Prehistoric	Archaic to Hellenistic	Roman	Med.	Post-med.	Not yet dated
1981	117	4	56	2	4	32	34
1982	115	4	32	2	15	40	41

(Fig. 1: The preliminary results of the survey)[572]

Finds from the Classical period were far more numerous than earlier and later though the surveyors acknowledged the difficulty of distinguishing some categories of pottery from the Archaic-Hellenistic period, they noted that among the datable material very little was either Archaic or late Hellenistic, thus hypothesising that the majority of the black glazed wares were likely to be Classical and Early Hellenistic too.[573] This perhaps supports the decision of the Asea surveyors to date these types of site to the Classical rather than the Archaic period. Due to the high levels of tile, loomweights and bobbins, the majority of the Classical sites were interpreted as homestead farms.[574]

They noted two particularly large and wealthy scatters of artefacts interpreted as significant sites; one of which contained predominantly Late Archaic and Classical pottery, including the greatest quantity of the generic black-glazed sherds anywhere in the survey region. Dressed stone blocks dating to the Late Hellenistic period were also visible. The other scatter contained a large scatter

[570] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 180-1.
[571] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 181.
[572] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 181. N.b. many others were multi-period and so are not able to be included here.
[573] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 181.
[574] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 182.

of 5th and 4th century material including a notably large number of miniature vessels.[575] They interpreted this first scatter as Classical Haemoniae, and the second as Cromnus.[576] In another publication they noted a large, nucleated settlement with large quantities of tile and pottery fragments over an area over 500m long, dating to the Classical period.[577] It is not clear if this corresponds to either of the sites hypothesised in the other paper presenting these findings, or a third settlement.

As in the Asea valley, these finds were taken to indicate a considerable increase in the population in the 5th and 4th centuries, and the surveyors noted with some surprise that at this border region, between Arcadia and Messenia, many inhabitants did not seek more defensible homes in nucleated settlements. They also noted that the settlement patterns derived from Pausanias, of tribal, small-scale settlements that *synoikised* into Megalopolis in the 4th century, was not borne out by the survey data.[578] Though it is difficult to say much else the existence of these two Archaic settlements is significant. It lends further weight to the idea that in the 6th century settlement patterns in at least parts of Arcadia were not notably different from elsewhere. The existence of at least two centres here, unlike in the Asea Valley, may be because the Megalopolis basin is a much larger area, and therefore more able to support multiple settlements. However, the size of these two centres is impossible to determine from the published information.

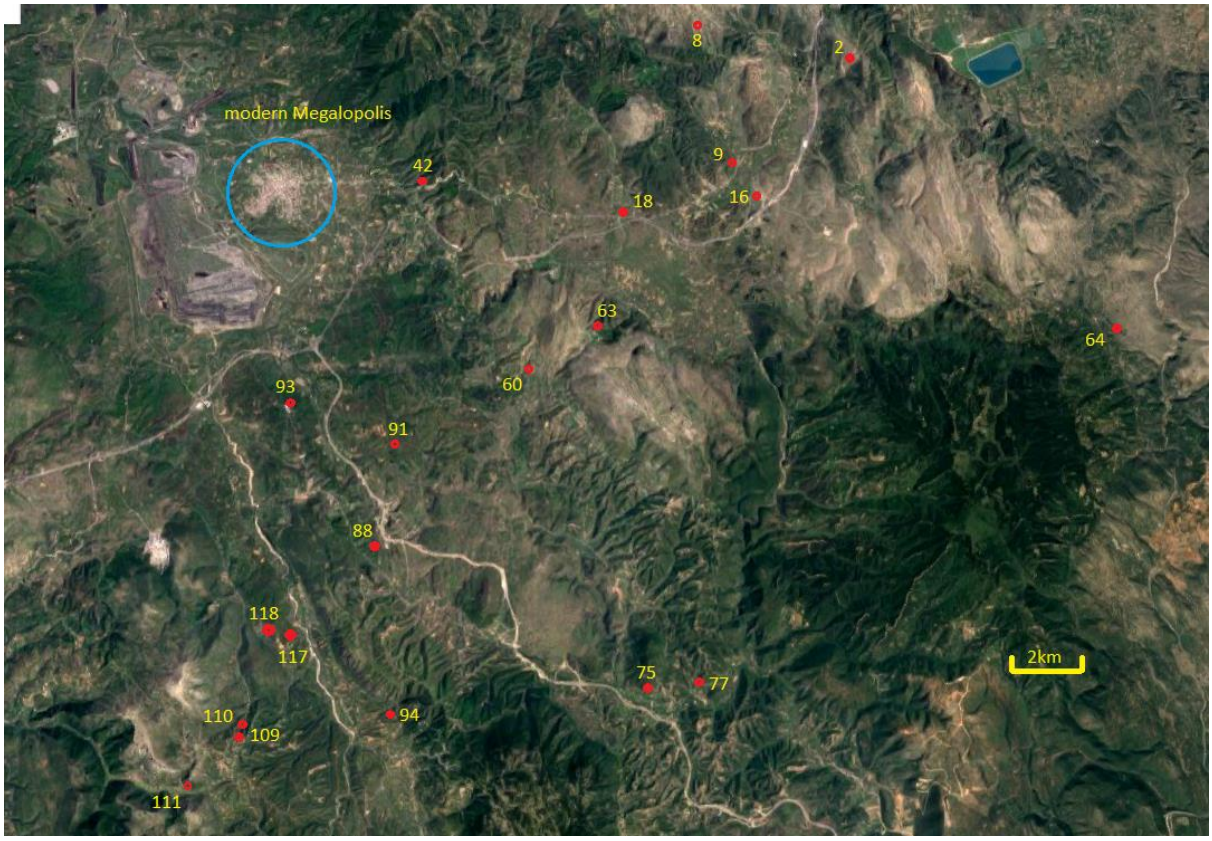
Pikoulas's survey of the Megalopolis basin:

At around the same time as the British team, from 1979-84, and 86-7, a Greek survey of the Megalopolis region was also undertaken by Pikoulas.[579] Of the 900km^2 in the Megalopolis region, the team covered 90% in that time.[580] It is therefore a far less intensive and detailed survey than

[575] Roy, Lloyd and Owens 1992: 187.
[576] Roy, Lloyd and Owens 1992: 193.
[577] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 181-2.
[578] Lloyd, Owens and Roy 1988: 182.
[579] Pikoulas 1988: 14.
[580] Pikoulas 1988: 14.

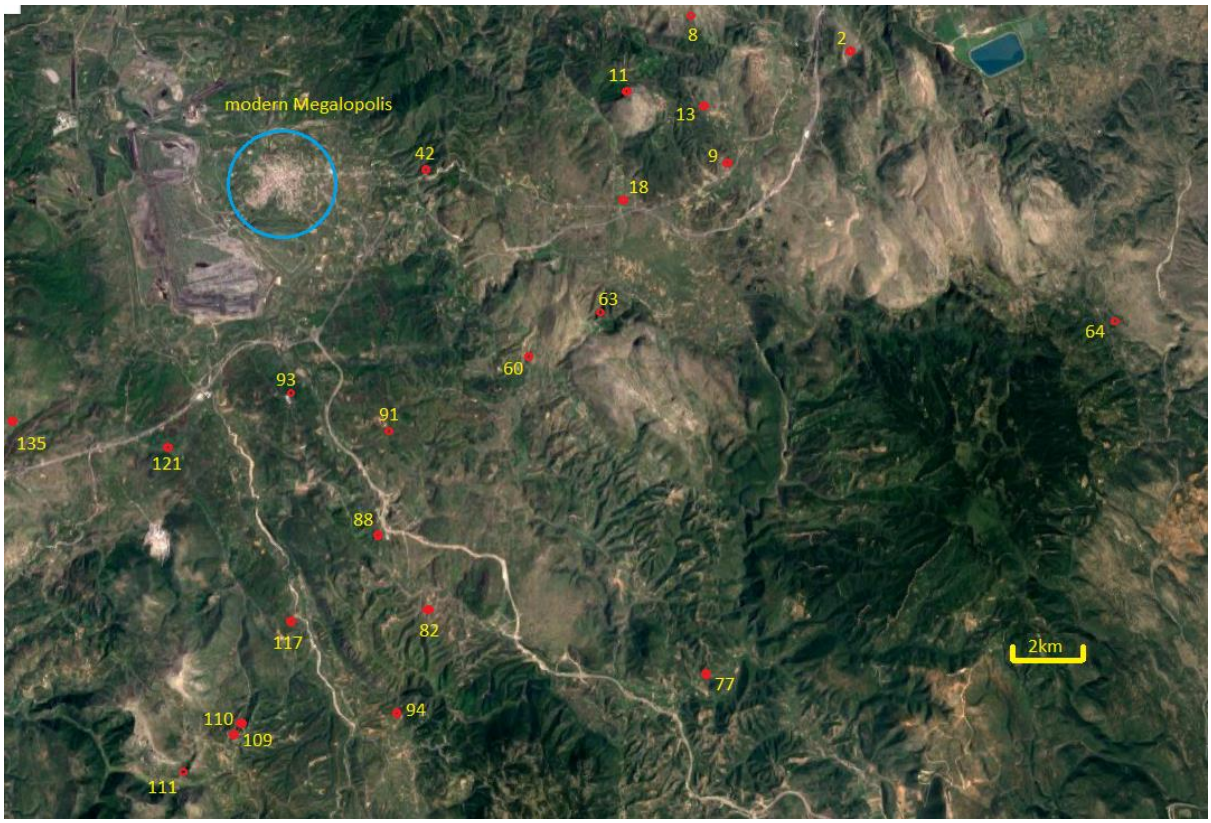
others done in Arcadia, although it covers a much larger region, perhaps lending a broader perspective. In keeping with the other teams Pikoulas noted the difficulties that arose from the unfamiliarity of Arcadian pottery, from the often abraded nature of the sherds that he found and from the difficulties involved in recognising pottery before the 5th century, though the Archaic less so than the Geometric.[581]

As with Howell this work was part survey and part catalogue/gazetteer, both of previously excavated sites, mostly sanctuaries, and of sites known solely from Pausanias or other literary sources though Pikoulas' work was proportionally more given over to his own survey results than Howell's. He also focussed heavily on tracing remnants of cart roads. For the surveyed sites reported, few details were given; the pottery is not recorded in numbers or types, nor is the size of the settlement determined. Therefore, only very broad conclusions can be made.



[581] Pikoulas 1988: 15-16.

(Ill. 28: The survey area in the Archaic Period)



(Ill. 29: The survey area in the Classical period)

As can be seen on the map much of the basin is now covered by a large open cast mine and the modern city of Megalopolis. It may not necessarily give an entirely representative view of the region or may be missing many sites. This also applies to the findings of the British team, whose survey area, along with that of the Asea Valley team, were both also parts of Pikoulas' survey area.

As with the Asea and British surveyors the lack of Geometric material was noted by Pikoulas, again with some surprise in comparison to the contemporary excavated sanctuaries, as only site 42, also in use in the A and C periods, produced pottery this early.[582] Pikoulas hypothesised the annexation of southern Arcadia into Laconian territory in the Geometric period, to argue that the lack of Geometric material could be due to this disturbance,[583] though there is no evidence for

[582] Pikoulas 1988: 229-30.
[583] Pikoulas 1988: 234.

this. As with the British team, Pikoulas noted some sites that were of a significant size and dated to the Archaic period, at sites 60 and 91. Pikoulas' work had a strong interest in identifying sites with known locations, often preserved in Pausanias' travel guide to the region (e.g. sites 45, 70-9, 82, 91, 92, 95, 121).

Unlike the other surveyors of this region, Pikoulas noted a groundswell of sites in the Archaic period, with very little increase in the Classical period. However, the difference is something of a mirage, as it results from his dating of the black glaze finewares to the Archaic rather than the Classical period. It is difficult to say more as the sites were examined and published with a lesser degree of detail than an intensive survey.

Though not many conclusions can be made from this, interesting comparisons can be made between this and the Asea Valley, which was part of Pikoulas' survey area regarding the differences between extensive and intensive survey in conclusion section.

The Pheneos and Lousoi Survey

Unlike the other areas surveyed in the region Lousoi, between Kynaitha and Kleitor, is in northern Arcadia. It was a small *polis* and a possession of Kleitor by the time of Pausanias but independent in the Hellenistic period at least, if not before as indicated by a surviving *proxeny* decree. Its most notable feature was the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera.[584] Pheneos to the east of Lousoi and separated from it by the Chelmos massif was an independent *polis* until the Roman period,[585] though it remained small and peripheral throughout history despite being located in the extreme North-East corner of Arcadia, bordering on Achaea and Corinthia/Argolis. It was therefore on important routes from these regions into Arcadia.[586] Three extra-urban sanctuaries with Archaic

[584] Tausend 1999: 11.
[585] Its polis status is confirmed by a *proxeny* decree from the second half of the 5th century (Mack 2015: 326).
[586] Tausend 1999: 12.

and Classical material were discovered near the centre, and the territory also included a dependent *polis* Nonakris as well as Lykouria, a smaller settlement. The earliest part of the acropolis walls date to the 4th century, although 5th century material was also noted at the site.[587]

Between 1993 and 1996, the Austrian School undertook new survey fieldwork in the region around Pheneos. They aimed to provide the first comprehensive collection of historical and 19th century accounts of Pheneos and Lousoi.[588] The research was also focussed on tracing the ancient road networks through these two *poleis* and their connections to other regions. Other sites that happened to be found during this project were presented in the publication too. It drastically increased the number of known sites in the region from four to over twenty, and the team noted settlements, sanctuaries and military installations.[589] However, it must be emphasised that this was not an intensive surface survey in the style of those undertaken in Asea or Tegea, and they did not ascertain the size of sites, nor provide detailed pottery reports.[590] The results, and the resulting conclusions, are therefore quite vague.

The surveyors suggested that Pheneos and Lousoi themselves were inhabited from the Geometric period onwards though they were not within their survey area. Within the survey area they found Geometric pottery at the site of Ag. Charalambos, indicating it was inhabited at this point though its size is unclear. In the Archaic period the number of sites increased, notably through the settling of Lakkomata in the 7th or 6th century, and the cult sites at the Hermes Cave on Mt Kyllene, which contained Corinthian imported pottery from the 6th century onwards though the bulk of material dated to the 5th and 4th centuries,[591] and at the Sanctuary of Artemis Pyronia. Lakkomata also produced a relatively large body of Corinthian fine wares, suggesting again that the region was neither impoverished nor cut off.

[587] Nielsen 2004: 527.
[588] Tausend 1999: 15.
[589] Tausend 1999: 13.
[590] Tausend 1999: 16.
[591] Tausend 1999: 242.

This small area therefore differs from the Asea Valley and the Megalopolis basin as there were multiple settlements from the 8th or 7th century onwards in this relatively small region. Unlike the settlements of the 8th century in the AEP survey area, these persisted past the end of the century. In further contrast to these other areas the Classical period saw little increase aside from the construction of watchtowers over settlements in the later 5th century onwards, and possibly the construction of a bridge at Bouga.[592] Though caution must be taken in interpreting these results, due to the nature of the survey, it is possible that the relatively high number of early settlements could be related to a different living pattern, perhaps linked to the area's location in the mountainous north of the region. While it is tempting to relate this to pastoralism, especially in light of the lack of a 6th or 5th century expansion of farmsteads, this could instead be due to the survey not spotting sites of this size and type. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given this was an extensive survey, only large and visible sites such as large settlements and ruined watchtowers were found.

Summary

Site evidence:

The 8th and 7th centuries saw several developments. In contrast to other parts of the Peloponnese, a very large proportion of the sites in this region were cultic and appeared to act as central meeting places for different, neighbouring groups and settlements. Settlements in this period are little known but small amounts of evidence have been found at several sites; Lousoi, Gortsouli, Mantineia and Asea. It is therefore possible that the region saw a mix of more nucleated sites in the locations of these later *poleis*, and more scattered communities who used sanctuaries as central meeting places.

There are numerous indications of notable changes in settlement patterns in the 6th century. Firstly, more of the later *polis* centres show clear evidence of inhabitation such as Tegea, Phigaleia

[592] Tausend 1999: 236.

and Orchomenos, and possibly Mantineia too, notwithstanding the earlier unpublished material. The foundation of temples in this period has been convincingly argued as a territorial marker.[593] This line of thinking is supported by the patterns within the group of Arcadian temples. *Polis* communities, generally in the east of Arcadia and agriculturally-based, such as Tegea, Mantineia, Asea or Pallantion, built temples earlier, and show architectural influence from outside regions such as Argos or Delphi (at Tegea and Agios Elias respectively). In the western pastoral economies such as Phigaleia and Lykosoura, temple building was slower.[594] The unusual extent of investment in Pallantion has been interpreted as a sign of 6th century consolidation, perhaps in the face of growing pressure from its neighbour Asea.[595] Voyatzis also noted that Orchomenos and Gortsouli, hostile to one another in the Classical period, both constructed temples around 530-525,[596] perhaps done as shows of strength and unity against one another.

Perhaps most significantly, the first evidence of *polis* centres becoming architecturally articulated also dates to the very late 7th and to the 6th centuries. The first temples at the urban centres are built, at Phigaleia, Alipheira and Tegea in this period. At Orchomenos a large, monumental structure was also built which does not appear to be a temple though its function is unknown; it might perhaps be a civic structure of some sort. A new sanctuary within the limits of Asea also came into use in this period though it is not clear if it had a temple. As discussed above, Mantineia, Orchomenos, and Asea all developed networks of sanctuaries in this period that demarcated, for the first time, their territory. The 6th century therefore sees the reversal of the 7th century trend, and the increasing normalisation of the *polis* in the region.

Survey evidence:

[593] Jost 1994.
[594] Voyatzis 1999: 151-2.
[595] Voyatzis 1999: 147.
[596] Voyatzis 1999: 148.

There are, as has been noted, several difficulties in using and synthesising these surveys to any high degree, as is possible for the surveys of the Southern Argolid. However, even the broad conclusions they provide and the comparisons between these provide strong indications of a general trend in the 6th century that corresponds closely to ones found in other regions.

Both settlement and survey evidence combine to demonstrate a very large increase in visible activity across the entire region in the 6th century. This has raised questions of visibility; does activity actually increase in this period, or is it merely a problem of earlier pottery being more difficult to distinguish and date? The evidence from excavated sites does not lend much support to this for two main reasons. Firstly, several settlements are visible before the 6th century. Secondly, some of the most significant pieces of evidence indicating a genuine change in the 6th century are not pottery based but are the actual temple structures themselves, for which this argument of visibility is less compelling. The survey evidence also suggests that the 6th century was a period of genuine, rather than illusory, change. The lack of survey data for sites in the 8th, and the 7th, century has been noted, with the implicit suggestion that this is an issue of visibility. On the face of it, this is a reasonable suggestion, as the people dedicating pottery at sanctuaries had to be living somewhere nearby.[597] However, when we look at the surveys undertaken in greater detail, this holds less water. The only published intensive survey did find some evidence of settlement in this period. Of the extensive surveys, Pikoulas too found one G site, though his survey was far more extensive and likely to miss evidence. The British team spotted a possible 7th century settlement. The NAS project in Tegea is perhaps the most surprising result, as it found no evidence before the 6th century, but this survey was restricted to the later urban centre of Tegea itself; a relatively small part. It is possible that an intensive survey of other parts of the plain would have found more evidence. Therefore, both the evidence from individual sites and from surveys

[597] Morgan 2003: 40.

suggest that that there were indeed dramatic changes in the 6th century related to the articulation of territory in Arcadia, as were seen in the Southern Argolid.

Conclusions

Methodological Conclusions

Firstly, the spread and type of surveys in the region enable some conclusions to be made about the methodology and interpretation of surveys.

Reliability:

Unlike, for example, in the Laconia survey where this point was investigated in great detail, there are few certain indications that the survey evidence on the surface relates strongly to material below the surface. However, in two locations excavation has occurred which confirmed the impression given by survey. The first is in Tegea, where the 2nd half of the 6th century BC was also suggested as a foundation date by brief excavations undertaken in the agora by the Greek archaeological service,[598] supported by the work of NAS in the sanctuary and the wider region.[599] Similarly, while the excavations at Asea failed to uncover the Archaic and Classical evidence of the survey, the deep coring done by the survey team at the site also revealed pottery of the same dates as the surface scatter.

The comparison of overlapping surveys:

Two of the published surveys overlapped partially, the Asea Valley Survey and Pikoulas' survey of the Megalopolis basin. One was more intensive in nature the other more extensive and both provided differing levels and types of information about the region. The points of overlap, where

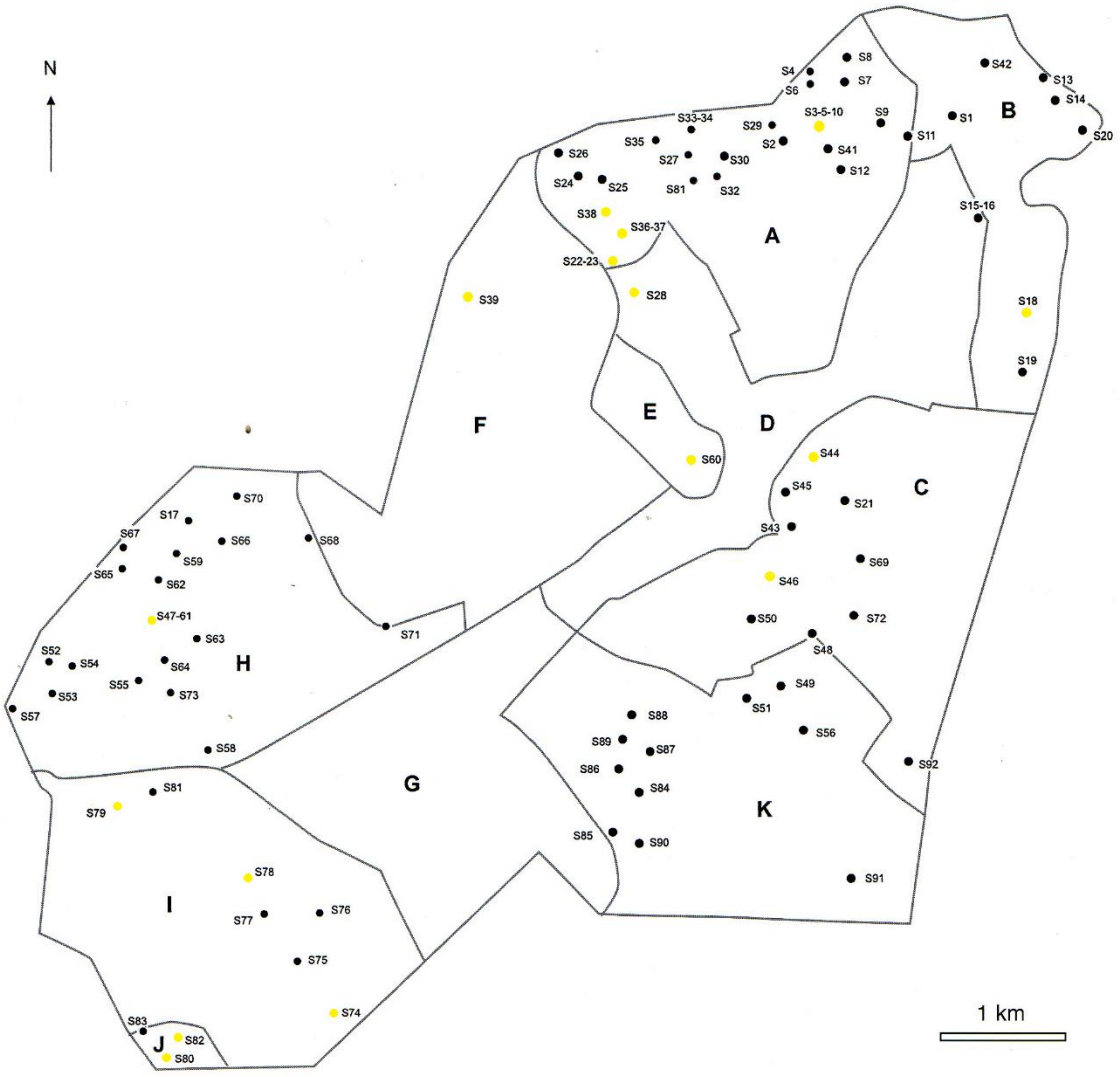
[598] Nordquist et al 2014: 51-2.
[599] Ødegard 2005: 217.

they both spotted and described the same site, raise interesting questions about the reliability of survey data particularly those gathered extensively vs. intensively for providing an accurate picture of a region. The different conclusions drawn from the same sites are tabulated and compared below.

Asea number	Asea Description	Pikoulas number	Pikoulas' Description	Match?
S 3-5-10	A Med/E Mod settlement	7	A late Christian settlement	Yes
S 38	A C-Hl farmstead	13	A 50 x 20m scatter indicating a C? and Hl farmstead	Overlapping (Asea more detailed)
S 36-7	A Med (E Mod) village	13	A late Christian and Byzantine settlement	Yes
S 18	An EH, LH, C-Hl, R and LR farmstead, and Med village	5	A 100 x 100 m scatter indicating a LR to Late Byzantine site	Overlapping (Asea more detailed)
S 44	An A-Hl? LR? Cemetery	Mentioned on pg 56	Mentioned reports of traces of LH, PG and Hellenistic burials	Overlapping (Asea more detailed)
S 46	A-C? sanctuary	16	The site of an Archaic temple	Yes
S 22-23	LH, Hl, R, LR, Med farmstead and villa rustica	14 I	A 50 x 50m scatter including a LR cistern, with Hl-R pottery	Overlapping (Asea more detailed)
S 28	An E Mod chapel	Mentioned on pg 63	An E Mod chapel	Yes
S 60	Prehistoric, LG, A, C, Hl, R *polis* centre and alter village	9	LA figurine and C pottery	Overlapping (Asea more detailed)
S 39	A-Hl? C? Sanctuary	15	A Roman or late Christian structure	No
S47-61	Prehistoric, A, C, Hl, R, LR, villa rustica and village	18	A 100 x 100m scatter with A, Hl and R pottery	Overlapping (Asea more detail)
S 79	C and R farmstead	20	Hl-R pottery (conjectured to	Overlapping (disagreement

			be the site of Aphrodision in Pausanias (8.44.2)	in interpretation)
S 78	Med-E Mod village	21	A Byzantine site	Yes
S 74	A Med watchtower	22	A Med watchtower	Yes
S 82	LA-C sanctuary on the basis of pottery	63	An architectural block indicating an A-C cult structure	Yes (agreement of interpretation from different evidence)
S 80	A-Hl farmstead (nb a small architectural marble piece was noted)	64	A-Hl pottery and a 7th century discoid acroterion perhaps indicating a cult site	Overlapping (disagreement in interpretation)

(Fig. 2: A table comparing the conclusions of the Asea Valley and Pikoulas' survey on the same sites)



(Ill. 30: The diagram of the Asea Survey's sites, with those that Pikoulas also found marked in colour)[600]

Pikoulas' extensive survey spotted only a small proportion of the sites seemingly at random throughout the survey area. Of these he was most likely to miss small, less visible farmstead sites. There were other differences; as discussed above, Pikoulas' team spotted far more storage vessels than the Asea survey team. However, of the sites that both teams spotted, there was a strong degree of consistency regarding the type of site and the date, although the more detailed Asea survey generally spotted pottery belonging to a broader date range. The British team in the

[600] Base illustration taken from Forsén and Forsén 2003: 78.

Megalopolis Basin compared their findings to Pikoulas' work in the same area and reported that they had broadly the same results, though Pikoulas had spotted Roman material in one area where they had instead found Classical, and in another location, he had found 6th century material that they had not.[601] The comparisons between the extensive and intensive surveys emphasise again the importance of intensive survey techniques to providing as full and accurate picture of landscape use as possible.

It is perhaps not surprising that intensive surveys provided a more detailed view of the survey area than extensive surveys. However, the tendency of extensive survey to miss small sites in particular can be very significant for the interpretation of results. For example, this almost total lack of farmsteads is of great relevance to the survey data for Messenia, where much has been made of the lack of rural settlements during the periods of Spartan domination.[602] As the evidence for this region is primarily the early and extensive UMME survey project, it is by no means certain that rural farmsteads were as absent from Messenia as is assumed. This will be investigated in the next chapter.

Black glazed fine wares and dating:

Black glazed fine wares make up a very large percentage of the fine wares found by the surveys in Arcadia, as is evident from the catalogue.[603] Beyond the general categorisation of Archaic to Hellenistic, it is difficult to date. Only when it is found in large quantities, in stratified deposits, can the changes in shape be quantified enough to distinguish the wares by century, such as in the Athenian Agora.[604] None of these apply to material gathered from surface survey. There is therefore a large body of material for which the date could be anywhere from 6th to 4th century. As discussed above, this can create an illusion of difference, such as between Pikoulas' survey

[601] Roy, Lloyd and Owens 1992: 190.
[602] E.g. Hodkinson 2003.
[603] Also noted in Forsén and Forsén 2003: 200.
[604] Sparkes and Talcott 1970: 10-12; Rotroff and Oakley 1992: 9.

which dated this material early within the period and the British Survey of Megalopolis and the Asea Survey, which both opted for a later date, providing slightly views of when the groundswell of new settlements occurred.

One solution would be more excavation and dedicated study of this category of black glazed finewares, to distinguish different styles and therefore dates, as was done at the Athenian Agora. However, another solution is simply to publish the survey results to the same level of detail as the Asea Valley survey project, who demonstrated that it was able to date the great majority of its sites on other, more recognisable finewares, as detailed above, and in contrast to Pikoulas' publication which is far vaguer. For this study, the problem of dating this pottery is not a serious one. This is because its influence on interpretation is slight, as whether some of the farmsteads are 6th or 5th century does not particularly influence the general argument that the 6th and 5th centuries collectively represented a departure from the trends of the 7th century. However, it illustrates the importance of detailed publication of survey data, and the influence that surveyors' interpretation can have on what may appear to be a statement of fact, i.e. the date of a settlement.

Visibility:

In many ways, the excavated evidence indicated that Pheneos was not unlike other *poleis* studied here. It had an urban centre which became increasingly well evidenced during the Classical period, and three extra-urban sanctuaries that came into use in the Archaic period. Its territory included a dependent *polis* and another smaller, second order site. However, the survey of this *polis* revealed that in other respects it was quite unusual, lacking the florescence of small rural sites that we might otherwise expect. This highlights the importance of undertaking survey to understand the settlement hierarchy of a *polis*, particularly its smaller components, as they may be at odds with the pattern that might be assumed from the larger components. Conversely, the excavations at Oresthasion, which uncovered extensive remains not noted by previous surveys

of the region, emphasise that survey, while an extremely useful tool, does not always provide the full picture of occupation at a site.

General Conclusions

As has been previously stated, there is only one fully published intensive survey of this region, making conclusions directly synthesising urban and rural development more difficult than in the Southern Argolid. Nevertheless, some patterns emerge. The intensive survey of Asea encompassed both the urban centre and the valley more widely. Asea had a small territory of around 40km^2. Reaching its most developed form in the later 5th and 4th centuries, in the relevant period a largely two-tier system operated, as the valley was home to the urban centre of Asea itself, a small number of medium-sized settlements, and extremely small numbers of rural sites. In the 6th century itself, dramatic changes at the urban centre were evident in the survey, including a drastic increase in size and the creation of an urban sanctuary. In this period too other sanctuaries, including the large cult site S39, came into use, denoting the urban centre's control over the wider territory. There is therefore a close correlation at Asea between territorial development and cult. As in the Southern Argolid, the late Archaic period of expansion at the urban centres and the creation of smaller settlements around the wider territory corresponds to a period of urban and rural cult monumentalisation and expansion. This similarity may lend further support to the concept of cult sites as territorial delineators in smaller poleis such as Halieis.

Elsewhere in Arcadia, direct comparison between urban and rural is not possible due to the absence of fully published intensive survey data, although the same trend is evidenced by excavation at many sites. Firstly, the late 7th and particularly the 6th centuries saw a widespread trend of temple construction at many significant cult sites. Similarly, the 6th and 5th centuries saw drastic changes to settlement patterns in some areas, in particular through *synoikism* and the

sudden appearance of typical urban centres on grid plans. In the northern part of the region, the Pheneos and Lousoi survey also reveals similar patterns. At Pheneos, a sanctuary and temple came into use on the acropolis in the 6th century, while at Lousoi, the sanctuary was in use from the 8th century, when it had a cult structure and evidence of 8th and 7th century cult focussed on communal drinking. Another temple was built in the 6th century. Therefore, at both sites typical cult changes occurred in the 6th century. Although the survey wasn't directly focussed on settlements, but rather on road networks, they still found an increase in cult and settlement evidence in the Archaic period, although less marked than in other parts of the region. At odds with the rest of the region, the settlement pattern did not change drastically in the Classical period except for the appearance of watch towers in the later 5th century. This greater focus on nucleation at the main site and in second order sites is unusual and, as mentioned above, may be tied to a greater focus on pastoralism.

Distinct Arcadia and the 'Rise of the Polis'

To return to the question of whether the *polis* rose here later than elsewhere, and if it was inherently different, the evidence from this region is highly complex and varied. As noted in the introduction, Nielsen has demonstrated that by the late Archaic period there were, by the same criteria applied to other regions of Greece, numerous *poleis* in Arcadia epigraphically and literarily attested.[605] When and how this status was arrived at is less clear.

[605] Nielsen 2002.

Site evidence:

By the late 6th century there are some examples that seem to be indistinguishable from *poleis* in other regions. One such is Tegea. Unlike much of the rest of Arcadia, Tegea had a strong connection to the rest of the Peloponnese. It was on a plain and was therefore more agriculturally focussed than much of the rest of this mountainous region. This plain was also on the natural route between Laconia and the Northeast Peloponnese, the Argolid, and Corinthia.[606] By this period it was a large settlement with a territory and an urban sanctuary marked by a temple and it remained a flourishing *polis* until at least the time when Pausanias visited the region. However, this urban centre didn't exist before c. 550.

In this respect it is extremely unusual in comparison to comparable *poleis* from other parts of Greece. This is similar to the situation at Mantineia where although there may have been some evidence of inhabitation at the site from the Geometric period, between 550 and 450 the *polis* was laid out formally in the form it maintained until its destruction, and where sanctuaries similarly demarcated a territory from the 6th century. While this might suggest a late rise of the *polis*, in the form of a late move towards urbanisation, this picture does not hold for other parts of the region such as Asea, Lousoi and Gortsouli, where settlements existed from the Geometric period. It might seem then that some settlements in the region had similar trajectories to those elsewhere and others didn't, but this is problematised even further by the trends of the 7th century, where sanctuaries as arenas of elite competition seemed to remain the primary location of political activity and the investment of wealth after the neighbouring regions had begun to focus on similar levels of investment within settlements. The notably different trends in the survey of Pheneos and Lousoi add a further complication of geographical difference. Nevertheless, in the south and east of Arcadia, the 6th century does appear to represent a sudden uptake of models provided by their neighbours outside the region.

[606] Østby 2007: 3.

Recent geophysical projects undertaken at some of the Archaic and Classical settlements in Arcadia can also contribute to this discussion. A recent geophysical survey encompassing the urban centres of Heraia and Mantineia along with others in northern Greece, has produced interesting results regarding the internal organisation of these two *poleis*. The survey of Heraia, inhabited certainly since the 6th century at least, indicated a dense cluster of organised streets and buildings.[607] Mantineia was also laid out on an orthogonal plan, though whether this was in use only in the 4th century re-foundation, or in the earlier phase of the *polis*, is unknown.[608] Comparably, excavations at Kyparissia confirm that the site was laid out on an orthogonal plan. Though the dating of this layout is unclear it seems likely to be 5th century though some 6th century pottery indicates the plan may have been in use in this period too.[609] It has also been suggested that from its earliest formation in the mid-6th century Tegea was also laid out on a grid plan.[610] Other examples include Haimoniai, which certainly had a grid plan in the 5th century but may also have had one in the 6th century, and Kyparissia, which was also settled in a grid plan in its mid-5th century *synoikism*.

This suggests, perhaps surprisingly, that a notable proportion of Archaic settlements were orthogonally planned in Arcadia when many other *poleis* in Greece were not. This adds to the arguments against the concept of Archaic settlements in the region being primitive in comparison to those of other regions. Additionally, this spate of grid planning in the late Archaic and early Classical periods, evident at Tegea, Heraia, Haimoniai and Kyparissia and perhaps Mantineia, lend support to the notion above that the changes in Arcadia were not entirely organic, but represented more of a rapid and purposeful change. This does not apply to all Arcadian settlements; for example, Asea's development over the Geometric and Archaic periods does not fit this model, and instead has far more similarities to the gradual development seen elsewhere

[607] Donati et al 2017: 455.
[608] Donati et al 2017: 460.
[609] Karapanagiotou 2005: 240.
[610] Pretzler 2008: 162.

such as in the Southern Argolid. However, at these sites with grid plans, which are numerous enough to indicate a trend, seem instead to represent the rapid and wholesale importation of the model of a polis as an urban settlement.

This is particularly well-evidenced at Tegea, where survey has found no evidence for large sites in the area until the sudden appearance of the town, on a grid plan, in the 6th century. It is perhaps of importance that these rapid and late sites, in particular Tegea and Mantineia, are some of the largest and most influential sites in the area, and were located in the south east of the region, and therefore closer to important neighbours such as Sparta and Argos. An explanation for this correlation does not obviously present itself but will be returned to in the next chapter. This rapid importation of the grid plan lends support to the idea outlined above that after the 7th century, the region began to rapidly regularise its settlement patterns towards those more like those of neighbouring regions, having previously been following more individualistic, less typical patterns. The geophysical survey of Mantineia also revealed that large spaces within the urban limits were left open. Whether these were cultivated, given over to animal husbandry, or simply left for future development, as was suggested by the survey team, is unclear.[611] Whether or not cultivation within the city limits was a more general Greek phenomenon is unclear.

Survey evidence:

The survey evidence and its comparisons to the data from other regions suggests that in the 6th and 5th centuries, the periods for which they provide evidence in any quantities, many settlements in Arcadia were not notably different to elsewhere. As in other regions, hierarchies of settlements formed, either two or three tiered, accompanied by a great increase in the exploitation of the entire hinterland by farmsteads and an increasing articulation of territorial boundaries. One difference of note is that, unlike in some other regions, territorial boundaries

[611] Donati et al 2017: 461.

between the Arcadian *poleis* are not often marked by *horoi* or military installations, but solely by sanctuaries.[612]

The one place where this pattern does not hold is in the area of Pheneos and Lousoi, where the survey instead suggested a number of settlements from the 8th and 7th centuries with no notable increase in the 6th or 5th centuries and no rural farmsteads. Though this may be due to the extensive nature of the survey, it is tempting to ascribe this to a greater emphasis on pastoralism. This is due partly to its location, and partly to the fact that Pikoulas' survey, which was also extensive, and in fact more so, did still spot several farmstead sites. Therefore, a difference between the plains of the east and south of the region and the more mountainous areas is suggested, though further survey projects in more mountainous parts of Arcadia would be necessary to confirm this pattern.

Roy has noted that the communities of Archaic Arcadia were 'distinct and scattered', providing the scope for many different patterns to emerge in interactions and settlement trends.[613] This is borne out by the survey data. From early on, two different models, those of more typical nucleated settlement, such as evidenced by Asea, and of more dispersed settlement which rapidly turned to this more established pattern, such as Tegea, were found throughout the region. Another possibility is demonstrated by the evidence from Pheneos and Lousoi, where a more nucleated pattern which developed, in the Classical period, differently from elsewhere is suggested by the evidence. While differences between the *poleis* of the Southern Argolid and their development certainly existed, and were described in detail in the previous section, those differences were less notable than those found here. Although Arcadia was by no means an undeveloped, backwards region, in many respects it was unusual, particularly earlier on in this period. These differences of settlement pattern can perhaps be tied to what is understood about

[612] One counterpoint, from literary evidence, is Herodotus (8.124.3) refers to the *horoi* between Tegea and Sparta. The border space between Tegea and Sparta, including this and other evidence such as the Alpheios stele, is the subject of more intensive investigation in the next chapter.
[613] Roy 2018: 358.

the social structures of the Archaic Argolid, in particular its groupings into *ethne*. In summary, it appears that Arcadia did experience urbanisation and *polis* formation differently here though had regularised by the 6th century at least in the south and eastern parts. Having seemed to follow a different trajectory in the 7th century, an explanation for the change in 6th century Arcadia must be sought.

Arcadia and Sparta – identity and crisis in the 6th century

Arcadian *ethne* and ethnic identity provide a necessary context for this. Arcadia was noted in antiquity and modern scholarship for its tribal structure. Nielsen has suggested that these Arcadian groupings in their Classical form might have been founded in the early 5th century as a defence mechanism against the acquisitiveness of Sparta.[614]

That the *ethne* of Arcadia were subject to frequent change is inarguable. The Azanian tribe was in existence at least as early as the 8th century and mentioned in later descriptions of the past (e.g. Hdt. 6.127) though it was no longer a functioning group by the Classical period.[615] Similarly, the Parrhasians are certainly pre-5th century, as they appear in the Catalogue of Ships – the only Arcadian tribe to do so. Two *ethne*, the Eutresian and Parrhasian, ceased to function after the *synoikism* of Megalopolis and the Triphylians were not incorporated until the 4th century when large and conspicuous new monumental dedications were made at Delphi to give an impression of age, and therefore legitimacy, to Arcadian Triphylia.[616]

The change most relevant to this question, which occurred during the 5th century, is the creation of the Mainalian *ethne*. As to what social pressure necessitated this creation, the location and Classical history of this *ethnos* are highly suggestive. The Mainalian *ethne* centred on the southern

[614] Nielsen 2002.
[615] Nielsen 1999: 52-5, Morgan 2003: 43.
[616] Morgan 1999a: 416.

part of Arcadia on the areas that bordered on Laconia. It was instrumental in the conflicts between Arcadian communities and Sparta in the later 5th century.[617] Pretzler has detailed the anti-Spartan rhetoric of Tegea in the fifth century. Herodotus's accounts of conflict between the two states (Hdt. 1.66-68, 9.26-28) are presumably taken from local sources of the mid-5th century while at Athena Alea chains allegedly taken from the Spartans were to be seen hanging up in the temple of Athena Alea. While this could simply be the monumentalisation of a long-standing conflict, she notes that this does not fit particularly well with the Tegean loyalty seen at Plataea earlier on in the century.[618] It therefore seems that during the 5th century pressure from Sparta was an increasing presence in the region. Whether or not this was also the case in the 6th century, a key period of change in the region, is more open to question.

Many historical accounts of Arcadia are highly unreliable. As is the case with Messenia, Arcadia is distinct in their historical traditions as the 4th century was a period of time key to the creation of their pasts. This is because the 4th century saw the relief of Spartan pressure on both regions, through the defeat of Sparta at Leuctra in 371 resulting in the foundation of the short-lived Arcadian Confederacy and the liberation of Messenia.[619] However, Arcadia is mentioned in Herodotus and Thucydides as well which are far more reliable sources. From these we learn about the conflict between Sparta and Tegea, and the Peloponnesian League, both dating to the 6th century.[620]

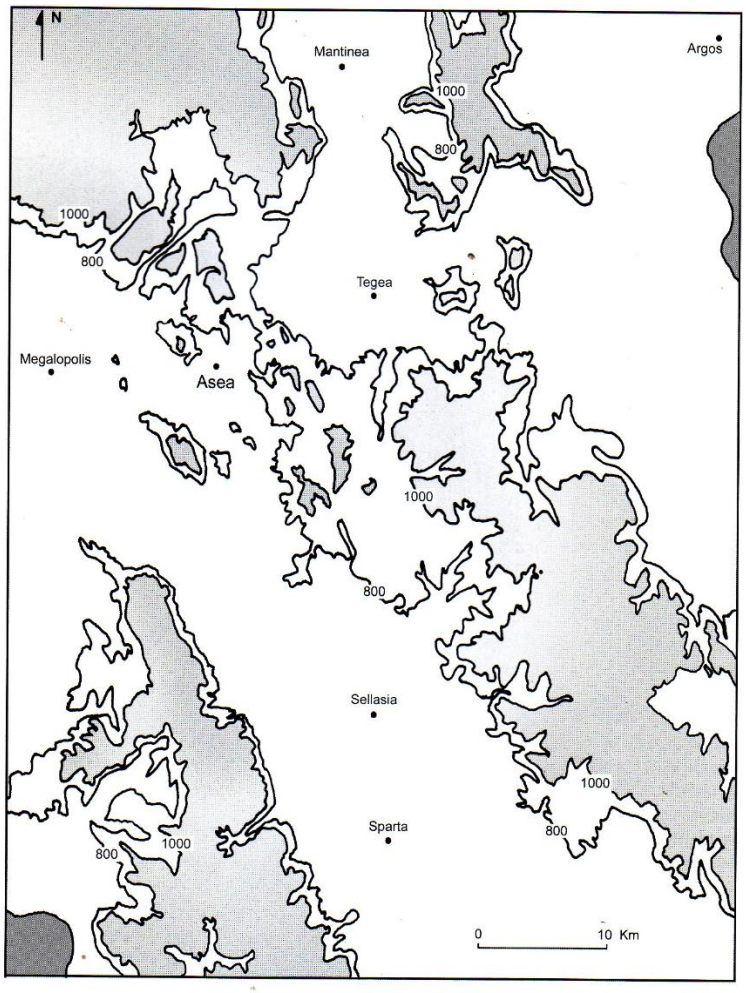
Spartan aggression has been linked to the archaeology of Arcadia before. The preponderance of temple building in the east and south east of the region is linked to the aggressive expansion of its neighbour Sparta suggesting that more formal political organizations are formed to combat this threat of which temples are a physical outlet.[621] This does perhaps indicate that at least in

[617] Forsén 2000: 52-3.
[618] Pretzler 1999: 104.
[619] Nielsen 1999: 36.
[620] Nielsen 1999: 37.
[621] Voyatzis 1999: 152.

the east and south there is a general movement towards grouping and *polis* formation which may be strongly related to Sparta. However, Sparta is always presented as the aggressor and the superior power in these conflicts, a position that is difficult to maintain.

Tegea was the victor in its early conflict with Sparta, as preserved in Hdt. 1.65ff. The other evidence for Spartan domination is the membership of many Arcadian communities, from the 6th century onwards, of the Peloponnesian League.[622] By the 4th century, the Spartan hegemony of the Peloponnesian League was certainly an oppressive one. However, while this has been assumed to be the case from the start, Nielsen has recently argued that in the 6th century at least this may not have been the case. The possible existence of the league assembly which had to ratify its decisions before they could be enacted seems to be one obvious check on Sparta's power.[623] Nielsen also noted that there is no reliable evidence of Spartan interference in Tegean affairs until the mid-5th century (Hdt. 9.35.2). It is therefore very possible that Sparta was not quite so oppressive towards its neighbours to the north until some way into the Classical period.

[622] Pretzler 2009: 86; de Ste Croix 1972: 97.
[623] Nielsen 1996: 87.



(Ill. 31: A map of the relative positions of some members of the Peloponnesian League)[624]

The straightforwardness of ascribing *polis* formation in Arcadia to Spartan threats is therefore too simplistic as has been noted before by Morgan, who argued the 6th century monumentalisation of the sanctuaries in Tegean territory as a response to Spartan hostility, but emphasised that this demarcation of territory could also indicate the exploitation of opportunities offered by location on a crucial border and that, far from seeing Tegea as vulnerable and marginal to its large neighbour, it was clearly a wealthy place, and as much of a threat to Sparta as Sparta was to it.[625]

[624] Illustration taken from Forsén and Forsén 2003: 14.
[625] Morgan 1999a: 396-7.

The Laconia survey provides the closest chronological counterpoint to the picture provided by the Asea Valley survey, as, just as Asea, like many other parts of the region, was consolidating its territory and increasing its exploitation in the late Archaic, Sparta was doing the same. As detailed in the following chapter, the Laconia survey team noted that the Late Archaic saw the sudden growth of farmsteads in the previously empty survey area, along with the creation of the *perioikic* community Sellasia, and a new fortress.[626] Though Sparta undoubtedly controlled at least parts of Messenia before this, the changes in the hinterland of the *polis* itself suggest that it was also developing its hold on its territory, a part that was very close to Tegea, in the 6th century. This lends weight to the idea that the threat was mutual, and not part of Sparta's relentless overpowering of its neighbours. The lack of evidence for serious conflict between Sparta and Arcadia before the mid/late-6th century, as well as apparent lack of Arcadian anxiety regarding its neighbour until the Classical period perhaps lend support to the idea set out in the chapter in Laconia and Messenia that Spartan control of the Peloponnese was far less marked before the late-6th and 5th centuries than is generally argued.

It is also perhaps surprising, given the level of acceptance that narratives of Argos as aggressively expansionist during parts of this period have gained, that there is no corresponding sense of threat to Tegea, Mantineia or Orchomenos, which bordered on the Argive plain, again lending support to the idea put forward elsewhere in this thesis that this too has been overstated in modern scholarship. This is not, though to downplay the evidence for hostility between Sparta and Arcadia during the 6th and 5th centuries, merely to reframe this hostility as a less one-sided conflict, and to counter an over-emphasis on Sparta as the dominant aggressor, a position that is possibly influenced by our knowledge of Sparta's position and might in the Classical period.

Herodotus, writing about events not too distant from living memory, provides an important example. At 1.68, he notes a particular conflict between Tegea and Sparta during the mid-6th

[626] See Chapter 2, following Cavanagh 2002a.

century and continues to explain that since that time, Sparta had been superior to Tegea in subsequent conflicts.[627] This demonstrates that conflict did indeed continue between the two sites after this date and that questions of Spartan hegemony remained unsettled, despite Sparta's successes in subsequent conflicts. This Herodotean passage also indicates that before this conflict, Sparta was not dominant, a point of importance for the next chapter.

Cawkwell has also noted that in the late 6th and early 5th centuries, a large and overtly hegemonic league would not even have been necessary as our evidence for interactions in the area of the league indicates a focus on relatively minor, local border disputes and political strife.[628] Herodotus (Hdt. 6.74) also describes, from around this period, Cleomenes' activity in Arcadia, describing him uniting the Arcadians against Sparta and trying to bind their leading men to him by oath at Nonakris, a dependent *polis* within the territory of Pheneos. We are also told that this alarmed the Spartans greatly, so much so that they brought him back to rule in Sparta (Hdt. 6.75). There are two significant points here, firstly that even parts of the region that were not directly near to Sparta, such as Pheneos, were involved, but perhaps more importantly here that a united Arcadia was seen as a genuine and potentially catastrophic threat to Sparta. Therefore, even though strife between the two regions was an important factor in this period, we should not overstate Sparta's hegemony within this region or this conflict at this point in time.

Summary

The changes between the 8th and the 6th centuries at Arcadia were complex. As elsewhere in the Peloponnese, and at odds with traditional interpretations of the region, it saw intense social change during these centuries.

[627] Also noted by Roy 2018: 358.
[628] Cawkwell 1993: 376.

In the southern and eastern plains the 6th century was a crux point of change. Communities which had previously diverged from common practices through their continued focus on sanctuaries became far more like their neighbours, articulating a new level of control over and exploitation of their territories. The temples provide other evidence of increasing interaction between the Arcadian *poleis*, of an economic kind. The late Archaic Agios Elias temple at Asea has been noted for the extraordinary level of investment into it. It was the largest temple entirely built of stone in Arcadia (a local limestone foundation with a superstructure of Doliana marble), until the mid-4th century temple at Tegea surpassed it. The use of Doliana marble at Asea is particularly remarkable, as it was uphill from the quarry while Tegea is downhill.[629] Roy similarly discussed the increase in the use of Doliana marble in the 6th century noting that it was transported further from its source and suggesting that developments in the road network at this time were to facilitate its movement.[630] Away from the south and east regions of Arcadia which are in closer contact with, and more geographically similar to, the rest of Greece than much of the rest of Arcadia, different patterns of settlement are suggested by the survey data.

Many sanctuaries and some settlements have produced evidence for the 8th century, although there was generally an increase in the amount of material in the 7th. This is most notable through the start of a phase of temple construction in the late 7th century at many major cult sites, indicating a growing sense of community coherence and identity. In many respects, the settlement pattern in this period was at odds with other nearby regions such as the Southern Argolid, as it was more dispersed. However, other areas such as Asea were not particularly different from those found in neighbouring regions. The reasons for this variation in pattern within Arcadia are not clear. From the 6th century, drastic developments and changes occurred at both types of settlements. At Asea, a large expansion in the form of secondary and tertiary

[629] Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999: 187, although n.b. they argue that the small size of Asea rendered it unlikely that the temple was built and financed by that *polis* alone, and hypothesise it was a sanctuary for the entire of the Mainalian tribe.
[630] Roy 2002: 322ff.

settlements occurred, coinciding with a major expansion at the urban settlement and the creation of a sanctuary there. This newly inhabited territory was also marked by the foundation of several smaller sanctuaries seemingly delineating the borders of Asea. Meanwhile, at sites that had previously been dispersed, the 6th and 5th centuries were marked by rapid, well-planned nucleation. In both cases, the 6th century marked a new phase of territoriality, either through the increased exploitation of the wider territory and its new delineation by border sanctuaries, or, elsewhere, through the first nucleation of major urban centres. By the Classical period, the different parts of this region were, in terms of settlement strategies, far more similar to one another than they had previously been; they were also more similar to those of neighbouring regions than they had been even just a century earlier.

In many ways, the 6th century is a departure from the 7th, perhaps prompted by new levels of interaction with, and pressure from, neighbouring settlements and regions as *poleis* solidified their territories. This departure was quite a drastic one, in particular in those *poleis*, such as Tegea, which went from a dispersed settlement pattern to an urban centre with a grid plan very swiftly. For other areas, though, the developments of the 6th century, while still drastic changes indicating a new and stronger relationship with the territory surrounding the urban centre, were in keeping with those of other parts of the wider region. Asea is the clearest example of this. Historical evidence from Herodotean accounts of 6th century history and from recent interpretations of *ethne* in Arcadia both suggest a certain degree of anxiety regarding Sparta and their borders with, and control by, that *polis*. Although such major shifts in settlement patterns are not likely to be wholly explained by a single cause, the physical evidence from survey and excavation does not disagree with this as a major contributing factor, and this explanation fits well with the particular nature and date of the changes seen, as well as the *poleis* involved, in particular Tegea. The Arcadian side of this regional boundary saw many developments in the 6th century. The Spartan side of it comprised one of the most complex and unusual regions in Greece, and one that saw many territorial changes during this period, as the next chapter details.

Laconia and Messenia

Introduction

As elsewhere in this thesis, this chapter focuses on survey data. It aims to use the evidence it provides of broad, large-scale changes and trends across a wide area, in conjunction with material from excavations, to better understand socio-political changes during the Archaic and Early Classical period. That question is more complex here for a number of reasons, both theoretical and evidential. On the one hand, Laconia and Messenia are unusually well covered by survey projects. A larger area of it has been surveyed than other regions, by many different projects, one of which is the most detailed and fully published of all the projects considered in this thesis.[631] On the other hand, our understanding of the region has been strongly influenced from its beginning by historically-derived narratives about the nature of Archaic Spartan society and the state. For a number of reasons, these narratives are highly problematic.

Modern Narratives of Archaic Sparta

It is therefore necessary to go through these well-trodden historical narratives as briefly as possible in order to problematise and discard them. A typical historically-lead view of Sparta was, and largely remains, that it was inherently different from other *poleis* and from the rest of the Greek world from its earliest days due to its unique social organisation centred on communal life and large-scale exploitation of slaves, on whom its Archaic and Classical supremacy rested. These slaves, called *helots*, were unfree farmers in Laconia and primarily Messenia whose labour on *kleroi* (little-understood plots of land) liberated the Spartiates, the citizen body of Sparta, from any concerns of subsistence.[632] Also comprising the wider society of the region were the *perioikoi*,

[631] The Laconia Survey Project.
[632] E.g. Lukermann and Moody 1978: 95; Eder 2003: 111; Shipley 2006: 52; Figueira 2018: 567, 72; Figueira 2018: 566-7.

semi-autonomous peoples whose *poleis* and other communities were obliged to follow Spartan foreign policy.[633] While these interpretations of the social organisation of Laconia and Messenia *may* be accurate, the focus modern scholarship places on these concepts has been detrimental to the study of the region. Furthermore, the accuracy of our current understandings of these terms themselves is questionable.

It is firstly important to acknowledge that in some ways it is easier for an archaeologist to engage with the historical discourse surrounding Sparta than for many other regions of Greece. This is because historians of Sparta have taken an increasingly critical perspective to their evidence,[634] and because such historical and synthetic studies that are currently published have already engaged heavily with the archaeology of the region, in a way that historical works on other important *poleis* such as Argos have not.[635] Nevertheless, these sceptical approaches have not gone far enough.

While many details of the orthodoxies about Archaic and Classical Sparta have been radically revised, questioned and even entirely undermined, this does not go far enough regarding the organisation and origin of the Spartan state, a term to be discussed in its own right below. This is because despite this increasingly sceptical approach, the core institutions present in the narrative accounts, e.g. the origins and status of *helots* and *kleroi* are still a focus of discussion. Some argue that the highly dubious evidence pertaining to these concepts contains reliable kernels of historical truth.[636] However, as explained below, such kernels of truth are virtually impossible to distinguish from fiction, and the high degree of focus placed on reconstructing these institutions,

[633] Dawkins 1929; Fitzhardinge 1980; Forrest 1980; Cartledge 2002: 3; Ducat 2008; Hodkinson 2018: 29.
[634] One key example being Kennell 1995; Flower 2002; Figueira 2016 and Powell 2018: 13. and others on the concept of the Spartan Mirage.
[635] E.g. Tomlinson 1972 on Argos, still one of the main syntheses of the region and is extremely reliant on later historical accounts. For a notable exception, see Hall 1995 on the Argive Heraion.
[636] The main exception being Luraghi e.g. 2008.

known from later literary evidence, has unfairly pulled focus from other approaches that can be taken to Archaic Spartan society and the state, and the wider region of Laconia and Messenia.

Problematising Historical Sources

The problems with Spartan historical sources alluded to above are endemic. Our main narrative account for the early history of Sparta is Pausanias' Books 3 and 4, although their reliability was severely criticised from a relatively early time.[637] Plutarch, another main, late source, is mired with similar problems of distance from the events discussed and unreliable evidence. He also presents internally inconsistent arguments, for example he gives two different models of *kleros* apportioning that are incompatible with one another.[638] This criticism has crept ever backwards towards even the Classical sources. The reliability of these earlier sources is called into question for two main related problems; the Spartan invention of their own past, and the creation of Sparta as a philosophical construct by non-Spartan writers from the 5th century onwards.[639] Their invention and modification of their past, the so-called 'Spartan Mirage' alluded to in the general introduction, was one of the ways the Spartans themselves legitimised changes. This can be seen in the examples of the Great Rhetra and the mythical figure Lycurgus.

The Great Rhetra was once interpreted as a sort of charter but is now often thought to be a reproduction of an invented ancient oracle, perhaps the one reportedly given to Lycurgus, the mythical ancient Spartan lawgiver, by the Pythia in Hdt. 1.65. In the form in which it is preserved it does not actually mention Lycurgus.[640] Its contents have been noted as suspicious. In contrast to genuine Archaic laws, highly specific in detail and often religious in nature, much of the Rhetra is a broad, sweeping document. It is perhaps to be interpreted not as the marker for the start of

[637] E.g. Starr 1965; McDonald and Rapp 1972: 81.
[638] Plut. Lyc. 8.3.16, Agis 5.1-2. Noted by Lewis 2018: 127.
[639] Murray 1990: 9; Kennell 1995: 98-114; Hodkinson 1997b: 44; Flower 2002.
[640] Nafissi 2018: 98.

the new constitution but as an example of its mythologizing within Sparta.[641] However, the Rhetra exemplifies one of the main issues of interpretation that historians face, that of working out when additions and amendments were made. A typical attitude to the Rhetra is that parts of it are likely to be authentic, and that, despite the serious problems of reliability and dating, it is still a valid tool for the study of Archaic Sparta.[642] While this may be true, it is difficult to see how, without objective comparisons to test the various assertions of the Rhetra, it is possible to distinguish fact from fiction. Because of this belief in its historicity, many have compared its contents to that of the fragmentary evidence of Tyrtaios and later, e.g. Herodotean, understandings of the institutions of the state and tried to reconstruct phases of change from this.[643] However, the fragments of Tyrtaios that are used for comparison are highly fragmentary and the historicity of the Great Rhetra is highly dubious, making any conclusions based on these comparisons highly questionable. The role of Lycurgus is equally problematic. As has been noted a synthetic history of Spartan institutions is extremely difficult if not impossible to write as changes, constantly occurring, were simply ascribed to the mythical figure Lycurgus.[644] The traditions of early lawgivers such as Lycurgus or Solon have recently begun to be understood more in the vein of oral tradition, with common literary motifs crossing stories.[645]

Furthermore, our contemporary sources for Sparta unlike Athens are generally written by outsiders,[646] exacerbating these concerns as well as raising the likelihood that certain matters or customs may simply have been misunderstood. Even assuming that our Classical sources are correct in their understanding of *contemporary* Sparta, recent historical works have emphasised that we cannot necessarily backdate the institutions they describe even into the 6th century, let

[641] Nafissi 2010: 104-10.
[642] E.g. Cartledge 2002: 113.
[643] E.g. Nafissi 2018: 99 and Van Wees 2009 on the differences between Tyrtaios and the Rhetra, particularly regarding the *basileia* and the *gerousia*.
[644] Flower 2002: 192. Although some, e.g. Hodkinson 1997b: 46 have taken a more balanced view, suggesting that the system at its core came to be some time during the Archaic period, but was added to and adapted over the 5th century and beyond.
[645] Flower 2002; Nafissi 2018: 94.
[646] Hodkinson 2018: 32.

alone the 7th and the 8th. Even Herodotus, our earliest narrative account, sees developments in the context of the threat of Persia as ancient institutions.[647] These developments can be understood as an invention of tradition. The early 4th century phase of Spartan imperialism, followed by the liberation of Messenia, was a period of intense conflict and transformation, the perfect environment for the invention of the past to flourish, an invention which, just as the Hellenistic one, would have influenced Pausanias.[648] For example, the entire Spartan *agoge* is probably a post-Classical creation as it does not appear in sources before the 3rd century.[649] However, the invention of tradition also took place in the Classical period and earlier. Particular customs such as the ban on crafts, wife sharing, and the *krypteia*, do not necessarily predate the 5th century, and may be responses to specifically 5th century pressures, such as the increasing mistrust of *helots* in the wake of the 460s.[650] One final problem is the famous Spartan propensity for lying. Thuc. 5.68.2 notes the difficulties which face those who want to learn some details about Sparta, due to her remarkable secrecy. Powell has recently emphasised, though, another aspect; the numerous instances recorded of Spartans lying to outsiders and to other Spartans.[651] Beyond these more general points, there are further specific criticisms of the historically-known socio-political categories and events that most closely pertain to the subject studied here.

The Messenian Conquest

It is undeniable that by the 5th century, Messenia was under the control of Sparta, a situation well evidenced by contemporary literary evidence. This relationship was highly unusual and therefore the study of the period and exact nature of this takeover is one of great interest and relevance to this thesis. However, the literary evidence that has been the focus of these studies does not stand

[647] Hodkinson 1997b: 46. He cites Hdt. 7.102-4, 7.134-6, 7.228.
[648] Hodkinson 1997b: 45; Cartledge 2002: 66.
[649] Kennell 1995; Ducat 2006.
[650] Hodkinson 1997b: 45; Flower 2002.
[651] Powell 2018: 8. He cites Thuc. 4.80.2-4, Xen. Hellenica 1.6.36-7, 4.3.13-14.

up well to scrutiny, and has been called 'poor' and 'dispiriting'.[652] Only one pre-Classical reference remains, which is by no means clear. Although it has been used to attempt to date this conflict precisely, the evidence is the phrase 'fathers of our fathers', whom Theopompus led to victory in Messene, which is highly ambiguous (Tyrtaios Fr. 5).[653] On this basis, the conquest of Messenia has been dated to somewhere between 750 and 700.[654] Importantly, it is also not entirely clear what area is being referred to. It is by no means certain that to Tyrtaios Messene is the entire region of Messenia as we understand it, rather than, for example, the Pamisos Valley. For example, in the Odyssey (Od. 21.13ff) Messene certainly refers to a single *polis*.[655] It is therefore possible that Tyrtaios used Messene to refer to the 8th century settlement, the remains of which were found under the Messene founded in the 4th century, and not to a much wider region.[656] The idea that there had been a coherent region called Messenia comprising the area west of the Taygetus, all the way across to the coast, during the Archaic period appears to have formed by the later 5th century as Thucydides (Thuc. 4.3.2, 4.41.2) seems to assume that everything west of the Taygetus is Messenia in his descriptions of the location of Pylos,[657] but it is not clear if this definition can be assumed for earlier writing. It is therefore important to bear in mind that the Messene of Tyrtaios is a nebulous concept which could refer to the actual site of Messene and its immediate surroundings, or the entire region later considered Messenia, or some point in between these two extremes. Therefore, our literary evidence for early Laconian expansion into the wider region of Messenia is extremely limited and vague.

These uncertainties have led scholars to interpolate events not present in the literary evidence. For example, Van Wees has suggested similarly that there were multiple Messenian Wars because Theopompus' conquests did not extend to all of Messenia, but that the Laconian

[652] Cartledge 2002: 98.
[653] Luraghi 2003: 111.
[654] Figueira 2018: 566.
[655] Luraghi 2003: 112.
[656] Luraghi 2008: 77.
[657] Luraghi 2003: 121.

occupation of the region was extended by later activity.[658] Figueira has discussed the slow start of this process in the form of Laconian raiding of Messenian territories in the 8th century, which perhaps led to the grants of land to Laconian elites in Messenia and Laconia.[659] The most serious blow of all to this literary evidence has been the recognition of the so-called 'Messenian Mirage' particularly by Luraghi.[660] He has most firmly rejected the practice of extracting historical kernels out of the early Messenian historical traditions, arguing convincingly that as all of our narrative accounts for the conquest of Messenia post-date the 4th century liberation of that region, that are steeped in the political agendas of that time, as Messenia tried to write its place in the region's historical traditions.[661] The mid to late 4th century works of Ephorus and Theopompus, both key sources to the surviving accounts such as Strabo and Pausanias are most notable in this, inventing historical Messenian heroes wholesale.[662] Luraghi also notes with deep suspicion that the later an account of this early history is, the more detailed its narrative, and the more problematic their own sources are. [663] For example, Pausanias, the main source on early Messenian history, based his accounts largely on those of Myron and Rhianus who are both also late and contradictory. Finally, and most problematically of all, he emphasises that even the earliest 5th century source on Messenian enslavement, Thucydides (Thuc. 1.101.2) is couched within, and linked to, an account of the 5th century helot revolt.[664] The literary evidence on the conquest of Messenia is, therefore, deeply mired by several problems. It is written almost entirely centuries later, with strong political agendas in mind, and is otherwise so fragmentary that it is open to wildly different interpretation.

[658] Van Wees 2003: 35.
[659] Figueira 2003: 222; Figueira 2018: 571.
[660] In particular Luraghi 2008.
[661] Lurgahi 2008: 105-6.
[662] Luraghi 2003: 127.
[663] Luraghi 2008: 83.
[664] Luraghi 2008: 100, a point also made by Harrison and Spencer 1998: 152-4.

Helots

As mentioned above, *helots* were slaves who supported the Spartiates but the very nature, let alone the origins of *helotry*, are also hotly debated. This is a discussion intertwined with, and facing the same evidential problems as, the Messenian conquest. Even early evidence that touches tangentially on the origins of the Helots (Thuc 1.101.2) contains a certain degree of ambiguous conflation between Messenians and *helots*. Furthermore, they are only discussed in history with reference to Spartan events or policies. As for interest in their origins, the earliest evidence we have is late, such as Hellanikos (FGrH 4F 188). The literary accounts of their origins from the 5th and 4th centuries are contradictory and seem to be largely rooted in contemporary concerns and events. Generally, though they present *helots* as prisoners of war, reduced in status, or from marginal communities.[665] The faith that has been placed in the factual accuracy of these late accounts has been criticised due to the politically charged times in which these were written especially during the 4th century.[666]

Instead of one single event leading to the creation of the *helot* class a range of factors may instead explain it including conquest but also common methods such as purchase and debt bondage. Their organisation even in the Classical period is highly debatable. While some favour the concept of mass enslavement and a unified work programme, it has also been recently argued that in fact even in the Classical period the contemporary evidence for this group of people suggests they were private slaves, in the private ownership of Spartans.[667] Hodkinson similarly notes they belong to particular Spartiates, although there are rules about sharing them.[668]

The literary evidence about the origins, ethnic identity, and status of *helots*, is vague and confused. Despite their importance to the historical discussions of this period, *helots* will not

[665] Figueira 2018: 569.
[666] Luraghi 2008; Figueira 2018: 569.
[667] Lewis 2018: 144-6.
[668] Hodkinson 2000.

feature prominently in this work. This is partly due to the problems outlined above. However, it is also because the minutiae of the distinctions to be drawn between a *helot* and a slave, debt bondsman, or poor free man are not at all likely to present themselves in survey or even excavated evidence. Instead, this chapter seeks to look at more generalised evidence for and patterns of subjugation and control.

Perioikoi

Similarly, another component of Laconian and Messenian society were the *perioikoi,* a mysterious group who were socially different from Spartiates and *helots*, and have been the subject of less scholarly consideration than those other categories.[669] These people also lived in the wider region of Laconia, and in some parts of Messenia, without being Spartiates. This was not the only part of the Peloponnese with *perioikoi*,[670] but it was the one where *perioikoi* were most prominent in ancient literature and modern study. However, Shipley has also noted that we have no idea who *perioikoi* were; whether they were previous inhabitants of the area conquered by Sparta or not, nor do we have any idea when this status was taken on by the people who held it during the Classical period.[671] As with the *helots*, the focus of this chapter will not be directly on this *perioikic* identity. Instead, it will focus on investigating the developments at the urban centres and within the survey areas in these parts of the region in their own right, and only then relating these developments to wider questions of territoriality and Spartan control.

In sum, the current place that literary accounts hold in our narratives of Archaic Sparta, its development, and the nature of the state, is far too central. Even given the particularly sceptical

[669] The main exception being Shipley e.g. 1997, 2006.
[670] Andrewes 1990: 171-175 discusses the presence of *perioikoi* at Argos, as indicated by Aristotle Pol 1393a2-10, but negated perhaps by Hdt 7.148 which recalls the same incident in Argive history with reference not to *perioikoi* but slaves. Xenophon HG 3.2.23 seems to imply the presence of Elean *perioikoi* too, suggesting that *perioikoi* are not necessarily a Spartan peculiarity that must be explained away, but a not uncommon feature of Peloponnesian society.
[671] Shipley 2006: 67.

approach that historians of Sparta take to their source material, this scepticism does not go far enough, nor has this scepticism led to sufficiently ahistorical approaches to Sparta to develop instead. Every historical fact about this period is either highly tenuous due to the reliability of the evidence, or is too fragmentary or fleeting to use as the basis of broader arguments about Archaic Sparta. While some aspects of these sources may be reliable, it lacks a more objective, factual yardstick against which to measure it. Furthermore, and more importantly, this focus has pulled attention unduly away from the copious physical evidence for the region. The ahistorical approach adopted below is not driven by the lack of reliable historical evidence, but because there is a large amount of archaeological, in particular survey, evidence here that has not been used to its fullest potential. The approach taken in the preceding chapters of this thesis demonstrate that, with the usual caveats, this evidence can stand on its own and present alternative narratives of change in the Archaic period. It would additionally provide something of a yardstick to measure these narratives of change within Laconia and Messenia.

The Concept of the Spartan State

As alluded to in the preamble, this area, Laconia and Messenia, is particularly unusual in the Classical period due to its size and its unusual social make up. Examining how this arose is a vital aspect of understanding the developments within the region during the Archaic period and earlier. It also means that the usual questions of territorial development and of borders faced in other parts of the Peloponnese exist here on a larger and more complex scale.

Sparta controlled an unprecedentedly large two fifths of the entire Peloponnese during the 5th century (Thuc. 1.10, describing contemporary Sparta); and was an extremely powerful force within Greece from the 6th century until 371 BC, when her defeat at Leuctra diminished her both geographically and politically. But how and when this came to be are actually by no means certain. Not only was her size notable, but her social structure was so unusual and her position

so dominant that Sparta was the only Greek community that Herodotus wrote an ethnography of in his sweeping discussion of the known world. How she rose to this position is the subject of ongoing debate,[672] as is the question of how exactly we should consider Sparta's position, even in the comparatively well-evidenced Classical period.

While the state is a term that relates complexly to the *polis*, as detailed in the introduction, this is amplified in the case of Sparta where the ambiguity of the 'city-state' in particular falls under a microscope, due in part to this unusual size. How well our usual understanding of a *polis* as an urban centre with a hinterland fits with the very large region of Laconia and Messenia, and the existence of numerous other *poleis* within this region, is a highly problematic topic. What models of the state fit with this situation is already a subject of debate. Some see the Spartan state as a relatively straightforward example of a core, the urban centre of Sparta itself, surrounded by a periphery of the greater region of Laconia and Messenia.[673] However, this raises questions particularly regarding the status of people who lived in the other poleis of this region, as it suggests they belonged to two *poleis*,[674] or that they are at least partially disenfranchised citizens,[675] both of which would be highly unusual situations. Others are more sceptical of this model,[676] suggesting a more complex, federal system with a wider state in some sense, within which there are separate *poleis*.[677] Ducat similarly denies the existence of a single Lakedaimonian city-state encompassing Laconia and Messenia, while acknowledging there is a Lakedaimonian territory,[678] and that it resembles a federal state made up of several different *poleis* but

[672] E.g. Cartledge 2002; Flower 2002; Cartledge 2003; Hall 2003; Luraghi 2003; Shipley 2006; Luraghi 2008; Nafissi 2017; Figueira 2018; Powell 2018a.
[673] Cartledge 1988: 39-43.
[674] Ducat 2010: 188.
[675] Ducat 2010: 183.
[676] E.g. Shipley 2006: 52, Ducat 2010: 183ff.
[677] Shipley 2006: 58 who makes the important point that in the aftermath of the Copenhagen Polis Project the existence of these dependent *poleis* within a wider grouping of some sort, with Sparta at the head, would not be a unique situation except for the scale on which it happened in Laconia.
[678] Ducat 2010: 189 references for this Xenophon writing about contemporary Sparta (Xen. LP 13.2) where he refers to Spartan kings crossing the boundary out of Lakedaimonian territory, indicating that at least in this later period there were formal boundaries denoting the wider area of Laconia as belonging to Sparta, despite the existence of other *poleis* within this area.

dominated by one member.[679] On the other hand, this too seems problematic as there is no overall federal body or common place of cult as we might expect.[680]

As well as being currently unresolved, these questions of the nature of the Spartan state do not contribute much to the narrative of how and when this state came into being. The archaeological evidence would help to settle some of these questions. While it cannot inform us of the ways that the Spartiates or *perioikoi* conceptualised the duality of their place within the wider region of Laconia, as members of both their individual communities and this wider entity, it can illuminate more practical issues. For example, it can illuminate which model between core/periphery and a more decentralised, federal state fits better with the evidence. It can also aid the discussion of when this state, of whatever sort it was, came to be, whether this was a single or multi-phase process of expansion, and provide some insights into some of the basic differences of settlement structure in different parts of the wider Spartan state.

Archaeological evidence has already been shown to provide the necessary details to investigate the state. Shipley, whose focus was the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, looked at the territory area by area using site and survey data and synthesising it to form a broader narrative for change to the make-up and nature of the Spartan state.[681] While he also had contemporary and extensive literary evidence at his disposal for these periods, the general principle of archaeological synthesis suggested here and employed by him should nevertheless provide broad descriptions and narratives of change.

[679] Ducat 2010: 189.
[680] Ducat 2010: 200-201.
[681] Shipley 2000 particularly pg. 368.

An Archaeological Approach

Despite the many problems narrative evidence raises, it is a frequently and solidly attested fact that in the Late Archaic and Classical periods, Sparta had an unusually large area of influence and control.[682] The exact nature of this influence, and when this situation arose, is of great relevance to the general subject of this thesis, and is a topic that can be understood through the study of the excavated and surveyed material from Laconia and Messenia.

While survey has been used in discussion of Archaic Sparta several times,[683] particularly regarding the social structure and level of freedom of *helots*, and about whether the details of *helotry* differed by location within Messenia, this type of evidence is not particularly well suited to social questions of identity, such as designating an area as a *kleros*, or discerning *helots* as opposed to other types of inhabitant. Conversely, it is particularly well suited to investigating broad patterns of settlement, use and perhaps control over large areas and periods of time. Despite this, there has not yet been a synthetic study of the sites and surveyed areas in this region which looks at Archaic developments in this way.

There are, as usual, some limitations and problems regarding the archaeological evidence. The issues of the extent, type and reliability of evidence which apply to all regions are especially pertinent in Laconia and Messenia. Archaeological investigation of the key sites of these regions has been somewhat patchy and hampered, Sparta in particular has not been subject to as much excavation, as its great importance in history would suggest it deserves,[684] due mostly to modern inhabitation of the site. The archaeological study of Messenia at large has suffered from a focus on its Bronze Age heyday, and from the assumptions both explicit and implicit that there is little of interest in Messenia under Spartan rule.[685] Of the *perioikic poleis*, only Geraki (ancient Geronthrai) has been the subject of extensive excavations. There are, however, an unusually high

[682] E.g. Thuc. 1.10.2, 4.80, Hdt. 8.28.
[683] Hodkinson 1992; Harrison and Spencer 1998; Luraghi and Alcock 2003.
[684] Cartledge 2002: 7.
[685] Alcock 2002: 190.

number of survey projects for both regions which cumulatively cover a larger percentage of this region than anywhere else. However, several of the surveys have only been published in the form of preliminary reports. Of the nine surveys discussed here, only four are intensive. Only three of these intensive surveys have been published in their final form, of which one did not place much emphasis on the study of the Archaic period. Though extensive surveys are extremely useful for providing information on main sites, and presenting a broad picture of finds that is otherwise missing, particularly regarding roads and sanctuaries, it is impossible to use these extensive surveys to make conclusions about settlement patterns because they are more likely to miss material. For example, they focus on large sites and sanctuaries, but miss small rural sites, therefore presenting an incorrect picture of the settlement hierarchy and how it might change over time.

However, these problems are no more severe than for the other areas examined here, and do not negate the fact that this is a large, varied body of evidence that is not currently being exploited to the full. This chapter therefore aims to examine and synthesise the surveys and key excavated sites across Laconia and Messenia in order to move past particular historical concerns and investigate the broad, long-term narratives of change, centred around the development of the Spartan state, a problematic but important concept.

Research Questions

The same questions apply here as to the Southern Argolid and Arcadia – what do the surveys, when contextualised with evidence from excavations, tell us about the development of the urban centres and wider territories of the region from c. 800-500? What are the key phases of development, and what is the nature of these changes?

Due to the size and complexity of this region, this chapter will examine the sites and surveys individually and then by region in order to elucidate broad narratives of territorial use and the

change this underwent across the period to draw conclusions and facilitate comparisons and synthesis across the wider region of Laconia and Messenia. This will enable several questions to be tackled. Firstly, what does excavation and survey tell us about the patterns of living across this region, both at Sparta and elsewhere? Are they uniform or do local variations exist? Crucially, what does this evidence tell us about the nature and development of the Spartan state? Is 'state' an appropriate term? If so, what model does it most closely adhere to? Are there indications of when Sparta took control of her neighbours, and does this evidence provide us with any insights into the nature of this control? Does the evidence from *perioikic* areas provide insight into the nature of these communities, whether they appear to be simply dependent poleis in a federal state of some kind, or whether they are more closely controlled? Thirdly and more briefly, how do the conclusions from a detailed, synthetic study of the surveys of the region relate to the recent trends in historical studies of the same area?

Catalogue of Sites

Short summaries of the key finds from sites are summarised here by region, first Messenia and then Laconia. This catalogue is highly selective due to limitations of space, and only those that present the most pertinent evidence to the topic studied here are included. The contents of each entry too are highly selective along the same lines.

Messenia

The sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis: This important border sanctuary was located on Mount Taygetos between Laconia and Messenia near Volimnos. It was on a major junction of roads between Laconia, Messenia and Arcadia, and crucially was on the main route from Laconia to the

Messenian plain.[686] The earliest votives dated from the 8th century, and use of the site continued into the Hellenistic period. Many of the votives were bronze figurines and pins from the 8th to 5th centuries, indicating a sanctuary of some importance.[687] It was not clear who controlled this sanctuary, particularly at its earliest phase. The excavator hypothesised that it began as a meeting point for elites from both peoples in the area,[688] and noted that it wasn't clear whether or not this was a Spartan foundation.[689]

Messene: The *polis* Messene was founded after Leuctra and remained an important site in the region through the Hellenistic period and later. However, excavations in the late 80s and early 90s revealed Geometric pottery around the later temple of Asklepios, in modern Mavromati, and in the *naiskos* of Artemis Orthia.[690] This suggested that the site was also in use in the 8th century, though its extent is extremely unclear. This was possibly the Messene mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships (Il. 2.582).[691]

Nichoria: This was a significant EIA site best known for its Geometric leader's house. Nichoria was abandoned in the mid-8th century, an act that has been linked by some to Spartan aggression.[692] Continued inhabitation for the late 8th century is demonstrated by the burials, which include iron weapons and bronze bowls, indicating some degree of prosperity.[693] Antonaccio also suggested that, as the entire ridge has not been excavated thoroughly, it is by no means certain that the site was actually abandoned in the late 8th century, the current hypothesis suggested by the evidence.[694]

[686] Koursoumis 2014: 191.
[687] Koursoumis 2014: 201.
[688] Koursoumis 2014: 193.
[689] Koursoumis 2014: 218.
[690] Luraghi 2003: 42.
[691] Shipley 1997: 253.
[692] Morgan 1990: 100.
[693] McDonald et al 1983: 326; Antonaccio 1995: 94.
[694] Antonaccio 1995: 94.

Kopanaki and Vasiliko: A large complex was discovered at Kopanaki in the Soulima valley in northern Messenia. The finds included pottery, dating to the 6th century, and storage jars and loomweights suggesting this was inhabited. The place was so large, containing 11 rooms over 2 floors, it was originally interpreted as a roman villa.[695] The date of its destruction is unclear, being placed c.550,[696] although the excavator himself placed it at the middle of the fifth century.[697] Vasiliko was a similar complex nearby in the same valley, only 9 kilometres distant.[698] It contained pottery which dated the use of the complex to the 6th-early 5th centuries, the same time period as Kopanaki. The excavator noted some of the pottery had lettering that indicated the use of the Laconian alphabet.[699]

Romanou: At Romanou, Pylias, a rescue excavation revealed a long Archaic building, thought to be a temple, with an internal colonnade. It was in use down to the early Hellenistic period. West of the temple was a shrine with many 7th century terracotta *potnia theron* figurines.[700] This same sanctuary contained pottery in a Laconian style from c. 650 onwards.[701] Also at Romanou an early settlement with a PG burial was found, along with other traces of PG and G activity in the form of pottery. A Geometric burial containing a bronze ring indicated a level of wealth in the region.[702]

Laconia

Sparta: Very small amounts of SM pottery have been discovered in Sparta,[703] however, there is a great increase in the amount of evidence dating to c. 950. In the 10th and 9th centuries, Sparta and Amyklai appear to be fairly characteristic EIA sites; there were recognisable clusters of graves

[695] Kaltsas 1985: 221.
[696] French 1991: 21.
[697] Kaltsas 1985: 221.
[698] Hodkinson 2003: 271.
[699] Valmin 1941: 67.
[700] Archibald et al 2012: 44-5; Rambach 2008: 401.
[701] Rambach 2008: 401.
[702] Evely et al 2008: 41; Rambach 2007: 354; Rambach 2008: 401.
[703] Themos 1996-1997: 167-9.

and multiple cult sites in use.[704] From c.950 as well, the important historical cult sites such as the sanctuaries of Apollo and Hyakinthos at Amyklai and at Artemis Orthia first received votive offerings of vessels.[705] Three late 8th century warrior burials were found,[706] a significant find but not one indicating anything more than ordinary elite displays in this period. Finds are concentrated on the *acropolis* and Limnai.[707] Though Sparta is only known very patchily through rescue excavations, what can be learned is not, in many fundamental respects, different than any other developing centre of the Early Archaic period, with multiple small clusters of activity and warrior burials in the 8th century.

Amyklai: After a post-palatial break in inhabitation, Amyklai was resettled in the PG period.[708] Tombs from the PG period onwards are attested.[709] A trench, perhaps a grave or deposit, containing Archaic pottery was found, along with tiles, bones, figurines. North of that, Archaic walls covered by an Archaic destruction horizon were found, also with vessels, and mixed Archaic and PG sherds. Another deposit at the sanctuary of Alexandra-Kassandra and Zeus-Agamemnon was excavated, revealing mostly Archaic finds including aryballoi and other cups, votive plaques, figurines, miniatures, lead wreaths and figurines. One sherd had Agamemnon inscribed on it.[710] Salapata, in a close study of the plaques from the survey, noted that although there was cult of Alexandra/Kassandra and Agamemnon from the 7th century at least, it appeared likely that this was only of local significance earlier on. There was a great intensification of use of the sanctuary in the late 6th century, when terracotta plaques with heroic iconography and the first graffiti and dipinti of the names of Agamemnon and Alexandra also appeared,[711] suggesting that this

[704] Themos and Zavvou 1996-1997: 127-31; Zavvou and Themos 2009:12.
[705] Coulson 1985; Cavanagh 2018: 64.
[706] Steinhauer 1972: 244-5; Raftopoulou 1995.
[707] Zavvou and Themos 2009: 112; Cavanagh 2018: 68.
[708] Cartledge 2002: 70.
[709] Blackman et al 1998: 35; Blackman 1999: 31.
[710] Whitley 2005: 30.
[711] Salapata 2014: 10, 18, 39.

reflected 6th century ambitions in the wider region, in which Agamemnon was appropriated to legitimise Sparta and perhaps undermine Argos.[712]

Menelaion: In the late 8th century, the Menelaion was revived.[713] The excavators in the 1980s suggested this was the establishment of a hero cult.[714] The first terrace and ramp was dated to c.650-625, and was extended in c.575-550.[715] The Menelaion was examined in conjunction with the Laconia Survey Project. They noted that it was one of the 2 earliest sites in the survey area, along with the Sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus, though argued that it was a cult site from perhaps no earlier than c.700, gaining its first temple in 600,[716] a small cella of poros ashlar, seemingly accompanied by no other structures and not altered until it was destroyed in c. 200.[717] Though not as rich as the urban sanctuaries at Sparta and Amyklai, there was a wealth of votive evidence, such as miniature vessels, lead wreaths, figurines, bronze vessels and fibulae, and bronze and iron arms, along with small sculptures of local marble and bronze. There was no evidence for settlement before the 6th century.[718] This sanctuary, with its late-8th century revival and increasing architectural articulation and displays of wealth through the 7th and 6th centuries, is also highly characteristic of sanctuaries in the Peloponnese.

The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: The patterns at this sanctuary were in many respects similar to those at the Menelaion. There was a sudden influx of wealth at the sanctuary in the mid-8th century, and the first temple was built c. 700, replaced c. 570-560. [719] Dawkins also noted that the earlier phase had been covered with a layer of sand c. 600.[720] This has been linked to the conquest of Messenia and to other Spartan military campaigns.[721] However, this does not take into account

[712] Salapata 2014: 45.
[713] Catling 1986: 29-30.
[714] Catling 1986: 30.
[715] Whitley et al 2006: 37.
[716] Wace et al 1909: 108.
[717] Cavanagh 2002a: 218.
[718] Cavanagh 2002a: 220.
[719] Cartledge 2002: 103.
[720] Dawkins 1929: 5.
[721] Cartledge 2002: 103.

the fact that these changes were entirely characteristic of other regions where no such conquest took place. The 7th century shows no signs of Spartan austerity artistically; there was a flourishing bronze workshop in Laconia, ivory carving, and lead figurine manufacture, such as those dedicated at Orthia.[722] There were also large numbers of clay masks dedicated here, mostly after c.600.[723]

Geraki: Excavations were undertaken on the *acropolis* of Geraki during the 1990s. These excavations revealed evidence of inhabitation at the site from the Protogeometric to Hellenistic periods. No certainly Mycenaean material was present, and only a handful of Protogeometric and Geometric sherds, washed into other trenches, though there were no intact archaeological strata or structures from this period. The situation changed during the Archaic period, which was well represented ongoing into Classical and Hellenistic.[724] Survey turned up lots of material from Archaic to Hellenistic times, fine pottery and larger proportion of coarser wares and 2 small joining fragments of terracotta disc *akroterion*, indicating a temple from c.650 into early Classical period.[725] From the Classical to Hellenistic period there was evidence of houses and streets of at least 2 building phases.[726] Two walls were dated by the associated destruction layer to late Archaic or early Classical date. This building was on the levelled remains of an earlier structure. There was also a fortification wall in use, or reuse, in the late Archaic to early Classical period.[727] As a miniature Archaic kantharos was found in between the fill of the fortification wall, it appears this was rebuilt in the archaic period.[728] North of the central area a series of drains was found, the earliest and largest probably associated with the late Archaic/early Classical fortification wall.[729]

[722] Cartledge 2002: 111.
[723] Dawkins 1929: 164.
[724] Crouwel et al 1995: 57.
[725] Crouwel et al 1996: 103.
[726] Crouwel et al 1997: 72.
[727] Blackman 2002: 30-1.
[728] Crouwel et al 1997: 54.
[729] Whitley 2005: 30.

Prasiai: The earliest evidence at Prasiai consists of a small amount of LG ceramics c.735-700. Around the middle of the 7th century a monumental building was constructed. Protocorinthian pottery found in the same vicinity indicates a sanctuary. The site saw significant changes c.550-500 in the form of the construction of terraces and houses.[730] At Prasiai a four sided bone seal of 7th century and bronze mirror of late 6th, both in Spartan-style, were recently uncovered, and also the sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas, with architectural fragments in the form of Spartan-style disc akroteria were found dating to c. 600, and epigraphic evidence from c.550 onwards, also in Laconian script, north of the settlement.[731]

Other sites in the region are necessary to mention in more cursory form. In Laconia, Gytheion has a long lacuna from the PG period down to the 6th century.[732] Recent stray finds and rescue excavations have not altered this picture; recently, at Boiai, a Late Archaic pithos burial with black glaze wares found.[733] In Messenia, ongoing excavations at Thouria noted that the Archaic and Classical periods were not well-represented in comparison to later ones, and that finds were generally religious in nature.[734] The large public building A contained Classical sherds.[735] Meanwhile at Ithome, a settlement seems likely to have existed from the second half of the 7th century.[736]

[730] Grigorakakis 2015: 654.
[731] Cartledge 2002: 122.
[732] Cartledge 2002: 105.
[733] Whitley et al 2006: 40.
[734] Archibald et al 2012: 56.
[735] Morgan et al 2010: 50.
[736] Luraghi 2008: 130.

Survey Material

Numerous surveys have been undertaken in Laconia and Messenia, cumulatively covering more than half of the region. Theoretically the macroscopic view that survey enables should be magnified here resulting in the intensive examination of a diverse range of locations to balance history's focus on Sparta itself. In practice the surveys are very mixed in focus and in intensiveness but remain highly illuminating nonetheless.

The University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition (Messenia)

Though the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition (UMME), undertaken in the 1960s, is often deemed the first survey in Greece this is not correct. It had antecedents, for example in Howell's survey of Eastern Arcadia, or Hope Simpson's survey in the vicinity of Agios Stephanos in Laconia, as well as in Hope Simpson and Lazenby's efforts elsewhere in Laconia,[737] which, while focussing particularly on a reconstruction of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, nonetheless surveyed much other material. However, it was the first survey project with a serious interest in situating human activity on a long time-scale within the landscape; to introduce new scientific methodologies into survey and to establish questions to be answered by the survey.[738] Yet unlike many more recent surveys it had a chronological bias in its research and publication towards the Mycenaean period.[739] This has a significant impact on how far its results for later periods can be relied upon.

[737] Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970.
[738] McDonald and Rapp 1972: 3.
[739] McDonald and Rapp 1972: 7.

The surveyors covered an enormous area from the Alpheios down to the gulf and across to the Taygetus range, around 3800km^2 in total.[740] It was therefore a highly extensive survey. As Hope Simpson himself explained, the UMME survey had, by necessity, to survey extremely selectively, slightly favouring hilltops over lower terrain partly as they were specifically looking for prehistoric settlements. He also noted that they had intended to return for further, more intensive survey, but were prevented by other priorities.[741]

Findings:

The findings for the historical period were presented only in outlines, and therefore only very broad conclusions were possible. Though the survey was extensive rather than intensive there is a definite pattern of decline from c.200 sites in the LBA down to 12 during the EIA mostly around Pylos and in the Pamisos Valley.[742] The UMME evidence for the Geometric period was mostly from tombs though they noted some settlement evidence. Nevertheless, there was little evidence of inhabitation, Nichoria was sparsely occupied and the settlement on Nichoria ridge was abandoned some time before c.750, although LG graves indicate the area was in use in some capacity. The UMME evidence therefore failed to support the literary picture of a large population countering Spartan invasion during the Messenian war.[743] There were some indications of disruption between the Archaic and Geometric periods. 63% of Geometric sites had traces of earlier occupation, only 36% of Archaic one did. There were new sites, in different locations. This was also the period with the first recognisable sanctuaries.[744]

Archaic settlements in Messenia were judged by McDonald and Hope Simpson to be small due to the loss of freedom after the 2nd Messenian war. However, it appears that this was judged more from expectation than from evidence as a later survey which took detailed recordings of site size,

[740] McDonald and Rapp 1972: 36.
[741] Hope Simpson 1985: 259.
[742] Cartledge 2002: 99.
[743] Alcock et al 2005: 158.
[744] Alcock et al 2005: 159.

estimated an Archaic mean size of 3 ha. These would indicate hamlets or villages rather than single family structures, which are usually assessed to be below 0.5 ha.[745]

The Five Rivers Survey was carried out in conjunction with the excavation project at Nichoria focussing on the lowland around the site.[746] It was undertaken in much the same vein and methodology as UMME and the findings were interpreted by the surveyors as indicating that *helots* were dispersed in the region onto small farmsteads. However, this survey identified few sites of the relevant periods, none of which were small farmsteads which could correlate to *helot* families.[747] Though the surveyors conjectured that, as the region was so fertile, it would have been divided into *kleroi* by the 8th century and worked from dispersed farmsteads, they were unable, despite efforts, to locate these in their survey.[748]

One of the most significant questions for all this extensive survey data from Messenia is whether smaller settlements, such as farmsteads, were genuinely absent or overlooked.[749] The extensiveness of the UMME survey, its focus on hill tops, and on the Bronze Age, all very strongly suggest that the latter explanation is likely. More generally, the inability to distinguish between the Classical and Hellenistic periods in the survey material made further conclusions about the transition from Spartan control to independence difficult, as did the lack of detailed information given about any of the historical sites.

The Pylos Regional Archaeology Project (Messenia)

The Pylos Regional Archaeology Project (PRAP) was undertaken in the 1990s to build on and update the work of UMME by focussing on land use in the region around the Palace of Nestor.

[745] Alcock et al 2005: 159.
[746] Lukermann and Moody 1978: 82.
[747] Noted by Alcock et al 2005: 162.
[748] Lukermann and Moody 1978: 95.
[749] A question also raised by Alcock et al 2005: 162, though without firm conclusions.

They were therefore surveying an area that had already been examined. Nevertheless, they doubled the number of sites in the process.[750] Due to its history the Bronze Age has long been the focus of the study of Messenia though the PRAP survey aimed explicitly to counter this prehistoric bias.[751] They also surveyed and wrote up their findings with reference to questions of the historical period this chapter is concerned with. It was an intensive survey with walkers 15m apart.[752] It examined 40km^2, about 1% of UMME's survey area.[753]



(Ill. 32: The area of interest of the PRAP survey)

[750] Davis et al 1997: 391.
[751] Davis et al 1997: 395.
[752] Davis et al 1997: 397.
[753] Alcock et al 2005: 151.

As with Laconia the Messenian ceramics are not very well known due to the lack of relevant excavated material exacerbated, as in Laconia, by the poor preservation of finds. Nearly 30% of their finds could only be called 'historical' or even 'unknown'.[754] Nevertheless, clear patterns emerged.

EIA:

There were only 15 sherds from the survey area dating to LH IIIC, mostly from the area of the former palace, though not enough to show continuity of inhabitation between the Bronze Age and the Geometric at that site. There were not many more Geometric sherds, a 'handful' from the palace site, 14 more sherds from around it, 7 from POSI K1, and isolated examples at A2, D1, D2, I1, I4. Similarly, while there were several sherds from the Geometric/Archaic range, only 3 sites, I1, I4, M2, had more than 3 sherds each.[755]

Archaic and Classical:

Compared to the Geometric period, the Archaic to Classical periods, defined as the 7th-early 4th centuries, saw an increase in settlement,[756] from 2 sites up to 5. [757] Nevertheless, there was a relative lack of material from this period, as well as a lack of the small-scale farmsteads, except for one possible example, C2. It was a small, dense concentration of tile and pottery including fine, plain and cooking wares and a loom weight. The majority of the material was Classical-Hellenistic with some possibly Archaic material as well.[758] This was perhaps surprising, as this sort of site is highly characteristic of Classical survey data elsewhere including in Laconia. This anomaly was interpreted as linked in some way to Spartan domination such as through increased control through centralisation of people for easier surveillance, further reinforced by the fact that after

[754] Alcock et al 2005: 151.
[755] Davis et al 1997: 451-3.
[756] Davis et al 1997: 455.
[757] Alcock et al 2005: 159.
[758] Davis et al 1997: 459.

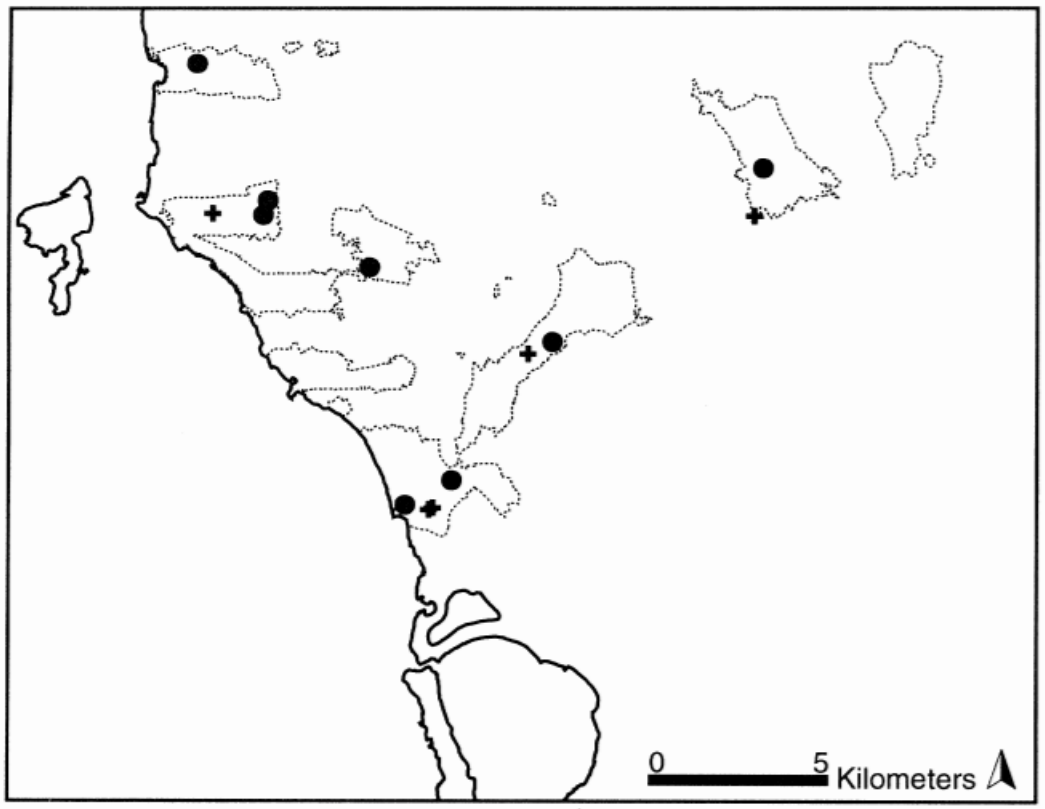
the end of Spartan domination there was a drastic and speedy change towards this more normal pattern.[759]

Analysis:

The settlement patterns in this survey are highly unusual in their sparseness and nucleation. The surveyors interpreted I04 as the principal settlement in the area and it was marked by a sherd scatter of 18-22ha in the Archaic period, probably growing larger in the Classical period, compared to 3ha and 6ha of Sellasia and Agios Konstantinos, two notable sites in the Laconia Survey Project's area. Rescue excavations have further confirmed it to have been a large and significant settlement; one revealed a long Archaic structure thought to be a temple with an internal colonnade in use down to the early Hellenistic period. West of the temple was a shrine with many 7th century terracotta *potnia theron* figurines. [760] A PG burial also confirms use of the site in earlier times.[761]

In both periods the second largest site in the survey area, a different site in each period, was only 1.5km away. In the Classical period these are the only two securely-attested places of permanent inhabitation in the survey. Although the PRAP survey areas weren't contiguous this indicates residential concentration. This pattern also seems to be indicated by other less intensive surveys as UMME has the mean size of archaic sites as 3ha, and the Five Rivers survey has no evidence of dispersed habitation in these periods, unlike the Hellenistic period.[762]

[759] Davis et al 1997: 456.
[760] Archibald et al 2012: 44-5.
[761] Evely et al 2008: 41.
[762] Hodkinson 2003: 271.



(Ill. 33: The non-continuous survey areas of the PRAP survey)[763]

The PRAP survey data strongly indicates that the inhabitants of this area were highly nucleated in Romanou or in smaller satellite settlements around it. There were only 2 sites from 7th-4th centuries that *could* be a farmstead, though they were represented by so few sherds that they were interpreted as a seasonal dwelling or an off-site activity. There was no notable growth in the number or size of sites until the 4th century, after Leuctra.[764]

The nucleated pattern of this intensive, careful survey is undeniable. However, its wider significance is far less certain. They surveyors also noted that their data was from the far western fringe of the region, one that was not particularly fertile or desirable, and that their findings could not therefore necessarily be extrapolated towards other regions like that of the Pamisos river

[763] Davis et al 1997: 456. The dots represent sites in the Archaic and Classical periods, the crosses off-site scatters.
[764] Alcock 2002: 195.

valley or Stenyclarian plain.[765] Regarding the Messenian conquest the PRAP survey noted that the written sources he critiques, the basis for our understanding of this conquest, are 'admittedly poor', and indicated that their work was not able to assist one way or the other in this debate.[766]

The gazetteer of information for the survey was published online.[767] However, while it is commendable that they have made their results publicly and freely available not all the hyperlinks to the site data work and it is therefore not fully available as the written publications do not include this level of detail, as they are meant to be understood in conjunction with this online catalogue. The PRAP results are also highly significant from a methodological perspective as it was an intensive resurvey of a previous, extensive project. Their fieldwork doubled the number of sites known from UMME.[768] It confirmed the impressionistic picture of UMME, with a small number of long-lived sites that were villages rather than farmsteads. There was no notable growth in the number or size of sites until the 4th century, after Leuctra.[769]

Compared to a similar situation in the Arcadia survey, that of the Asea Valley Survey contrasted with Pikoulas' survey of the Megalopolis Basin, this appears to support the idea that the UMME survey was broadly accurate, as PRAP, while greatly increasing the number of known sites within this small, peripheral region, found that they followed the same settlement patterns as UMME. However, the extraordinary size of the UMME survey area negates this. PRAP covered 1% of the UMME area and focussed on a geographically peripheral strip away from the most fertile regions, and away from those closest to Laconia. It therefore has little bearing on the UMME results for other parts of Messenia.

[765] Alcock et al 2005: 151-2.
[766] Alcock et al 2005: 154.
[767] http://classics.uc.edu/prap/static/sites_list.xsl.html
[768] Davis et al 1997: 391.
[769] Davis et al 1997: 483, Alcock et al 2005: 163.

The Iklaina Survey (Messenia)

From 1999-2006, a survey was undertaken as part of the Iklaina Archaeological Project (IKAP), at Iklaina, a settlement 14km NE of Pylos.[770] It was a small survey of c. 22km^2,[771] and was extremely detailed. It was therefore within the boundaries of UMME, and in very close proximity to parts of the PRAP survey. However, unlike many surveys undertaken today it did not aim to examine Iklaina over the longue durée but was instead focussed on the formation of the Mycenaean state.[772]

Though the analysis did not focus on later periods than the Mycenaean the survey recorded all artefacts found on the surface and included them in the gazetteer with brief descriptions.[773] They focussed consciously on major concentrations of surface finds, although they still identified and recorded smaller concentrations, and spaced their walkers only 5m apart to increase their ability to spot less obvious finds. Due to limited resources, they classified sites vs. off-site scatters quite simply in the field using a rule of thumb that a concentration with architectural remains, or one with more than 20-30 sherds per 50x50m square was a site.[774] Therefore, although their analysis didn't focus on the historical period it provides the necessary material and covered the land in a great level of detail.

As at Nichoria,[775] sherds were often encrusted with soil or silicate and were also small hindering detailed study and this, along with the amount of wear the sherds had undergone, made it difficult to closely date much of the pottery as did the fact much of the pottery was unpainted to begin with.[776] In their brief discussion of pottery from other periods the surveyors noted that there was extremely little pottery in the survey from SM-Archaic periods and noted that it was

[770] Cosmopoulos 2016 preface.
[771] Cosmopoulos 2016: 5.
[772] Cosmopoulos 2016: 1, 5.
[773] Cosmopoulos 2016: 93.
[774] Cosmopoulos 2016: 94.
[775] McDonald and Wilkie 1992: 467.
[776] Cosmopoulos 2016: 158.

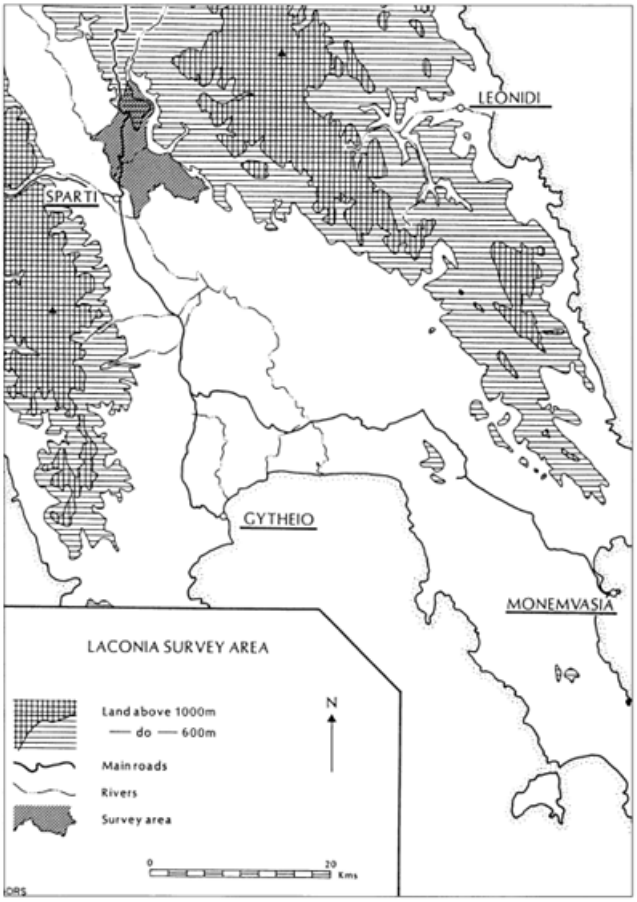
similar to that found in PRAP.[777] Though there were some Laconian painted tile fragments dated by the survey as Classical Hellenistic, which might elsewhere also be considered Archaic, the total dearth of Archaic pottery from the survey supports their argument that these tiles are Classical at the earliest.

Alongside the 15 sites the survey described in some detail, there were 36 off-site scatters that were not recorded at all, of which 6 were Cl/Hl, 2 were Cl, 2 were Ar-Byz, and 2 were Ar-Hl.[778] With no further details it is difficult to say more. This survey confirms, along with the finds from PRAP, that small rural sites were certainly lacking from this part of Messenia. Without any further details of the off-site scatters, it is impossible to make further conclusions. Perhaps as they were small and seemingly not interesting enough to merit further description, they represent limited and peripheral exploitation or storage.

The Laconia Survey (Laconia)

The Laconia survey was carried out between 1983-9 in the area to the south of Sparta itself and aimed to clarify the nature of settlement, and its changes, in this region between the late prehistoric period and the 19th century.[779] The area was therefore in the immediate hinterland of Sparta, and in the very heart of its territory.[780]

[777] Cosmopoulos 2016: 183, Davis et al 1997: 452.
[778] Cosmopoulos 2016: 155-6.
[779] Cavanagh 2002a: 1.
[780] Cavanagh 2002a: 2.



(Ill. 34: The area of the Laconia Survey in its geographical context)[781]

The survey area was c. 70km^2.[782] Due to the geographical limits of the survey area, it encompassed predominantly the flatter plain regions, to a greater extent than other surveys, perhaps making it more likely to spot farmsteads. The project used up to date methods, ignoring the most impenetrable bits of maquis, and taking measurements for the background density in each transect. The walkers were spaced at 20m to be able to spot sites. They noted that some sites were located through accidents for example some small sites were in clear patches of land and may not have been spotted in more overgrown areas. The decline of agriculture was also noted as a factor hindering visibility on the surface. They therefore assumed that the number of sites across all periods was likely to be under-represented.[783] Other sites were buried, and one

[781] Illustration taken from Cavanagh 2002a: 3.
[782] Cavanagh 2002a: 5.
[783] Cavanagh 2002a: 41.

was only discovered after a mechanical digger removed the topsoil, further indicating that sites are under-represented.[784] Nevertheless, these did not seem to alter the general conclusions. The effects of erosion were also considered but did not seem to have had a huge effect on the results.[785]

The historical complexities of the region complicated analysis and the surveyors made efforts to move away from the general dichotomy of nucleated vs. dispersed settlement, and to firmly root their analysis in the history of the region, more possible here than in many other places due to the proliferation of source material.[786] They therefore had some specific questions such as the relationship of the survey area to the main sites in the area, the Menelaion and Sparta. They also investigated the division of *perioikic* and Spartiate land.[787]

EIA:

While many areas of Greece saw a renaissance during the EIA, Sparta seems to have been extremely depopulated, and even Sparta and Amyklai may not have been resettled until the 10th century, very much at odds with historical accounts of the Return of the Herakleidai.[788] The surveyors emphasised the homogeneity in pottery styles between these early Laconian sites, which suggested links 'uniting [these] scattered communities', indicating a cultural koine of sorts with Messenia and southern Arcadia which they interpreted as anticipating Spartan control, although this is by no means certain, particularly in light of the fact that this koine was shared with another region that was not conquered.[789]

The survey confirmed this picture further, finding no evidence whatsoever from before the 7th century and very little before the 6th. They noted with some surprise that A118, the later *perioikic*

[784] Cavanagh 2002a: 42.
[785] Cavanagh 2002a: 42.
[786] Cavanagh 2002a: 12.
[787] Cavanagh 2002a: 12.
[788] Cavanagh 2002a: 153.
[789] Cavanagh 2002a: 153.

town Sellasia, was not settled before the 6th century and the only activity from the survey region was restricted to the excavated material from the Menelaion (Q360) and the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus (N415), from the very end of the 8th century. They therefore concluded that the EIA was one of extreme nucleation, with the population of the plain concentrated solely on Sparta and Amyklai, probably in small numbers.[790]

Archaic:

As noted above, the survey area remained empty for the 8th and, by and large, the 7th centuries. This was discussed in the survey, which contrasted this arrested development to other regions that have been surveyed, such as the north-east Peloponnese, Attica, and Boeotia, hypothesising that this was due to Sparta's conquest of Messenia. The emergence of large cult sites in the late 8th century indicated that Sparta was not isolated from developments associated with early state formation.[791]

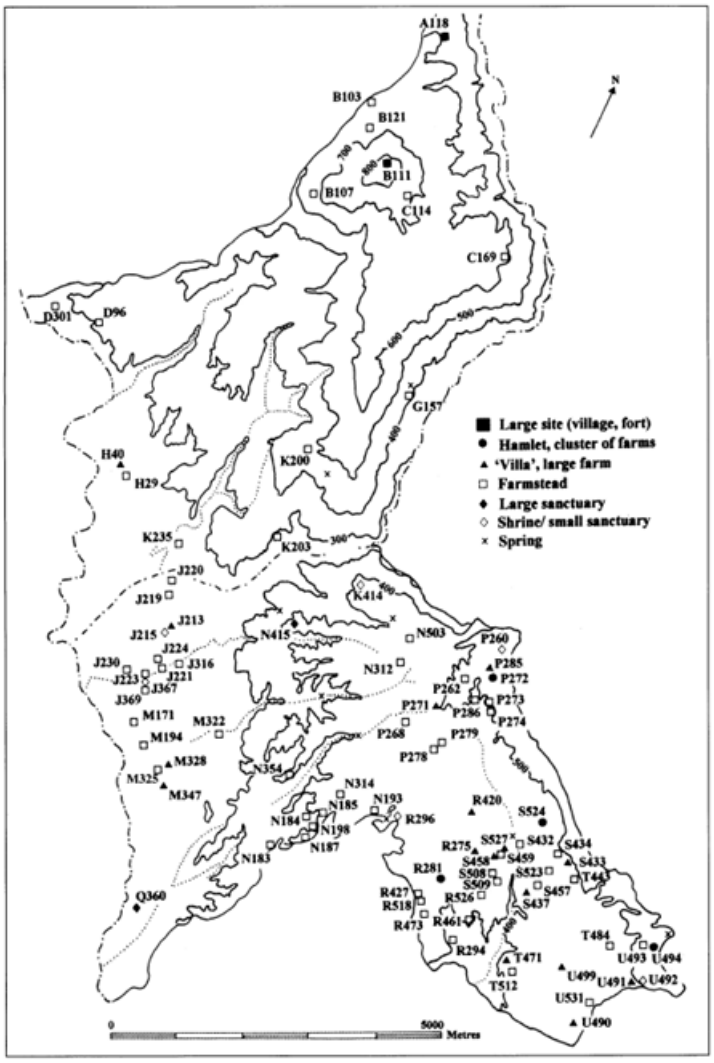
The absence of survey data in the 7th century in light of the supposedly crucial stage of state development that occurred in this period when its political and social institutions were formed, the territory expanded to Messenia, and wars were fought with Arcadia and Argos, was 'something of a shock' to the survey team.[792] They had assumed, logically, that an expansion to Messenia would have been preceded by the exploitation of nearer agricultural resources, though aside from Q350 and N415, and a single sherd from L400, there is nothing to suggest any use before the 6th century, particularly noteworthy in the case of A118 (Sellasia). They noted recent evidence for EIA onwards inhabitation at Geraki, though also warned that it was not necessarily part of the political geography of Laconia at this point and called it 'remarkable' that there was

[790] Cavanagh 2002a: 153.
[791] Cavanagh 2002a: 155.
[792] Cavanagh 2002a: 156.

no evidence for inhabitation in Gytheion, Asopos, Epidauros Limera and Boiai during the 7th century.[793]

Relatively little Laconian pottery has been published, the most important areas being the sanctuaries of the Menelaion and Artemis Orthia, and Sparta itself. It is difficult to date sites by imports either as from the mid-6th century these were rare.[794] Nevertheless, it is clear that the 6th century saw a radical change from nucleated to dispersed settlement in the form of the sudden, widespread presence of smaller sites and farmsteads across this region. However, the dating of this is difficult as there was very little decorated pottery from rural sites aside from plain black glazed wares, which cannot be dated very closely. Nonetheless, the surveyors were confident that nothing had to be earlier than the mid-6th century. Even accounting for the uncertainty of dating, these sites all appeared within 50-75 years of one another, a huge effort that must have occurred in response to some pressing need.[795] 87 new settlements appeared in this small area, as well as new shrines and sanctuaries, and the larger settlement of Sellasia and the fortress of Agios Konstantinos. The reason for the mid-6th century expansion remains unclear, the surveyors were unable to determine if it was due to specifics of the Spartan situation, or part of a wider demographic or socio-economic movement.[796]

[793] Cavanagh 2002a: 156.
[794] Cavanagh 2002b: 33-4.
[795] Cavanagh 2002a: 160.
[796] Cavanagh 2002a: 233.



(Ill. 35: The sites of the Laconia Survey in the Archaic period)[797]

The surveyors interpreted this data as representing a three-tier hierarchy, with Sparta as the dominant centre, followed by smaller *perioikic* towns and villages such as A118, followed in turn by rural sites of farmsteads and hamlets.[798] Even within this relatively small region, there were 5 larger settlements, U494, S524, R281, P272 A118.

There was also probably a special use site, B111, which was later in the Classical period the fortress of Agios Konstantinos on the height above Sellasia although it is likely that at least part

[797] Illustration from Cavanagh 2002a: 158. While I have drawn original maps for the survey data from other regions, here the original survey was illustrated by period in detail, and by site function, and so that illustration is reproduced here.
[798] Cavanagh 2002a: 163.

of the fortifications postdates the Archaic period. Cavanagh has since argued that there may more likely have been a watch-post at the site during the Late Archaic or Early Classical period, and that the walled fortress 'must indeed' be later.[799] Nevertheless, the presence of a watch post is significant, and this early preoccupation with security is unusual.[800] Although relatively few cult sites contributed to this sudden expansion, one (H45) was of interest as it was identified by the survey as probably[801] representing the small cult site of Apollo Pythaeus between Sellasia and Sparta, on the route towards Tegea.



(Ill. 36: The remains of a tower at Agios Konstantinos (B111))[802]

The western sector also had 20 sites of which 16 were farmsteads and 4 villas. The northern sector contained both the larger sites, A118 and B111. As Sellasia seemed from surface coverage to have been largest at the start of its history, the surveyors suggested that it could have been formed by the nucleation of a previously dispersed population, though excavation of the sites has not yet been undertaken to investigate this possibility.[803]

[799] Cavanagh 2018: 78.
[800] Noted by Shipley 2006: 62.
[801] An identification supported by more recent excavations Eleutherios and Skakos 2013: 535.
[802] Illustration from Cavanagh 2002b: 327.
[803] Cavanagh 2002a: 168.

One of the most pressing questions the survey faced was who occupied these small rural sites from the 6th to the 4th centuries, made more complex by the fact that the area was split between the immediate hinterland of Sparta and what was surely the territory of A118, Sellasia.[804]



(Ill. 37: A view of Sellasia (A118))[805]

The assemblages indicated that the majority of these small rural sites were in fact the prime place of inhabitation for the residents, something supported, in the surveyors' mind, by the social peculiarities of the region. The argument being that those that were not Spartiates had far less incentive to live in Sparta itself than in other polis centres where there were less likely to be attractive markets or political opportunities and additionally the Spartan elite may have preferred to keep the helots who worked their land separated from one another on these small, dispersed sites to reduce risks of revolt. Therefore *perioikoi*, *helots* and 'inferior Spartans, who were excluded from the ranks of the political elite' may have preferred to live on the land.[806] They otherwise suggested that the survey area contained a Spartiate presence either in person or in the form of *helot*-worked farms and estates, towards the west of the region, although the area

[804] Cavanagh 2002a: 228.
[805] Illustration from Cavanagh 2002b: 322.
[806] Cavanagh 2002a: 192.

around Sellasia would still be far more likely to be Spartiate. The assumption was that the land that is not in the territory of Sellasia, itself impossible to delineate, was under Spartan control.[807]

They noted a period of extreme discontinuity of site occupation in the smaller sites, many of which seemed to be in use for less than a century.[808] From c.450 there was a radical reduction in the number of sites (87-46) and a marked discontinuity of site use, along with a disuse of farmsteads in favour of medium-sized sites e.g. hamlets.[809] It was difficult to interpret this change confidently as the status of the inhabitants of most of the survey area was unknown. It was probable that the initial wave of colonisation entailed Spartiates moving their *helots* into new settlements to facilitate new or more intense cultivation of nearby land. Subsequent decline must have involved removal of some *helot* households and resettlement elsewhere.[810] The Eurotas valley itself, which had not been extensively occupied before this period of expansion, was now a focus of activity.[811]

The Laconia Rural Sites Project (Laconia)

The Laconia Rural Sites Project (LRSP) was a part of the Laconia Survey Project investigating some of the rural sites the survey revealed to more fully research non-urban living. 20 sites from the prehistoric to the Byzantine period were singled out for intensive treatment.[812] They were chosen on the criteria that they were single period, relatively small, and likely to contain preserved architectural remains. They also attempted to choose similar sites to allow comparison over time. The LRSP did not attempt to make the sites representative, and instead selected, by their criteria, those that were better preserved and more visible. None were excavated due to generally poor

[807] Cavanagh 2002a: 230.
[808] Cavanagh 2002a: 185.
[809] Hodkinson 2003: 260.
[810] Hodkinson 2003: 260.
[811] Cavanagh 2002a: 72.
[812] Cavanagh et al 2005: 1.

levels of preservation.[813] One of the main explicit aims of this project was to assess the impact of post-depositional processes on survey results.[814]

The LRSP provides us with an unusual level of detail about these small rural sites, not available for any other region in the Peloponnese. These results can be used to say more about the farmsteads, and also about the reliability of survey.

Each site was resurveyed, with walkers spaced at 5m, instead of 20m used by the original survey, counting artefacts and recording surface visibility. Every artefact was collected, recorded and analysed, and density maps for each type of artefact created to look for correlations between e.g. tile and sherd densities. Geophysical analysis was done to identify sub-surface features which were detected in over half the sites. Soil studies also sought to find a relationship between soil chemistry and artefacts.[815]

The breakdown of pottery into functions (i.e. storage, cooking, table) indicate that the original survey was correct in suggesting that in the Archaic and Classical periods, many of these sites were inhabited, while in the Roman period, the extremely high proportions of storage ware, up to 100%, suggest that these were special purpose sites for storage.[816]

Of the 20 sites from the survey which were re-examined, 2 were Archaic-Classical (18 and 19), and a further 2 (14 and 11) were Classical. 11 was in the west of the region near Sparta itself, but 18, 19 and 14 were in the east of the region. LP18, LP19 and LP14 all had strong indications of being occupied sites, as there were food preparation and eating wares, and loomweights. However, it was difficult to say whether this was seasonal or permanent inhabitation. LP11 on the other hand, produced pithoi and mortars, and therefore seemed to be a storehouse, perhaps also used for agricultural processing. As this site was nearer Sparta it would have been easily

[813] Cavanagh et al 2005: 281.
[814] Cavanagh and Mee 2007: 11.
[815] Cavanagh and Mee 2007: 12.
[816] Cavanagh and Mee 2007: 17.

accessible from there.[817] They provided detailed analyses of each farmstead that could be compared to the original survey publication entries.

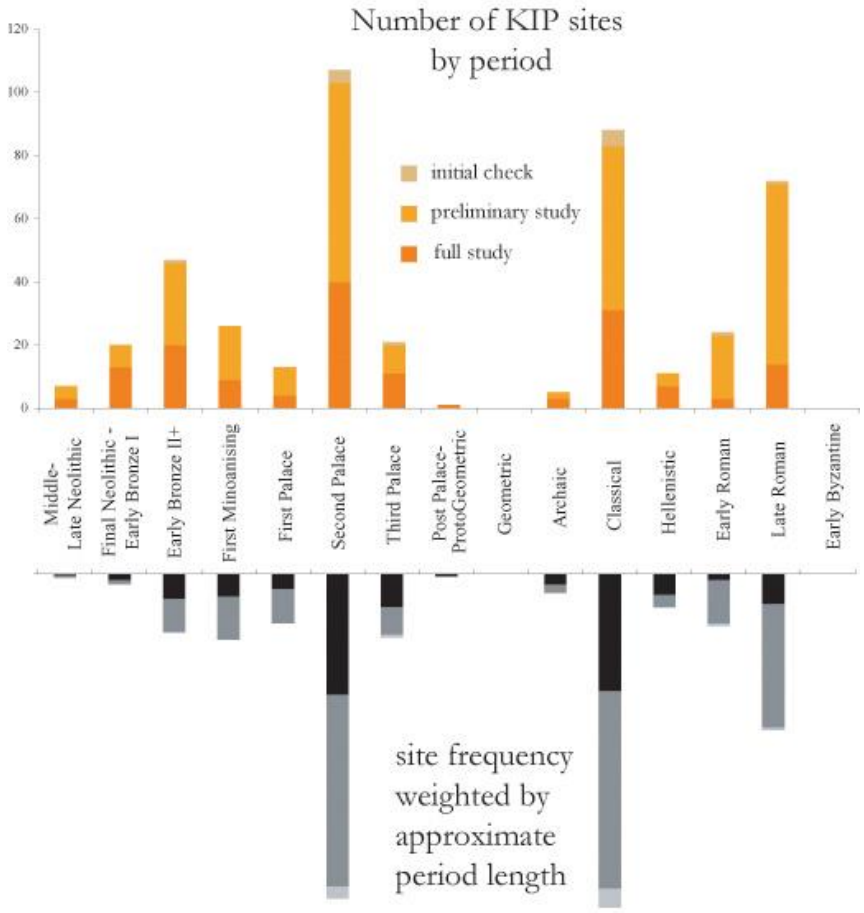
LP18 (Survey entries R275, R276, R277) had a strong correlation here. The original survey had already noted the likelihood of association between the three sites, confirmed by the LRSP. Though the LRSP picked up far more pottery, it presented a very similar picture, of tile and pottery including open tablewares and closed storage and kitchen wares. The more detailed survey of LRSP had a larger surface area but only by c. 0.1ha. For LP14 (Survey entries S437, S440), here was also a strong correlation. Again, the original survey had noted the association between the two, and the general nature of the assemblage was supported by the more detailed resurvey. The site size calculated was the same. LP19 (Survey entry R526) was also closely correlated. Only LP11 (Survey entry M325) was different, although not drastically. M325 had been interpreted as possibly part of M329, a small rural site. Here it was its own storage site. The great preponderance of pithoi and mortars, which indicated it had a special storage use, was also not entirely clear from the original survey publication. Therefore, there was a close correspondence between the detailed investigations and the intensive survey in most cases.[818]

The Kythera Island Project (Kythera)

The Kythera Island Project (KIP) is an intensive survey on Kythera. It is not yet published aside from in preliminary reports, however what has been published is highly significant, partly because Kythera was a *perioikic polis*. KIP is an ongoing survey project that started in 1998, consisting of four seasons from 1998-2001 on roughly 100km^2 surrounding the site of the *polis* itself. The survey covered 36% of the entire island. Strips totalling about half the survey area, 43km^2, were walked intensively, with walkers spaced 15m apart, recording surface finds and collecting

[817] Cavanagh and Mee 2007: 313.
[818] Cavanagh et al 2005: 303.

diagnostics for further study.[819] Although the final results have yet to be published preliminary reports are highly illuminating. 200 sites in total were discovered in the survey area, of which one of the main phases was the Classical period.[820]



(Ill. 38: A graphic representation of the findings of the Kythera Survey)[821]

A more detailed report of the first season which covered 13km^2, about a third of the total area, but only about a tenth of the final number of sites (26), are covered here.[822] Nevertheless, this conformed generally to the pattern set in later years. Of the 26 sites, none were Archaic, 3 were certainly Classical and a further 6 were likely to be Classical. Of those Classical sites, there were

[819] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/kip/survey.php

[820] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/kip/survey.php

[821] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/kip/survey.php

[822] Broodbank 1999.

two medium settlements, one of 3-4 ha, and another of 4-5 ha, and the rest were small settlements the size of farmsteads, with similar finds such as scatters of tile and cooking and storage wares.[823] The second season continued in this vein, with a florescence of Classical occupation in farmsteads and villages in the hinterland of the *polis* of Kythera itself.[824] However, the third season's report, in which another 53 sites were found, discusses rural settlement in the 6th century, and claims a Late Archaic precedent to the major expansion of the 5th century.[825] Geometric material was finally found, at one site, though it remained an outlier.[826]

The lack of Geometric and Archaic sites within the survey area struck the surveyors as surprising, though they noted that Geometric material was generally unusual on Kythera.[827] One major horizon was the Classical period, also perhaps of interest that specialised activity such as metallurgical debris and tile production sites date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[828] During the Classical period metallurgy occurred at about a quarter of sites, quite a large proportion, although on a small scale.[829]

A contemporary project, the Australian Kythera Survey, focussing on the north of the island, was primarily interested in post-Roman Kythera, and has only published its Medieval survey results in detail.[830] However, an earlier report lists 0.3% of them as PG/A and 14% as being Classical/Hellenistic. They noted particularly that the 4th and 3rd centuries saw especially dense occupation of the survey area.[831] However, they also noted that the landscape of the survey area was particularly unsuited to detailed collection; much of it is abandoned and has been reclaimed by dense maquis. They therefore could not survey that intensively, nor survey even 50% of the

[823] Broodbank 1999: 200-209.
[824] Blackman 2000: 20.
[825] Blackman 2001: 21.
[826] Blackman 2002: 16.
[827] Broodbank 1999: 213.
[828] Broodbank 1999: 214.
[829] Archibald et al 2011: 13-14.
[830] Ince 2007.
[831] Coroneos et al 2002: 140-143.

area. However, as they were primarily looking for larger settlements, this did not harm their goals.[832] The pattern therefore was highly characteristic of other *poleis*; a start to settlement hierarchies in the 6th century, followed by an expansion of farmsteads in the Classical period. Without more detailed publications, further conclusions are difficult.

The Extensive 'Perioikic' Surveys

This is not a coherent survey project, but a group of unconnected surveys undertaken in Laconia and around the Thyreatid. They can therefore provide us with information about these areas, although their extensive methodology hinders this.

[832] Coroneos et al 2002: 137.



(Ill. 39: The location of the perioikic surveys in comparison to Argos and Sparta)

The Astros Valley Survey

Between 1976 and 1979 a survey was undertaken in the plain of Astros in the ancient Thyreatid. The plain is 25km south of Argos, enclosed on all sides by mountains. It is only 11km in a NS direction and 5km EW, containing lakes and marshes.[833]

It is a historically interesting area due to its importance in border disputes between Sparta and Argos. The first mention of a struggle between the two regions over the Thyreatid is from Hdt. 1.82, dated 'fairly accurately' to 546.[834] The survey team interpreted this region as *perioikic* after 546, citing Herodotus' account of Kleomenes using the Thyreatid as a base in 494 to put his troops across to Nauplion. We also hear in Thuc. 2.27.2 that the Spartans offered it to the Aiginetans who had been expelled by Athens.[835] The survey was extensive and was published without a lot of detail on its methodology. There was limited material in the valley that dated to between the Bronze Age and the Classical period. There were some very small amounts of Geometric pottery, and some more Archaic evidence, from the largest settlement, Elliniko, inhabited from the Mycenaean period to Roman times.[836] Paralion Astros had some Geometric pottery.[837] There was limited Archaic evidence from Cherronisi, and a Classical expansion of sorts, in that Elliniko and Cherronisi were still in use, and two other sites, Kastraki and Tsovoros came into use. Tsovoros appeared to cover 4ha and was therefore quite large.[838] Though the survey was extensive, it broadly followed patterns from elsewhere, with a long-lasting main settlement at Elliniko, with smaller settlements increasing over time. As an extensive survey, it did not focus on smaller rural sites such as farmsteads.

[833] Goester 1993: 39-43.
[834] Goester 1993: 46.
[835] Goester 1993: 47.
[836] Goester 1993: 54.
[837] Goester 1993: 54.
[838] Goester 1993: 107.

The Survey of Boia

Boia on the SW edge of the Malea peninsula was the subject of an extensive survey. The region was important for its cultivable land but also its iron deposits.[839] As is generally the case with extensive surveys, it focussed on the main centre in the region, in this case Agios Georgios, the site of ancient Boia, noting a Classical fortress and Archaic to Hellenistic burials across the site, along with Mycenaean tombs.[840] Otherwise, a sanctuary with limestone blocks, and black and red-glazed finewares was found (Vlisidi), a section of road (Gerantonia),[841] and another sanctuary at Bardia.[842] One primarily prehistoric site was also noted for its black and red-glazed pottery, but without the necessary details to conjecture further on the site. (Tsegkianika).[843] Similarly at Limanaki Aylospelou, Archaic and Classical sherds were noted but with no further details.[844] As an extensive survey, published with quite cursory details, there is little to be said other than that there was no evidence in the region, even at Boia itself, dating to before the Archaic period. Zavvou's wider survey of the western coast of Cape Malea, which aimed to trace the remains of sites noted by Pausanias, Strabo and Claudius Ptolemaeus, noted several sites.[845] Although the majority were Hellenistic or later, one site contained architectural remains and pottery from the Classical period onwards and was identified as Kyparissia.[846]

The Survey of Vassara and Veroia

Another extensive survey was undertaken around Vassara and Veroia, Vassara being around 5km east of Sellasia, and therefore quite close to the Laconia survey region. The region was also

[839] Zavvou 2002: 209.
[840] Zavvou 2002: 210.
[841] Zavvou 2002: 212.
[842] Zavvou 2002: 219.
[843] Zavvou 2002: 213.
[844] Zavvou 2002: 215.
[845] Zavvou 2007.
[846] Zavvou 2007: 433.

perioikic, and was on the western side of Parnon, on key routes between Sparta and the Kynouria.[847] Vassara itself had black glazed Laconian sherds, along with other finds from the EH to Roman periods and later.[848] Of the five sites discussed in the preliminary report, three were Roman and one mentioned unpainted sherds in a ravine.[849] The section on the road network, which was the other focus of this survey, said that the surface indications from the survey region as a whole could be attributed to small contemporary communities along the roads, serving these vital communication axes, but as no further settlements were catalogued, other than the five noted above, it is not clear if this is an extrapolation from these, or if they discovered further sites in their work but did not record them. They suggested intensive survey for more firm and detailed conclusions.[850] Both of these surveys shared some similarities with other extensive surveys, particularly Pikoulas' survey of the Megalopolis basin, in that all three were more likely to spot larger settlements and sanctuaries, the latter due to recognisable architectural blocks and miniature pottery. All three also spotted lots of the highly characteristic Archaic-Hellenistic black and red glazed pottery and tiles. Though nothing pre-dated the Archaic period in these two regions, it is unclear if this is because of a genuine lack of previous use, or if it is more a matter of the earlier pottery being less characteristic and visible. Another survey, the South Kynouria Archaeological project, around ancient Prasiai, is currently being undertaken, but has so far only published its geo-spatial techniques in any degree of detail.[851]

The Survey of the Helos Plain

The Helos Plain is a small, coastal zone near to the Eurotas Valley. Hope Simpson and Janko also wrote on the Helos Plain, based on a preliminary, extensive survey undertaken in Southern

[847] Themos 2002: 191.
[848] Themos 2002: 193.
[849] Themos 2002: 194-8.
[850] Themos 2002: 199.
[851] Karapanagiotou 2011: 246; Bokouvalas et al 2018.

Laconia by Hope Simpson in 1956. It focussed on the Mycenaean period but provided some detail about later material.[852] They found no evidence of any significant EIA settlement.[853] They also noted that there was no archaeological evidence from the Helos Plain for the Archaic period, but also noted that presumably the region had been incorporated into Spartan territory by this time.[854] In contrast, the 1956 extensive survey of the region noted several sherds dating to the Classical or Hellenistic periods across several sites (c.18).[855] Stou Manolaki, c. 1.5km east of Asteri, had a concentration of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman material and covered an area of perhaps c. 50,000m^2.[856] However, Themos, though publishing later than Hope Simpson and Janko,[857] was basing his findings on more recent extensive survey work which contributed a slightly different picture of the Archaic period. As Hope Simpson and Janko,[858] he noted the lack of a large urban centre in the plain, hypothesising that from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods this was not perioikic and that people were more dispersed.[859] His extensive survey did however pick up traces of Archaic as well as Classical activity. On the eastern side of the plain two sites had several black and red glazed ceramics suggestive of Classical inhabitation. The central area of the plain contained even more evidence. One site had PG-G and Classical material, as well as a Geometric pithos burial with cups and pins, near another area of black and red glazed ceramics, indicating an extensive settlement with a long lifespan. Another site in the central plain also contained Classical sherds.[860]

[852] Hope Simpson and Janko 2011: 113.
[853] Hope Simpson and Janko 2011: 120.
[854] Hope Simpson and Janko 2011: 114.
[855] Hope Simpson and Janko 2011: 114-6.
[856] Hope Simpson and Janko 2011: 115.
[857] Themos 2007.
[858] Hope Simpson and Janko 2011: 120.
[859] Themos 2007: 467.
[860] Themos 2007: 458-64.

Conclusions

Methodological Conclusions

As elsewhere in the thesis, the overlap of different survey and excavation projects and, in this case, the presence of the LRSP, allow conclusions about the reliability of survey as a source of information to be made. As noted above during the individual sections on the surveys, extensive surveys present several difficulties in interpretation.[861] PRAP and IKAP complement the conclusion on this subject in the chapter in Arcadia; they indicate that we cannot make assumptions about what is missing from extensive survey data. One might assume, from looking comparatively at almost any other part of the Peloponnese, that UMME was certainly missing a dense network of farmsteads. PRAP and IKAP demonstrated unequivocally that this was not the case, in the western part of the region at least. They indicate once again the importance of intensive survey rather than extensive.

The Laconia Rural sites project has provided a uniquely detailed view of the reliability of survey data. The Laconia rural sites project enabled the comparison of surface to sub-surface mapping, it also, therefore, enabled the surveyors to determine how likely it was that the presence of tiles, one of the main indicators of a farmstead, actually represented a structure underneath. They had hypothesised that tile fragments, due to size and weight, would be relatively immobile, and therefore relatively reliable markers. This seemed to be confirmed as on the majority of sites, over 65% of the tile was concentrated, when the grid was walked on a smaller scale and more detailed observations made, in few squares.[862] Of the four sites that date from the period studied for this thesis, the degree of correlation between the survey and the rural sites project was high. Though the rural sites survey found significantly more pottery, it did not drastically alter the interpretation of the sites.

[861] Noted too by Cavanagh 2018: 65 discussing the surveys of Megalopolis, Boia and Vassara and Veroia.
[862] Cavanagh and Mee 2007: 292.

Several of the surveys also looked into erosion. This is a particular problem in Messenia, notably destructive in the IKAP survey due to combinations of tilling and intense rain events in winter causing the movement of loose topsoils.[863] PRAP also noted that some of the soft marl limestone that made up parts of the northern sections of the survey were so eroded that contemporary farmers were tilling bedrock.[864] This has had an effect on the survey data especially that from ravines. Taphonomic processes were also responsible for the movement of artefacts burying some through alluviation and bringing others to the surface through deep agricultural tilling, common in the last century. This was used to explain the mixed artefact ages found in the survey area. They also noted that the construction of terraces would have curtailed a lot of the movement of artefacts downslope in ravines. However, these processes, while significant, were not interpreted as hugely changing the overall picture given of site distribution and dating in this region.[865] LRSP had some interesting and perhaps surprising conclusions about terracing. At three of the four terraced sites they surveyed (LP3, 6 and 14) the artefacts were concentrated, and only at LP15 had they been dispersed. The surveyors instead suggested that terraces, once constructed, restrict the erosion of sites.[866] This corresponded to the findings of the Methana Peninsula survey's investigation of the effects of terracing.

Finally, the sites of Romanou in Messenia and the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus provided two different examples of the relationship between survey and excavation. While at the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus the rescue excavation corresponded well to the survey, at Romanou, the PRAP catalogue entry on Romanou suggests they only found material from the Archaic period and later, while the excavations pushed inhabitation back to the PG period, indicating a large lacuna here in the evidence that was visible on the surface, even when using intensive investigative techniques, much as Oresthasion did in the previous chapter.

[863] Cosmopoulos 2016: 18.
[864] Zangger et al 1997: 571.
[865] Cosmopoulos 2016: 18-20.
[866] Cavanagh and Mee 2007: 12.

General Conclusions

Basic conclusions can be drawn out of this varied and copious survey material and, together with the site evidence detailed above, form localised narratives. Due to complexity and scale, unlike in the other chapters this is presented by region rather than by century. These can then be synthesised to tackle the more specific research questions outlined in the introduction.

The Eurotas Valley

The site of Sparta itself appears to have been settled c.950, about the same time that the extra-urban sanctuaries of Agamemnon and Alexandra and Artemis Orthia came into use. Although evidence from Sparta itself is patchy and limited, the presence of 8th century warrior burials and the more limited nature of the early site both find strong parallels in other contemporary Peloponnesian sites such as those on the Argive plain.[867] In other words, the site itself does not suggest an extraordinary *polis* at this early date. The large, extra-urban sanctuaries, on the other hand, are quite illuminating. Firstly, their sheer number, including the two mentioned above and the Menelaion, which itself came back into use in the late 8th century. This is a notable number of significant extra-urban sanctuaries to be attached to a *polis*. Furthermore, they were architecturally articulated from early on. A temple was built at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia c. 700, while the first temple at the Menelaion was built c.600. These temples, particularly that at Artemis Orthia, provide quite an early indication of a nascent civic identity at Sparta. The sanctuary at Amyklai, on the other hand, saw its own period of expansion and intensification in the late 6th century, including the enhancement of a local cult of Agamemnon to legitimise new, wider aspirations. It therefore seems to represent a different phenomenon to that of the other two sanctuaries. Nevertheless, it is also interesting to note that all three of these sanctuaries

[867] E.g. the 8th century Argive warrior burials. See Foley 1988: 86-7; Koiv 2003: 49; Pappi and Triantaphyllou 2011: 720

were in use from the late 8th century or before and remained active for a long time, in contrast to sanctuaries in many other parts of the survey area which came into use at slightly later times.

The material from the Laconia Survey itself presents a picture of drastic and unusual change in the mid to late 6th century. This change manifested in several different ways, most notably the sudden florescence of activity and inhabitation across the plain. A number of other settlements that ranged in size, most notably the *perioikic polis* Sellasia, but including several other smaller ones such U494, S524, R281, P272. Additionally, at Agios Konstantinos (A118) some sort of defensive site came into use. Below this was a rapid proliferation of small rural sites, many of which the survey and LRSP determined through the presence of storage wares and loom weights were for inhabitation, across the entirety of the survey area. This was accompanied by the appearance of a number of small rural cult sites, aside from the large sanctuary at the Menelaion (Q360) three demonstrably significant cult sites (N415,[868] H45 and U3002) and other minor ones (J215, J221, J367, K414, P260, Q360, R296, U492) are represented. There were therefore multiple different categories of sanctuaries around Sparta, a situation more complex that in other areas discussed in this thesis.[869]

This represented a sudden and drastic increase in the complexity of the site hierarchy of the region, from just the centre, Sparta itself, to a three or four tier hierarchy encompassing a range of large and small settlements, a large number of rural habitations, a fortress and several cult sites. As the surveyors emphasised, this occurred very rapidly, and indicated a sudden and great social change, the details and causes of which will be considered below. The fortress site at Agios Konstantinos and the largest secondary settlement Sellasia are both located in the northern part of the plain, between Sparta and the passages that led to neighbouring regions such as Arcadia.

[868] A rescue excavation of the site, an offshoot of the Laconia Survey, a 6th century fragmentary graffito identified this as the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus. It generally confirmed the impression of the site from the survey, but slight traces of 8th century evidence suggested that use of the site may have begun then. Catling 1990: 34.

[869] Comparisons and synthesis with the other regions examined in this thesis will be reserved for the next chapter except where necessary.

The founding of Agios Konstaninos and the settling of Sellasia may indicate a new concern with Arcadia and Sparta's own security, a topic that will be returned to later on in the consideration of the causes of Spartan expansion.

This multi-tier arrangement of sanctuaries is significant in part precisely because it is different from the simpler patterns evident in the other regions examined so far. It suggests that there was a more complex hierarchy in operation here than elsewhere, or at least one with a more complex notion of territory. This is suggested by the fact that despite this complex arrangement, the area is not significantly larger than others studied here, nor is it unusually fragmented, both of which could otherwise explain this arrangement. The unusual complexity of this settlement hierarchy, the range of sites represented, the number of sites, and, finally, the number of large sanctuaries all suggest a society of a size and complexity greater than those examined in the preceding chapters.

In sum, Sparta and the Eurotas valley appeared to be unremarkable for the most part through the Early Archaic period, except for the unusually large number of major, large extra-urban cult sites, suggesting that while the urban centre at Sparta itself may have been notably large and perhaps socially complex from an early date, this was not reflected in the valley more widely. In the mid-6th century, there was a rapid and drastic expansion around the centre which made Sparta an unusually complex *polis* with numerous secondary and tertiary settlements and several special use sites, mostly cult sites but one possible fortress.

Messenia

The combined site and survey evidence at Messenia suggests an area as unusual as the Eurotas valley; albeit in stark contrast to that region. The excavated site evidence from 8th-5th century Messenia is illuminating by its absence. For example, Nichoria and in particular Messene, given

its 4th century history, might be expected to have developed into typical *poleis* like those in the Southern Argolid or Arcadia. However, after the 8th century, evidence from Nichoria and Messene comes to an end and both these sites appear to have gone out of use at the end of that century or perhaps during the early 7th. Neither survey or excavation has ever provided an indication that these were replaced by other major centres. There are few signs of a typical *polis* structure in the region between the 8th and the 5th centuries.

There are, however, three sites of interest in the region that date to the later Archaic period, Romanou, which was included in the PRAP and UMME survey areas, Kopanaki and Vasiliko. Romanou was interpreted by the surveyors as a nucleated settlement and rescue excavations, as well as determining that the site was in use from the PG period onwards, discovered a cult site with an Archaic temple. They also determined that the cult site had been in use from the 7th century, and had, from c.650 onwards, received Laconian-style votives. While Romanou was in the far west of Messenia, Kopanaki and Vasiliko, as well as being close to one another, were situated further north, equally far from Sparta. The two sites indicate a way of living in that part of the region that was even more at odds with the rest of the Peloponnese than Romanou. While elsewhere the pattern tends towards centralised living in an urban centre, with smaller numbers of people away from the centre, Kopanaki and Vasiliko seem to indicate, at least in the Soulima Valley, a pattern of decentralisation, with people gathered together in large complexes.

The survey evidence contributes to this picture. PRAP, the only intensive survey in the region that focussed on this period, shows limited Geometric activity with only a small (2 sites up to 5) increase in the Archaic/Classical periods. They noted a lack of small rural sites, instead presenting a picture of nucleated, medium-sized settlements, the largest of which was Romanou, around 18-22ha in the Archaic period. Romanou might not, at first glance, appear necessarily very different from other urban centres elsewhere in the Peloponnese, especially because it was a large site. However, there are important differences. Firstly, its cult evidence presents Laconian, rather than

local, material culture from the mid-7th century. Secondly, it is, and remains through the 5th century, extremely isolated. The fact that PRAP and IKAP bordered on one another closely, cumulatively covering quite a large, semi-contiguous area, suggests that their findings, that of only 5 Archaic/Classical sites for PRAP and none for IKAP, except for a small number of off-site scatters, presents a relatively faithful picture of this part of Messenia. They indicate that there were very few other settlements apart from Romanou, and only limited signs of an expansion out of this centre through farmsteads and small rural cults, which were notably lacking in the PRAP area except for the temple at Romanou itself. The region also lacks evidence for cult sites outside of the settlement itself which is highly unusual. This lack of rural settlement or cult sites marking out and articulating the landscape indicate that Romanou did not have the same territorial interests as other comparably sized settlements in, for example, Arcadia. Instead, despite its considerable size, Romanou does not appear to have reached that stage of expansion and consolidation until the 4th century.

The patterns from the UMME survey must, for the reasons outlined above in the section on the project, be approached with extreme caution. Nevertheless, they noted a clear pattern of disruption in site use between the Geometric and Archaic period that denotes some sort of upheaval in settlement patterns, with large scale movement of people within the region. However, the details of this upheaval are only evident at a very basic level, and the reasons for such changes are not easily inferred from the survey itself. The number of sites listed as possible Archaic habitation sites is quite low, given the survey covered the entire region.[870] The catalogue entries are not detailed enough to say more. Furthermore, the catalogue reveals a florescence of cult sites in the 7th and particularly 6th century.[871] However, it is difficult to interpret the meaning of these cult sites as the catalogue entries have few details. A florescence of 6th century cult sites

[870] (100 142 147 151 245 304 315 400 412 512 517 540 602 701 708 722 723)
[871] (142, 150, 151, 314, 412, 504, 530, 542, 704, 709, 720, 729)

would be in keeping with elsewhere in the Peloponnese but without further details it is impossible to say much about this phenomenon.

PRAP and IKAP do not have problems of extensiveness or, in the case of PRAP, of a focus on a different period. On the contrary, PRAP focussed specifically on the period of Spartan domination. The PRAP surveyors specifically noted that their results were not to be extrapolated across the rest of the region as the survey area was on the western fringe,[872] a point that also holds for the nearby IKAP. Despite this, the survey data have been interpreted as indicating radically different picture of settlement with highly nucleated settlements which, apart from Romanou, were medium-sized. Kopanaki and Vasiliko present a similar, but different, phenomenon of nucleation into complexes rather than villages although, again, it is problematic to extrapolate these two neighbouring examples to a wider region. These both represent patterns on the far west and north of Messenia, unfortunately little evidence remains from the eastern part, such as the Pamisos Valley. An intensive survey would be necessary to determine if the patterns in these other parts were replicated here, or if inhabitation followed other patterns.

From early on in the period considered here, the patterns across Messenia, despite some minor internal differences, are consistently and clearly distinct from other regions. The Messenian surveys themselves are not helpful in illuminating when this change occurred except perhaps UMME which notes a break in habitation patterns at the end of the Geometric period. However, the site evidence is quite clear here. Even taking Romanou into consideration, it does not negate the inescapable conclusion that from the very start of the 7th century, there were no centres like Nichoria or perhaps Messene either in the intensively surveyed areas or in the Pamisos Valley. Every indication suggests that people in Messenia lived differently from elsewhere, in nucleated and mostly small settlements dispersed across this wide region. The development of this region

[872] Alcock et al 2005: 151-2.

was severely curtailed from this time until the 4th century. The cause of this arrested development can be inferred from several different pieces of evidence.

The survey provides little evidence for the date of the Spartan conquest of Messenia aside from perhaps the general pattern of disruption evident in the UMME results. Instead, this annexation is more evident in excavated material as detailed above. However, the survey evidence demonstrates an interesting degree of correlation from the mid-6th century onwards between these two areas. For example, there is some correspondence between the changes visible in the Laconian and Messenian surveys. Firstly, the temple construction at Romanou in the Archaic period in the PRAP and UMME survey areas tallies quite well chronologically with the temple building at the Menelaion and at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, although both also fit in well with a general southern Peloponnesian trend for the architectural articulation of cult sites at that time. Additionally, the earliest material at Kopanaki and Vasiliko dates from the 6th century, roughly the same time frame as the expansion within the Eurotas valley. Conversely, the Laconia survey reported that c.450 there was a drastic reduction in the number of sites and the disuse of small rural sites in particular. Meanwhile, Kopanaki seems to have gone out of use in the early 5th century, Vasiliko in the middle of the century. This may well be a set of coincidences, or may be indicative of a wider policy of which both areas were a part. Perhaps more convincingly, there is positive evidence for a link; specifically the cult evidence from Romanou which from c.650 showed a strong Spartan presence amongst the votives. Although certain chronological trends *may* match between Messenia and the Eurotas Valley the site and survey evidence for these two regions is drastically different in detail. While Sparta's closest territory is notable for the unusual complexity and intensity of the sites, Messenia's pattern of inhabitation speaks much more of stagnation and control. This period of stagnation appears to have lasted from the start of the 7th century until the 4th century, past the end of the period considered in this thesis.

Wider and Non-Spartiate Laconia

It is important firstly to emphasise that this a very large area, only partially covered by small survey projects, many of which are extensive. Although some of these areas are considered *perioikic*, this status is questioned for some parts of it.[873] However, they still comprise something of a coherent regional category as they comprise the areas within Laconia and the Thyreatid that are not the immediate heartland of Sparta itself in the Eurotas Valley, and have not been studied as intensively with reference to the Archaic Spartan State as Sparta itself or the occupied region of Messenia.

To turn to the site and the excavation projects there, interesting conclusions emerge. There were three main *perioikic* settlements within the Eurotas Valley itself, Sellasia, Pellana and Geronthrai, of which two are well known. Sellasia, detailed above, has been surveyed, but Geronthrai has been the subject of several seasons of excavation. Although some PG and G material was found, there appeared to be quite a drastic increase in use in the Archaic period. There were other interesting developments in this period, including a temple c.650 and a fortification wall in the late Archaic period, both indicative of increasing complexity at the site.

Even within this small area of the Eurotas Valley, very closely within the orbit of Sparta, these two sites show some difference. One was in use from the PG period, the other only from the mid-6th century. The walls at Geronthrai also perhaps reflect a concern regarding security for settlements in the Eurotas valley, although Geronthrai is located at quite some distance east of Sparta near Mount Parnon. Sellasia is a relatively small community,[874] as was Geronthrai.[875] It otherwise appears to be a typical Peloponnesian *polis*. Sellasia was founded in the 6th century but seemed to have its main period of occupation in the 5th and 4th. It had a circuit wall, and otherwise produced the normal range of finewares and domestic wares, tiles, worked blocks of stones, and

[873] Themos 2007: 466 on the Helos Plain.
[874] The site was estimated to be about 3ha by the survey.
[875] Cavanagh 2018: 79 – about 3.8ha.

loomweights. The survey demonstrated that Sellasia was surrounded by many of its own third order sites, and the placement of H45 between Sellasia and Sparta may have indicated a boundary between them. There are two points of interest here. The first is that both, in stark contrast to the evidence from Messenia, appear to be entirely typical urban centres, if unusually small.[876] The second is that they each have very different settlement histories, particularly regarding the date of their foundation. Their unusually small size compared to other *poleis,* and in particular in contrast to Sparta itself, suggests a position of dependence with that *polis*. However, in the case of Geronthrai, it is by no means clear when Sparta gained dominance over it.

The survey evidence adds yet more complexity; for example, the evidence from the KIP project, provides a different picture. The urban centre at Kythera itself has only very recently been surveyed and the results are not yet published, although it seems to have been a flourishing centre with an urban cult site from the Geometric period.[877] However, the territory around it, which was the subject of the earlier KIP survey, is again highly characteristic of surveys from elsewhere, particularly neighbouring Arcadia, with virtually no evidence outside of the centre until a slight increase in the Archaic period, followed by a much greater one in the Classical period. This period also saw the intensification of metallurgical practices on the island. This pattern of extremely limited evidence until the 6th century when the settlement hierarchies away from the urban centre began to be formed, a pattern that was greatly built on during the Classical period in the form of the spread of small rural sites, is not at all unusual for *poleis* elsewhere in the Peloponnese. This is quite unlike the Messenian surveys and also differs in intensity and date from the Laconia survey, as the date of expansion is the 5th rather than the 6th century, and consists of smaller rural sites in a simpler hierarchy more in keeping with neighbouring regions

[876] Compared to e.g. Asea which was estimated at around 25-30ha (Forsen and Forsen 2003: 247) or even Methana which in the Archaic period was calculated at about 6ha (see catalogue entry MS67).
[877] Cyprian Broodbank personal communication.

such as the *poleis* of the Southern Argolid, or Asea. Additionally, the evidence from Kythera and Sellasia shows the variation between *perioikic* sites in the extent and date of their development. This difference may perhaps partly be explained by the fact that Kythera was both an island and further away from Sparta.

The communities of Laconia outside of the Eurotas Valley are otherwise represented in the extensive surveys, however due to the problems outlined above, it is difficult to say anything about them other than that they too indicate a notable increase in population and inhabitation in the 6th century. Shipley has discerned from the literature a basic principle of central places, as most of the plains appeared to have one main *perioikic* settlement, such as Prasiai, Geronthrai, Kyparissia, often with much smaller settlements nearby,[878] which as far as is possible seems to be supported by the extensive survey data and which again serves to normalise these communities. *Perioikic* communities in Messenia are not illuminated by the survey data as the surveys in that region are either highly extensive, or do not focus on areas thought to have been *perioikic*.

It is more difficult to directly relate the excavated material and the evidence from survey in these *perioikic* surveys, because an overlap only exists in the case of the as yet unpublished KIP project. Nevertheless, the survey results present interesting conclusions, if rather impressionistic ones due to the extensiveness of the surveys. In different parts of Laconia, the surveys around Boia, Vassara and Veroia suggest an increase in cult sites in the region in the 6th century, and an increase in sites generally in the Classical period. The Helos Plain survey, meanwhile, seemed to present an area not entirely unlike that in the PRAP survey with one site at the centre in use from the PG period, as Romanou was, with a small number of Classical sites nearby. The evidence from the Helos Plain may suggest that parts of Laconia were held in the same state of arrested development and stagnation as Messenia was, although the numerous urban centres in Laconia

[878] Shipley 1992: 233.

and the findings of the other extensive surveys demonstrate that this was by no means a uniform phenomenon.

Meanwhile, the evidence from the Thyreatid presents a slightly different picture. The region contains only two plains of which one is the Astros Valley, the subject of one of the surveys examined here.[879] This survey indicated that the main settlement in the area was in use from the Geometric period, along with one other site, and that the Classical period saw a small-scale florescence of minor sites across the plain. Therefore, survey is not particularly illuminating about the development of the region, as it was limited in size and extensive in its collection methods. However, with these caveats, it did not suggest a particularly unusual situation, or a pattern of inhabitation like that of Messenia. Prasiai, a major site in the Thyreatid, is highly illuminating regarding both the development of this region and Sparta's relationship with it. This centres particularly on its two sanctuaries, those of Apollo Maleatas and Apollo Tyritas. The sanctuaries were both in use by the mid-7th century, when Protocorinthian pottery was a common votive offering at both sites. However, at both sanctuaries there were indications of a major shift during the 6th century. At Apollo Maleatas a stone halter with an inscription in the Laconian script was dedicated c.600,[880] while at Apollo Tyritas, a bronze figurine was dedicated c.550 with an inscription also in the Laconian alphabet.[881] At both places, Laconian pottery overtook Corinthian in frequency during the 6th century.[882] This is significant because while Corinthian was a commonly exported ware, Laconian, outside of a few particular areas such as Samos and Cyrene, was not, and this is therefore indicative of a change in relationship, as is the adoption of the Laconian script. This is also reminiscent of the considerably earlier change in material culture in the cult site at Romanou in Messenia, where votive offerings took on a Laconian character from the mid-7th century.

[879] Phaklaris 1990: 230.
[880] Grigorakakis 2015: 654-5.
[881] Lanérès and Grigorakakis 2017: 327.
[882] Grigorakakis 2015: 657, Lanérès and Grigorakakis 2017: 331.

There are two main conclusions to be drawn from the Laconian survey material. Firstly, they as a whole present a broad narrative which is different from those in both the Eurotas Valley and Messenia in several ways. Firstly, nowhere else in Laconia or the Thyreatid shows the early and prolific expansion of the Eurotas Valley. However, other than the Helos Plain, nowhere else within these surveys of Laconia or the Thyreatid demonstrates the extreme stagnation of Messenia either. Secondly, there is a high degree of variability within Laconia and the Thyreatid. Turning to the *poleis* of the region (aside from Sparta), of the intensive surveys, Sellasia is a small, secondary site within the Eurotas Valley which was not founded until the 6th century, while the urban centre at Kythera existed earlier and followed far more typical patterns of development. Of the extensive surveys, the Helos plain was, as noted, stagnant. The other surveys, in combination with evidence from excavation, while patchy and extensive, do not indicate a particularly odd situation, rather a set of communities that developed along lines not unlike those of comparable socially peripheral and geographically liminal areas such as Asea or the Southern Argolid. This is particularly clear from the site evidence at Prasiai, Sellasia and Geronthrai, and from the survey evidence from Kythera. But there are indications of a phenomenon in these areas; indications that are lacking from the surveys of neighbouring regions.

Sparta's involvement in Laconia outside of the Eurotas valley is, archaeologically speaking, ambiguously represented. It manifests through stagnation, which itself is indicative of the arrested development of sites that could have become *poleis* in some areas and unusually small urban centres in other.[883] This is not the case in the Thyreatid, which presents convincing evidence of Spartan control. To return to Prasiai and its two sanctuaries, De Polignac previously noted them as significant border sanctuaries marking the passages between Prasiai and

[883] The point can be made that this ambiguity partly stems from the surprising lack of evidence before the 6th century in many places. It has been noted that the largest and most prosperous *perioikic* communities such as Pellana, Geronthai, Boiai, and Prasiai, are often not archaeologically visible from as early a date as literary accounts would suggest. Even Wallner's recent comprehensive catalogue of the archaeological remains of the perioikic communities notes there were few sites in the region with material before the 6th century, while always bearing in mind that there is a serious lack of excavation at many of these centres (Wallner 2008: 50-173).

Laconia.[884] Grigorakakis alternatively interpreted them as marking the borders of Prasiai's own territory,[885] an identification that fits well with their location and the date during which they came into use and with the function of comparable sanctuaries elsewhere. The rapid adoption of Laconian votives and the use of the Laconian script mark a change at Prasiai in the early to mid-6th century, seeming to mark the period of time when it came under Spartan control.

There are strong suggestions that Prasiai was not the only place where cult seemed to be an arena for, or reflection of, Spartan control in the 6th century, which help to date the onset of Spartan influence and control in Laconia outside of the Eurotas Valley, or at the very least to pinpoint a formalisation of this relationship. The significance of the peripheral cults of Apollo in this area to help create a unity with Sparta is also noted by Lanérès and Grigorakakis.[886] Shipley similarly noted the importance of the cult of Apollo Geronthratas at the sanctuary belonging to Geronthrai to fulfil this role.[887] Another example is from the Laconia Survey; the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax (H45) which lay between Sparta and Sellasia. Sartre also notes the significance of Artemis and Apollo cults in the Thyreatid.[888] It therefore seems that these Apollo cults fulfilled a similar function in many *perioikic* areas in Laconia and, where datable, they appear to date to the later Archaic period. This suggests several things, firstly that they represent a particular, widespread method of control which is quite different from that exerted in Messenia, and secondly, that this control is, unlike that in Messenia, a phenomenon of the 6th century. This second point is less certain. However, the combination of this cult evidence, the general increase in inhabitation in the region at the same time, and the fact that some of the other *poleis* in the region, in particular Sellasia, did not come into use until this period, do all provide evidence in

[884] De Polignac 1995: 54.
[885] Grigorakakis 2015: 652.
[886] Lanérès and Grigorakakis 2017: 328.
[887] Shipley 2009: 11. The tile stamp naming the cult dates to the 3rd century and it is not clear if this identification applies earlier.
[888] Satre 1979: 219.

favour of attaching a significant change in relationship to this century, combined with the absence of such evidence in earlier times.

Summary

The situation in Laconia and Messenia is complex and variable. To start with Sparta itself, the Eurotas valley stands out from the other survey areas both in this chapter and in the other regions examined here. It has the earliest and most dramatic expansion of its settlement hierarchy, having previously been notable for the unusually large number of major sanctuaries attached to it, suggesting a degree of earlier complexity that can perhaps also be linked to Sparta's early activity in Messenia. The notable discrepancies in the 6th century changes to Sparta's settlement hierarchy cannot be explained by survey factors; PRAP, IKAP and KIP were all highly intensive projects as well and do not demonstrate changes comparable to this. The settlement hierarchy that emerged in the mid-6th century around Sparta was unusually complex compared not just to the rest of the region, but to places outside of it as well. The Laconia survey, and in particular the LRSP noted that the small rural sites in this area were unusual because of the high number of them that were strongly suggested, by the types of pottery found there, to be inhabitations rather than storage locations, in particular the large number of storage wares indicating long term storage and use. There were therefore possibly more people living in the Eurotas valley in a dispersed manner, just as inhabitation at larger secondary sites and presumably at Sparta itself increased. This would seem to suggest a growth in population around this time.

However, this expansion was not the first time Sparta had opted for unusual settlement patterns as more than a century earlier, in the early 7th century, there are strong indications, from the changes to the material culture and settlement patterns of Messenia detailed above, that she took control of that region, explaining the highly unusual settlement patterns there.

In the rest of Laconia, Sparta's control was for the most part less obvious, and seems to have taken a different form reflected in the cult evidence and the small size of the *perioikic poleis*. The date of this control is not easy to determine although there are numerous suggestions that it dates to the 6th century. The internal expansion within the Eurotas valley corresponds chronologically to other important events in the wider region most notably with the Laconian appropriation of sanctuaries in the Thyreatid and the expansion of sites in Laconia. To these may perhaps be added the changes at Amyklai representing a sudden impetus not just to expand their control over a wider region, but to legitimise these or other claims through the appropriation of heroes such as Agamemnon. Together, the Eurotas Valley, Messenia, Laconia and the Thyreatid present a complex narrative of the Spartan State and Spartan territoriality.

The Spartan State and Spartan Territoriality

While Sparta's well-known territorial extent was unique, the evidence from the survey, and from some excavations, must lead us to question what exactly the nature of this territory, and Spartan control of it, was. Firstly, is 'state' an appropriate term for the wider region of Laconia and Messenia? As the introduction outlined, early states are highly variable in their makeup. Furthermore, a more ordinary *polis* qualifies as a state under these guidelines. As the situation at Sparta is both more complex and on a larger geographical scale than an ordinary *polis*, it follows that it too should be considered as a state. However, it was a state of appreciably greater size and complexity than other *poleis,* and when it gained this distinction is a more difficult question to answer, but may perhaps be linked to Sparta's acquisition of Messenia.

The attractions Messenia would have held for Sparta are obvious. Even today its fertility is notable. Roughly 40% of the available land is arable, compared to an average across Greece of 28%. The region is geologically and geographically predisposed to be well-watered, with extensive

groundwater just below the surface, and perennial rivers and springs.[889] Nevertheless, Sparta's motivations to expand in this manner are uncertain. It is clear from the Laconia survey, which found virtually no evidence predating the mid-6th century, that the occupation of Messenia was due to land hunger.[890] It may indicate a preference for the land on the other side of Mount Taygetos, as Tyrtaios (Fr.5) writing during the Archaic period refers to the region as 'eurychoros'. However, this does not encompass the far west of Messenia. It is possible, therefore, that this preference for Messenian land was only partially the cause. Survey does not provide any further evidence about this; though perhaps it may have involved a need for other resources or for labour.

As for the extent of the exploitation of Messenia, some relevant information on the land surveyed by PRAP and IKAP is revealed in the sections of Thucydides on Athenian and Spartan activities at Pylos and Sphakteria during the Peloponnesian War. At Thuc. 4.3.2 the Athenian fleet puts in at Pylos due to a storm and considers fortifying it, in part due to its natural defensive qualities, but also because it, along with much of the country around was unoccupied, which implies it was notably different from much of the rest of the region. The rest of the chapter explains that Pylos is at some distance, about 45 miles, from Sparta, and in fact they are able to fortify it without much Spartan interference or even concern. PRAP survey traced vegetation changes over the past 8000 years. Their studies of comparative amounts of pollen were highly illuminating on the subject of land use. Olive pollen increased, with a corresponding decrease in oak, just before c.2000, a pattern that was maintained until c.1200, when instead olive pollen levels dropped and oak levels increased indicating the cessation of intensive agriculture due to the collapse of the Bronze Age systems. This was not remedied until the Hellenistic period.[891] Therefore, much of the land was not exploited extensively even from these nucleated sites like Romanou. Why this choice

[889] McDonald and Rapp 1972: 36-7.
[890] Cavanagh 2018: 65. Contra see Cartledge 2002: 99, who argues for 'relative' overpopulation, though combined with inequality of land ownership.
[891] Zangger et al 1997: 586-95.

was made is unclear, but might have had to do with security, and the possibility that such a fringe area would have been harder to control further away from Sparta. While two fifths of the Peloponnese belonged to her, that does not mean that two fifths were in equally intensive use and the survey data, in combination with this contemporary literary source, strongly suggests that in the Archaic and Classical periods, much of Messenia was not very intensively occupied. This in turn raises questions of whether this was by choice or by necessity. Perhaps Sparta lacked the apparatus to maintain anything other than a tenuous hold on large swathes of fringe land that comprised much of western Messenia, or simply lacked the desire or need to do so.

Regarding the communities and areas of Laconia and the Thyreatid, the position of this large and varied group of places is complex, ambiguous and variable. As for the nature of their connection to and control by Sparta, in most parts it is clearly very different to that of Messenia. In great contrast to that region, our main, and nearly only, indicator of Spartan domination is the influx of Laconian material culture into these areas, and the increase in focus on peripheral Apollo cults, changes which both date to the 6th century. Where discernible, the 6th century appears to be the key period for Spartan annexation or creation of *perioikic* settlements. However, it is possible that some areas such as the Helos Plain, the extensively surveyed areas such as Boia, and some *perioikic poleis* such as Geronthrai, may have been under Spartan control at an earlier date such as the 7th century.

The nature of the Spartan state is not easy to understand, whether through survey evidence or any other. However, the survey and site evidence combined suggest a complex, multi-faceted system. That this region was held by a variety of methods, accruing at different periods of time, is unsurprising given that by the standards of a Greek city state it was vast. The wider region of Laconia and Messenia does not fit well with the interpretation of one wider Lacedaimonian *polis*, of which Sparta itself is the urban centre and every other part of the region the territory. Messenia, however, does fit quite well with this interpretation. From the start of the 7th century,

it does not have any major centres of its own, nor any suggestions of internal boundaries, and the presence of Sparta itself as the closest centre to Messenia, and the presence of Laconian votives at Messenian cult sites, do strongly suggest that the Messenian situation is a result of Laconian interference. The exact relationship between Messenia and Sparta is not clear, but it is certainly a relationship of severe inequality, due to the extremely unusual settlement patterns of Messenia at this time, compared to other parts of the Peloponnese.

The lack of centres does make the interpretation of Messenia as an unusually large extension of Sparta's territory plausible, especially given that although Sparta seems to have controlled all of it, she didn't necessarily exploit all of it very intensively. In this model the evidence appears as scattered second order sites, in particular Romanou and perhaps Kopanaki and Vasiliko as both were large complexes, with potentially large swathes of unused land between. As stated before, more intensive survey elsewhere in Messenia is needed to settle this point. A comparison of this wider region to the more immediate territory demonstrates, though, that even though Messenia appears to have acted as an extension of Sparta's territory, in its capacity as the land available for it to exploit, it did not have the same position in the state as the Eurotas Valley. This is evident from their divergent paths in the 6th century, when the boom in the Eurotas Valley was matched by persistent stagnation on the other side of Mount Taygetos. In this regard the relationship between Sparta and this part of its territory appears to have been particularly exploitative.

Of relevance here, though, is the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis on Mount Taygetos, straddling the border between Laconia and Messenia, and the site of *horoi* marking their shared border much later in history under Roman occupation.[892] The site was in use from the 8th century onwards, as a possible meeting place between elites on either side of the mountain. It is significant that this border sanctuary between Messenia and the Eurotas Valley was maintained and perhaps suggests that while, functionally, Messenia appears to have acted like an extension

[892] Koursoumis and Kosmopoulos 2013: 75.

of its territory, that there was at least a perception of a difference in the minds of the Spartans between Messenia and the land around the urban centre in the Eurotas Valley. As mentioned earlier, one of the questions often asked is whether the conquest of Messenia was a gradual, piecemeal subjugation or a single event. Survey does not provide much evidence to settle this question, although what little evidence there is suggests a gradual process moving westwards from the Pamisos Valley. This is based on the early date of the destruction of centres in that eastern part of the region, compared to the later date of the shift towards Spartan material culture at Romanou in the far west, and the even later date of large complexes in the far north-west of the region. However, on the basis of such insubstantial evidence, this is merely a suggestion.

The takeover of Messenia was followed by a very different phase of expansion in other directions in the 6th century towards and into the Thyreatid, after perhaps some limited expansion within Laconia between these two phases. Unlike Messenia, there were functioning centres and territories in this area. The evidence indicates that these were dependent *poleis* held in some sort of federal position with regards to Sparta itself, with their own territories, but that had taken on Laconian material culture and writing. Nevertheless, it seems that they were fairly normal Greek communities, outside of their necessity to support the Spartans in foreign conflict,[893] Their origins differed on an *ad hoc* basis, some taken over, some founded *ex nihilo*, such as Sellasia, or a mixture of the two.[894] This raises difficult questions of status that survey is not well-equipped to answer. For example, Sellasia is considered within the survey as a secondary site of Sparta, fitting directly into the same hierarchy. However, the evidence for Prasiai in particular, but presumably applicable to many other *perioikic* sites such as Geronthrai that were certainly not Spartan foundations, a weaker, federal state model fits the evidence far better. Does this mean that Sellasia and Prasiai or Geronthrai are not the same sort of site, or that their relationship with

[893] Ducat 2018: 612.
[894] Shipley 1992: 214.

Sparta is not necessarily precisely the same? These distinctions are not ones that survey evidence can be used to reconstruct, nor ones that material from excavations, except for relevant epigraphic evidence, is particularly useful for either.

In terms of models, the Spartan state, encompassing Messenia and Laconia, does not adhere to just one. A core-periphery model works well between Sparta and Messenia and perhaps some parts of Laconia such as the Helos Plain, which seemed to lack a large centre too. However, this model does not work as well for other parts of Laconia (e.g. Geronthrai) or Kythera and the Thyreatid, where a decentralised, federal state fits the evidence far better. This fundamental difference between these two parts of the Spartan state may be partly to do with date of expansion; perhaps by the time Sparta turned her attention to these areas, they had already developed to a degree of size and prosperity that made all out conquest unattractive or impossible, in contrast to the communities of 8th century Messenia and in particular the Pamisos Valley. Another explanation for Sparta's later preference for annexation and expansion rather than destruction and stagnation, lies in a consideration that was far less of a factor before the mid-6th century; territorial pressure from Sparta's neighbours.

Sparta and her Neighbours

The expansion in the 6th century marks not just the absorption of urban centres and smaller territories to within Spartan control, as its earlier expansion seemingly had been. Another important factor in Sparta's actions during this period is conflict with other regions, Arcadia and Argos, and the movement into and creation of buffer areas and borders between them.

One of the starkest pieces of evidence for this newfound concern with security and borders were the *hermai* found by Romaios on the north-eastern frontier of the Eurotas valley. He had been searching for them, on the basis of Pausanias 2.38.7, who noted them during his own travels, as

marking the boundary between Laconia, Argos and Tegea. Romaios discovered Archaic terracottas and inscriptions which dated them quite securely to the 6th century.[895] Another possible border defence in this region between Arcadia and the Eurotas valley, guarding the route through the Skiritis and into Tegean territory, was Chartzenikos discovered by Pikoulas in the region around Karyai. This fortification, along with Agios Konstantinos and Chelmos-Athenaion completed its Hellenistic defence network.[896] Although the fortifications are not this early, the site produced Laconian-style pottery certainly from the Classical period, and perhaps as early as the 6th century, indicating Spartan activity here.[897]

Much of the Laconia Survey evidence can be added to this general picture, in particular the founding of Sellasia and the defensive site of Agios Konstaninos, both also in the northern part of the plain and creating another set of buffers between Sparta and this route into Arcadia. It seems likely that this period of expansion and these new concerns over marking the border with Arcadia are a linked phenomenon, both denoting a newfound Spartan concern for security. It is worth here noting a particular aspect of Sellasia and the fortress at Agios Konstantinos, that of the early history of its investigation. Although there is not the space to discuss them in great length, the Peloponnese and its routes and defences were the subject of some of the earliest investigations of the 19th and 20th centuries. Many travellers such as Leake, Jochmus and Loring,[898] led by Pausanias' own travel guide, were keen to discover both this site and others such as Karyai. Their interest was firmly rooted in military history. For example, Jochmus tied his investigations to the later Battle of Sellasia, and considered Sellasia as a fortress site on the important route from Tegea to Sparta.[899] Although interesting and important works in their own right, their relevance here is that these sites are, and have been, considered to be important buffer areas between

[895] Romaios 1904-5: 137-8.
[896] Pikoulas 1987: 148.
[897] Pikoulas 1987: 141.
[898] Leake 1830; Jochmus: 1857; Loring 1895.
[899] Jochmus 1857: 34-5.

these centres, and that they have been viewed through this lens of liminality and military importance due to their location and their importance in ancient conflicts.

Skiritis and Inter-Regional Conflict

The study of these buffer regions, of which space constraints permit only a cursory look, also provide evidence for increasing inter-*polis* and inter-regional conflict and the role it played in the drastic increase of physical demarcation of territory in the Late Archaic period. Pikoulas undertook an extensive survey of Skiritis,[900] one of these border regions of Arcadia and Laconia which was home to other significant sites such as Karyai.[901] He noted 11 settlements, mostly small, of which all but one were Classical, Hellenistic or later, of which one, Ai-Gianni Kerasias, was identified with Oios, a site noted by Xenophon (Xen Hell. 6.4.24). Another was identified with Karyai, although others, notably Romaios, have argued that it was in fact Iasos.[902] One site produced pottery that may have been 6th century but was more likely to be Classical. The pottery was described as being Laconian in character.[903] Pikoulas attributed this lack of Archaic material more to the weakness of survey than to a lack of activity, although the larger amount of Classical activity also confirmed a lack of major settlements in this area.[904] He argued on the basis of this evidence that the region passed to Spartan hands before the Messenian wars although, as in other areas such as the Thyreatid, there is no evidence for such an early date, nor is there much evidence at all for activity in the area before the Classical or perhaps Archaic periods.

[900] As noted by Roy 2015, Pikoulas uses the term Skiritis to encompass a wide area of this frontier area, esp. pg 133-4.
[901] This large and complex border region, made up of smaller regions such as Skiritis and Belminatis, is worthy of more intensive study than can be afforded within this thesis. However, the points of interest regarding territory are exemplified well in the smaller region discussed here, partly because it was the subject of an extensive survey.
[902] Romaios 1957, see also Cavanagh 2002b: 284-5 on Analipsis.
[903] Pikoulas 1987: 139-43.
[904] Pikoulas 1987: 144.

Roy, focussing on this border area, particularly on Karyai and Skiritis, makes a useful contribution on this point, specifically on the Late Archaic and Early Classical habit of swapping ethnic identity in the face of changing pressures and political situations.[905] He argues that it is quite likely that this region became Laconian in the late Archaic period, probably through military means,[906] or perhaps voluntarily, on the face of it at least, due to the growth of their neighbours and the resultant pressure.[907] It is clear from literary evidence that ownership of this area was, at some later point, a fraught topic for Sparta and her neighbours, much as the ownership of the Thyreatid was. For example, Aeschylus Fr. 416 seems to preserve a Classical claim to previous control of the place by Tegea, a sentiment also preserved in Pausanias (8.45.1).[908]

Karyai may have originally been Arcadian before it became Laconian. However, it is by no means certain that this identity was politically meaningful instead, as Roy has suggested, it is more likely that it was in some way ethnically Arcadian but did not have a strong political bond to any particular site. This is in keeping with the general arguments and conclusions of this thesis. In the Geometric and earlier Archaic periods, there is no compelling reason to force settlements into elaborate hierarchies; it was only during the 6th century that such hierarchies became highly evident, and that border areas such as the Karyatid became areas of concern and interest for the *poleis* they connected. It was at this point, in the mid-6th century, that Karyai had to commit to a side, at which point they became Laconian. This is not exactly to say that it was previously Arcadian and became Laconian. While it may ethnically have identified as Arcadian earlier on, the adoption of a Laconian identity encompasses greater change than that of ethnicity. Instead, it seems likely that it changed from potentially just existing independently, on a smaller scale, to now acting as an outpost and frontier for Sparta, in which case it has taken on a different political position, and has now become part of a settlement hierarchy it did not previously belong to. This

[905] Roy 2009: 205-6.
[906] Roy 2009: 207.
[907] Roy 2009: 210.
[908] Noted by Roy 2009: 207.

change of identity and newfound allegiance to Sparta is therefore most likely datable to the 6th century for the reasons mentioned above. The evidence is largely circumstantial and contextual, and this argument rests more on the fact that the 6th century was the period of many other changes that appear to be closely linked to this particular one. However, the region may have had influences there slightly earlier. For example, at the site Romaios excavated, either Karyai or Iasos, the oldest temple remains are very end of the 7th century or start of the 6th, and they are Laconian in style.[909] However, this possible earlier cultural influence does not detract from the fact that more obvious signs of movement into this region and increasing Spartan anxiety regarding its northern border is a phenomenon of later on in this century. Additionally, while some Spartan activity at the end of the 7th or start of the 6th century is indicated, the mid-6th century still represents a great change and formalisation of Spartan presence in the area building on this earlier activity.

It is also necessary to mention the 6th century stela, whose very existence is uncertain, said to have been located on the banks of the Alpheios, and which allegedly recorded a pledge by the Tegeans to the Spartans not to make the Messenians useful. While this might seem to be further evidence for the placement of Archaic boundary markers by Sparta marking its territory from Arcadia, this particular example is fraught with problems. Herodotus, in his account of the conflict with Tegea, does not record the stele reportedly set up on the banks of the Alpheios. This is in Plutarch's *Quaestiones Graecae* Ch. 5, ultimately from Aristotle (Fr. 592).[910] However, this stele is far more problematic than some authors[911] make it out to be. It has never been found, not in itself a major hindrance but it is transmitted as written in the Attic dialect, an odd choice for a treaty between Sparta and Arcadia.[912] Therefore this piece of evidence, which has often been employed to prove that by the mid-6th century, this border existed, probably dates instead to the

[909] Romaios 1958: 166.
[910] Quoted in full in Yates 2005 footnote 35.
[911] E.g. Cartledge 2002: 119.
[912] Hall 2003: 152.

5th century. Even without the stele, there is certainly a trend, in the northern part of Spartan territory, of expansion, consolidation, and more overt signifiers of possession, that mark a new concern for the delineation of territory and borders between these two areas that is not present earlier on. Sparta's expansion into the Thyreatid was likely driven by similar concerns, as the region was between Laconia and the Argive Plain, the other area that the *hermai* mentioned above were possibly erected in response to.[913] Additionally, the sheer fact that this area did, geographically, lie between Sparta and the Argive Plain, and remained a hotly contested buffer zone between these two *poleis* even centuries later. Another connection may be present in the fact that this expansion into the Thyreatid was somewhat contemporary with the creation of the *hermai* and the expansion within the Eurotas Valley, a connection that will be expounded upon in the synthesis.

It was noted in the previous section that ascribing changes to Archaic Arcadian settlement patterns to fear of Sparta was an overly simplistic view, and the evidence from northern Laconia does indeed seem to confirm that Sparta too felt pressure from her neighbour.

The changes in the southern part of Arcadia, in the Eurotas Valley, and in the borderlands between them present a compelling narrative when viewed as different aspects of the same phenomenon. The *poleis* of southern Arcadia experienced a period of great change, through *synoikism,* such as at Tegea, and the consolidation of territories, such as at Asea. This also fits chronologically in with what Nielsen has elucidated, detailed briefly in the Arcadia chapter, about changing ethnic identity and tribalism, in particular the Mainalian grouping of the late 6th or early 5th century. These, and Sparta's own drive towards expansion, consolidation and fortification suggest different reactions to the shared issue of increased contact with and pressure from neighbours and increased anxiety about land, territory and settlement hierarchy placement.

[913] Romaios 1904-5: 137; Sartre 1979: 221.

This is not an entirely different phenomenon from the buffer zones of the Eurotas valley, and the Spartan occupation of the Thyreatid. The common factor here appears to be Sparta. Although there were contemporary changes to the settlement hierarchies and demarcation between and within *poleis* in the Southern Argolid, they are of a different nature; less drastic, with far fewer indications of overt hostility and anxiety regarding neighbours.

The survey and site evidence combined present a complex narrative of change and expansion. At the very start of the Archaic period, Sparta took the unusual step of subjugating an entire neighbouring region, stifling its growth for centuries, and exploiting it as its territory. By the early to mid-6th centuries, new concerns had arisen for Sparta. The flurry of activity in the Eurotas Valley, in combination with the establishment of *hermai* marking the boundary between Sparta, Tegea and Argos, which made the Eurotas valley the most intensively and complexly settled part of the Peloponnese. In concert with this is the expansion into the Thyreatid, perhaps also for defensive measures, and, around the same time, and also probably in reaction to Argos, the shift in focus at the sanctuary at Amyklai towards legitimising Sparta at the expense of Argos, Agamemnon's mythical home.

The Historical Context

At this point, it is appropriate to turn briefly to the historical evidence to see what, if any, contributions it can make to these conclusions. In the limited space here, only a very few topics, the most relevant to the questions in this chapter, are considered.

Firstly, the mid-6th century conflict with Sparta's neighbours. Our historical knowledge of Sparta's relationship with the rest of the Peloponnese in the late 6th and 5th centuries is fairly meagre. Thucydides in his summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars is able or willing to give only a few details, nor can Herodotus supplement him as this topic falls outside the

period he is primarily interested in. Hdt. 9.35 briefly recounts a number of conflicts in this period, one of which is between the Spartans on one side and the Tegeans and Argives on the other, and another between Sparta and all the Arcadians aside from Mantineia, and another one against the Messenians. Therefore, between the end of the Persian Wars and the end of the 450s Sparta fought Tegea on a number of occasions. It is probable that Spartan fear of their neighbours to the north came not just from their proximity and apparent strength but also in Arcadia's proximity to Messenia itself, her all-important subject region. Arcadia had the power to permanently destabilise the Spartan way of life if she put too much pressure on Messenia.[914] While one could generally argue that the Arcadian hostilities of the early 5th century against Sparta could be interpreted as an attempt to free themselves from the Spartan yoke in the form of the hegemonic Peloponnesian League. Powell has demonstrated that the actual details of the conflicts briefly recounted in Hdt. 9.35 imply a far greater degree of equality between the combatants. For instance, the fact that Tegea came into conflict with Sparta twice in such a relatively short period of time indicates that the first battle was by no means conclusive; and while Sparta defeated Argos and Athens at Tanagra a few years later, within a year or so Athens had gained control of Boeotia, indicating again that Sparta's victory at Tanagra had been weak.[915]

These literary sources are among the earliest we have, and describe the later Archaic period. In other words, they are not far removed from the events they are describing. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that they correspond broadly to the evidence from survey. The survey suggests a particular preoccupation with Tegea in particular, and, just as the literary evidence suggests, despite Sparta's reputation for overwhelming might, the establishment of buffer settlements and possible fortresses suggest that Sparta and Tegea were quite well matched in this period.

[914] Cartledge 2002: 130; Powell 2018b: 296.
[915] Powell 2018b: 296.

However, while this correspondence provides helpful support for the historicity of these accounts, it adds little to what can be extrapolated from the archaeological evidence.

A slightly different picture emerges from the literary evidence for Sparta's conflicts with Argos. It is generally argued that the question of ownership of the Thyreatid was 'finally' settled in c. 545 after several bouts, and perhaps centuries, of conflict.[916] The extremely sparse pre-6th century archaeological remains from the region, mentioned above, might immediately call this situation into question. In fact, the textual evidence for this is also highly problematic. These problems arise from two particular issues; the date of the textual accounts and the generally fraught nature of the history of the Argive Plain, a topic too large and complex to be covered in detail here. Instead, only the points most relevant to the conflict over the Thyreatid will be referenced here namely the alleged Battle of Hysiae, and the reign of the Argive king Pheidon both of which are highly suspect.

The Battle of Hysiae, alleged to have taken place in 669/8, is only mentioned by Pausanias (Paus. 2.24.6). While Cartledge argues that it is also the conflict referenced at Tyrtaios P Oxy 3316 (Fr. 23a West), it is a highly fragmentary passage that refers in part to conflict and to the Argives. Cartledge argues that it was perhaps during this period, the second quarter of the 7th century, that Argive power was at its height under Pheidon.[917] However, this fragment also refers to the Arcadians, and is, besides that, far too short to begin to reconstruct a narrative, nor is there any sense within the fragment of a disagreement *over territory* specifically, as opposed to being a conflict of another kind. That this conflict is only referenced by Pausanias should already call its historicity into question as he is an extremely late source. The accounts of conflict between Argos and Sparta in the work of earlier historians calls it further into question. Both Herodotus and

[916] Cartledge 2002: 109 has argued that this 6th century conflict represented the extension of Spartan control further toward Argos, but that they would already have been in possession of part of the region. Phaklaris 1990: 239, hypothesises that before the 7th century the region was firmly under Argive control, which it lost completely in the mid-6th century. Adshead 1986: 26-8 also generally subscribes to the idea of long-standing conflict between the two regions over the Thyreatid.
[917] Cartledge 2002: 109.

Thucydides seem to focus on the so-called Battle of the Champions between the two regions, dated to c.545.[918] This is the earliest conflict mentioned in either source although Thucydides notes in passing (Thuc. 5.29.1) that the two *poleis* have always, 'αἰεὶ' been in conflict, a claim I will return to. By the time of Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.5.11) and Plato (*Laws* 3.685a-686b), this idea of eternal conflict had been quite firmly entrenched in literary sources as Kelly, focussing on the evolution of this conflict in literature, has detailed.[919] Despite this, surprisingly few modern works have called this battle into question seriously.[920]

The Battle of Hysiae is often linked in modern scholarship to the reign of the Argive king Pheidon,[921] a connection not made by any ancient source.[922] The evidence for Pheidon, too, is late and problematic. Strabo (8.3.33) describes his territorial expansion, his invention of a new system of weights and measures, his introduction of silver coinage, which is impossible because coinage did not exist in Greece at this time, and his destruction by Sparta resulting from his interference at Olympia. Strabo's evidence is the account of Ephorus, himself a 4th century writer (FGrHist 70F115), which should raise immediate suspicions about the reliability of his own information. Aristotle, meanwhile notes (Pol. 1310b) that he was a king who became a tyrant, while Herodotus (Hdt. 6.127) briefly mentions his son Lakedas who vied for Agariste's hand in marriage in the famous contest, dating him as a contemporary of Kleisthenes of Sikyon. The events he is alleged to have been involved with therefore take place between the 11th and the 6th centuries. Yet despite these seemingly unsurmountable problems, not many scholars are inherently critical of Pheidon's existence.[923] Even those who take a critical view of the sources,

[918] Hdt. 1.82; Thuc. 5.41.
[919] Kelly 1970.
[920] E.g. Kelly 1970: 971ff; Hall 1995a: 596, who suggests it is either entirely fictional, or merely an unusual clash between these two *poleis*.
[921] Adshead 1986: 26-8; Cartledge 2002: 109.
[922] Noted by Foley 1997: 20.
[923] Kelly 1970: 971ff.

instead of merely writing him off as a mythical figure, assert that there were three different kings called Pheidon, to account for all these activities.[924]

The traditions of pre-6th century conflict between these two *poleis* are therefore highly tenuous, supported only by late sources, and often flatly denied by earlier ones. The introduction of Pheidon to the Battle of Hysiae by modern scholarship is also a troubling leap in logic. These earlier conflicts, particularly the Battle of Hysiae, are highly mythologised, their details open to scepticism. The concept of an Argive Thyreatid before the Spartan conquest is adhered to by many scholars on the basis of the Herodotean claim for this (Hdt. 1.82.2).[925]

Some have favoured an early expansion date into these *perioiki*c regions, most notably Cartledge who despite noting the late date for archaeological evidence from these regions argued that those sites which were in existence from the Geometric period *must* have been under Spartan control by about 775.[926] Wallner similarly tied the *perioikoi* to the coming of the Dorians, and therefore to Sparta's own earliest Protogeometric and Geometric history.[927] Phaklaris argues that Kynouria was autonomous until the 7th century, when it fell under Argive control, before being lost to Sparta in the 6th century, when its material culture more closely aligns with that of Sparta; this can be linked to the so-called 'Battle of the Champions', the conflict over the region between Argos and Sparta, traditionally dated to c.545.[928] Cavanagh has similarly argued that the evidence points to a consolidation of the Spartan border from the early 6th century. This was probably done to establish control of a territory disputed with other cities, again linking the *perioikic* expansion to the conflict with Argos. In this it was perhaps comparable with the contemporary clashes with

[924] Foley 1997: 26, Kelly 1970: 1003.
[925] De Polignac 1995: 54; Cartledge 2002: 121; Grigorakakis 2015: 655.
[926] Cartledge 2002: 86.
[927] Wallner 2008: 232.
[928] Phaklaris 1990: 239.

Tegea, arguing that the conflict with Tegea may not have just been about acquiring land, but as part of a border dispute over Skiritis and the Megalopolis basin.[929]

Though most are later, some of these sites were founded at around the same time as Sparta, therefore indicating that they were not founded by Spartans as *perioikic* settlements. Around the same time that Sparta was settled, in the 10th century, so were several other settlements that were later to become *perioikic*, such as Geraki, Kyparissia and Pellana.[930] There was therefore a long period of time during which they were not under the Spartan yoke and were perhaps quite typical settlements as perhaps indicated by an elite EIA grave with an iron weapon which was discovered near Gytheion,[931] and another elite grave at Pellana dating to the 10th-9th centuries too.[932] When exactly this ended is unclear. However, there is little good reason to think that in the early 8th century, or even before, Sparta would have been in any way willing or able to exert control over such a large region. Everything above should lead us to question the idea that Sparta began her expansion in the 10th century.[933]

Furthermore, the evidence for an Argive Thyreatid any time in or before the 6th century is non-existent. The proposed Argive control of Kynouria in the 7th century before Sparta apparently wrested control of the region, when in fact the archaeological evidence suggests there was very little activity here at that time and what evidence there is, most notably from Prasiai, does not represent a shift from Argive to Laconian material culture. There certainly must have been conflicts with other centres before the 6th century, one such being the likely destruction of Asine in the late 8th century.[934] However, this was seemingly not done with a view to Argos taking over Asinaean land, as evidence at the site, rather than switching to Argive material culture, indicating

[929] Cavanagh 2002a: 243.
[930] Cavanagh 2018: 62.
[931] Hope Simpson and Waterhouse 1961: 115.
[932] Spyropoulos 2002.
[933] Idea put forward by e.g. Wallner 2008: 232.
[934] A destruction described by Pausanias (4.8.3) and Strabo (8.6.11) and confirmed to some degree by excavation (Hägg and Hägg 1973: 28, 82; Styrenius 1998: 53.) although the true extent of the cessation of activity at the site in the Archaic and Classical periods has been questioned (e.g. Dietz 1982: 102.).

a takeover, largely ceased altogether. Instead, I would argue that the mid-6th century conflicts, over the Thyreatid with Argos, centred on the Battle of the Champions, and with Tegea, over perhaps a combination of labour hunger and conflicts about Northern Laconia, are a new phenomenon, separate from these earlier conflicts. The obvious counter to this is the conquest of Messenia. However, in many respects it is a unique situation with details and causes that remain extremely murky.

This is due to the nature of the historical sources, in combination with evidence from survey and excavation projects. To examine the latter first, as has been emphasised constantly in this and in other chapters, there is very little reason to push the concept of territories as defined and bordered spaces, back past the mid-6th century. The emptiness of not just some survey areas, but of entire peripheral regions, before this date is one strong indicator. As a more particular example, as the Arcadia chapter detailed, before the mid-6th century, the very period where expansion in the Eurotas Valley signalled increasing anxiety over Tegea, there was a corresponding large shift in settlement patterns there in the *synoikism* of the *polis*. Another is the lack of other markers of borders, such as liminal sanctuaries, watch-posts, military installations and other safe-guards of this sort such as the founding of Sellasia, or any boundary markers, before this period. Although the process of demarcating territory using second order centres and sanctuaries began in the 6th century here, or even earlier in other areas such as the Akte, it is very much a new and sudden phenomenon, and one that evolves over the course of the 5th century.

These mid-6th century conflicts, particularly that of Sparta against Tegea, are more detailed than accounts of earlier similar conflicts. They are also more likely to be reported in our earlier, 5th century sources. It seems to me highly probable that they are not more detailed and seemingly reliable purely because they are closer in time to the Classical sources, but instead because they are genuinely more historical, and have a stronger factual basis than the accounts of earlier territorial disputes. To turn to the historical evidence here anthropological parallels are extremely

useful. It is a well-known phenomenon that claims to ownership of territory can be legitimised in many cultures by a claim to have 'once' owned it in the past, either recent or distant.[935] Greece was no exception.[936] Through this device areas that had not previously been controlled by one group or another can suddenly become incorporated into the historical discourse; to see positive proof that this happened in Greece one need only look at the various legitimising strategies employed surrounding the incorporation of Triphylia into Arcadia in the 4th century touched upon in the previous chapter. It would therefore not be surprising to see that new conflicts in the mid-6th century were suddenly, and in fact increasingly over time, situated in the narrative of age-old conflicts and claims and counter-claims to primeval ownership. Viewed within this context, the Thucydidean quote on constant conflict (Thuc. 5.29.1) takes on a very different meaning. This ancient Greek habit of legitimation and myth-making has led genuine radical changes of the 6th century to be masked in the narrative accounts of the period, exacerbated over time by the reliance of Roman writers such as Pausanias and local histories, which are particularly prone to these sorts of changes due to their orality.

It also highlights the role archaeology can play in helping to settle these debates on the reliability of textual evidence demonstrating, in this case, that accounts written earlier, which focus on 6th century conflicts, are supported by the large increase in activity in the relevant areas, as demonstrated through survey data. In contrast, accounts written later than the 5th century, referring to events occurring earlier than the 6th, disagree both with earlier accounts, and with the dearth of supportive archaeological evidence.

Summary

[935] E.g. Malayang 2001; Healey 2009; Roth-Seneff 2015.
[936] As just one example the Return of the Heraklidae and the resulting lot of Tisamenus, see e.g. Hall 1995b; Stafford 2012.

The Spartan State, eventually encompassing the entirety of Laconia and Messenia was a unique one. It was a complex and multifaceted institution that changed dramatically over the course of the 8th-5th centuries. Sparta began by expanding into Messenia around the start of the 7th century. This is manifested in the destruction of its centres in the Pamisos Valley, and perhaps by more general population upheaval as represented by the UMME survey data. However, some settlements in Messenia such as Romanou persisted or were created during the Archaic period, although they remained stifled or fell out of use not long after, like Kopanaki and Vasiliko. It is not entirely clear whether settlement patterns across Messenia were broadly uniform or if those closer to Sparta were different, and only further survey work would settle this question. However, the existing evidence strongly suggests that this region functioned as an extension of Sparta's own territory due to the lack of large centres.[937] The concentration of people into easily-controllable, medium to small sites with few signs of wealth at, for example, the sanctuary at Romanou, where very few of the offerings are metal, but instead are often made of terracotta, therefore suggesting a comparative lack of wealth, particularly in comparison to the wealthy finds at Spartan sanctuaries such as that of Artemis Orthia, where tens of thousands of lead figurines, as well as more precious ones, were found, suggest this was likely an exploited region.

Sparta's expansion into and treatment of some parts of Laconia may have been along the same lines, such as the Helos Plain, but the evidence suggests this was not ubiquitous as it was in Messenia. While *poleis* here were, from some point onwards, under the control of Sparta, such as Geronthrai, as were other areas such as Boia, Vassara and Veroia, these do not appear to have been subjected to quite the same treatment, nor is it clear if they came under Spartan control this early. The border region between the Eurotas Valley and Arcadia also presents tentative signs of Spartan interest from the end of the 7th or start of the 6th centuries.

[937] Excepting, perhaps, the small number of *perioikic poleis* that seem to have existed there. (Shipley 2004: 547).

Finally, the mid-6th century saw a large and drastic change. Unlike Sparta's expansion into Messenia, which appears to be relatively idiosyncratic, the changes of the mid-6th century are closely tied to the actions of, and Sparta's relationships with, her closest neighbours Arcadia and Argos. While the expansion within the Eurotas Valley is unlikely to have been completely predicated on Spartan anxieties about Tegea, they undeniably played a part, as indicated by the creation of Agios Konstaninos and Chartzenikos, the placing of the *hermai*, and the location chosen for Sellasia, between Sparta and the passage to Tegea. Sparta's activities in the Thyreatid are also likely have been to do with anxiety over Argos. This further complicated the already complex situation, adding dependent *poleis* into a state that previously adhered more closely to a core-periphery model, and from this point on until the Battle of Leuctra, the Spartan state was made up of both models simultaneously.

Unsurprisingly, this leads to a complex duality in the nature of territory within Laconia and Messenia. For example, Messenia appears to function as Sparta's territory, and yet the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis reveals a mental boundary of some sort. In the Thyreatid, Prasiai's sanctuaries appear to function both as its own territorial markers, and yet also as markers of Sparta's dominance over the region. Later on, as Ducat noted,[938] Xenophon is aware that there are *poleis* within Laconia, but also refers to a wider territorial boundary that Spartans observe. His apparent lack of concern is in fact a route through these problems of duality and identity. Ducat's examination of the language used in Classical sources to refer to the communities within Laconia and to the people of Laconia, and to a lesser extent Messenia, when undertaking actions abroad such as war or diplomacy, reveal a surprisingly indifferent approach to the strict definitions of terminology, switching freely between describing people as Spartans and Lakedaimonians, Sparta and Lakedaimon, and using *polis* to refer to strictly the urban centre at Sparta itself and the wider region.[939] This might suggest that rigid categorisations were not as important to ancient

[938] Ducat 2010: 189.
[939] Ducat 2010: 190-194.

understandings of how the Spartan state functioned. It might otherwise suggest that, as the archaeological evidence indicates, the situation was so complex and piecemeal, particularly in comparison to the rest of the Peloponnese, that it wasn't necessarily very clear which terminology was the most appropriate.

An ahistorical examination of Archaic Spartan territory and statehood yields a narrative that is quite different from the one that literary sources provide, although not entirely at odds with it. Firstly, it has a very different emphasis, far more on settlement patterns and the spread of Spartan control as evident by the spread of material culture, and far less on the exploration of statuses such as Spartiate and *helot* or on programmes of land distribution. This leads to different conclusions too which present the Spartan state as a duality in two particular ways. Firstly, it emphasises the gulf in treatment between Messenia, and perhaps parts of Laconia, and the rest of Laconia, Kythera and the Thyreatid. Secondly, it shows that the growth of the Spartan state had two distinct and important phases, the first c.700 and the second during the early and mid-6th centuries, a distinction that is not present in the literary sources. Some outstanding problems remain, in particular the settlement patterns of the Pamisos valley, which would help to further illuminate Sparta's relationship with Messenia, and the date of Sparta's annexation or conquest of some parts of Laconia. Intensive survey in the future would help to alleviate both problems.

Despite these problems, the evidence from survey and excavation from this region reveal a state that was more large, complex, unusual and early than anywhere else in the Peloponnese, and which was stimulated to further change in the 6th century by her neighbours, who were also undergoing radical changes at this point in time. A detailed synthesis of the previous three chapters will further help to elucidate the broader set of developments and interactions between the poleis in this wider region in order to gain an overview of the changes to the *polis* and its territory in the Archaic southern Peloponnese. This synthesis is the subject of the following chapter.

Synthesis and Conclusions

The Construction of Narratives from Surveys

The most fundamentally important aspect of my research was to establish that surveys could indeed be used to produce these historical narratives. That this was possible was evident from the fact that survey data has been used to facilitate historical research into other periods of Greek history such as the Roman period.[940] However, my research also aimed to synthesise and consider further some of the key issues of reliability that pertain to survey data in particular and to lay out ongoing guidelines for this type of research in order to advance the discussion on the possibilities and limitations of historical research using survey.

The research demonstrated that the very act of synthesising these surveys can provide valuable conclusions. Firstly, this synthesis helps to answer ongoing questions concerning gaps in the record. The relative emptiness of survey regions in the EIA period and sometimes the 7th century is an issue that has been raised before in general works on survey,[941] as well as being considered by some of the surveys examined here, where the suggestion is often made that the emptiness of the survey regions is not due to a genuine lack of activity, but due to the invisibility of the material.[942] That this 'invisibility' represents instead a genuine lack is suggested by many different pieces of evidence. Firstly, detailed and long-term study projects of the ceramics of some of these regions have led the surveyors themselves to have a high degree of confidence that they have not simply missed this material.[943] Secondly, alternative explanations can often suffice; for example, in the Akte the AEP surveyors noted the drop in 7th century sites and suggested that some material might be missing.[944] The Methana surveyors, confronted by a corresponding drop,

[940] E.g. Alcock 1993; Pettegrew 2007b, on the Roman period.
[941] E.g. Bintliff 2000: 3.
[942] Jameson et al 1994: 70; Forsén and Forsén 2003: 183.
[943] On Laconia, Cavanagh 2002a: 156. On Kythera, Cyprian Broodbank, personal communication.
[944] Jameson et al 1994: 70.

were able, since they had surveyed the changes in surface area at the main sites over time, to plausibly put this down to the movement of people from smaller sites to these centres.[945] Finally, the theoretical basis of this gap is largely questionable. It largely relies on the argument that survey material becomes more abraded over time and that therefore the Geometric material may be less visible than that from the Archaic period. However, these studies do not cover the small gap of decades between the 7th century and the 6th and 5th. Instead, it discusses these variations on much larger timescales, for example; the Neolithic or Early Bronze Ages are underrepresented compared to the Late Bronze Age or historical periods.[946] By comparing survey projects of varying intensity covering the same area my research also argued strongly that extensive survey data cannot be used to make conclusions about small rural sites, nor can it provide a balanced picture of territorial formation or use as it was demonstrably far more likely to miss smaller sites than more intensive projects in the same area. However, extensive surveys can be useful in detecting activity in an area at its broadest level such as to investigate when settlements, either large or small, or cult sites, came into use in *perioikic* Sparta and the Thyreatid. This combination of surveys also highlighted, largely through its critique of the AEP survey, the necessity for survey material to be published quickly, a problem also highlighted by the still unpublished British survey of the Megalopolis basin, and for the catalogues of these publications to be clear and detailed in order to facilitate future research.

Otherwise, the individual geological studies that the surveys examined here undertook provided encouraging conclusions on the reliability of the survey material. Geomorphological processes, and the correlation of surface to sub-surface material, is a key problem, and one that many survey projects have investigated. The main evidence here was from Laconia, particular the Laconia Rural Sites Project, and was extremely encouraging, as the sites, under further investigation, generally correlated to detectable sub-surface finds. The IKAP survey in Messenia showed that

[945] Mee et al 1997: 60.
[946] Bintliff 2005b: 145.

there was a significant relationship between the visibility and the amount of pottery gathered.[947] The existence of concentrations of tiles in particular also suggest that the plough does not drag material very far, partly because tiles are far less likely to move due to their size and weight.[948] This also suggests that the scatters of tiles which are extremely common at small rural sites are likely to correspond to the places where buildings once stood. Visibility was another potential problem. As detailed in the chapters, every intensive survey examined here was extremely mindful of visibility, and took steps, such as avoiding the most thickly covered areas, to counteract these problems. However, some sites are theoretically likely to be missed in every survey, and this is also demonstrably true for surveys examined here; for example, rescue excavations in 2011 uncovered a farmstead with pressing installations, structural remains and a cemetery near Mases in the Southern Argolid, which is within the area surveyed by the Argolid Exploration Project. Therefore, what we have in the survey reports does not represent, by any means, the total survival of material from the ancient world.[949] Nevertheless, while the impressions of land use that survey present are not completely accurate, they are broadly correct.

Another problem that emerged in this research, was of the correlation of dating between surveys. This is exemplified by the black glazed finewares, so ubiquitous at sites in the Archaic and Classical periods. This somewhat generic type of pottery is difficult to date closely, particularly outside of the rare case of the Athenian Agora, where large, stratified deposits of this material enabled changes over time to be extrapolated.[950] The black glazed finewares from survey do not enable this sort of study, as they are unstratified and, as is the case with survey pottery generally, are abraded and small, and they cannot sometimes be dated more closely than generally to between the late 6th and 4th centuries. Therefore, for the farmsteads for which they provide the only datable material, it Is difficult to date them more closely than that. However, these problems may

[947] Cosmopoulos 2016: 13
[948] Bintliff et al 2002: 260-1.
[949] McHugh 2017: 12.
[950] Sparkes and Talcott 1970: 10-12; Rotroff and Oakley 1992: 9.

be partly solved by further research on black glazed finewares, or if more surveys were published with a higher level of detail on their pottery and its chronology as, e.g., the Laconia Survey. Nevertheless, this difficulty, and the issue of visibility and surface to sub-surface correlation, point to the limits of survey data; for example, it would not easily allow us to investigate a question such as, is there a difference in the nature of the farmstead between the 6th century, or the 5th? The evidence simply does not provide this level of detail. Therefore, only broad conclusions about trends in settlement patterns can be made. Nevertheless, even with these problems and limitations, it must be emphasised, as in the introduction, that they are no more serious or prevalent than the comparable interpretative issues faced using excavated material or textual evidence.

Key Questions and Issues

As outlined in the introduction my research set out to address the impasse that has been reached in our understanding of how social organisation, here examined as 'The Rise of the Polis', changed during the Archaic period. These problems arise from the limits of both textual evidence and the material from excavation projects, and the interplay between them. The focus has been on the urban centre as the key component of the *polis*, to the detriment of the study of developments away from the centres, compounded by an emphasis on political questions such as the foundation of democracy or the changing role of tyranny during the Archaic period. These lines of enquiry are overly-focussed on a small set of developments, often only evident in particular centres such as Athens, for which we have a wealth of textual evidence, and are further problematised by the ever-increasing scepticism concerning the factual accuracy of textual evidence about this period. This has been precipitated by increasingly nuanced readings of text which pays close attention to the oral nature of Archaic history and the generic problems that make drawing facts out of these oral traditions highly problematic. Furthermore, there is in many

respects an ever-growing divide between the ancient history and the archaeology of Archaic Greece. While archaeologists continue to use textual evidence deemed unreliable by historians, and while historical accounts of the rise of the *polis* have continued to neglect physical evidence, archaeologists have, conversely, stepped back from writing grand narratives.[951]

My research identified surface survey as providing a potential necessary corrective to the overly narrow focus on particular categories of evidence and as a bridge across the ever-growing divides between the disciplines of history and archaeology. It considered whether surface survey could be used to construct its own narratives of *polis* formation and social change in this period, and the relationship these narratives could have with the far more frequently utilised evidence from excavation and text. This research aimed to investigate primarily what narratives of social organisation during the Archaic period could be elucidated from the survey data, focussing on several questions in particular. What could the survey data reveal about the growth and changing articulation of the territory and, consequently, when boundaries between *poleis* emerged? What were the key facets and periods of the development of territory? How could this be combined with data from the urban centre, both from excavation and survey, to produce more nuanced narratives for the development of the *polis* as a whole? Was this a uniform phenomenon across the individual *poleis* and areas within this wider region? Was it possible to discern *why* these changes had occurred? How did these archaeological narratives combine with those from text and did the combination provide new information to advance the relationship between text and archaeology? Lastly, what suggestions emerged from this detailed secondary study and synthesis of surveys about how future survey publications could be made as conducive as possible to secondary research of this kind? Some comparisons have been made before. The Laconia Survey project, which was published before the publication of the Asea Valley survey, interpreted its preliminary reports, as well as those of the Megalopolis surveys of the 1980s, and suggested that

[951] Vlassopoulos 2007: 62ff.

the number of hamlets in these areas may be due to the favouring of greater nucleation at border sites.[952] However, a broad synthetic comparison of the type presented below has not been attempted before.

Answers to many of these over-arching questions emerged in the conclusions of the individual chapters. The territories of these *poleis* present great change, particularly in the 6th century, through the creation of settlement hierarchies in the areas around the urban centre, in combination with developments at the urban centres themselves. They also provide an indication of one of the major causes of this change; contact with other *poleis*, and the resultant increase in anxiety about the limits of their own territories, all of which are discussed in greater detail below.

Patterns of Change in the Archaic Southern Peloponnese

The survey data revealed complex and individualistic patterns of development across the period. In the Akte, 8th century settlement patterns differed from elsewhere, as demonstrated by the abundance of dispersed smaller settlements that persisted until a phase of nucleation in the 7th century. However, competition for dominance within the territories of what became Classical *poleis* remained far more open in the Akte than in the other regions studied here over the course of the 7th and 6th centuries, even as these territories became articulated by the spread of smaller sites and sanctuaries. This is particularly evident in Hermion, regarding Mases, and on Methana. In south eastern Arcadia, the 6th and 5th centuries saw the growth and consolidation of territories around existing centres, as indicated by the foundation of sanctuaries, second order sites, and rural sites in the Asea valley, and the *synoikism* of *poleis*, as exemplified by Tegea, where previously more dispersed living patterns appeared to have existed alongside urban centres. In contrast, the more peripheral north of the region changed little in this period, continuing along

[952] Cavanagh 2002a: 240.

the lines of settlement patterns that had emerged in the 8th century with little evident growth later. The survey data from Sparta itself presented a compelling picture of significant change to settlement patterns in the immediate vicinity of Sparta itself in the 6th century. Meanwhile, the survey data from Messenia represented an area with divergent settlement patterns completely different from anywhere else examined here, characterised by sparse second and third order sites with no centres.

In all three regions the Archaic period, in particular the 7th and 6th centuries, was in several ways a period of vital change and growth for the *polis* and the great expansion of its territory both physically and conceptually, although the details of this development different between regions and even within regions. This period saw the marked increase, and even the start, of many significant developments that persisted for centuries. Territories were now articulated by increasingly complex settlement hierarchies centred on urban centres which were themselves growing in size and complexity, and suburban and rural sanctuaries sprang up to mark the property of a *polis* and to act as focal points outside of the centres. This certainly marks a change from the EIA. Earlier territorial boundaries are hypothesised from shared customs such as particular burial rites, such as inhumation vs. cremation,[953] though it is by no means certain that a cultural *koine* can be equated with a demarcated territory.[954] It has been noted that Homeric evidence, while highly problematic, reveals an earlier political world, focussed not at all on territory, but instead just on particular settlements, their people and their immediate surroundings.[955] This presents a picture in stark contrast to the territorial concerns of 6th and 5th century conflicts, and that this is a genuine difference from the situation earlier in the Archaic and EIA periods is strongly supported by the surveys examined here except Messenia, a special case, and the more dispersed living patterns of northern Arcadia.

[953] Morgan 1999b: 416.
[954] Renfrew 1984: 49.
[955] Cavanagh 2002a: 16-17.

Some other general patterns of change within the period studied here were evident. For example, there was a general trend for more idiosyncratic settlement patterns earlier on in the period, in the 8th and early 7th centuries. In both the Southern Argolid and Arcadia, there was a phenomenon of early divergence of settlement strategies, in the 8th century in the Southern Argolid, and in the 8th and 7th centuries in Arcadia. In the Southern Argolid this consisted of a more dispersed settlement pattern into medium-sized settlements, which reverted to more common patterns of larger, nucleated urban settlements with smaller second and third order sites during the 7th and 6th centuries. One aspect of the territorial development more evident in the Southern Argolid than elsewhere were the failed *poleis*. This is perhaps a consequence for the earlier trend in the region for more equally-sized, dispersed settlements in relatively close proximity to one another, as a result of which, obvious dominance of an area by a particular urban centre did not occur until the 7th or 6th century at Hermion, and perhaps as late as the 5th century on Methana. In southern Arcadia, not all communities lived in nucleated centres particularly until the 6th and 5th centuries when new settlements came into use, in particular Tegea and Mantineia. In both these regions, the 7th and 6th centuries saw a reversion from more individualistic settlement patterns towards the more typical pattern of the *polis* of a single main nucleated centre with attached second and third order sites, and perhaps smaller dependent *poleis*. Although the changes in these regions were of different types, they still appear to be part of the same phenomenon of regularisation and homogenisation during the Archaic period.

There were also geographical patterns. From the later Archaic period onwards, there was a marked pattern separating regions that were more historically and geographically peripheral, northern Arcadia and the Akte, from the core regions of Laconia and southern Arcadia. While northern Arcadia, the southern Akte, and the Methana Peninsula were all different from one another they were still united to an extent by their difference from these core areas, exemplified by their comparatively early activity outside of the urban centre due to more dispersed, small-scale living patterns in the 8th century. That these regions which were, in the later Archaic period

onwards, historically peripheral were also different earlier on, in the 8th century, implies that they were in fact *fundamentally* peripheral, due most likely to their geography.

Although all places saw an increasing complexity of settlement hierarchies, particularly in the 6th and 5th centuries, none of these places had identical settlement patterns. The exact composition of hierarchy, the varying ratios of secondary settlements and small rural sites, whether secondary sites were absorbed or settled, or the number and location of rural cult sites, were all different between different poleis. For example, Asea, Hermion, and Methana both had numerous, medium-sized second order sites while Halieis was mononuclear; Sparta also had numerous subordinate sites in a large, complex network of variable size and relationship to Sparta. Asea, for example, had a strong focus on the delineation of territory through cult site location as, seemingly, did Halieis, which also had a marked pattern of rural cult sites. However even these were not identical as Asea had secondary sites and Halieis was seemingly mononuclear. It is possible that this is related to their similar positions, as both are relatively small poleis near larger neighbours (Hermion and Tegea respectively), perhaps indicative of more anxiety about territory, although without more examples for comparison, this is merely a suggestion. Hermion, meanwhile, had a large number of secondary sites in a complex arrangement, and encompassing dependent *poleis*. In some regards this is reminiscent of Sparta's own complex internal arrangement, although on a far smaller scale. There was also a difference between the sites that were mononuclear at an earlier period and then expanded, such as Asea and very narrowly Sparta within the Eurotas Valley, and places that absorbed neighbouring settlements such as Methana and Hermion. One interesting conclusion then is the preference for absorption over destruction in terms of internal competing sites, perhaps at odds with the expectations we'd have from literary examples e.g. Argos' destructions on the Argive Plain. Sparta and Messenia, perhaps unsurprisingly given the size of the territory it controlled or had influence over, and given what we know of its history and social structure from at least the Classical period from contemporary literary evidence, had, in their different ways, an unusually high degree of difference from the

neighbouring regions around them. The survey and excavated evidence therefore well reflected Sparta and her surrounding territory as represented in literary evidence, as an unusually large *polis* with a wide area of influence and control. The survey data from *perioikic* regions, or rather from Laconia outside of the Eurotas Valley and the Thyreatid, provided few suggestions of their status. Unlike the surveys of the Eurotas Valley and Messenia, the settlement patterns in these regions did not differ drastically from those elsewhere, the Southern Argolid and Asea, within the caveat that the perioikic surveys were extensive and that therefore detailed conclusions are difficult to draw from them. The one *perioikic polis* covered by an intensive survey, Sellasia, while it was unusual in being a new foundation in the 6th century, was otherwise not structurally different from other small, dependent *poleis*, having an urban centre and an extra-urban sanctuary. Another basic conclusion emerged particularly from the AEP, Methana Peninsula and Asea Valley results; that when a territory is geographically smaller and has a smaller amount of usable land, the settlement hierarchy appears to be both smaller and simpler. Although there aren't enough examples to be certain of this, it also appears that when the usable area isn't broken up by large areas of unusable land, i.e. Halieis vs. Methana, they are even more likely to be simple hierarchies.

The pottery evidence itself also suggests differences in living styles between some of these different *poleis*. One particular example is the lack of storage wares at the second and third order settlements in the Asea Valley. This stood in contrast to comparable sites from the other regions, and was interpreted by the surveyors as indicating a different mode of living, more centralised, and more centralised storage, which was at odds with some sites in the AEP and Methana survey areas, and highly at odds with the pattern from the Laconia survey. Other differences were evident as well. For example, the small rural settlements/farmsteads in the Laconia survey area, for which the pottery collection and analysis was very thorough, suggested that these were not only permanently inhabited households, as suggested by the storage wares, but that they had quite a high degree of prosperity, as indicated by the finewares present. At Asea, this same level

of prosperity does not seem to be indicated, nor did the rural sites there seem to be permanently inhabited as frequently as those near Sparta, as indicated by the lack of storage wares. The Methana peninsula too lacked this level of prosperity at smaller sites. The publication of the AEP makes conclusions in this area impossible.

Other obvious differences regarding the small rural farmsteads jump out. Laconian farmsteads are appreciably different in two regards, their purpose and their date. There are far more of them dating the Late Archaic period here than elsewhere. Furthermore, although in absolute numbers the Laconia Survey project and AEP had around the same number of rural sites over roughly the same area, this is somewhat misleading because the AEP survey area was spread out selectively over a much larger region and the Laconia area was continuous. As well as comprising a sudden, early flood of activity, the Laconian small rural sites also represent a larger population living away from the urban centre or from second order centres, than is seen elsewhere. Perhaps related to this is that the rural sites in Laconia appeared to be on average larger than those at Asea, and even larger than those found by the AEP or Methana projects. Whether this is to be linked to Laconian *helots*, or Spartiate wives, daughters and the elderly, or other social factors not well-illuminated by survey, is unclear. What is clearer is that a great deal of significance should be attached to the appearance of these small rural sites. The domestic finds indicate that several of these sites were inhabited, rather than serving as temporary/seasonal dwellings, this is further supported by the evidence from urban surveys that there were drastic population increases in the 6th and 5th centuries. However, the farmsteads are also evidence of a more complex economic phenomenon which, along with the sheer population rise itself, indicates increasing social complexity. That phenomenon is the desire to extract increasing levels of wealth above mere subsistence levels. All small rural sites – either permanent dwellings, seasonal shelters, storage sites or processing sites, are indicative of intensive farming methods, which aim to stretch the productivity of the land as far as possible. This method is generally connected to growing populations and land hunger, but is also used by wealthier farmers to generate as much surplus

as possible in order to sell it.[956] This was suggested for the Laconia survey in particular by Cavanagh, who noted that the Spartan sanctuaries in this period show increased wealth generally, which perhaps coincided with an increase in pressure on farms for Spartiates to compete with one another.[957] While the Spartans presented themselves as austere, this was more façade than reality. The effort that was put into the growth of 2nd order sites in the Archaic period, and of 3rd order sites in the form of farmsteads at varying times, cannot be overstated. The results of pollen studies in Messenia and the Akte, have both demonstrated that cultivable land had been reclaimed by scrub and oak during the post-palatial period, and left unchecked for centuries. The enormous effort and organisation that this reclamation project would have taken has only rarely been discussed or even noted.[958] The establishment of the 2nd and 3rd order sites was not a straightforward or logistically simple choice, but must have been done for good reasons, such as the desire to claim territory and to remove part of the pressure of growing populations at this time.

Summary

The many broad trends and developments common to all these regions outlined at the start of this chapter should not be used to mask the extremely marked levels of local variation between neighbouring areas, which my research has brought to light. The complex set of changes across this entire part of the Peloponnese demonstrate how much the details of this general model of Archaic change and territorial formation can vary, encompassing variations between core and peripheral regions, but also far more localised trends which depend on particular local conditions, be they geographical, as in the Methana Peninsula, or social, such as the competition between Laconia and Arcadia. While it might be assumed that peripheral regions had experienced different

[956] McHugh 2017: 23.
[957] Cavanagh 2002a: 235.
[958] Cavanagh 2002a: 235; Halstead 2014: 260-1.

trajectories during the formative Archaic period than core areas, the details of these variations are only visible from survey data. Therefore, only surveys can confirm and provide this regional perspective, and only this regional perspective allows us to examine closely the variation across the region, which in turn necessitates and facilitates the creation of less static and uniform models of *polis* formation.

In these different *poleis* and regions, common themes of development emerged. While earlier on in the period settlement patterns were more idiosyncratic, during the 6th century in particular they underwent several changes. These changes served to make them more similar to one another, and also marked a development in the concept and delineation of territory. Outside of the centre, where often there had been virtually no signs of use or inhabitation, there was a rapid and extensive florescence of smaller settlements and cult sites, marking out and making use of the wider territory. This radical period of change outside of the urban centre, while extremely important to our understanding of the development of the *polis* in the later Archaic period, is not particularly evident without the use of survey evidence.

Survey, Excavation, and the Urban Centre

These narratives combined well with the evidence from the urban centre to provide a cohesive picture of change at both the centre and the territory during the Archaic period. However, it also emphasised a key trait with excavated material, which is both a strength and a weakness; its level of detail. For example, while a cult site in a survey is often only visible as a scatter of abraded pottery and perhaps a few worn blocks of stone, excavations at sanctuaries are highly detailed.



(Ill. 40: An example of a cult site from survey, marked by a scatter of pottery and some architectural blocks)[959]

Excavations, producing stratified deposits of votives, generally in larger quantities and with a much better degree of preservation, are able to provide closer dating for the site and a higher degree of detail about its use. On the other hand, a far smaller amount of the total sanctuary is likely to have been investigated than it is to have been surveyed, and the excavation may well only happen to reach a deposit for a particular phase of its use. This is also demonstrably true from one particular example from chapter 2. The excavation programme at Asea failed to find the evidence in stratified deposits for Classical Asea, which was highly evident in the surveys. The focus of excavation means that often only small sections of a site are excavated and often the most visible parts and as such it has a narrower focus making it comparatively weak as a source of information about changes over time.

[959] Forsén and Forsén 2003: 89.

This is exemplified by the homogeneity of the picture provided by excavations at the urban centres. Almost uniformly, the urban centre provided very little evidence other than the appearance, in the 7th and 6th centuries, of temple and other structures indicating a general movement towards the articulation of cult sites and communal spaces, and their increasing importance as central focal points for the community. Even Halieis, large sections of which were excavated with great care, while providing a greater level of detail on the phases of the urban sanctuary, does not build much on this picture. This is in great contrast to the notable differences between areas visible from the surveys. Whether this is because centres were more similar, or because of the nature of the evidence, is unclear. Pheneos and Lousoi similarly demonstrate the importance of undertaking surveys to determine the wider settlement hierarchy of a *polis*, which can vary quite drastically.

Urban surveys such as those on the Methana Peninsula and in Asea go some way towards combating this as they provide a more holistic overview of how the urban space changed over time, focussing particularly on its growth. Survey evidence also revealed early acts of *synoikism*, particularly at Tegea, and perhaps even earlier in the Akte although on a much more marginal scale. Together, urban survey and excavation combine to provide an insight into the transformation of these communities from smaller, less populous, less numerous ones with signs of weaker internal community bonds, towards what we expect of a Classical *polis*, with changes beginning in the 7th century and continuing into the 6th and 5th. Regarding political structures, such as *bouleuteria* or *prytaneia*, these were lacking from the urban centre in this region although this may partly be because of the highly spatially focussed nature of excavations. Otherwise as detailed in the introduction this is by no means a barrier to assuming that the offices and functions later housed in these structures still occurred earlier.

The evidence from the urban centre and the territory combined well together, presenting complementary narratives of growth and change in the 7th and particularly 6th centuries, of

growing populations both inside and outside of the centre and of growing complexity manifested at the centre in its cult spaces, and in the territory through contemporary rural cult sites and the creation of settlement hierarchies and, thus, a growing concept of territory.

The Changing Demarcation and Use of Territory

The physical manifestations of increasing territorial claims and use, evident from survey and excavated evidence, became markedly more notable in the 6th century. This was evident in cult sites and other special use sites. The appearance of the *hermai* in the 6th century in the north eastern Eurotas Valley, and the internal *horos* E15 within Hermion are examples of a new emphasis on overt and durable boundary markers in the late Archaic and early Classical periods, indicating a shift of attitude towards land ownership.[960] Borders are symbols of relationships of power between places, and therefore their representation and change represents 'regional dynamics'. They are a point of difference and therefore identity, and a place of contact.[961] However, boundary stones are not particularly common. Normally, borders are often very hard to trace as they are socially practiced as often as they are physically marked,[962] and in the Archaic *polis* this often took the form of cult sites.

It has been noted that there was a 6th century boom in temple building and, although it has received less attention, a similar increase in the number of small rural sites.[963] Although this does not offer a comprehensive study of this sort, the synthesis of rural cult developments across this region present a clear picture of change that complements that at major rural and at urban cult sites in the 6th century. The aspects of these developments most relevant to this thesis are those pertaining to the role of cult sites in the demarcation of territory. Territorial divisions were often

[960] Sartre 1979: 217.
[961] Kyriakidis 2012: 116.
[962] Kyriakidis 2012: 115.
[963] Morris 1998: 20.

marked by cult sites, such as the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Volimnos or Artemis Karyatis in Laconia, whose role as comparatively wild, liminal spaces between different *poleis*, served as areas of transience, movement and liminal activities.[964] These sacred, liminal spaces created neutral zones and border regions, facilitating conflict and resolution on the edges of territory. Therefore, the growth of rural and sub-urban sanctuaries, evident in the survey evidence in the 6th century in particular, is significant.[965] To return to de Polignac's highly influential ideas, outlined in the introduction, this study, focussing largely on urban cult centres and small rural cult sites, as opposed to large, extra-urban sanctuaries, comes to somewhat different conclusions. While cult sites were indeed significant markers of territory and *polis* delineation, this was more a phenomenon of the very late 7th and 6th centuries, rather than the 8th. Furthermore, while major extra-urban sanctuaries played a role in this, the appearance of, and changes at, both urban cult sites and small rural cult sites were also highly significant facets of this development.

The territorial markers of the *polis* were therefore generally manifested in a few particular ways, firstly the appearance of a settlement hierarchy encompassing several categories and sizes of site across a wide area, and secondly at urban and rural cult sites. However, it remains to try to explain why these drastic changes in the territory occurred, and occurred when they did. There were clear changes to settlement pattern over this period, particularly in the 6th century. Some causes of these changes, in broad outline at least, are suggested by the physical evidence. The 6th century also saw the drastic increase in the use of more liminal regions and the start of conflicts over land between centres as the survey evidence from the Thyreatid, and the conflicts between Laconia and Tegea, demonstrate, as *poleis* and their territories expanded and came into closer contact with the territories of other *poleis*, leading to new conflicts over buffer regions. There is strong evidence from Sparta that territorial expansion was to a certain extent a matter of security.

[964] McInerney 2006: 33.
[965] McInerney 2006: 34, 56.

In Arcadia, an even more dispersed living pattern seems to have been favoured in many areas until the 6th century. This change in settlement styles was seen to be likely due to outside pressure from hostile neighbours, in particular Sparta. The cause in the Southern Argolid is less clear, but may perhaps be due to some comparable pressures, although on present evidence it is impossible to be sure. While Sparta too underwent drastic changes to settlement patterns and territory in the 6th century, they did not constitute an end of unusual settlement patterns in Sparta or Messenia. It therefore seems as if in Arcadia and Laconia, and perhaps to a lesser extent in the Southern Argolid, increasing territorial articulation, and a stronger concept of territorial ownership, in hand with growing conflict between different *poleis*, in part about territory/conquest, sparked mutual change, often towards more homogenised settlement patterns. This is most evident in the synoikism of Tegea.

Despite reaching their most complex and articulated forms at different times, varying from the 6th to the 4th centuries, in all the survey regions the 6th century is a key period of territorial articulation through the growth of settlement hierarchies and of a notable jump in population sizes as indicated by the great growth of the size of urban settlements. It is also a vital phase of interaction between *poleis*, a first period of conflict over territory specifically, as indicated by the skirmishes between Sparta and her neighbours to the north and east, through the appearance of buffers such as Sellasia and Agios Konstantinos, the drastically increased use of the Thyreatid and, in Arcadia, by the *synoikism* of Tegea at the same time. While these are all different events, they are all highly interdependent and interrelated.

Survey Data and History

In contrast to the generally harmonious and productive relationship between survey and excavated data, that with the textual evidence was more complex but one that was extremely fruitful in providing a way forward regarding the role of textual evidence in the study of Archaic society. This stems from the strong patterns evident regarding the divergence of archaeological and textual narratives; the closer in time the author was to the events, i.e. the earliest accounts, about events from later in the Archaic period, the stronger the correlation was between the two narratives. Conversely, the survey-based narrative of territorial formation and the drastic intensification of activity outside of the urban centre in the 6th century in particular, combined with the emptiness of large sections of the landscape before this period, is a stark warning against using some textual evidence about this period, even that written in the 5th century, particularly regarding events alleged to have occurred before the 6th century.

The approach increasingly favoured by ancient historians in both general studies and in studies on this region has been to carefully situate ancient narratives within their own cultural milieu, rather than viewing them as providing faithful accounts of the time periods they are describing. This is obvious with Pausanias but also applies to an extent to Classical sources, which perpetuate the myth that such conflicts over land were an extremely long-standing phenomenon, which is demonstrably not the case. As is very notable in the case of Sparta and Laconia, these traditions of conflict and of ownership on both sides being age-old, these are useful to contemporary 5th century disputes where, as demonstrated in the following example, they lend a patina of legitimacy to territorial claims. One example of this in action is starkly laid out by Thucydides (Thuc. 5.69.1) in which the Argives are reminded, before the battle of Mantineia in 418, that they were fighting for their ancient supremacy, and to take back their share of the lot of Tisamenus, of which they had long been deprived. Instead of focussing on trying to tease ancient facts out of

accounts like this, we must instead view them as ancient self-mythologising narratives.[966] We should favour a more critical approach to history like the approach taken by historians of Laconia, which relies more on the archaeological evidence and on more critical readings of text.

For example; the literary traditions on the conflict over the Thyreatid[967] between Sparta and Laconia, or about the apparent conflict of the 7th century over the Lelantine Plain demonstrate that by the 5th century there were traditions of long-standing conflict over these regions but while it has often been good practice in the study of Archaic Greece to view events as direct sequels to earlier ones,[968] in fact this does not seem to be applicable to territorial conflicts. There certainly had been conflicts between *poleis* in earlier periods but specifically territorial disputes came to the fore, in literary accounts and in the physical evidence, in the 6th century. Although there may have been territorial disputes before this time,[969] the growth of evidence in the Late Archaic period suggests it became a more important or endemic source of conflict at this time. While reflections of this radical change are preserved in the earliest works of Herodotus and Thucydides, in their accounts of the Battle of the Champions, or of the Spartan attack on Tegea, both later accounts of this 6th century period – and 5th century accounts of *earlier* conflict – find far less confirmation, and flat out contradiction, in the survey data for example, there is no indication of an age-old conflict over the Thyreatid, which does not seem to come under Spartan control until the 6th century, before which there are no indications of control by either it or Argos. Although earlier conflict may have been territorial in nature, the 6th century represented a significant change in the nature of these conflicts and of territory in general, as is particularly evident from the creation of the buffer zone between Tegea and Sparta in the 6th century, and

[966] An important distinction made by Bershadsky 2013: 3-4, 60.
[967] Hdt. 1.82, Thuc 5.41
[968] E.g. Snodgrass 1993: 34.
[969] For critiques of the highly questionable narrative of the Lelantine conflict, which is outside of the scope of this research, see Bershadsky 2013: 57; Hall 2014: 4ff.

the appearance of formal boundary markers, both internal and external, in Laconia and Hermion in the 6th and 5th centuries.

It lends even more support to the argument that when there is a large discrepancy between the archaeological and textual data, for example, the emptiness of the Thyreatid before the 6th century, and the strong survey-led arguments against territories even existing in this period, in contrast with its alleged dominance by Argos before the mid-6th century , we must privilege the archaeological evidence. However, this is not necessarily an inherently combative relationship. The best exemplifier of how survey can be used to bridge the gap between historical and archaeological research, is the contribution that my research has made to our understanding of how and why these *poleis* developed in the 7th and 6th centuries, and in confirming the unusual nature of the Spartan *polis* in regards to its size and control of Messenia.

The 7th and particularly 6th centuries also saw a change in the relationship between *poleis*, which formalised and grew more complex, exemplified in this region by the growth of the Peloponnesian League, which began in this period but became more hegemonic and formalised in the 5th century. While leagues are not directly related to *polis* formation, nor is that level of complexity required for communities to band together, it is otherwise significant because it demonstrates the creation of more complex and widespread links over larger areas which were the precursors of later leagues.

The relationships between *poleis* also turned out to have had highly significant impacts on their own growth and the formation of their territories. As discussed within the foregoing chapters much of the more reliable history, written closer to the events of the Archaic period, referred to conflict over land between centres. As was particularly notable in the case of Arcadia and Sparta, but was also evident in the Thyreatid, the increased demarcation and exploitation of territories, visible in the survey data, seemed to be closely linked to these conflicts as recorded in history. These *poleis* seemed largely to have formed – quite literally in the case of Tegea, which *synoikised*

– in reaction to their neighbours and their relationships with them. This is evident in the survey data for the region of contact between Tegea and Sparta too, with the creation of buffer settlements such as Sellasia and Agios Konstantinos between Sparta and her northern neighbours and the sudden, contemporary, increase in activity in the landscape around Sparta. It is also evident in the sudden increase of activity at Asea, one of the small *poleis* in between Sparta and Tegea which must have been dragged into the conflict and is also clear from the contemporary *synoikism* of Tegea. These roughly contemporary developments within this small region are very strongly suggested by the survey data and the 5th century historical narratives of conflict between these *poleis* at this time to be reactionary to one another. While world systems theory, in this case applied to the question of how *poleis* might form due to outside influence, generally focuses on broad contacts, for example those between Greece and the Near East, it is also important to remember that in this early period 'outside' influence could still be exerted by direct neighbours.

Alongside this increasing complexity at the *polis* centres and in particular alongside the formation of territories, inter-*polis* relationships too become far more complex in this period. Relations with other territories in the forms of *amphictyonies* and leagues do not certainly predate the 6th century,[970] and in any case do not become common or stable until then. Additionally, we lack contemporary evidence of treaties between *poleis* until the same period.[971] In the 7th century and earlier associations between communities were probably temporarily undertaken to deal with single events as and when they arose,[972] which is common in non-state societies such as chiefdoms.[973] In many other areas of inter-*polis* relationships the 6th century saw further formalisation. For example, while in the Archaic period these were generally maintained through private hospitality and guest-friendship by the Classical period more official and less personal

[970] Rhodes 1993: 167.
[971] Hall 2013: 21; Raaflaub 2015: 438.
[972] Rhodes 1993: 166.
[973] Lewellen 2003: 22.

envoys (*presbeis*) and *proxenia* had been developed.[974] While this is not directly reflected in the survey data, and although it is a slightly tangential point, there is reliable historical evidence for these developments that indicates a movement towards more widespread and largescale networks of communication and cooperation that work in tandem with these territorial developments, and provide an insight into another aspect of the increasingly complex and close interactions between neighbouring or nearby *poleis*.

It must also be emphasised that the type of history that can be written using textual sources, closely focussed on particular battles or individuals, is very different from that written using survey and excavated data. It is, as has been demonstrated throughout this research, a different history; taking place over a longer time period and focussing on broad socio-political movements and not the actions of individuals. While it lacks the ability to answer many important questions it can write an alternate history that textual evidence is incapable of, presenting grand narratives of complex relationships between *poleis*. With such a large area being investigated it means that one can take a regional perspective which enables the examination of interactions between different *poleis*, something not easily investigated otherwise without reliable historical evidence or epigraphy which are rare. While this project has focussed on *polis* formation there are several other vital aspects of Archaic history that could be investigated from this data.

To take just two examples, what impact do different forms of government; tyranny, oligarchy, or democracy, have on the landscape? Or what does survey data have to contribute to the contentious topic of the hoplite revolution? Another interesting avenue could be investigating economics of conflict, a subject touched upon here. The Asea Valley, Laconia, Messenia, and Thyreatid survey data all have obvious links to conflict, discussed in detail in the relevant chapters and in the summary above. However, the Methana Peninsula shows something completely different. It was noted in the survey publication that the majority of the farmsteads there seemed

[974] Hansen 2002: 40.

to be dated by the pottery found there to the last third of the 5th century. Although the link between the farmsteads and this conflict are by no means straightforward, could this data instead provide an insight into the economics of Archaic and Classical warfare? Survey data could be applied to these and to many other traditionally historical topics.

Survey Narratives and 'The Rise of the Polis'

The 7th and 6th centuries have been shown to be periods of key importance, representing turning points towards increasing the complexity, size, and competition of *poleis*. All of this throws new light on the 'Rise of the Polis', by virtue of providing a narrative of the changing concept and physical articulation of territory, and a broader perspective on changes at the urban centre through urban survey and a synthesis of the urban centre more generally. It shows the intense period of political, demographic, and economic changes in the 7th and 6th centuries as key periods of formation in both the territory and the urban centre. This is in combination with other vital developments; for example a stronger notion of a Hellenic identity also emerged in the 7th and 6th centuries.[975] But to return to a central debate over whether the *polis* was evolutionary or revolutionary, this material does not, as it might seem, support a conclusion in favour of revolution. The 6th century in particular saw a paradigm shift in many areas; the appearance of the urban centre, the preponderance of settlement outside of it, and the delineation of territory generally through cult sites. But it is important to not lose sight of a long-term perspective.

We must see these changes as culminations of what came earlier, not just in the 8th century, as detailed in the introduction, but within the longer-term perspective of the EIA; in itself a long programme of change.[976] The nature of survey, and therefore the narratives constructed from it, lends itself to this way of thinking being inherently geographically and chronologically broad. It

[975] Hall 2002.
[976] Morris 1997: 128; Hall 2014: 85.

therefore provides a complex story of inter-linked communities, changing in reaction to one another, and finding new arenas for conflict as their territories, becoming more articulated and widely used, had points of contact with one another. This is further enriched by the presentation of these communities as individually undergoing constant and dynamic change over the course of the Archaic period and later.

To return to a concept visited in the introduction, the task should not be to establish when a settlement became a *polis*, albeit this research has focussed on the particular set of changes towards what became the Classical *polis*. The *polis* is instead a complex and multi-faceted concept, given to change, and one touched on by every category of physical and literary evidence available about Archaic Greece. The utilisation and prioritisation of survey evidence, supported by other types such as excavation and as reliable as possible literature, has led to a different narrative in which the 6th century emerges as a key period. There were drastic increases in the use of the wider territory as a dwelling, a resource, and as a demarcated space through rural cult, as evident from the appearance of complex settlement hierarchies now covering and demarcating space that had previously been empty. This is contemporary to the developments in the urban centre which also suggest a growing civic identity, also generally through cult projects but sometimes other civic works like walls. It is not always possible to tell why these changes happened when they did, but sometimes it is clear that this happened in reaction to one another, where growing conflict and anxiety led to huge changes in Sparta, her neighbours, and the spaces in between them, leading them all to become more complex states or parts of states. This was a major development, but it was just one along many changes to the form of early state we call the *polis*. In the change from petty chiefdoms to large city states controlling territories, previous focus has too often been on the centre. However, the significant changes to territory during this period show that we cannot ignore more holistic understandings of vital concepts such as the 'Rise of the Polis' or we risk missing out on key aspects and developments to this institution.

Future Research

Numerous surveys have been published from Greece and the wider Mediterranean world, producing a greater volume of evidence covering, literally, more of Greece than any other source of evidence, either textual or archaeological. Over the past three decades or so a wealth of detailed information has been produced and largely lain untouched and unregarded by other researchers. This material is not worthy of further research simply because large amounts of it exist. Instead, survey data covers what nothing else can. It is geographically broad and diachronic in its outlook; it provides the best evidence for the existence and development of the territory and the boundaries of *poleis*. These are by no means trivial aspects. They fit into highly significant broader subjects of long-term change and interaction on a grand scale.

As shown, survey data can be combined with excavated data from the urban centre to enrich our understanding of how *poleis* as a whole changed over this time. It gives the best insight into how these nucleated centres gained ever broader and more articulated territories, until they came into conflict over them. It provides narratives for the earlier Archaic period that is beyond the reach of reliable history, further confirming that earlier Archaic history is unreliable and that we must rely on archaeology for understanding developments before the 6th century. Meanwhile, its more complementary relationship with some aspects of Late Archaic history provide a way forward in understanding some key topics such as early inter-*polis* interactions from a very different perspective. Survey also provides narratives that can be more easily incorporated into other studies on this period such as economic changes, as outlined above, all situated within long-term perspectives of increasing complexity and interaction in the Greek world. These same methods could be applied to several other parts of the Peloponnese to great effect; for example Corinthia, which has an equally rich history to that of Laconia, or Elis, whose settlement patterns changed drastically in the 5th century through *synoikism*, as well as to other regions of Greece. The work presented has demonstrated both the necessity and the ability to write narratives from

survey data, in order to provide counterpoints, yardsticks, and complementary material to be used alongside those based on textual evidence and excavated material, advancing our understanding of this formative period of history. Finally, my research shows that the closer incorporation of survey material into the study and understanding of Archaic history is not only possible, it is vitally important for advancing the relationship between text, material culture and historical archaeology, thus opening up broad, innovative and exciting possibilities for future research.

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