

RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPES, PLACES OF MEANING
THE RELIGIOUS TOPOGRAPHY OF ARCADIA
FROM THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE
TO THE EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD



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Abstract

‘Arcadian landscapes: places of meaning. The religious topography of Arcadia, from the end of the Bronze Age to the early imperial period.’

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The thesis examines the religious topography of Arcadia through two particular aspects: the built and the natural landscape, and how each relates to human communities, their places of living, and their understanding of the world around. It relies on the assumption commonly made in the field that, since ritual practice was of prevalent importance for the Greeks, cult sites are the most important places for the communities, and therefore they can tell us a lot about the people who built, visited and looked after them.

The first part rests on the acknowledgement that sanctuaries are places of interaction for a certain community of cult (which can but need not overlap with a given polis) and explores how they can be indicators of social change, defined here as responses to changes with large impact on the human milieu. These changes and their response articulated in sacred space are identified in four chapters. The first sets the stage and surveys the known sacred sites of Arcadia at the end of the Bronze Age and during the Early Iron Age. The second looks at how the building of temples after the eighth century indicates a significant change in the way communities were structured in Arcadia. The third looks at how Arcadian sanctuaries responded to the increased religious mobility of the Classical and Hellenistic period. Finally, chapter four evaluates the impact of the Roman conquest on Arcadian religious sites.

The second part explores how myths and rationalising discourses allowed the Greeks to make sense of the salient characteristics and *numen* of their surrounding natural landscape. Each of the three chapters departs from a situation observed in Arcadia by ancient sources and examines the responses articulated to explain it. Among the variety of topics to pursue, three have been selected because they exemplify a typical characteristic of Arcadia: its wetness. They also allow spatial areas that were less prominent in part one to be explored. The first chapter investigates the attribution of Mycenaean waterworks in Arcadia to Herakles in myth. The second chapter examines the connection made in ancient sources between Poseidon’s lordship over the Peloponnese, earthquakes, floods and cults of Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia. Finally, the last chapter explores the apparent contradiction of having infernal rivers observable in the world of the living, such as the Styx flowing in the Aroania Mountains.

Acknowledgements

Ancient Arcadia is a subject I have been pursuing with enthusiasm since my Master of Arts at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, primarily because of the region's numinous reputation and its romantic Virgilian landscapes. De-constructing these images and unpacking the history of 'real' Arcadia was an experience I thoroughly enjoyed: it is by going beyond what seems to be that one discovers what really is.

The valuable scholarly and academic environment I was fortunate enough to be brought into during the last few years allowed my thoughts to mature and my understanding of Greek religion and topography to develop considerably. I would like to thank, first and foremost, my supervisors Professors Robert Parker and Nicholas Purcell. They trusted me with enough freedom to come up with my own, sometimes wacky ideas, but were present enough to orient my thoughts in the most productive direction. I would also like to thank Madeleine Jost, David Gilman Romano, Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Ineke Sluiter, Jeremy McInerney, Greta Hawes and Mary Voyatzis for useful comments and discussions at various stages of my work.

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Last but certainly not least, my warmest thanks go to my parents, who have always been supportive of my somewhat unconventional path. They raised me telling me I could become whoever I wanted to be: it is essentially thanks to them that I am who I have become today, and I hope they realise how grateful I am to them for this. I would also like to thank Paul for his patience, his kind support, and for being such a valuable (and strong!) travel companion. Finally, I would like to thank my friends for their encouragements: they know who they are. Special thanks go to Paul and Anne-Claire, who very kindly proceeded to a very last-minute English check of certain chapters and contributed to make this thesis readable, and to François, to whom I largely owe the survival of my mental health. I feel fortunate to be surrounded by such wonderful people.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

<i>AVS</i>	FORSÉN, J. and FORSÉN, B., 2003. <i>The Asea Valley survey: an Arcadian mountain valley from the Paleolithic Period until modern times</i> . Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
<i>CEG</i>	HANSEN, P.A., 1983-1989. <i>Carmina epigraphica Graeca</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
<i>ChronARG</i>	Kernos, <i>Chroniques archéologiques de la religion grecque</i> .
<i>CIL</i>	MOMMSEN, T.E.A., ed, 1862-. <i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin: G. Reimerum.
<i>FD</i>	POUILLOUX, J., 1976. <i>Fouilles de Delphes, Tome III, Epigraphie, Fascicule IV, Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire</i> . Paris: De Boccard.
<i>FGrH</i>	JACOBY, F., 1923-. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill.
<i>FHG</i>	MÜLLER, K.O., 1878-1885. <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Paris: Ambrosio Firmin-Didot.
<i>IAG</i>	MORETTI, L., 1953. <i>Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche</i> . Rome: A. Signorelli.
<i>IDélos</i>	DÜRRBACH, F., ROUSSEL, P. and HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, F., eds, 1912-1927. <i>Inscriptiones Deli</i> . Berlin: G. Reimerum.
<i>IEphesos</i>	WANKEL, H.E.A., ed, 1979-. <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> . Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
<i>IG</i>	KOLBE, W. and HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, F., 1873-. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGP</i>	HANSEN, M. and NIELSEN, T.H., 2004. <i>An inventory of Archaic and Classical poleis: an investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>IMagn.</i>	KERN, O., 1900. <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter.
<i>IPArk</i>	THÜR, G. and TAEUBER, H., 1994. <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien</i> . Vienna: Vlg der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>ISmyrna</i>	PETZL, G., ed, 1982-1990. <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
<i>IvO</i>	DITTENBERGER, W. and PURGOLD, K., 1896. <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> . Berlin.
<i>LIMC</i>	KAHIL, L., ed., 1981-2009. <i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae (LIMC)</i> . Munich.
<i>LSG</i>	SOKOLOWSKI, F., 1969. <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris: De Boccard.

<i>OCD</i>	HORNBLOWER, S. and SPAWFORTH, A., 2003. <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 3rd revised ed. Oxford.
<i>OGI</i>	DITTENBERGER, C.F.W., ed, 1905. <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , vol. 2. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.
<i>Olympionikai</i>	MORETTI, L., 1957. <i>Olympionikai: i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici</i> . Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.
<i>OMS</i>	ROBERT, L., 1969-1990. <i>Opera minora selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> . Amsterdam: Hakkert.
Morée I	BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT, J. B., BRULLÉ, G.A., PUILLOIN DE BOBLAYE, M., VIRLET, T. and LEVRAULT, F.G., 1832. <i>Expédition scientifique de Morée</i> . Paris: Commission scientifique de Morée. Section des sciences physiques.
Morée II	BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT, J.B., BRULLÉ, G.A., PUILLOIN DE BOBLAYE, M., VIRLET, T. and LEVRAULT, F.G., 1836. <i>Expédition scientifique de Morée</i> . Paris: Commission scientifique de Morée. Section des sciences physiques.
<i>PECS</i>	Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical sites, 1976
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> (online resource, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/)
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum; Leiden 1923-
<i>Syll3</i>	DITTENBERGER, W. and HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, F., 1915-1924. <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 3rd ed. Leipzig.

Standard abbreviations of ancient and modern works follow the third edition of the *OCD*. Journals are not abbreviated and can be found with their name in full in the bibliography.

The spelling of ancient names follows the third edition of the *OCD*. Some inconsistencies may have escaped my notice, and I apologise in advance for them. In general, whenever possible I chose to use the Greek spelling of proper nouns; however, in certain cases the more familiar Latinised forms have been kept (for instance Athens and not Athinai, Cyrus and not Kyros, etc.); the Latin spelling ‘Arcadia’ was also chosen over the Greek spelling because of its greater familiarity. This thesis shows two spellings of ‘Achaia’/‘Achaëa’: the first one refers to the Greek region north of Arcadia and the Hellenistic koinon of the Achaeans, the second to the Roman province. Generally, transliterations from Modern Greek into Latin alphabet follow the same edition of the *OCD*. Finally, for place names the inconsistencies of the Arcadian dialect have been smoothed out by following the spelling of the *IGP*.



Figure 1: Map of Arcadia at the time of Pausanias. (Jost 1985, fig. 1)

INTRODUCTION

Religious topography is a recent sub-area of the study of Greek religion. The topic was mostly studied through the lens of urban cults until the 1980s, when François De Polignac published the first version of his influential work '*La naissance de la cité grecque*' (Paris, 1984). His study of the emergence of Greek city-states drew attention to the importance of the sanctuaries of the countryside, which had been long neglected or considered as belonging to the 'anti-polis', a world of wilderness and disorder, contrasted with the civil and orderly kosmos of the polis. It triggered a wave of reactions, adjustments, refinements, and disagreement: but most of all, his work put the gods in the countryside back into focus.¹

Sacred topography is a vast subject, certainly much too vast to be exhaustively explored in a doctoral thesis. Therefore, this study concentrates on a defined regional area, Arcadia, in order to allow a consistent account of the region's religious topography.

Why was Arcadia in particular chosen as a topic? On the one hand, Arcadia is a thought-provoking subject: set apart from Antiquity for its peculiarity and so-called 'backwardness', the region was one of those which might be called 'topographically challenging': made up of rocky peaks and deep valleys, plagued with regular drainage issues and a lack of olive trees, the topography of Arcadia constrained its people's lifestyle in a certain way and therefore also influenced their ways of understanding their environment, which in turn inflected religious topography. Because of its apparent singularity – already pointed out in ancient sources – and its conformity to trends observable in the whole of ancient Greece, the region offers a wonderful observatory to test whether models elaborated to interpret Greek religious topography 'in general' can be verified.

There are two important components to Greek religion: ritual and myth. As a result, this thesis will be structured in two parts: the first explores religious topography from the point of view of religious practice and sacred space; the second from the perspective of myth giving meaning to certain natural features. As a whole, religion impacts the landscape by structuring it: cult spaces were located in places carefully chosen by the community that visits them because they were held as particularly suitable to connect with the gods.² Similarly, certain natural features were thought to bear the mark of the divine, and this special connection was explained by a myth – sometimes, but not always, associated with a cult. The first part postulates that since cult sites are some of the most important meeting places for a certain community, they offer a valuable insight into who this community was and how it lived. It will therefore explore the relationship between religious practice and community structure in the broader sense. The second part explores the complex way in which myth was used to make sense of the natural landscape, associated or not with ritual, and thus give insight into how the rich imaginary world of Greek religion is in constant dialog with the visible world. Together, these two parts will reflect the

¹ See below. Bingen and Schachter 1990; Alcock and Osborne 1994 for instance advocate for a greater attention to sacred space and topography.

² For the set of mental criteria inflecting the placement of cult sites, see p. 22-26.

dynamic relationship between the natural landscape and its inhabitants as mediated through religion.

The chronological span of the thesis might seem ambitious: more than a thousand years are covered here. Such a large time span is however needed if one wants to account for the large social changes that took place and how they are reflected in the placement of sacred sites in Arcadia: the kinds of social changes investigated in Part one can only be approached with a perspective of ‘*moyenne durée*’ (to borrow a Braudelian concept), while the mythical constructs explaining geographical phenomena explored in Part two necessitate a blend of ‘*longue durée*’ to address the geology and geography of a place, and ‘*courte durée*’ for its human experience.³

As this thesis deals with large-scale phenomena rather than singled out, particular cults, the religious experience, ritual in itself, and local pantheons will not be investigated in depth. These aspects of Arcadian religion have been thoroughly studied by Madeleine Jost in numerous publications.⁴ This thesis should not be understood as an attempt to replace M. Jost’s work, but as a complement investigating different aspects of Arcadian religion.

Models and approaches

Greek religion has always been a very dynamic field of research, although the adequacy of the label ‘Greek’ and ‘religion’ to designate the complex phenomenon studied, and the possibility of understanding Greek experience of the divine from our modern perspective have been highlighted, debated, and modelled many times over.⁵ Overall, one thing all scholars seem to agree with is that the subject is complex, and that we must accept that our chronological, spatial, and conceptual remoteness from the subject of enquiry is an obstacle to its full understanding that might never be overcome. For now, our tools to understand the religious life of the Greeks are material remains of places where cult took place, dedications (architecture, sculpture, inscriptions, votive objects and so on), literary accounts of religious life and rituals, and oral tradition eventually written down, that transmitted to us a myriad of myths. Despite these different sources, our interpretation of the evidence is never fully neutral and objective, and whether the evidence itself is representative of a wider social concept called ‘Greek religion’ has been questioned.⁶

³ Braudel 1949.

⁴ See bibliography.

⁵ On Greek religion as a modern construct and the relevance of term ‘religion’ to designate the ritual practices and systems of interaction with the divine in ancient Greece: Burkert 1985, 268-275; Bremmer 1994, 2; Polinskaya 2013, 3-6; J.Z. Smith 1982, xi. The difficulty of studying it has been pointed out many times by the field’s leading specialists (Burkert 1985, 7; Parker 2011, viii; Vernant 1991b, 274)

⁶ Polinskaya 2013, 5; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 147-188 and 2000, 393-445 criticize current interpretative methods.

Sacred topography mediates a closer understanding of Greek religion (as we understand it) by studying the physical environment in which rituals took place. At the same time, it can provide a way to apprehend local religious systems and their historical developments thanks to a more spatial, local-oriented approach: it lays the grounds of a methodology aiming to get closer to the worshipping group and how they conceived the divine they were addressing, whatever the size of the group the divinity was worshipped by.

The experience of the sacred can be illuminated by looking at sacred space in different ways: one can look at the spatial dimension of the religious experience, and how sanctuaries are spatially organised; or at dynamics between the natural landscape and religion through myths or the proximity of sanctuaries to noteworthy natural features; another way to look at it is to examine the connection between religious places and human settlements. Perspectives are as multiple as the number of scholars who want to undertake them.

Approaches⁷ to Greek religion

Scholars of all disciplines have always been fond of models of interpretation, also called ‘paradigms’. They provide guidelines to approaching and interpreting all possible kinds of phenomena, one-size-fits all theories simplifying phenomena otherwise too complex to be fully understood and communicated. This is a good and a bad thing. Before evaluating the helpfulness of models of interpretation, the most relevant ones will be now succinctly presented.

Greek religion and its connected phenomena have always been studied either with a Panhellenic or a local approach. The ‘Panhellenic approach’ aims to boil down trends observable locally across Greece to a universal model broadly explaining why such trends occur, giving the ‘big picture’.⁸ In Greek religion in particular, this trend is exemplified by l’Ecole de Paris and the work of Jean-Pierre Vernant, who aimed to piece together the core of Panhellenic religion by looking at local pantheons, under the assumption that all Greeks shared the same common religion but that they expressed it locally by variations. To take a musical parallel, local religion would be a variation on a theme, the theme being Panhellenic religion. The problem of the Panhellenic approach is that, since it aims to give only the big picture, it rubs out local singularities and robs the religious phenomenon of its complexity. In the words of Irene Polinskaya:

‘while acknowledging social rootedness of individual communities in local socio-territorial circumstances they [these Panhellenic models] nevertheless see behind the variety of local cults a

⁷ ‘Approach’ here is considered distinct from ‘model’ in the sense that a model provides a ‘recipe’ to interpret evidence while the approach is the perspective adopted by the scholar to tackle a particular issue. Polinskaya 2013, 59-67 gives a very good summary of other paradigms (understood as ‘models of interpretation’) that influence our interpretation of apparently objective data, still today, but are not directly relevant to the subject of this thesis.

⁸ This kind of approach has been typically adopted by Ian Morris (1987).

*universal (Panhellenic) system of divine modes of acting, so that local variability, no matter how striking, is never given a chance to undermine the overall system or to suggest a possibility of different mechanisms at work.*⁹

On the other hand, the opposite approach is the regional one. It advocates looking at distinct social units, historically and spatially defined, and examining their relationship to the gods in their own context, without necessarily trying to generalize the findings hence obtained to the rest of Greece. The advantage of this approach is that it permits going deeper into the religious phenomenon by looking at all evidence available for this unit exhaustively – something quite impossible to achieve for someone who seeks to explain Panhellenic trends. However, a pitfall of this approach is to consider each *localité*¹⁰ in isolation from the others, supposedly in order to avoid getting misled by so-called ‘Panhellenic contaminations’. Stiglitz notably employed this method in his study of the Great Goddesses in Arcadia in 1967. Another frequent criticism addressed to studies using the regional approach is that they are mainly descriptive, and are reluctant to go beyond the boundaries of their defined object of study to elaborate parallels and try to identify common trends with other regions. Fortunately, regional studies have now moved beyond this restricted approach, and establishing relevant comparisons with parallel phenomena elsewhere in Greece has become more common.¹¹

An example of a regional, localised approach is the ‘polis religion’ model. It draws attention to the fact that Greek religion was mediated by each polis, as independent social and political units each defined historically and spatially, who all partake in the common Panhellenic dimension of religion.¹² The model has been criticised from different angles. It has notably been argued that it does not account for private religion or sub-state religious associations, for instance.¹³ However, its most flagrant flaw, especially in the frame of the present study, is that it does not allow any room for units mediating contact with the divine that are not poleis. The role of ethne and koina has been underlined since then, and in Arcadia these entities are very important.¹⁴ The term ‘community’ proposed by M. Jameson to replace ‘polis’ seems therefore to be better chosen, as it removes the unnecessary restriction of the model.¹⁵

⁹ Polinskaya 2013, 24. Other critiques formulated by Morgan 2003, Parker 1996, Burkert 1985, 217.

¹⁰ Or ‘definite place’, Horden and Purcell 2000, 80.

¹¹ See Parker 1996 for an example of regional study with an enlarged focus. The risk of comparisons, however, is to see too much in them: for instance Bérard (1894) whose hypothesis that Arcadian cults originated from Phoenicia, or Bernal’s somewhat overly anti-colonial understanding of Greek religion and myth (1987-1991).

¹² Sourvinou-Inwood 2000.

¹³ Kindt 2012; Bremmer 2010; Eidinow 2011; Pakkanen 2011.

¹⁴ See for instance Morgan 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003; Voyatzis 1999.

¹⁵ Jameson 1997, 172. Polinskaya 2013, 33 proposes to focus instead on ‘mesocosms’, or units at an intermediary level between poleis and the whole of Greece (after Levy 1990). I think ‘community’ is a simpler and less abstract way of expressing the same thought.

The polis-religion model highlights a very important limitation that the models presented so far all have in common: they rely heavily on a select set of literary texts, the one that has made it to our day, that almost certainly does not give a representative reflection of the ‘full picture’. These texts are heavily dominated by Classical Athens, be it because they were written by Athenian authors or because they discuss Athenian realities. How much this corpus of evidence can help us shed light on the religion of other cities in other periods is therefore problematic.

Altogether, the two different approaches to the same subject reflect the tension in Greek religion between Panhellenic and local pantheons. The Hellenic world itself was never politically unified, and this fragmentation is reflected in local pantheons and cults.¹⁶ Certainly, there is such a thing as a Hellenic identity, since Herodotus defined it: it is made up of a shared lineage, shared language, shared sanctuaries, and shared lifestyle¹⁷:

*‘... the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life ...’*¹⁸

(tr. Godley, 1920)

Still, each ‘unit’, be it poleis, ethne or other forms of communities, used religion as a tool to distinguish itself from its neighbours: it promoted its own gods, asserted the singularity of its own rituals, and meetings of embassies could include a local-myth-telling contest.¹⁹ Hence keeping in mind that each unit cannot be taken completely in isolation from its broader context is a key to understanding certain local trends, which may have developed mainly negatively in opposition to other local trends: this will be observable in Arcadia, where local myths emphasise certain aspects of what was considered ‘Arcadian’ as opposed to other local identities.²⁰

It is hoped that the increasingly used ‘network theory’, borrowed from geography, might help to resolve the issue of balancing the Panhellenic and local dimension of Greek religion.²¹ ‘Network theory’ aims to describe patterns of connection and associated movements between places in terms of networks: networks are the patterns of links between units, and ‘connectivity’ designates the quality of

¹⁶ Fragmentation: Burkert 1985, 8; Horden and Purcell 2000, 79-80.

¹⁷ ‘... τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὼν ὁμαῖόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεῖα τε ὁμότροπα ...’. ‘Panhellenism’ is itself a problematic concept. Polinskaya 2013, 11-12 defines Panhellenism as ‘as an artificial entity recognizable through its individual elements in many historical Greek communities, but in its entirety found in none’ and ‘a recognized cultural code to which local Greek communities periodically bent their epichoric voices in order to enable communication and competition with each other’.

¹⁸ Hdt 8.144.

¹⁹ Singularity of myth: see Callimachus’ puzzlement in *Hymn* 1 about Zeus’ birthplace (is it Arcadia or Crete? Whom to believe?). Myth telling in competition context: see Hdt 9.26.1-28.2 (Tegeans and Athenians compete in myth-telling at Plataia to be on the Spartans’ right wing).

²⁰ See Pretzler 1999b, 1999c, 2009.

²¹ See Malkin 2005, 2011 for an overview of what network theory can bring to Classics.

such as a system.²² Interest in ‘connectivity’ among ancient historians dates from Braudel, but was reactivated by Horden and Purcell’s *Corrupting Sea* in 2000. However, one of the limits that the model as it stands currently needs to overcome is that it does not quite capture the hierarchies and power-relations existing between participants in the so-called ‘religious network’.²³ It can help to articulate the intricate layers of religious affiliation at play in cult places, but does not so far convey their entire complexity.

Approaches to religious topography

Models until De Polignac

Like Greek religion as a whole, religious topography has been the subject of modelling. Since landscapes cannot explicitly articulate the meaning underlying a territory’s topography, models aim to fill that gap by providing tools to understand and interpret landscapes adequately.

The so-called ‘city-countryside’ model, whose origins goes back at least to Fustel de Coulanges²⁴, applies an ideological significance to the distinction and relationship between the urban core (the polis or asty) and the countryside, and thus to the gods of the pantheon according to the location of their places of worship. The urban core is thought to represent civility and order, while the countryside is the world of danger, wilderness, and violence.

This pervasive vision of the landscape had a wide influence over the comprehension of religious topography. The ‘initiation model’ for instance, popular in the first half of the twentieth century, integrates the order/disorder connotations of the city and countryside. Elaborated on the basis of anthropological and cross-cultural research, the model aims to explain myths and rituals in the light of initiation rituals. The latter are supposed to invariably follow three stages (separation, transition, and reintegration) by moving the youth spatially and/or symbolically from the core of the community to its boundaries and back, from civil order to dangerous wilderness and back.²⁵ The model, widely influential and still used despite pointed criticism, has brought terms such as ‘marginal’, ‘liminal’ or ‘peripheral’, all deeply associated with this model, into question.

A blend of the city-countryside model and initiation model may have led De Polignac to distinguish three categories of landscape: urban, suburban and extra-urban. This categorisation is no doubt useful to designate the location of cults, but its objectivity is questionable. Indeed, the distinction between what makes a cult suburban or extra-urban, for instance, or between extra-urban and boundary, is tenuous: in a world where boundaries are marked by occasional stones, how can

²² Rutherford 2013, 9, who applies network theory to the study of theoi.

²³ Rutherford 2013, 9.

²⁴ Fustel de Coulanges 1877, 177-187.

²⁵ Van Gennep 1909; Jeanmaire 1939; Dumézil 1929; Vidal-Naquet 1981; Burkert 1985, 260-264. See discussion of the uses of this model in Versnel 1994, 48-60.

modern scholars assert with certainty that a certain cult site sits on the border between two territories, unless otherwise stated by ancient sources? Another limit to that categorisation is that it can only work within a defined chronological frame²⁶, for urban sanctuaries might become rural once the inhabitants of a small polis have been transferred to a larger one – as in Megalopolis for instance. The model then applies a certain function to the cult places according to their localisation: urban cults are mostly civic, suburban cults, agrarian, and extra-urban cults, boundary markers, presupposing that a cult site's spatial position is an indicator of its function, since its function should be determined by its localisation.

Factors influencing sacred topography

Since its publication, De Polignac's thesis has created a dynamic field of research and opened the floor for many more approaches to sacred topography. In particular, a wide range of potential factors that could influence the placement of sacred sites have been proposed and examined. Broadly speaking, two types of factors leading to the implantation of sacred places can be distinguished: spatial and social.²⁷

Spatial factors are related to the physical landscape in a broader sense. On the one hand, natural characteristics, such as noteworthy natural features, can contribute to the choice of a certain location to implant a certain sacred space.²⁸ For instance, wet and floodable lands are preferred homes for Artemis, goddess of dampness.²⁹ Equally, certain natural facilities are sometimes required for the performance of a cult: Demeter, for instance, requires her cult to be in a place favourable to privacy and having water available nearby for purifications.³⁰ Man-made works in the landscape, such as the presence of a pre-existing structure nearby, can also influence the placement of shrines. On the other hand, the way in which communities occupy the landscape inflects their perception of place, and conditions the choice of certain locations for certain cults. For instance, easy access is a condition desirable for certain cults.³¹ The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, for instance, is a very good example of a cult place located at a strategic crossroads. Conversely, cults of Zeus can be located near the summit of mountains, such as Mount Lykaion, and are therefore more difficult of access. Again, the cult's location depends on the role assigned to the divinity worshipped. Visibility or invisibility is also an important factor underpinning the placement of cult places³²: a megaron where mysteries take place does not require the same exposure as a sanctuary serving as a shared meeting place for a scattered

²⁶ De Polignac restricts his study to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.

²⁷ Horden and Purcell 2000, 403-408.

²⁸ Jost 1994, 218-219; Guettel Cole 1994.

²⁹ Jost 1994, 220.

³⁰ Guettel Cole 1994, 215-216. Spring: cult of Demeter at spring of the Meliastai (Paus. 8.65). Grove: cult of Despoina and Demeter at Lykosoura (Paus. 8.37.10). Cave: Demeter Melaina near Phigalia (Paus. 8.42.4-5).

³¹ Peatfield 1994, 23; Morgan 1994, 118; 140.

³² On the importance of networks of visibility between cult places in Minoan Crete: Peatfield 1992.

community. Incidentally, territorial claims can be articulated through the placement of sanctuaries on the land thus claimed as marks of ownership or warnings for potential invaders.³³ Finally, pragmatic concerns are sometimes also considered – such as setting the shrine on a flood-free territory.

Social factors are criteria related to ritual space as built and visited by a community. For instance, certain cults had a specific role for a particular community, or were restricted to a certain type of visitors. As a result religious topography can reveal social realities, and can bear the mark of political concerns.³⁴ Ethne for instance are thought to have played a particular role in temple building, suggesting that the location of their shrines had a particular significance to them.³⁵ S. G. Cole argued that religious sites mapped gender concerns on the landscape.³⁶ Sacred sites held a particular place in myth creation and collective memory: the sanctuary of Athena Alea, with its collection of Spartan spoils, articulated the assertion of Tegean identity against the Spartan invaders.³⁷ In fact, there is no one-size-fits-all way to describe the social realities underlying a landscape, since every polis had a different history and was composed of different identities with their own local traditions.³⁸ Each polis marked its natural environment with specific responses, and social factors that can inflect the placement of sacred spaces are numerous and varied.³⁹ As S. Alcock wrote:

*‘Sacred landscapes emerge as both culturally constructed and historically sensitive, immensely variable through time and space (...) Far from being immune to depths in other aspects of human life, they can reflect a very wide cultural and political milieu. Yet they also provide more than a simple mirror of change by their active participation in the conditions of social reproduction.’*⁴⁰

It must be stressed that the size of the worshipping group may also vary over time: sanctuaries change hands, communities shrink, merge, and disappear, and all of these social changes are reflected in sacred spaces. Notably, historical circumstances can transform the catchment area⁴¹ of certain sites: previously local shrines can progressively acquire a regional outreach by becoming the seat of a koinon, as was the case with Mount Lykaion, or by hosting far-reaching games, like the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Equally, sanctuary visitors are difficult to track when they do not leave any inscription or identifiable votives behind them: the outreach of certain sites

³³ Guettel Cole 2004, 184. Nixon 2001, 25f investigates the connection between the location of sanctuaries and productive resources.

³⁴ Alcock 1993; Alcock and Osborne 1994.

³⁵ Morgan 2003.

³⁶ Cole 2004.

³⁷ Pretzler 1999b.

³⁸ Antonaccio 1994, 101.

³⁹ Another factor is whether the sacralisation of places resulted from a contact with other cultures or were creations *sui generis* Smith 1978, 50.

⁴⁰ Alcock 1993, 172.

⁴¹ ‘Catchment area’ is here used in the sense of breadth of a given sanctuary’s outreach.

is therefore difficult to measure, and the possibility that visitors beyond the local community visited shrines in the early periods should not be discarded wholesale.⁴²

Wherever they came from, all of these visitors moved around to visit the shrines, local or not, and carried with them votives to deposit, ideas to share, and memories to bring back to their home: the results of religious mobility can be observed for instance in the inspiration underpinning religious architecture. Thus, sacred places cannot be considered as stand-alone entities, for they are embedded in various networks of influence and mobility.⁴³

Numen and the nature of the sacred

Not all places can be sacred.⁴⁴ Places with sacred power were carefully chosen by the community and collectively recognized as materialising the sacred by the worshippers, the priests and the divinity.⁴⁵ They were selected according to the factors enumerated above, but their placement also reflected the expression of the divinity's will to set its shrine at that particular place.

In ancient collective imaginary, three tiers of landscapes made up the natural environment.⁴⁶ First, the natural landscape, particular to each region. Second, the human landscape, fragmented politically by borders and identities, and agriculturally by *kleroi*. Third, the imaginary landscape, or the general acknowledgement that there was a world beyond human experience cohabiting with the human world. This third tier, although present in the natural landscape, was impossible to reach, to control, or even to see: only symptoms of it could be noticed in the shape of natural phenomena. For instance, no one doubted the existence of the Underworld, and although no one had ever visited it, some argued that holes into which some rivers flowed could lead to it.⁴⁷ The gods had always lived in the natural landscape, long before mortals did, and they never left. Some natural places were thought to reflect this divine presence, to be 'numinous'.⁴⁸ The numen, or inner sanctity of a place, corresponds to some extent to the demonstration of the gods' will to site their worship place here rather than anywhere else. Nevertheless, it is still a human creation: placing a sacred site is a blend of pragmatism and sensitivity to the shape of the landscape.⁴⁹

In contrast, a place could not be sacred just by its location. It was *made* sacred thanks to a ritual, and the agalma of the divinity placed in the sacred precinct signalled its presence.⁵⁰ Ritual gave meaning to a place by setting it apart from its worldly equivalents and drawing attention to the privileged contact with the divinity

⁴² See p. 88-106.

⁴³ Horden and Purcell 2000, 404.

⁴⁴ Smith 1987.

⁴⁵ Smith 1987, 84.

⁴⁶ Cole 2004, 7-11.

⁴⁷ See p. 202f.

⁴⁸ Cole 2004, 30-37; Scully 1979; *Hom. Hymn Apollo* 51-61.

⁴⁹ Guettel Cole 2004, 15-16.

⁵⁰ Smith 1987, 106.

that took place there.⁵¹ Sacralising a designated area occurred on notable occasions, such as when a new community was established, or a new god or ritual introduced.

Hence, the numen of place was as important as the spatial and social factors to select a place suitable to become sacred, and ritual filled it with meaning.

The limits of using models

Using models has of course its limits.⁵² Imposing a modern framework of interpretation onto ancient, often patchy evidence comprises the inherent risk of bending it in order to make it fit the chosen model. It orients the analysis a certain way, exposing the interpretation to (un)conscious bias. As Chr. Sourvinou-Inwood put it:

*'since we do not view data neutrally, but through perceptual filters shaped by culturally determined assumptions, this leads to serious distortions, as does any investigation based on model-building on the basis of probabilities and what appear to be reasonable assumptions: for all these notions and their application are inevitably radically culturally determined and any reconstruction which depends on them reflects modern preconceptions rather than the ancient realities'*⁵³

It is true: we need to be careful of our own bias. Historians during the colonial period were biased by their historical context and came up with the 'evolutionary model', in which the world was divided into so-called 'superior' and 'inferior' cultures, which were all at different stages of the same linear evolution, from primitive to complex.⁵⁴ Finley (1985) saw the ancient world as antagonistic blocks, influenced by the contemporary Cold War.⁵⁵ And now, we might be biased by living in an ultra-connected world, where inter-country mobility is a given.

In addition, ancient sources also have their own bias. As underlined before, Classical Athens is clearly over-represented in our sources, and had a predominant influence even on the writings of non-Athenian authors. A lot of what we know about Greek religion derives from these sources, and therefore their very use induces an inherent bias.

Therefore, particular care is required when studying Greek religion. A balance is required between micro- and macro-level approaches (i.e. local and Panhellenic), inclusive and exclusive (especially when dealing with 'connectivity' and networks), isolation and comparison. In order to be productive, the scholar of Greek religious topography – and Greek religion in general – needs to navigate these challenges, be

⁵¹ Smith 1987, 103.

⁵² Smith 1982, xi.

⁵³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 1.

⁵⁴ The Greeks and Romans being, as ancestors of the colonizers, naturally the 'superior' culture; see for instance this bias at play in Perdrizet 1899 and Farnell's study of Artemis Eurynome in Arcadia, 1896, 427-428.

⁵⁵ De Angelis 2013, 3.

conscious of possible bias, remain close to the evidence, and keep an eye open to the trends observable in other parts of Greece for relevant comparison.

Methodology and sources

Despite these limits and challenges, it is possible, and enlightening, to study religious topography. Remaining careful and conscious of one's bias, resisting the temptation to overuse models and adopting an evidence-based approach should provide a sound basis for investigation.

Typology of places

Ancient sources make a somewhat inconsistent use of vocabulary to refer to places, but the most inconsistent use of words referring to spatial and material realities in the ancient world may be made by its scholars.⁵⁶ Hence, it is useful before going any further into this investigation to succinctly define some of the key concepts used in this work to refer to places.

Pausanias' terminology to designate settlements has been carefully studied by M. Jost.⁵⁷ He uses three words: *chôrion*, *polis* and *kôme*. *Chôrion* is the vaguest of the three: it designates a 'lieu-dit', a site with a landmark such as a spring, a sacred grove or a crossroads, or a built site such as a tomb, a sanctuary, or a border crossing. *Polis* and *kôme* refer to inhabited settlements with different political status.⁵⁸ It is not always clear whether Pausanias' designation of 'polis' refers to a contemporary or Classical reality,⁵⁹ although he does mention when settlements changed status – for instance after the foundation of Megalopolis, Pausanias states that the poleis integrated by the synoecism lost their polis status, but it is unclear whether that occurred at the time or during the following centuries that led to his day.

Due to the chronological scope of the thesis, the term 'polis' will be used with caution mostly because it entails a certain political structure, nucleation and formalism. Since the term 'polis' obliterates other forms of habitation with other types of community structures, such as pre-city-state settlements within ethne, sedentary population concentration will be referred to in terms of 'settlements' or 'cities' – taken here as a different concept than 'polis' or 'city-state'.

The gods had designated allotments of space dedicated to them from the Bronze Age.⁶⁰ These spaces were carefully delimited, for they were places where two

⁵⁶ Patera 2010, 535-536; de Cazanove and Scheid 2003, 3.

⁵⁷ Jost 1996, 721f.

⁵⁸ Jost 1996, 721 based on Paus. 8.27.6 (Lykosoura remains a polis after the foundation of Megalopolis, while Gortys becomes a *kôme*). Alcock 1993, 330 shows after Paus. 10.4.1 that he calls Panopeus a polis despite a lack on any recognisable polis infrastructure on account of its involvement in inter-polis relations and the presence of boundaries.

⁵⁹ Comparing the the situation reflected in Pausanias and the Arcadian section of the *IGP* to identify Classical poleis may reveal a circular argument, since Pausanias is often the only source for the *IGP*.

⁶⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 1-13 against de Polignac 1984, 27-31; Morris 1987, 189-192; Morris 1989, 317-318. See p. 62.

worlds collide – the world of the gods and the world of the mortals, the divine and the human. First of all, the *temenos* is the patch of land, of variable size, carefully separated from the realm of the mortals and dedicated to a divine being or a hero.⁶¹ This piece of land is sometimes signalled by a device, be it a monument marking the entrance, boundary stones, a wall, or something else; but sometimes nothing permits seeing clearly where the realm of the mortals ends and where the realm of the divine starts.⁶² This is problematic, since certain rules must be respected by whoever intends to penetrate that space to enter in contact with the divine: entering a *temenos* without purifying oneself appropriately results in being marked by *miasma*, supernatural pollution.⁶³ But it is the word *hieron*, designating something sacred that is conventionally translated by ‘sanctuary’.⁶⁴ Where *temenos* is a sacred delimitation of land, *hieron* is the sacred space thus enclosed: the two terms are distinct although the realities to which they refer do not always seem distinguishable to our modern eyes.⁶⁵ The *naos* is the building in which the divinity resides, usually translated as ‘temple’: it usually hosts the *eikôn* or *agalma* of the deity worshipped, namely its cult statue.⁶⁶ The cult statue can have many different shapes and be made of various kinds of material, but it is quite common for it to be made of marble, bronze, ivory and gold (chryselephantine) or wood. A *xoanon* is understood as an Archaic-like – i.e. hieratic and grossly finished – statue. It can appear to mortals in a supernatural way.⁶⁷ The *abaton* is an area of the sacred space in which no one is allowed to enter. Such areas can be found in the sanctuaries of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea and Zeus Lykaion on Mount Lykaion, where trespassing incurs terrible curses.⁶⁸ Finally, a sacred spring, grove of trees (*alsos*), stone or any other natural feature may be found inside a *temenos*.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Bergquist 1967, 5; Hellmann 1992, 169; Casevitz 1984, 85-86.

⁶² For instance, peribolos or propyleia (Pedley 2005, 6); statue of Artemis Hegemone marking the entrance of the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura (Paus 8.37.1); wool thread as barrier for abaton of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea (Paus. 8.10.3).

⁶³ Parker 1983, 18-31. E.g. sacred law of Lykosoura IG V.2 514 (late third century BCE). For another example at Lindos: LSS 91, 1-3 (third century BCE).

⁶⁴ Kearns 1990, 67; Casevitz 1984, 87; Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 147-148. It can also be a synonym for *naos*, temple: Hellmann 1992, 170.

⁶⁵ Cf. Inscriptions in which ‘*hieron kai temenos*’ are mentioned: IG XII.1 677, 3 l.

21(= LSCG 136) Athens c. 300 BCE; IG II2 1035, 4 (Attica, early first century BCE). See Hellmann 1992, 171. *Temenos* smaller than *hieron*: see LSCG 150, A 1-7 (Cos, end of fifth century BCE) where it is forbidden to cut the trees inside and outside of the *temenos* where someone cutting trees inside and outside of the *temenos* is guilty of impiety against the *hieron*.

⁶⁶ Patera 2010, 547-550 for a discussion of the different possible realities designated by the term ‘*naos*’.

⁶⁷ Stone statues can also have appeared in a supernatural way, for instance the marble block of which Damophon sculpted the statuary group of Despoina, Paus. 8.37.3.

⁶⁸ Mantinea: Paus. 8.10.3 (blindness and death); Mount Lykaion: Paus. 8.38.6 (cast no shadow and death).

⁶⁹ For instance *alsos* of Despoina, Paus. 8.37.10; spring of the Meliastes Mantinea, Paus. 8.6.5.

Selection of sites

The Arcadian sites that will be more fully investigated in the present work have been selected according to specific criteria guaranteeing that enough information is available in order to carry out a successful analysis. The criteria used to select them are the following:

1. Settlements must be identified with certainty by archaeology
2. Settlements must be attested in ancient literature (Pausanias *and* in authors other than Pausanias)
3. Settlements must have been occupied between the 6th century BCE and the 2nd century CE
4. Sanctuaries must be identified on the territory by archaeology
5. Sanctuaries must be attested in ancient literary sources as well, if possible in Pausanias and others, too

Various tools were used to aggregate data on the Arcadian sites: historical maps, archaeological reports, and inventories of sites and GPS data from field trips. The *IGP* in particular is a precious resource. It gathers very useful information on each site's occupation timeline, acropolis and lower city set up, and allows verification whether sites mentioned by Pausanias are subsequently identified by archaeology and whether they are attested in any other literary source. The *IGP* localization and dating of poleis and settlements relies on a combination of archaeological finds including architectural features, pottery sherds, coinage, inscriptions, as well as instances in written sources. Furthermore, the *IGP* being fairly recent (2004) and exhaustive, it provides a reliable list of 70 settlements named in written sources in Arcadia occupied during the Archaic and Classical period. Out of them, only 39 are detailed in the inventory. The remaining 31 are not demonstrably Archaic, Classical or settlements at all, and 15 of those 31 sites remain unlocated.⁷⁰ As a result, only 39 sites can be pinned on a map based on the *IGP*.

Among those 39 sites with a location, there is need to isolate those with a mention in written sources and an attested occupation since the Archaic period. Criterion 2 highlights the importance of having at least another instance of the site's existence in a written source besides Pausanias, simply because the author writes only in the 2nd century CE: his view of the site cannot, therefore, reasonably reflect accurately what it was eight centuries before his visit. Cross-referencing his account with a mention in Pindar, Hesiod, and later authors is thus essential in order to get a more accurate picture of the site's timeline. A further selection must be carried out based on whether the sites have known extra-urban religious sites on their territory. The reason for that is that, evidently, religious sites placed in the natural landscape are susceptible to reflect the perception of the natural environment by those who decided to place them where they are. It can also inform on the structure of the territory, something that an urban sanctuary cannot always do due to its position at the heart of

⁷⁰ *IGP* 2004, 506f.

the civic centre. Unquestionably, extra-urban religious sites are more difficult to place with certainty since the data that concerns them is even scarcer than that for the Arcadian poleis.

Sources

The study of Arcadia can rely on a variety of sources. This section will give a brief overview of the principal sources on which this work is based: all and more are cited throughout the work. The evidence for Arcadia, like in other parts of Greece, is varied. Literary sources and archaeological material, inscriptions and coinage allow a relatively continuous picture of the activity and of the relationships between cities and sanctuaries to be pieced together for a number of sites which will be further investigated in part 1. Certainly, these sources have all their limits: literary sources are overwhelmingly written by non-Arcadians; inscriptions are few and often fragmentary; excavations carried out in the early twentieth century were often not updated by new campaigns, their reports now out-dated, and many of the finds were never published in inventories at all.

Pausanias

Our most complete source is Pausanias; nonetheless, using him has its flaws. The most evident problem is that Pausanias writes in the second century CE, which makes using his work for earlier centuries highly problematic. Trying to identify sites working backwards from his writing can be misleading, in the sense that the realities he covers in his day certainly do not reflect realities of the earlier periods. Another maddening impediment with using his descriptions is their inaccuracy. It is frequently unclear what the path he used was, and he often fails to mention significant topographical hints that could allow the site he is describing or mentions in passing to be located. And yet, despite these limitations, Pausanias is the most important source for this study; thus he deserves a closer attention.

By his descriptive narrative and his care for details, but also thanks to his numerous digressions on various subjects, Pausanias gives a vast amount of valuable information on religious topography. He gives detailed descriptions of cult sites and meticulously records noteworthy inscriptions found in sanctuaries or on agorai.⁷¹ Interested in peculiarities of the natural landscape, he describes noteworthy natural features; his eighth book is particularly rich in them. He has a visible interest in civic communities: not only does he take careful notes of all of the civic monuments, but he is interested in the mythical genealogies, tries to identify local heroes, and attempts to piece together accounts of entities alien to him such as the old ethne.⁷² Educated in ancient literature, his digressions showcase his knowledge and establish links between what he sees and learns and quotes in ancient authors in the manner of a scholiast.

⁷¹ Habicht 1984.

⁷² See p. 151f.

Very interestingly for us, Pausanias acquires many his information from local sources, and takes pride in explicitly saying so.⁷³

Because of his importance for modern ancient historians and archaeologists, Pausanias has been the subject of numerous studies and criticized from various perspectives: this section will briefly summarize the state of scholarship on his work and his world. Originating probably from Magnesia by Sipylon, Pausanias travelled around mainland Greece and wrote detailed descriptions of what he saw and heard in ten books written between 155 and 180 CE.⁷⁴ Sometimes considered a ‘novelist’, sometimes a pilgrim, a historian or travel guide, he writes about his travels with a blatant subjectivity that does not escape his readers, and he does not disguise it.⁷⁵ The text is written in the first person, and records the impressions of a man passionate about antiquity in front of the landscapes that witnessed the greatness of the Classical Greece he studied.⁷⁶ Pausanias does not seek to hide the fact that he consciously selects the monuments he decides to describe, often leaving unnoticed the buildings and monuments built closer to his own times and tokens of the Roman domination.⁷⁷ While the work had been long read as a guidebook to ancient Greek landscapes for its detailed descriptions, the trend in scholarship now is to read the *Periegesis* as a work in its own right and to consider him within his historical context.⁷⁸ Pausanias’ work not only gives valuable information on ancient Greece, its circulating myths and landmarks, but it also gives an insight into how a second-century erudite Greek could make sense of what he saw.⁷⁹ At that time, Greece was Roman and had known the philhellene reign of Hadrian. It was also the time when the Second Sophistic was en vogue, and it most probably influenced Pausanias.⁸⁰ In that respect, Pausanias is emblematic of his time: his mind was shaped by a context of renewed interest for the greatness of Classical Greece, while his personal interest in religion and local peculiarities naturally inclined him to record only what was of interest to him, and to disregard ‘modern’ constructions.⁸¹ It also means that Pausanias had in mind a certain idea of what ancient Greece should look like, and that this bias conditioned the selections he made when describing cities, landscapes and cult places.⁸²

⁷³ Jost 1996, 719; Pretzler 1999, 89-90; Pretzler 2005.

⁷⁴ Arafat 1996, 8; Habicht 1985, 9-15; Bowie 2001, 21-25; Hawes 2014, 176.

⁷⁵ Auberger 1992, 1957-280; Elsner 1992, 3-29; Chamoux 1996, 63.

⁷⁶ See Pretzler 2007 on the making-of the *Periegesis* from preparation to selecting and collecting information on-site, and writing up.

⁷⁷ Pirenne-Delforge 2008; Arafat 1996.

⁷⁸ Alcock 1993; Jost 1996; Arafat 1996; Pirenne-Delforge 1998, 2008; Pretzler 1999, 2007; Hawes 2014; Alcock, Cherry and Elsner 2001.

⁷⁹ Hawes 2014, 74.

⁸⁰ Arafat 1996, 15; Alcock 1993.

⁸¹ His local informants were also probably keener to talk about the greatness of their own past than the recent embarrassment of having been conquered by a ‘culturally inferior’ nation, the Romans.

⁸² Y. Lafond 1996, 187 argues that Pausanias describes the polis he visited according to the idea he had about what polis should look like: hence he conscientiously takes notes of everything pertaining to the agora, gymnasium, assembly places and theatre, but disregards

Hence using Pausanias has its advantages and pitfalls. He gives us a precious account of a selection of local myths and stories circulating in his time, along with careful descriptions of the spatial context (built and natural) in which each item is located – this is especially true for the *Arkadika*. This is especially crucial for this study, since so little literary evidence on religious practices in ancient Arcadia survived. However, as Susan Alcock justly pointed out, there are obvious challenges to using such a late source to investigate Archaic and Classical realities.⁸³ Pausanias, an outsider strongly influenced by ideas of what Classical Greece should look like forged after ideas about Classical Athens, cannot reasonably give a reliable picture of what took place in small Arcadian settlements centuries before his time. And yet, he is too precious to be dismissed: therefore, in order to use his testimony, other sources closer to the period concerned will always be used to corroborate or contradict the picture he draws. Finally, another problem is that Pausanias is sometimes confused, as he seems to have difficulties with organising the amount of information – often alien to him – which he had noted down while on travel.⁸⁴ His language is often imprecise⁸⁵ and he is reputed to be gullible, although he does sometimes check whether what he is told is true.⁸⁶ Thus, it is crucial to remain careful not to read too much into the work, and not to confuse Pausanias' antiquarian interest with history.

Other literary sources

Other literary sources helpful in locating Arcadian religious sites include Thucydides, Herodotus, Polybius, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who described historical events – mostly wars or political events – in which Arcadian communities or individuals took part. They have the advantage of offering at the same time a historical narrative pertaining to the Greek world as a whole at different points in time, and of giving indications of the spatial setting in which events took place, thereby offering a glimpse into the geography of ancient Arcadia. Xenophon in particular spent a lot of time with Arcadians when marching with the Ten Thousand, and has a personal knowledge of Arcadian local particularisms through frequent contact with the Arcadian officers under his command and his fellow strategoi.⁸⁷

Arcadian myths and myths taking place in Arcadia⁸⁸ are alluded to or fully reported in authors starting with Homer⁸⁹ and Hesiod, poets such as Callimachus and

what does not fit his mental image of a polis. However, Pausanias is exactly the source which gives us an idea of the variety of communities beyond the 'high-profile' Greek polis.

⁸³ Alcock 1995, 326-344.

⁸⁴ Pretzler 2007; Arafat 1996, 18.

⁸⁵ Jost 1985, 3; 1996.

⁸⁶ See for instance his disappointment when he finds out that the Aroanian fish do not sing: 'Among the fish in the Aroanios is one called the dappled fish. These dappled fish, it is said, utter a cry like that of the thrush. I have seen fish that have been caught, but I never heard their cry, though I waited by the river even until sunset, at which time the fish were said to cry most.' (Paus. 8.21.2, tr. Jones).

⁸⁷ Roy 1972d, 132-135.

⁸⁸ The two must be distinguished, since not all myths taking place in Arcadia can be deemed 'Arcadian': for instance the Labours of Herakles taking place at Stymphalos or the flight of

Theocritus, playwrights such as Euripides, Sophocles, Aeschylus and Aristophanes, philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, and in the work of specialised mythographers such as Hyginus. Pindar and Bacchylides, writers of epinikia, are precious sources both for myths pertaining to Arcadia and the early history of the Arcadian communities: they provide for instance hints of the pre-polis state of most Arcadian communities, and allow connections in and out of Arcadia to be traced thanks to recording victories at Panhellenic games.⁹⁰ The geographer Strabo gives a descriptive – although bleak – picture of Arcadia under the early Roman Empire.⁹¹ Finally, scholiasts and lexicographers are a useful source to trace the posterity of myths and places: they can give interesting versions or make links for us between different myths, giving an insight on the ‘shared corpus’ of stories circulating in their period.

The large time span that these authors cover allows the tradition about Arcadia, its customs, and its people to be unpacked from the Archaic to the Roman period. Still, rich as these sources are for the study of Arcadian religion and topography, like any other ancient source they need to be taken with caution. The chronological remoteness of most authors from the aspects of Arcadia they describe often impedes their credibility, and it must be noted that very few of these authors write from first-hand experience: only Polybios is an Arcadian himself, and if some of the authors mentioned above may have encountered Arcadians in their lives or visited Arcadia, it does not necessarily entail that all of what they report about the land, its people and its customs must be taken at face-value. Thus, the scholar using these texts must remain conscious of their literary and stylistic agenda, and try as much as possible to double-check any reference to cults or natural features with other sources in order to assess their historicity. And even when doing so, one needs to be cautious of the fact that later sources often rely on the earlier ones to feed their writings.

Archaeology

In terms of material evidence, the *IGP* gathers helpful items of information from various archaeological reports about extra-urban as well as urban sanctuaries, and was therefore a good starting point. Madeleine Jost’s (1985) interpretative inventory also provides excellent information about a variety of sites, although some of her identifications have been challenged or updated by new discoveries since then. In general, the identification of sites is problematic because of a lack of full-scale excavations of the sites: indeed, often only the agora or urban temples have been fully studied, since the archaeologists had to leave aside the rest of the sites for funding

the centaurs on Mount Erymanthos in western Arcadia after Pirithoos and Hippodamia’s wedding.

⁸⁹ Note the inherent problems with the use of the Homeric corpus, notably the *Catalogue of Ships*. Among others, their authorship and date are still contested, and it is unclear what trajectory the oral tradition took before the poems were written down. They are therefore not a reliable *terminus post quem* for the appearance of settlements, for instance.

⁹⁰ See p. 93-94; 114-120.

⁹¹ See Pretzler 2009 and here p. 141-143 for Strabo’s Arcadia.

reasons. In addition, some recent archaeological campaigns have not yet made their results public: knowledge of some sites therefore, such as the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea, derives from the information provided by the different national archaeological schools' websites. On top of that, some sites identified as religious buildings have often been excavated without any indication of who the worshipped divinity might have been, because of a lack of specific enough offerings. Thus, archaeological sources only give a patchy picture of Arcadia.

Since M. Jost (1985) offers an exhaustive catalogue of the excavations undertaken in Arcadia before the 1980s, only the later developments will be highlighted here, or earlier works if they have not been yet updated.⁹² Another, more succinct inventory of the latest excavation reports published about Arcadia was compiled by Østby in 1993.⁹³ The latest discoveries can be found in dedicated monographs or articles, when they exist, or predominantly in the archaeological chronicles of *Kernos* (*ChronARG*), the *Archaeological Reports* and the *Deltion*.

This archaeological overview will start by Mantinea in east Arcadia and go clockwise. S. and H. Hodkinson published a detailed excavation report of Mantinea in 1981, while W. K. Pritchett carefully surveyed its landscape and battlefields (1969). More recent excavations were carried out in the area under the direction of T. Karagiorga, which notably yielded 251 seventh- and sixth-century BCE iron pins on the Ptolis hill, north of Mantinea.⁹⁴ In Tegea, M. Voyatzis (1990) gives a good overview of the architectural and votive finds made not only there, but all around Arcadia in temples dated from the Archaic period. In Tegea in particular, the old excavations by Dugas' team in the 1920s have been re-evaluated and continued by dynamic excavations carried out by the Norwegian Institute over the past twenty years. Two successive eighth-century apsidal structures used until 680 BCE were found under the temple of Athena Alea, which were succeeded by the first archaic temple c. 600 BCE, and the cult continued uninterrupted between the two constructions (Østby 2002 and Nordquist 2002).⁹⁵ Remains of what may have been a Thesmophorion were also found at Aghios Sostis near Tegea in (Leventi 1994-1995).⁹⁶ The newest research development also suggest 550 BCE as a date for the synoecism of Tegea (Ødegård 2005 and 2007). E. Østby published finds from the four temples on the acropolis at Pallantion, west of Tegea (1990-1991). The Asea valley was thoroughly surveyed by the Swedish institute at Athens (Forsén and Forsén 2003). It is the only exhaustive survey we have for Arcadia. Other temples in the valley have been studied more recently, such as a possible temple of Artemis Despoina in the pass between Asea and Arachamitai/Peraitheis dated from the sixth century BCE.⁹⁷ The recent finds at Mount Lykaion are currently being published as the result of excavations under the direction of M. Voyatzis and D. G. Romano (2014

⁹² More detailed summaries of the excavations will be found ad hoc elsewhere in the thesis.

⁹³ Østby 1993, 199.

⁹⁴ *ChronARG* 2012 (25), 02.10.

⁹⁵ *ChronARG* 2004 (17), 02.20.

⁹⁶ *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.15.

⁹⁷ *ChronARG* 2010 (23), 02.15; *ChronARG* 2012 (25), 02.11.

and 2015) carried out over the past ten years. E. Salavoura also discusses the Mycenaean origin of the site in her recent work (2015, 304-310). X. Arapogianni may have identified the temple of Pan Nomios at Ano Melpia near Petroula.⁹⁸ Recent finds at Megalopolis were published by H. Lauter-Bufe (2009, 2011) and the British School at Athens (Roy 2007) around and in the area of the agora.⁹⁹ Laufer-Bufe notably discovered a temple of Zeus Soter, which was part of a large building program in the last quarter of the fourth century BCE.¹⁰⁰ Despite its importance, the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura has unfortunately not benefited from any more recent attention since the reports B. Kavvadias, V. Léonardos and K. Kourouniotes published a century ago (1889-1906). However, P. Marcadé and E. Lévy published a focused study of the cult statues (1972), and G. Orlandini (1969-1970) and I. and E. Loucas (1988) published some more recent preliminary studies. M. Jost more recently published on the site (2008). Recent finds at Phigalia include a 6.7x10m temple with a statue base for an unknown divinity at Perivolia Garditsa, on the left of the route from Phigalia to the temple of Apollo Epikourios.¹⁰¹ X. Arapogianni also found a 15.7x7.7m fourth-century temple on a hill west of the town at Kourdoubouli with a cult statue base and an offering table with lion paws, perhaps dedicated to Athena Polias and Zeus Soter, with a range of material. An earlier temple and Bronze Age remains were found underneath it.¹⁰² Bassai, because of its reputation and state of conservation has been much discussed and researched: recent works include excavations under the direction of N. Yalouris (1959 and 1979) and works focused on the sanctuary by F. Cooper (1968, 1975), N. Cooper (1990) and N. Kelly (1995). A. K. Orlandos published digs at Alipheira (1967-1968). In the northwest corner of Arcadia, Ch. Kardara investigated the sanctuary of Aphrodite Erycina at Psophis (1988).¹⁰³ Sadly, north-western Arcadia in general has been neglected by excavators. The exception is Lousoi, which has been the subject of recent campaigns led by the Austrian Institute at Athens under the directorship of V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (1985-1990, 1992) and, after 2007, G. Ladstätter; Rogl (2008) published the Hellenistic finds on the site. An earlier temple, before the 300 BCE-temple of Artemis, was discovered and dated from the late sixth or early fifth century BCE based on offerings (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2000). The building east of the sanctuary was also identified as a cult site and dated from the fourth-century BCE based on lecythoi found in the layer.¹⁰⁴ No other sanctuary has been identified in the chora, as of 2001¹⁰⁵, but what

⁹⁸ *ChronARG* 2012 (25), 02.22.

⁹⁹ *ChronARG* 2006 (19), 02.15; Whitley, *AR2002-2003* (2003), 28.

¹⁰⁰ *ChronARG* 2004 (17) 02.19; 2012 (25), 02.12.

¹⁰¹ Cooper (1977) dated it from the late fourth to early third century BCE based on stylistic similarities with the treasure of the Cyrenaens in Delphi. *ChronARG* 2008 (21), 02.06; *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.17.

¹⁰² Arapogianni in Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 299, 306; *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.17; *ChronARG* 2002 (15), 02.24; *ChronARG* 2004 (17), 02.16; *ChronARG* 2007 (20), 02.07.

¹⁰³ See also *ChronARG* 2006 (19), 02.17.

¹⁰⁴ *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.19; *ChronARG* 2002 (15), 02.25.

¹⁰⁵ *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.19.

appears to be a poliad sanctuary near the Hellenistic stoa was also excavated.¹⁰⁶ North-eastern Arcadia attracted somewhat more attention. Pikoulas proposed to locate the sanctuary of Athena Korai at Kleitor (Paus. 8.21.4) on top of Aghios Athanasios hill.¹⁰⁷ Finds from the temple of Asclepius in Pheneos were published in the early 1960s by Protonotariou-Deilaki (1961-2). The site is currently under excavation by the Austrian Institute at Athens. Tausend (1999) proposes identifications for the sanctuaries of Apollo Pythios, Artemis Pyronia, Demeter Thesmia and Hermes on the Kyllene. All only yielded poor material, indicating local cults. The excavations of Orlandos' team in 1924-1930 were taken over at Stymphalos by a Canadian team in the 1980s. The identification of temple on the acropolis – to Athena or Artemis – is still debated. It was built in the fifth century BCE and violently destroyed in the second.¹⁰⁸ In addition, another temple may have been found in Monastiraki¹⁰⁹, north of the modern town, as well as an other cult site in a cave on Mount Messiano at Lafka¹¹⁰, to the west. Orchomenos has not benefitted from any recent campaign. Finally, road networks have been extensively surveyed by Y. Pikoulas (1988 and subsequent).

On top of this, some cult-centred studies give good archaeological inventories. R. Stiglitz (1967) lists all instances of Demeter cults in Arcadia. Equally, Y. Mylonopoulos' study of the cults of Poseidon (2003) includes good archaeological inventories of the god's cults in Arcadia.

Epigraphy and numismatics

Finally, excavations have uncovered a large number of inscriptions of different length, in different conservation states, and about different subjects. Unfortunately, the exact provenance of many them is unknown, and many are very fragmentary. Despite these limitations, the inscriptions found in Arcadia are among the only first-hand sources produced by Arcadians we have, and are hence precious. The inscriptions range from the Classical to the Roman period, with a peak in the Hellenistic period and under the Empire. The most represented types of inscriptions are dedications and honorary decrees, as well as a few sacred laws. Most inscriptions are listed, reproduced and commented in the second part of the fifth volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Inscriptions found after the publication of the volume can be found in other collections, while most complete inscriptions have also been the subject of thorough studies by epigraphists in various journals (BCH, ZPE, etc.).¹¹¹ In general, there are very few inscriptions really useful to the study of cult; most of them are very fragmentary, and at best mention the name of a divinity (or parts of it)

¹⁰⁶ *ChronARG* 2006 (19), 02.28; Whitley 2004, 33-35.

¹⁰⁷ *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.18.

¹⁰⁸ Williams 2000, 360; 1999-2000, 28-29; Touchais 2000, 796-797; *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.21; Shaus 2001, 75-94; *ChronARG* 2002 (15), 02.26; Williams 2002, 135-187; *ChronARG* 2006 (19), 02.18; Whitley 2006, 27; *ChronARG* 2008 (21), 02.05.

¹⁰⁹ *ChronARG* 2006 (19), 02.18.

¹¹⁰ *ChronARG* 2001 (14), 02.22; *ChronARG* 2006 (19), 02.19.

¹¹¹ See list of abbreviations.

or decrees hung in a certain sanctuary, such as proxenia decrees. However, a very useful source and unique example must be mentioned: the third-century BCE sacred law of Lykosoura, which is preserved in some length and sheds light on some aspects of the mystery cult of Despoina.¹¹²

In terms of coinage, very good inventories are given by Head (1911) and Walker (2006). The earliest Arcadian mint could be found in Heraia in the second half of the sixth century BCE.¹¹³ In the fifth century, the few local coinages were replaced by the problematic so-called 'ARKADIKON' coinage until roughly 418 BCE, when local coinage starts to reappear. A few more cities mint in the fourth century, but the century is mostly marked by the apparition of the coinage of the koinon of the Arcadians (the so-called federal coinage).¹¹⁴ Subsequently, only a handful of cities mint in the third century, and in the second century the only coinage struck in Arcadia pertains to the Achaean league.¹¹⁵ There is a gap in our sources, then minting resumes under the Severans. The types chosen are anthropomorphic divinities, and it is generally assumed that they represent the deities protecting the city minting or local myths.

Interpretation

Once the sites selected, evidence about the sacred sites was gathered as exhaustively as possible and organised chronologically. The dating of archaeological remains, votives and other material sources (inscriptions and coinage notably) follows what had been established by specialists, as I am not competent to re-evaluate their conclusions: only when the dating of a certain piece of evidence has been discussed will the debate be summarized.

Then, research questions are applied to the evidence. Why are sanctuaries¹¹⁶ located where they are? How do sanctuaries shed light on community structures? Where are myths taking place in Arcadia located? How do these myths relate to the topography of the place? What do they say about how the Arcadians and ancient Greeks perceived their environment? By examining the evidence with a mind free of models, and by establishing comparisons with the 'big picture' drawn by scholars following the Panhellenic approach and other regional studies, trends can be identified by clustering similar data from different sites. Certainly, the trends distinguished may not be observable in all sites, often because we lack sufficient

¹¹² *IG* V.2 514; see page 132.

¹¹³ Head 1911, n. 447.

¹¹⁴ Walker 2006 n. 1517-1539, Megalopolis.

¹¹⁵ Alea: Walker 2006 n. 1348, 1349. Heraia: Walker 2006, n. 1372, 1373. Kaphyai: Walker n. 1381-1384. Lousoi: Walker 2006, n. 1446. Mantinea: Head 1911, 418. Megalopolis: Head 1911, 418; Walker 2006, n. 1540, 1542-1551. Orchomenos: Walker 2006, 1583. Pallantion: Walker 2006, 1590-1593. Pheneos: Head 1911, 418. Phigalia: Head 1911, 418; Walker 2006, n. 1642. Psophis: Walker 2006, n. 1688. Stymphalos: Head 1911, 418; Walker 2006, n. 1708. Tegea: Head 1911, 455; Walker 2006, n. 1742, 1743. Thelpousa: Head 1911, 456. Thisoa: Walker 2006, n. 1770-1771.

¹¹⁶ The cult places that will be looked at in this study are exclusively sanctuaries, for they can be mapped with the most reliability.

information to confirm or contradict them. But in the case of Arcadia especially, the absence of evidence does not mean evidence of absence, and there is always a risk that trends cannot be observed simply due to a lack of sufficient data. Therefore, the focus will be on the sites for which a hypothesis can be formed.

Arcadia, its land, its people

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the region attracted collectors and erudite amateurs, Pausanias' book VIII in hand.¹¹⁷ Once the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai was discovered, traffic quickly increased and many architectural features and handsome votives were taken away, as was normal at the time.¹¹⁸ This interest soon extended to more professional archaeological teams mainly from France, Germany, Greece and Great Britain at the turn of the twentieth century, which marked the beginnings of archaeological research properly speaking in Arcadia.¹¹⁹

The study of Arcadia proper was often made through commentaries on Pausanias' book VIII.¹²⁰ The cults and sanctuaries, however, have been subjects of studies from early on, either on the level of a single polis and its surroundings or the whole of Arcadia. Bérard and Fougères' works on eastern Arcadia are now out-dated, and Immerwahr's (1891) work has been superseded by Jost's (1985) exhaustive study of Arcadian sanctuaries. Arcadian dialect, as it is thought to be pre-Dorian, has also been the subject of specific studies, notably by Dubois (1988).

The history of ancient Arcadia had been until recently centred on the Classical period.¹²¹ The difficult topic of the foundation of Megalopolis has been studied from various angles, but it is the koinon of the Arcadians that proved the most popular subject.¹²² Recent interest in Arcadia has expanded the scope of investigation to different periods. C. Morgan and M. Voyatzis have studied the region and its sanctuaries in the Bronze Age and Archaic period. J. Roy and Th. Nielsen have published extensively on Arcadia, its political system, its people, its land, its history, its economy and to a lesser extent its religion from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.¹²³ The *IGP* (2004) gives a very useful state of current knowledge on the poleis (identified as such with more or less certitude) in Arcadia in the Archaic and Classical

¹¹⁷ Leake 1830, for instance.

¹¹⁸ For instance, the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai: Dinsmoor 1933, 204-6; Cooper *PECS* s.v. Bassai. See also study of the site in *Morée* II 1833, 6-39 and the disappointment of the French team when the expected ancient material had been already taken away by the British.

¹¹⁹ For instance: Gardner, Loring, Richards and Woodhouse 1890 (Megalopolis); Bather and Yorke 1892 (Megalopolis); Reichel and Wilhelm 1901 (Lousoi); Kavvadias 1893 (Lykosoura); Kourouniotes 1903-1904 and 1909 (Lykaion); Kourouniotes 1910 (Bassai); Dugas 1921 and 1924 (Tegea); Blum and Plassart 1914 (Orchomenos) and so on. For a detailed bibliography, see Jost 1985, 14-17.

¹²⁰ Frazer 1898; Papachatzes IV 1980; Hejnic 1961; Jost 1998; Pretzler 1999c.

¹²¹ Callmer 1943. Kahrstedt 1954 contains a chapter on Roman Arcadia.

¹²² Megalopolis: Niese 1899; Roy 1971; Moggi 1976, 293-325; Hornblower 1990. koinon: Dusanic 1970; Larsen 1968, 180-195.

¹²³ See bibliography.

period. Finally, like sanctuaries and political history, myths have their historians. M. Pretzler has investigated the inter-connection between myths, religion and local identity in depth¹²⁴, and R. Fowler's latest volume on *Early Greek mythology* (2013) sheds light on the tradition of Arcadian myths proper.

The Arcadians

The Arcadians were referred to as a distinct group within the Greek world. Sources from Hesiod to Pliny allow a consistent picture of the Arcadians as a group set apart under the name 'Arkades', with their own name, their own myths and their own customs to be patched together.¹²⁵

Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, among others, use the ethnic Ἀρκάδες to write about the inhabitants of Arcadia.¹²⁶ The Homeric instance, located in the *Catalogue of Ships*, is problematic: we certainly cannot be sure of when and in which context it was elaborated and then fixed in words, but on the other hand this passage certainly impacted the later image of the Arcadians by informing later references in ancient literature about the Arcadians and contains most of the ancient stereotypes about them (brave warriors incompetent in sea-related matters, for instance). The first instance properly speaking of referring to the Arcadians as an ethnos is in Herodotus (8.73), when he lists the seven ethne inhabiting the Peloponnese.¹²⁷ This does not necessarily entail that ethne were a fifth-century creation: on the contrary, Herodotus' passage seems to refer to an established, older reality.¹²⁸ Other authors considering Arcadia as a region apart, and making it the centre of their study, are now unfortunately lost, apart from Pausanias' *Arkadika*.¹²⁹

The Arcadians claimed to be the oldest Greek ethnos, autochthones of the Peloponnese, who were settled there before the moon was in the sky.¹³⁰ Historians such as Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who says that the Pelasgians emigrated from

¹²⁴ Pretzler 2009, 1999b, 1999c.

¹²⁵ See *IGP* s.v. Arkadia.

¹²⁶ Hom. *Il.* 2.611, 7.134; Hdt 1.66.1-3, 146.1; 2.171.3; 4.161.2; 5.49.8; 6.74.1bis, 74.2; 7.170.4, 202; 8.72.1, 73.1; 9.27.2, 28.1, 28.4, 35.2; Thuc. 1.9.4; 3.34.2-3; 5.31.2, 57.2, 58.4, 60.3, 64.3, 64.5, 67.1, 67.2; 7.19.4, 57.9bis; 8.3.2; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26, 2.30, 5.12; 4.4.16; 5.2.19; 6.5.11, 5.15, 5.16bis, 5.20-27, 5.30, 5.36, 5.50; 7.1.18, 1.23bis-1.29, 1.32, 1.33, 1.35, 1.41, 1.43-1.45bis, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 2.10, 3.1, 4.1-4.4, 4.6, 4.13-4.16ter, 4.19-4.28 etc.

¹²⁷ Also Ephoros *FGrH* 70 Fr. 18c.6; Diod. Sic. 12.11.3. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23: Arcadians are the largest Hellenic *phyle* according to Lykomedes of Mantinea. *CEG* II 824 (stele of Delphi, 369 BCE): Arcadians refer to themselves as *laos* (militaristic connotation) on the dedication.

¹²⁸ See p. 93-96, 104-106.

¹²⁹ See Hellanikos *FGrH* 4, Fr. 37: lost work of Hellanikos de Lesbos, 'Peri Arkadias' among his ethnographic works. Architimos *FGrH* 315, Fr. 1: reference in Plutarch to *Arcadia* by Architimos. Arist. Fr. 483 (Rose)= Fr. 487 (Bekker-Gigon): Aristotle's Constitution of the Arcadians. See also Dem. *Pro Megal.* 16.2.

¹³⁰ Callim. *Iamb.* I fr. 191 (Pfeiffer); Lyk. *Alex.* 482. Ephoros interpreting Hesiod Fr. 161 (Merkelbach-West); Eust. *Comm. In Dion. Per. FHG* 414; Arist. Fr. 591 (Rose)=Fr. 608 (Bekker-Gigon); Paus. 8.1.4 echoes Asios, an Arcadian poet. Nielsen 2002, 71-2; Burkert 1983, 84 n. 1; Borgeaud 1979, 7-8; Roy 2011, 74; Fowler 2013, 88.

Arcadia, acknowledge their claim.¹³¹ In Arcadian genealogy, Pelasgos was the first man, born in Arcadia from Earth, who taught humans how to protect themselves against nature.¹³² His son Lykaon founded the first polis on earth, Lykosoura, the cult of Zeus Lykaion and the Lykaian games. Arkas, who gave his name to the land, was the grandson of Lykaon.¹³³ In fact, Hesiod attributed a particular genealogy distinct from that of the rest of the Greeks to the Arcadians. They did not descend from Hellen, but were later attached to the genealogy by the marriage of the Arcadian king Kypselos to the daughter of the Dorian Kresphontes, then king of Messenia.¹³⁴

The Arcadians were not only autochthonous, but they were spared by the Dorians: Herodotus and Thucydides both write that Arcadia never experienced migrations.¹³⁵ This character of untouched origin, understood by some ancient sources and most modern scholarship as a token of primitiveness, crafted the image of Arcadia as a '*véritable conservatoire d'archaïsmes politiques, linguistiques et religieux*'.¹³⁶ Among the traditional claims for autochthony made by several other Greeks, such as the Athenians, the one made by the Arcadians as a whole ethnos was widespread and widely acknowledged.

On the other hand, the Arcadians themselves shared the idea that they were a distinct group within the Greeks. The land is called after the name of its people.¹³⁷ The regional 'ARKAS' alone is also used in eight fourth-century inscriptions to identify a competitor's origin in the context of the Lykaian games, overriding more usual mentions of people with their city-ethnic.¹³⁸ Fifth- and fourth-century coinage struck 'ARKADIKON' in Arcadia shows how the Arcadians referred to

¹³¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.11.1-2.

¹³² Hes. fr. 111; Pliny *NH* 4.10; Paus. 8.1-4. Akousilaos fr. 25 rejects the Arcadian claim by linking Pelasgos to the Argive genealogy. The Argive historian makes Pelasgos the brother of Argos, son of Niobe, herself daughter of Phoroneus, son of the river god Inachos, who himself is the beginning of all things and Phoroneus the first man. Certainly, as Akousilaos is an Argive, it is quite expectable that Inachos and Phoroneus are the autochthonous heroes to him. Fowler 2013, 88 argues that Akousilaos' rejection is in fact a mark of implicit acknowledgement of the Arcadian claim.

¹³³ However, both Jost 1985, 404-405 and Chantraine 2009 s.v. *Artémis* refute the etymological hypothesis that Arcadia derives from ἄρκτος, 'bear'.

¹³⁴ Hes. fr. 9, 10a; Emel. fr. 7-8; Hekateos fr. 9; Hellanikos fr. 37, 161-2; Pherekydes fr. 5, 156-61. Kypselos and Kresphontes: Paus 8.5.6. Fowler 2013, 103. Luraghi 2008, 62-63, 215-216 argues that the myth dates from the fourth-century and reflects the Arcadian involvement in the liberation of Messenia in 369 BCE.

¹³⁵ Hdt 2.171; Thuc. 1.2.3.

¹³⁶ Borgeaud 1979, 45-46.

¹³⁷ Nielsen 2002, 54.

¹³⁸ *SEG* 54 472. Roy 1972 showed that Xenophon referred to Arcadians using 'Arkas' when he was not familiar with them, but then with the name of their locality when he was better acquainted with them. Roy also successfully argues that both identities existed, namely an 'Arcadian' sense of belonging and a local identity manifested by the use of the city-ethnic, which was more prevalent. Nielsen 2002, 56-57 argues that 'Arkas' describes an ethnic identity rather than any political one or a reference to the koinon of the Arcadians, since it was used before its foundation.

themselves.¹³⁹ After 370 BCE and the foundation of the koinon, 'ARKADES' becomes frequent in inscriptions.¹⁴⁰ It seems to be used in a multi-ethnic context in order to underline their distinctive ethnic identity, overriding the sub-ethnic and city-ethnic names in victory inscriptions from the Lykaian games.¹⁴¹

There are also gods worshipped in common by the Arcadians, as well as gods venerated locally and peculiar to a certain city. Zeus was celebrated on the fifth-century 'ARKADIKON' coinage and on the coinage struck by the koinon in the fourth century¹⁴². It is in Zeus Lykaios' sanctuary that games were organised in which Arcadians competed against other Greeks.¹⁴³ They were so important that the Arcadian mercenaries on campaign with Cyrus celebrated the games in Phrygia.¹⁴⁴ Zeus was also present on city coinage in association with the Achaian League.¹⁴⁵

Finally, Arcadian religion itself is supposed to be distinct. Some gods were reputedly born in Arcadia, like Pan, Despoina, Hermes and even Zeus – which caused confusion to Callimachus.¹⁴⁶ Pan is specifically associated with the region.¹⁴⁷ Sometimes referred to as a twin of Arkas¹⁴⁸, his cult is found all over Arcadia and was brought from there to Athens.¹⁴⁹ In the 4th century, Pan had risen to become a symbol of the land along with Zeus Lykaios.¹⁵⁰ Whereas Pan is usually worshipped in caves and grottoes in other parts of Greece, enhancing his pastoral image, in Arcadia the god can protect cities and is worshipped in temples.¹⁵¹ The shape of Pan brings to

¹³⁹ For the grammatical form, see also Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6, 11, 12, 22. Nielsen 2002, 54, 121-141. On the coinages, see p. 33 and p. 120-122.

¹⁴⁰ From Arcadia: *IG* V.2 1 l. 3, 7 (360s BCE); *IG* V.2 173 l. 1 (362 BCE); *IG* V.2 343A l. 19 (fourth century BCE); *IG* V.2 548.2 (fourth century BCE); *IG* V.2 432 l. 33 (182 BCE). Outside of Arcadia: *IG* II² 112 l. 2, 15, 19, 26, 31 (362 BCE); *FD* III.1 3.10 (400-350 BCE); *FD* III.5 3.III.45 (364-362 BCE); *IG* IV 616.4, 7-9, 12, 14, 17, 19 (fourth-century BCE); *IG* IV 757.B.21 (146 BCE).

¹⁴¹ *IG* V.2 549-550 (320-304 BCE).

¹⁴² Walker 2006, 1511-1516, 1519, 1522-1531 (Megalopolis).

¹⁴³ See p. 115-122. Walker 2006, 1393-1412 (attributed to Kleitor), 1451-1467 (attributed to Mantinea) and 1709-1716 (attributed to Tegea).

¹⁴⁴ Xen. *An.* 1.2.10.

¹⁴⁵ Second century BCE. Asea (Walker 2006, n. 1349), Alea (1348), Kaphyai (1381, 1382), Kleitor (1435-1439), Lousoi (1446), Antigoneia (1491, 1492), Megalopolis (1540-1543, 1545-1568), Orchomenos (1583), Pallantion (1590-1593), Pheneos (1630-1632), Phigalia (1642), Psophis (1688), Stymphalos (1708), Tegea (1742 and in the name of the Achaian League in the early first century BCE 1744-1748), Thisoa (1770-1771).

¹⁴⁶ Call. *Hymn* 1.

¹⁴⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.32.3; Nielsen 2002, 76; Jost 1985, 456; Pritchett 1969, 16 n.7.

¹⁴⁸ Jost 1985, 460-461.

¹⁴⁹ Hdt 6.105-106.

¹⁵⁰ See for instance their presence on the Megalopolis coinage: Walker 2006, 1511-1513 (Zeus and Pan, c. 363-362 BCE, for the koinon of the Arcadians); 1514-1516 (Zeus, c. 362-350 BCE, in the name of the koinon of the Arcadians); 1517-1518 (Pan, c. 340 BCE, in the name of the koinon of the Arcadians). Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.32.3; Nielsen 2002, 77; Jost 1985, 475.

¹⁵¹ Jost 1985, 72, 465; Borgeaud 1979, 73-76. Pan at Lykosoura: Paus. 8.36.7; Paus. 8.26.2; Paus. 8.37.11, *IG* V.2 530 (undated). At Tegea: *IG* V.2 92 (fourth century BCE), 93 (second century CE), Paus. 8.53.11. Megalopolis: *IG* V.2 451 (late third or second century BCE), 452 (reign of Hadrian), Paus. 8.30.3-6.

light another characteristic of Arcadian religion: the frequency of theriomorphism. Many examples have been inventoried by Pausanias: Kallisto transformed into a bear by Hera's wrath¹⁵², Lykaon turned into a wolf and being the origin of a lycanthropic society on Mt Lykaion¹⁵³, Demeter Erinys shaped as a mare and mother of the horse Arion¹⁵⁴, Demeter Melaina with a horse-headed cult statue near Phigalia¹⁵⁵, Artemis Eurynome with a fish-like xoanon¹⁵⁶. Whether theriomorphism in Arcadian religion is effectively old, as the 'evolution model' suggests, is difficult to assess: most of our sources on the matter date from the Roman period. However, older examples of animal-human creatures are found in a geometric statuette at Petrovouni in central Arcadia, and in votive statuettes deposited at Lykosoura in the late Hellenistic period.¹⁵⁷

Despite these examples of apparent unity in ethnicity, the Arcadians were not a homogenous and static group. Within the population calling itself 'Arcadians', the conscience of a fragmented identity also existed. Identification of sub-ethnic groups and use of city-ethnics are also found in inscriptions in Arcadia, especially in dedications and honorary decrees, as well as in ancient texts, especially in Xenophon who was familiar with the ways of the Arcadians.¹⁵⁸ Equally, there seems to have been little uniformity in Arcadian dialect. There was no unique alphabet, only local variations.¹⁵⁹ The most striking example of this phenomenon is that the decree of the Arcadian koinon in 370 BCE was not written in Arcadian dialect but in Attic.¹⁶⁰ Finally, it will become apparent that once temples started being built, sacred architecture did not evolve towards a consistent style in the eighth and seventh century BCE: local idiosyncrasies can be observed in the style of the capitals, the size of temples and their proportions.¹⁶¹ It is only in the Classical period that Arcadian temples apply with more uniformity the architectural rules used in the rest of the Greek world.

Historical overview

A certain piece of land was acknowledged as Arcadian territory.¹⁶² Its limits varied over time at the mercy of territorial conquests. The northern border with Achaia was relatively stable: for most of Arcadia's history it ran north of Kynaitha,

¹⁵² Paus. 8.3.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.2.

¹⁵³ Paus. 8.2.3,6.

¹⁵⁴ Paus. 8.25.4-7.

¹⁵⁵ Paus. 8.42.4.

¹⁵⁶ Paus. 8.41.4-6.

¹⁵⁷ See p. 74 and p. 132-134.

¹⁵⁸ See p. 44, 120. Diod. 15.72.4; Roy 1972d; Nielsen 1999, 52.

¹⁵⁹ Roy and Nielsen 2002, 74; Hall 1997, 175.

¹⁶⁰ *IG* V.2 1 (Tegea, 362/361 BCE).

¹⁶¹ Morgan 2003, 428; Voyatzis 1990.

¹⁶² See p. 36-39. On the limits of Arkadia in the Archaic and Classical period, see *IGP* s.v. Arkadia.

the northernmost city of Arcadia.¹⁶³ The border to the west was quite unstable throughout the region's history. In particular, Lasion and Triphylia were two districts disputed with Elis during the Classical period, especially in the first half of the fourth century BCE.¹⁶⁴ To the southwest, the border with Messenia was relatively stable. The border with Laconia, although frequently disrupted by Lacedaemonian incursions, generally ran south of Phigalia, Parrhasia and Eutaia.¹⁶⁵ Finally, to the east, the border with the Argolid and Thyreatis was generally unchanged.¹⁶⁶ Border fluctuations are largely tributary of historical events, wars and alliances that make and undo cities or move boundaries. Understanding what kind of relationships Arcadia had with its surrounding powers is crucial in order to fully grasp how Arcadian topography evolved, and specifically how sacred spaces reflect these relationships, tensions and changes.

The Arcadians played a role in the Peloponnesian league, and the famous fifth-century 'ARKADIKON' coinage hints at some political activity with a regional agenda at this time. There is evidence for the use of pan-Arcadian rhetoric at the time, but the existence of a koinon at that point is unlikely.¹⁶⁷ A koinon properly speaking was created in the fourth century, which allowed the Arcadians to influence Peloponnesian politics and to forge alliances with larger powers such as Boeotia, Athens, Elis and Argos. Throughout history, Arcadian cities had a complicated relationship with Sparta, sometimes voluntarily joining her allies, sometimes breaking away and being repressed violently. Unfortunately, the history of Arcadian communities as told in our sources is often limited to Tegea and Mantinea, who were the prevalent cities in the region; otherwise, Arcadian communities are frequently lumped together under the general term 'the Arcadians', without any more precision on their city of provenance. Therefore, this concise historical overview will focus on the events that impacted on the religious topography of Arcadia as a whole, with a particular focus on three particularly important communities: Mantinea, Tegea and Megalopolis.

¹⁶³ Kynaitha: Polyb. 4.20-21. Nonakris and Pheneos: Hdt. 6.74.2. See also Nielsen and Roy 1999, 36-39. However, it is possible that the region called Azania, which included Kynaitha among other cities, overlapped with Achaia before the Archaic period: see p. 101-104.

¹⁶⁴ Lasion: Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, 7.4.12; Diod. Sic. 14.17.8, 15.77.1 (may confuse Triphylia and Lasion); Polyb. 4.73.1, 4.74.1). Triphylia Arcadian: Pherekydes FGrH 3 fr. 161; Ps.-Skylax 44; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26. The Triphylians and Lasion joined the Arcadian koinon: Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, 7.1.26, 7.1.33, 7.4.12. The Triphylians were added to Arcadian genealogy through a new son of Arkas, Triphylos, who features on the statuary group dedicated by the Arcadians at Delphi c. 368 BCE: Polyb. 4.77.8; Paus 5.5.3, 10.9.5. The statue base is still standing today in the lobby of the sanctuary. See also Roy 1997, 290 and 571-573; Ruggeri 2009, 49-64. Triphylia recuperated by Elis c. 367 BCE: Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.33-38; Paus 6.3.9. For the variations of the border between Arcadia and Elis, see Roy 2000.

¹⁶⁵ Hdt. 6.83.2; Thuc. 5.33.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12. For a detailed study of the changes on the border in the Archaic and Classical period, see Roy 2009.

¹⁶⁶ Apart from in the fourth century BCE, see p. 48.

¹⁶⁷ See p. 43f.

Arcadia until the Persian wars

The history of Arcadia before the Persian wars is blurry and largely unknown. Herodotus writes about wars between Tegea and Sparta, dated from the first half of the sixth century BCE.¹⁶⁸ They announced the long and shifting relationship between the Arcadians and Sparta. Although these wars suggest that Tegea's territory was defined and inhabited by a certain community called the Tegeans, it might not have been established as a polis yet.¹⁶⁹ There is no indication of a political organisation before the synoecism of the nine demes, currently estimated just after 550 BCE.¹⁷⁰ However, areas of the demes can be located roughly thanks to archaeological investigations, and especially the discovery of shrines in the countryside perhaps corresponding to deme shrines.¹⁷¹ Two demes (Oion and Karyai) seem to have been annexed by Sparta at an early date and then alternated between inclusion in Tegea and Sparta.¹⁷² The centre of what was called ἡ Τεγεᾶτις¹⁷³ or τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων¹⁷⁴ in the fifth century BCE appear to have been the deme of the Apheidantes where the important sanctuary of Athena Alea was located: sixth- and fifth-century finds indicate that the sanctuary was at the heart of a well-developed site.¹⁷⁵

At Mantinea, although the date of the first synoecism is also unknown¹⁷⁶, we know from the accounts of the dioikismos that the population was originally scattered in *kômai*, in a comparable way to the contemporary settlement pattern at Tegea. Xenophon only lists four 'kômai' before the dioikismos of 385 BCE, but Diodorus lists five and Strabo five 'demoi'.¹⁷⁷ Archaeological excavations have allowed two possible *kômai* to be identified: Nestane (c. 8km east of the urban centre of Mantinea) and Maira (c. 5.7km north of the urban centre). The old centre of the town – which was not an urban centre in the conventional sense and to which Pausanias refers¹⁷⁸ – has been located at Ptolis, a hill c. 3km north of Mantinea. There, traces of habitation dated from the late-sixth century and a cult place were found.¹⁷⁹ In the fifth century, the territory is referred to as ἡ Μαντινικὴ.¹⁸⁰

At all events, nucleated settlements presumably arose before the Persian wars but not everywhere in Arcadia: the process continued slowly well into the fourth

¹⁶⁸ Hdt. 1.65-68. They should probably be understood in a wider context of Spartan expansionism in the sixth century, cf. battle of the Champions against Argos c. 546 BCE in order to win the fertile Kynouria. Tegea too was a fertile land.

¹⁶⁹ See p. 89-93.

¹⁷⁰ Ødegård in Østby 2005, 209-221 and Ødegård 2007, 23-24. Demes: Paus. 8.45.1 with names.

¹⁷¹ Voyatzis 1990, 10-11, fig. 2.

¹⁷² Shipley 1997, 233-234, 238-239; Nielsen 1999, 49.

¹⁷³ Thuc. 5.64.4, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15.

¹⁷⁴ Hdt. 1.66.4.

¹⁷⁵ Morgan 1999, 396-397; Ødegård *AR* 2000-2001. See p. 79-81, 89-93

¹⁷⁶ Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, 257-261.

¹⁷⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7; Diod. Sic. 15.5.4 (cf. Ephor. Fr. 79); Strab. 8.3.2.

¹⁷⁸ Paus. 8.12.7.

¹⁷⁹ Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, 26. There are other traces of habitation dated from the Hellenistic period.

¹⁸⁰ Thuc. 5.64.5; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15.

century BCE.¹⁸¹ At that time, the political situation of communities in Arcadia was organised enough for the Arcadians to participate in the wars with the Greeks, and for contingents from Tegea and Mantinea to be singled out by Herodotus.¹⁸² It is around that time that the exiled Cleomenes of Sparta tried to unite the Arcadians behind him to attack Sparta, unsuccessfully.¹⁸³

Until Leuctra

After the Persian wars, relationships between Arcadia and Sparta were tense.¹⁸⁴ Arcadian contingents were reported to have helped the Messenians in their revolt against Sparta.¹⁸⁵ Generally, the trend in Arcadia seems to have been to establish symmachiiai between a more powerful polis and a series of smaller ones. Nielsen argued that Mantinea and Tegea were both at the head of symmachiiai in the fifth century BCE, although how long each of them lasted remains unclear: we only have allusive snapshots of them in accounts of the Peloponnesian situation during the Classical period in Thucydides and Xenophon. According to Nielsen, Mantinea was at the head of a local symmachia in the late fifth century BCE¹⁸⁶, while Tegea was leading a larger-scale symmachia in 479-465 BCE as well as in 423 BCE¹⁸⁷. Whether the symmachia of 423 BCE was a continuation of the previous one or different is unclear.

When the Peloponnesian war broke out, most Arcadian communities were already members of the Peloponnesian League, whether they had joined voluntarily or under compulsion.¹⁸⁸ Arcadian cities nevertheless formed alliances of their own with powers opposed to Sparta or with other Arcadian communities when they had occasion to. Mantinea, for instance, left the League once Nikias' Peace was established and concluded an alliance with Athens, Elis and Argos.¹⁸⁹ At the end of the war, thousands of Arcadian mercenaries from various cities are found hired by Cyrus the Great in his attempt to supplant his brother on the throne of Persia.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸¹ Nielsen 2002, 309-412.

¹⁸² Hdt. 7.202 (2120 Arcadians at Thermopylai); 8.72 (Isthmus); Hdt 9.26-28 (Plataia). Hdt 9.77.1: Mantineans too late for Plataia.

¹⁸³ Hdt 6.74-75.

¹⁸⁴ Hdt. 9.35.1-2 on two battles fought between the Spartans and the Tegeans and Argives, then against the Mantineans. On the shifting relationship between Arcadian communities and Sparta, see Nielsen 1996b, 90-91.

¹⁸⁵ Hdt. 9.35; Thuc. 1.101.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.3; Diod. Sic. 11.63.4-64.1; Plut. *Vit. Lyc.* 28.12, *Vit. Cim.* 17.8. See Polyb. 4.33 for the gratitude of the Messenians towards the Arcadians as dating back from the first Messenian wars (but this is centuries earlier): an inscribed pillar was established, significantly, near the altar of Zeus Lykaïos at Messene (Paus. 4.22.7 however states that the pillar was set up by the Arcadians).

¹⁸⁶ Nielsen 2002, 367-374. Thuc. 4.134.1-2 (alluding to 423/2 BCE), 5.28.3-29.2, 5.33.1-3 (alluding to 421 BCE), 5.47 (= *Staatsv.* 193), 5.67.2 (alluding to 418 BCE), 5.81.1.

¹⁸⁷ Based on Thuc. 4.134.1. Nielsen 2002, 142-145 and 366-367; Nielsen 1996b, 79-86.

¹⁸⁸ It is unclear at what point exactly Arcadian communities had joined the League.

¹⁸⁹ *IG I³* 83 (c. 420 BCE) reproduced in Thuc. 5.47.3.

¹⁹⁰ See occurrences of Arcadians in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Roy 1967, 308-9: calculated that at least 4000 of the Ten Thousand were Arcadians.

In the late fifth and fourth centuries, many settlements in Arcadia were nucleated and called poleis – although not for all of them, especially in the area of what would become Megalopolis.¹⁹¹ Tegea had walls: allusion to them is made in 418 BCE.¹⁹² The population density in the city is, however, as for Mantinea, unknown: equally, it is unclear where people resided, and what fraction of them lived inside the town.¹⁹³ Mantinea had walls, too, which were destroyed by the Spartans in 385 BCE. The dioikismos came two years after the inconclusive end of the Corinthian war, which had opposed the democratic alliance of Athens, Argos, Corinth and Thebes to Sparta and its allies. Despite its democratic constitution¹⁹⁴, Mantinea was, along with the other Arcadians, allied with Sparta.¹⁹⁵ Why Sparta imposed on her allies such a punishment, forcing its population to go back to their original kômai, is debated.¹⁹⁶ In any case, the harshness of the event caused disapproval from those who record it.¹⁹⁷ Until the re-synoecism of the city, her constitution shifted from democratic to oligarchic.¹⁹⁸ The fact that people were sent back to their original kômai suggests that these villages had not been fully emptied at the time of the first synoecism.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, Nielsen argued that the dioikismos might have allowed certain kômai to gain polis status: for instance Nestane has its own city-ethnic in the fourth century and kept it even after the new synoecism.²⁰⁰

The koinon of the Arcadians and the foundation of Megalopolis

The defeat of Sparta at Leuctra was a turning point in Arcadian politics that impacted largely on the region's topography. The Mantineans took advantage of Sparta's temporary weakness to re-synoecise their city peacefully in 370 BCE with the help of other Arcadian cities, Elis and, according to Pausanias, the Thebans led by Epaminondas – despite an unsuccessful attempt by the Spartans to persuade the Mantineans to renounce it.²⁰¹ Besides, the recognition of the Boeotian koinon and of

¹⁹¹ See *IGP* s.v. Arkadia.

¹⁹² Diod. Sic. 12.79.3 mentioned a poliorkia and Thuc. 5.62.2 implies that help from inside was needed to bypass the walls.

¹⁹³ Forsén 2000, 36-39.

¹⁹⁴ Thuc. 5.29.1; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7; Arist. *Pol.* 1318b27.

¹⁹⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.16-17.

¹⁹⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.1-2 proposes that the Lacedaemonians were dissatisfied with the way the Mantineans defended the interests of their allies, and concluded that they were in fact secretly pro-Argive during the Corinthian war. Funke 2009, 8-9 argues that the Spartans wanted to reassert their authority over their allies, which had behaved with cowardice during the war (see Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.17) – the hypothesis of punishment for betraying the Spartans seems more likely.

¹⁹⁷ Isocr. *Paneg.* 126; Isocr. *De Pace* 100; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7; Polyb. 4.27.6; Ephor. Fr. 79.2.

¹⁹⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7.

¹⁹⁹ Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, 261-264. Jost 1986, 155 is more circumspect.

²⁰⁰ Polyb. 4.27.6. Nielsen *IGP* s.v. Nestane, s.v. Megale polis.

²⁰¹ Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3-5; Paus. 9.14.4 makes Epaminondas intervene, but this statement seems direct contradicted by Xenophon's account that the Mantineans re-founded their city on their own. The fact that each part of Mantinea supplies help individually led the *IGP* (s.v. Mantinea) to infer that these komai may have risen to polis status during the dioikismos.

the assertion of Theban power, embodied by Epaminondas, created the opportunity for the Arcadians to set up their own koinon.²⁰²

Certain scholars argued that the existence of a koinon of the Arcadians might go back to the fifth century BCE based on a famously debated coinage showing APKAΔIKON or abbreviations on the reverse.²⁰³ It bears Zeus with eagle on the obverse, and on the reverse a female head identified as Despoina, Artemis or, more often, Kallisto.²⁰⁴ The coins were dated from the fifth century based on their style, resembling Athenian tetradrachms themselves dated from after the Persian wars and a mid-460s Syracusan decadrachm.²⁰⁵

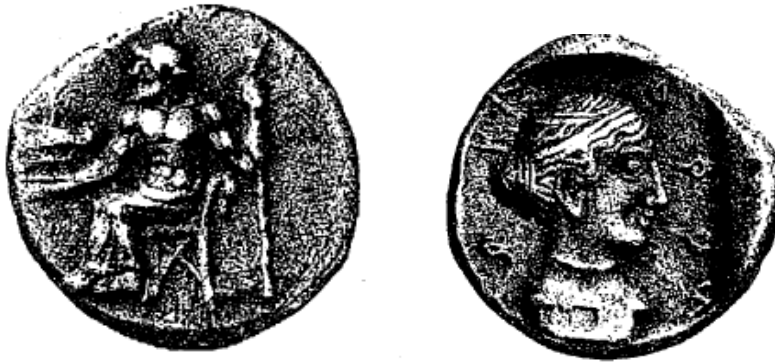


Figure 2: Hemidrachm attributed to Tegea, c. 465-460. Rev. head of female identified as Kallisto to right, APK; Obv. Zeus Lykaeos and eagle (Walker 2006, n. 1709)



Figure 3: Hemidrachm attributed to Mantinea, c. 460-450 BCE. Rev. head of female identified as Kallisto to left with legend APKA; obv. Zeus Lykaeos and eagle. (Walker 2006, n. 1458)

The coinage is large, which led to believe that it was minted by an early Arcadian koinon.²⁰⁶ However, the lack of any evidence for an Arcadian koinon at that time

²⁰² Mackil 2013, 72.

²⁰³ Williams 1965; Wallace 1954, 32-35.

²⁰⁴ Walker 2006, 1393-1412.

²⁰⁵ Kraay 1976, 96-97.

²⁰⁶ Wallace JHS 1954, 32; Kraay 1976, 98 counted 641 coins, among which 498 trioboloi. They argued after Thuc. 5.47 that it was minted by an early koinon for large expenses such as to fund wars against Sparta. However, Walker 2006 mostly lists hemidrachmae.

makes this hypothesis very unlikely.²⁰⁷ It was also proposed to see in the ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ coinage a religious function, possibly related to the organisation of the Lykaia – prompted by the presence of Zeus Lykaios on the coinage – or a means of payment for mercenaries.²⁰⁸ More recently, M. Pretzler highlighted that the context in which the coinage appeared suggests the existence of a common Arcadian identity in the fifth century BCE, through an increasing use of regional rhetoric initiating or consolidating the cooperation between different political units within the same region in Arcadia. She refers to different pieces of evidence from literary texts and iconography of coinage to back up her hypothesis. First, Xenophon's references to Arcadians during the Ten Thousand march, specifying or not their city of origin, shows that there was a layer of identity labelled 'Arcadian' that the Arcadians used when confronted to outsiders.²⁰⁹ The fact 'the Arcadians' celebrated the Lykaia during the expedition also suggests the existence of common Arcadian interests and of self-recognition as belonging to a group labelled 'Arcadians'. Second, Lykomedes' speech before the Thebans, reported by Xenophon, uses a sense of Arcadian identity hinting at Homeric stereotypes ('Arcadians autochthonous', 'Arcadian mercenaries' and so on) as a political argument.²¹⁰ Third, she also suggests that Cleomenes' attempt to unite the Arcadians behind him hints at some existing rhetoric which would have allowed the otherwise antagonistic Arcadian cities to be unified.²¹¹ Fourth, she shows that Tegea and Mantinea, the two strongest cities in Arcadia, proceeded to conquests of their neighbouring cities in the fifth century and engaged in pan-Arcadian rhetoric to justify their endeavours, thereby presenting themselves as traditional leaders of the Arcadians.²¹² Tegea was the leader of an alliance gathering all Arcadians but Mantinea between 479 and 465 BCE, when it was defeated at Dipaia by the Spartans.²¹³ She argues that it is at that time that we should locate the anti-Spartan discourses present in Herodotus and Pausanias, for instance with the spolia of the sixth-century victory against the Spartans hung in the temple of Athena Alea (which also saved Arcadia from being conquered at that point) and the Tegean mythical royal genealogies counting kings 'of Arcadia' who, like Echemos, repelled the Dorians from Arcadia. In the latter half of the century, it is Mantinea who showed pan-Arcadian tendencies. By 423 BCE the Mantineans gained control over a fairly large part of Arcadia, and in 420 BCE they concluded an anti-Spartan alliance with Athens, Argos and Elis. Like the Tegeans, they resorted to the use of pan-Arcadian symbols to legitimise their control, including minting coins with Zeus Lykaios, Kallisto and

²⁰⁷ Roy 1972 accepts that the coinage may have a political function, but expresses doubts about the existence of a fifth-century koinon; Nielsen 2002, 120-157 and Mackil 2013, 249 reject the koinon hypothesis.

²⁰⁸ Nielsen 1996, 37-47; Nielsen 2002, 150-152; Psoma and Tsangari 2003, 112.

²⁰⁹ Roy 1972d; Pretzler 2009, 88-89, 93-94.

²¹⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23-24; Pretzler 2009, 88.

²¹¹ Hdt 6.74-75; Pretzler 2009, 94.

²¹² Pretzler 2009, 95-97.

²¹³ Hdt 9.35; Nielsen 2002, 142-145.

acorns²¹⁴. It is from this period that some scholars date the transfer of Arkas' bones, an Arcadian symbol, to Mantinea.²¹⁵



Figure 4: Obol from Mantinea, c. 420-385 BCE. Rev. MAN below large M.; obv. acorn. (Walker 2006, n. 1471)

In addition, she highlights that the recurrent (but not constant) strong opposition against Sparta was a crucial factor in uniting the otherwise antagonistic Arcadian cities, as well as – ironically, perhaps – their participation in the Peloponnesian League, which *de facto* contributed to foster relationships in a disparate group of people lumped together by ancient authors under the name ‘Arcadians’.²¹⁶ Considering all of this evidence, Pretzler concludes that, following Kraay’s dating of the ARKADIKON coinage to the mid-fifth century BCE, Tegea would be its driving force, and that its existence would be explained by the use of pan-Arcadian symbols to feed the pan-Arcadian rhetoric of stronger Arcadian cities, building on an existing consciousness of Arcadian identity.²¹⁷

Whether it was from scratch, or based on a previous structure, the creation of the koinon was far from seamless. Its leading members were Mantinea and Tegea.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Kallisto and Zeus Lykaïos, occasionally with ARKA on the reverse: Walker 2006 n. 1451-1467. Acorn: Walker 2006 n. 1470-1474, echoing Hdt. 1.66.

²¹⁵ Paus. 8.9.3, 8.36.8; Hejnic 1961, 29; Jost 1985, 128; Bergese 1995, 25; Nielsen 2002, 403-404 esp. n. 460.

²¹⁶ Pretzler 2009, 100-106. Although Sparta’s policy was to divide to rule, for instance by concluding treaties with individual cities, Arcadians from lesser known cities – thus not Tegea, Mantinea or Orchomenos – were lumped together in the same contingents (for instance Hdt 7.202, 8.72; Thuc. 5.60.3, 5.57; Nielsen 2002, 153), perhaps fostering the consciousness of ethnic belonging and the recognition of common ethnic interests. In addition, Pretzler argues that it also gave the Arcadians the experience in warfare visible in the koinon (Thuc. 8.3.2, Diod. Sic. 15.31.2).

²¹⁷ Pretzler 2009, 98. Mantinea’s activities are too late to make her a suitable candidate for the coinage. Besides, it would explain why Tegea does not mint coinage at that time, when she is actually a prosperous city. Pretzler argues that Zeus Lykaïos was used as iconography because of his pan-Arcadian dimension, shown by the celebraion of the Lykaia in Cyrus’ army, and because access and/or control to the Lykaion might have played a role in the conflicts between Tegea and Mantinea reported by Thuc. 4.134, 5.29.1. See also Nielsen 2002, 372-373.

²¹⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6; Diod. Sic. 15.59.1 (who wrongly makes Lykomedes, the famous Mantinean leader, a Tegean: he gives his correct city-ethnic at 15.62.2). See Larsen 1968, 180-195; Dušanić 1970, 285; Roy 1971, 571; Nielsen 2002, 474-499. On Lykomedes of Mantinea, see Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23-24, 1.39, 4.2-3. Mackil 2013, 72 n. 81 emphasises that the

However, at Tegea the decision to unite Arcadian communities into a koinon was far from unanimous. A violent stasis opposed the pro-koinon, largely democratic faction to an anti-koinon faction, largely made up of oligarchs. Despite the fact that Tegea had had an oligarchic constitution until then²¹⁹, the pro-koinon party helped by the Mantineans managed to win after a bloody civil war that sent 800 oligarchs to seek refuge at Sparta and killed many others in the temple of Artemis on the road to Pallantion.²²⁰ Even once the koinon was created, not all Arcadian cities took part in it: IG V.2 1 (dated between 368 and 361) does not list many Arcadian states that would be expected to have joined the koinon²²¹, and Xenophon reports that Heraia and Orchomenos refused to join the koinon and stayed with Sparta.²²²

The new koinon was supported by the creation of a new capital city, Megalopolis, planned to be the seat of the koinon as well as to create an extra protection against Sparta.²²³ The city was founded by a board of ten oikists: two from Mantinea, two from Tegea, two from Kleitor, two from the Mainalians and two from the Parrhasians.²²⁴ The extent of Epaminondas and the Thebans' involvement in the creation of Megalopolis may have been exaggerated: Pausanias in particular seems to credit the Theban leader with the foundation of Megalopolis, in line with the Theban involvement in the re-foundation of Messene in 369 BCE.²²⁵ However, Demand argues that his statements are too general to be taken at face value, and argues that he should be understood in light of the well-known tendency of ancient authors – especially in Pausanias' time – to attribute significant events to famous men. The connection between Epaminondas and Megalopolis would have arisen from the fact that the Thebans protected the site at some point.²²⁶

We have two accounts of the foundation of the city: a prescriptive one in Pausanias and a descriptive one in Diodorus.²²⁷ In Pausanias' account, Megalopolis was supposed to absorb thirty-nine poleis including Mainalian, Parrhasian, Eutresian and former Laconian perioikic communities.²²⁸ Diodorus, however, lists only twenty kômai effectively included in the synoecism, both from the Parrhasians and the

Arcadian origin of the koinon speaks against the idea that the Thebans were actively promoting federalism in this period.

²¹⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6-9. On political institutions of Tegea, see summary in *IGP* s.v. Tegea.

²²⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6-10.

²²¹ Roy 1971, 571 proposes that it does not give a full list of the koinon's members, for Xen. *Ages.* 2.24 says that all Arcadian states took part in invasion of Laconia in 370/369 BCE.

²²² Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.10-11. They joined afterwards: Roy 1971, 571.

²²³ Paus. 8.27; Diod. Sic. 15.72.4. Mackil 2013, 72; Braunert and Petersen 1972, 81f.

²²⁴ Paus. 8.27.2. One of the Mantinean oikists was a certain Lykomedes, probably to be identified with the famous Mantinea leader, see p. 45, 49.

²²⁵ Paus. 8.52.4, see also 9.14.4 and 8.27.2.

²²⁶ Demand 1990, 117-118; Nielsen 2002, 420-421. See also Hornblower 1990, 77.

²²⁷ Diod. Sic. 15.72.4; Paus 8.27.1-8. Nielsen 2002, 418-422 interpret the difference in the descriptions of the synoecism by the fact that Pausanias' account reflects what was planned and Diodorus what was implemented: I follow him in this interpretation.

²²⁸ Paus. 8.27.5-8. Trikolonoi, which resisted the absorbing, was Eutresian. These sites were controlled by Megalopolis at the time of Pausanias, but it is unsafe to assume that it was the case in 370 BCE. Roy 1988, 180.

Mainalians.²²⁹ Effectively, it seems that the populations were not completely removed from their original polis to go and live in the newly created Megalopolis: it appears from archaeological surveys of the territory of Megalopolis that even after the synoecism there was still considerable habitation in the rural areas, both in dispersed farmlands and nucleated settlements.²³⁰ For instance, Lykosoura resisted the integration into the synoecism and was allowed to continue its existence as an independent polis: it is unclear whether this was the only exception.²³¹ The pantheon of Megalopolis reflects the fact that the city was a synoecism of pre-existing poleis: there were doublets of cults of the original cities in the urban centre and a peribolos of Zeus Lykaeos on the agora.²³² The constitution of Megalopolis was democratic, like that of the koinon.²³³ Megalopolis' importance for the koinon is demonstrated by the fact that it was one of its founding members, and provided ten *damiorgoi*²³⁴ for the koinon, against five each for Mantinea and Tegea.²³⁵

Once the koinon was up and running, the Arcadians had much more impact on Peloponnesian politics. The indecisive Spartan invasion of Arcadia in 370 BCE prompted the Arcadians to appeal to the Boeotians for help and opened the door to their intervention in the Peloponnese.²³⁶ The Boeotians had intended to invade the Peloponnese in winter 370/369 BCE with the aim of damaging the Spartans indirectly by fostering the rising Arcadian koinon and strengthening the Messenians. They accomplished both their aims when they also re-founded Messene in 369 BCE, prompting the Messenians to establish themselves in a koinon with the help of the Arcadians and the Argives.²³⁷ The Thebans and the Arcadians also invaded Laconia, which allowed the Arcadians to gain Belmina and the areas of Aigytis and Skiritis.²³⁸ The spoils of the victory, the only one the Arcadians would ever have on Laconian soil, were dedicated at Delphi.²³⁹ The Arcadians and their allies (Argos and Elis) assisted the Boeotians in their operations in north-eastern Peloponnese. Their aim was again to weaken Sparta by overthrowing oligarchic regimes and therefore detaching its allies.²⁴⁰ The Boeotians then withdrew back to northern Greece, where they had other affairs to handle.²⁴¹ By 367 BCE, Arcadia had made important territorial gains: Triphylia and Lasion to the west (who both declared themselves Arcadians, provoking

²²⁹ Diod. Sic. 15.72.4. Accepted by Moggi 1974 and Demand 1990, 113.

²³⁰ Roy 1968, 159.

²³¹ See p. 130-132.

²³² Nilsson 1951, 18-22; Jost 1985, 221-233; Jost 1994, 225-228; Jost 1996.

²³³ Larsen 1968, 180; Roy 2000b. For the existence of an oligarchic and a democratic faction within the koinon, see discussions in Thompson 1982, 151-159 and Nielsen 2002, 486-490. On the political institutions of Megalopolis, see *IGP* s.v. Megale Polis.

²³⁴ Arcadian for 'demiourgoi'.

²³⁵ *IG* V.2 1.1, 23, 34, 360s. Roy 2000b.

²³⁶ *Xen. Hell.* 6.5.22-25, Diod. Sic. 15.62.4-5. The Arcadians had unsuccessfully appealed to Athens as a first choice. At that point, the Arcadians were allied with Argos and Elis.

²³⁷ Roy 1971, 575; Mackil 2013, 73.

²³⁸ *Xen. Hell.* 6.5.23-52, 7.1.23-24; Diod. Sic. 15.62.3-5.

²³⁹ SEG 31 558-559.

²⁴⁰ Only Sikyon and Pellene were won over: *Xen. Hell.* 6.5.29, 7.2.2, Diod. Sic. 15.69.1.

²⁴¹ Mackil 2013, 73-77.

the resentment of Elis), Aigyitis and Skiritis over Laconia to the south, and possibly also Eua and Thyreatis.²⁴² These victories strengthened the Arcadian national pride.²⁴³ It is visible in Lykomedes' speech of 369 BCE, reported by Xenophon²⁴⁴:

*'[Lykomedes] filled the Arcadians with self-confidence, saying that it was to them alone that Peloponnesus was a fatherland, since they were the only autochthonous stock that dwelt therein, and that the Arcadian people was the most numerous of all the Greek peoples and had the strongest bodies. He also declared that they were the bravest, offering as evidence the fact that whenever men needed mercenaries, there were none whom they chose in preference to Arcadians. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians had never, he said, invaded the territory of Athens without their help, nor had the Thebans at present come to Lacedaemon without the help of the Arcadians.'*²⁴⁵

(tr. Heinemann, 1921)

This speech exemplifies the Arcadian consciousness and regional rhetoric that existed at the time and that underpinned the foundation of the koinon, in which Lykomedes himself played an important role.²⁴⁶ Lykomedes then openly expressed his disapproval of any further involvement of the Arcadians with the Thebans, which rather displeased the latter.²⁴⁷ They stopped favouring the Arcadians: the arbitration of the Persian King in favour of Boeotia entailed giving back the territories taken by Arcadia from Elis. In response, the Arcadians led by Lykomedes simply left the implementation congress held in Thebes.²⁴⁸ The former friendship between Arcadia and Elis turned equally sour: Elis recaptured Lasion, one of its former perioikic communities assimilated by Arcadia.²⁴⁹ The Arcadian koinon responded by capturing Olympia and Pisa, and the 104th Olympic games were organised by the Arcadians. Despite attempts by the Achaians and the Eleans to attack during the games, the Arcadians stayed in power and Pisa devised for herself, like Triphylia, an Arcadian

²⁴² Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28, 7.4.12, Theompompus fr. 60 (Jacoby).

²⁴³ See above p. 45.

²⁴⁴ Xenophon was very much aware of Arcadian nationalism (see Roy 1972d). His acquaintance with the Arcadians, topped with hostility towards the Boeotians, may have prompted him to give greater credit to Arcadian nationalistic discourses.

²⁴⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23.

²⁴⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.39, 7.4.2; Diod. Sic. 15.62.2, 15.67.2. Building on a well-defined concept of what it means to be Arcadian and using existing mythical tropes (such as autochthony and warfare skills), Lykomedes' speech provides a fairly contemporary report of how Arcadian rhetoric could be used to support political claims. Despite Xenophon's bias towards Sparta and her enemies, the picture of Arcadian rhetoric presented in the reported speech corresponds to what other sources tell us about the construction of Arcadian identity and its application to political purposes, Pretzler 2009, 88. See p. 44-45 for the situation in the fifth century.

²⁴⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26.

²⁴⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.39-40.

²⁴⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26, 3.2.30, 7.4.12, Diod. Sic. 15.77.1-3 confuses Triphylia and Lasion.

ancestry.²⁵⁰ Meanwhile Athens sought to regain influence in the Peloponnese, and concluded an alliance with Arcadian cities although they were allied to Athens' enemy, Boeotia.²⁵¹ Arcadia had become, for a short time, a power that counted in Peloponnesian politics.

The capture of Olympia and the organisation of the games signalled the end of the Arcadian koinon. The emergence of an oligarchic faction within the democratic koinon, as well as dissensions over the use of the sacred money collected when organising the Olympic games, led to the dismemberment of the koinon in 363 BCE.²⁵² Although it has been generally admitted that once the koinon split it was never reunited²⁵³, some evidence suggests that an ersatz koinon remained alive but never managed to gather all of the Arcadian communities again. Roy and Nielsen in particular argue that two rival koina survived, one centred on Mantinea, the other on Megalopolis.²⁵⁴ Nielsen bases his argument on the appearance of the ethnic 'Arkades' in certain treaties and literary passages dated after 363 BCE. For instance, the treaty *Staatsverträge* 290 dated from after 362 BCE lists among the parties 'Ἀρκάδες': who made up the entity called 'Arkades' is unclear. Similarly, the 'Ἀρκάδες' gave military support to Elis c. 344 BCE.²⁵⁵ The existence of a koinon led by Mantinea may, according to Nielsen, be shown by the appeal by the dissident Megalopolitans to the Mantineans 'καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων'²⁵⁶ in 361 BCE and by *Staatsverträge* 337, an alliance concluded c. 342 BCE between Athens and the Ἀρκάδες οἱ μετὰ Μαντινέων as well as the singled out Μεγαλοπολῖται.²⁵⁷ On the other hand, the fact that the federal assembly called the Myrioi held a session in Megalopolis c. 348 BCE with an Athenian ambassador may suggest that Megalopolis was also posing as the leader of a successor of the koinon, of which she had kept the institutions.²⁵⁸ However, in 346/5 BCE Megalopolis requested, alone, membership of the Delphic Amphictyony.²⁵⁹ The last explicit mention of an Arcadian koinon is in [Plut.] *Vit. Dec. Or.* 846c-d and *Dem.* 27.8 in connection with the beginning of the Lamian War.

As a result, Nielsen sees two possible dates for the end of the koinon. The first would be 324 BCE, on a letter of Alexander the Great entitled 'περὶ τοῦ τοῦς συλλόγους Ἀχαιῶν τε καὶ Ἀρκάδων [καὶ Βοιωτῶν]'.²⁶⁰ However, since the

²⁵⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.17, 19; 7.1.43; 7.4.15-16, 27-32; Paus. 6.4.2, 6.8.3, 6.22.3.

²⁵¹ Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.2-3; IG II² 144 (treaty between Stymphalos and Athens, 368-364 BCE). Burford 1969, 28; Roy 1971, 581-2.

²⁵² Mantinea as a principal actor of the end of the koinon: Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.33; Larsen 1968, 189; Roy 1971, 588; Nielsen 2002, 490. See account discussed in Nielsen 2002, 490-493.

²⁵³ Larsen 1968, 193. Dušanić 1970, 311 argues that the koinon was refounded after Chaironeia; contradicted by Nielsen 2002, 493 n. 362.

²⁵⁴ Roy 1968, 242; Nielsen 2002, 493.

²⁵⁵ Diod. Sic. 16.63.4-5.

²⁵⁶ Diod. Sic. 15.94.2.

²⁵⁷ Nielsen 2002, 493. See also Roy 1968, 242.

²⁵⁸ Dem. 19.10; Aeschin. 2.157. Nielsen 2002, 495.

²⁵⁹ Didymus, *In Demosth.* 4.2-13; Syll³ 221. The Messenians made the same request at the same time: Luraghi 2008, 255 argues that both recently-created cities did so in order to obtain recognition at a panhellenic level.

²⁶⁰ Dušanić 1970, 314-315.

verb is missing, we have no means of knowing what this letter contained. The second would be c. 235 BCE, when all Arcadian communities were included in the Achaian League.²⁶¹ These passages are however inconclusive: the fact that Mantinea or Megalopolis may have led coalitions of Arcadian communities or continued to use the federal institutions does not entail that an Arcadian koinon actually existed after 363 BCE. Equally, the two end dates proposed by Roy and Nielsen, 324 or 235 BCE, rest on highly speculative grounds.

The Hellenistic period

The Peloponnese was again the theatre of conflicts in the Hellenistic period, once the Macedonian domination announced at Chaeronea in 338 BCE was well established. Arcadia was notably a battlefield on which Antigonos Gonatas and Pyrrhus fought in c. 272 BCE.

In the second half of the third century, several Greek cities became members of the Achaian League. Heraia joins following its capture c. 236, followed by Megalopolis – under the impulse of Lydiadas – Mantinea and Orchomenos who join willingly c. 235 BCE. Other individual cities join the league at different stages: the Arcadian adhesion was neither straightforward nor unanimous.²⁶² Polybios salutes the role of two of his fellow countrymen in the success of the Achaian League in uniting the Peloponnese: although the initiator of the project was Aratos of Sikyon, he attributes to Philopoemen its realization and to Lykortas its permanence, for a time at least.²⁶³ The role of Lydiadas, tyrant of Megalopolis and strategos of the Achaian League in alternation with Aratos of Sikyon, should also not be forgotten.

A large part of the war against Cleomenes III of Sparta also took place in Arcadia, with cities such as Kaphyai, Mantinea, Orchomenos, Methydrion, and even Mount Lykaion falling in turns into the hands of Sparta or the Achaians.²⁶⁴ After the battle of Mantinea in 226 BCE between the Spartans and the Achaian League, the League, overcome by Sparta, appealed to Antigonos Doson to handle Cleomenes. The battle of Sellasia, in Laconia near the Arcadian border, settled the matter: Cleomenes

²⁶¹ Roy 1968, 249-278 proposes to study the use of the regional ethnic *Arkas* after 323 BCE in inscriptions that can be held significant in a constitutional way: he concludes that the koinon existed until 235 BCE. He adds that membership of the hypothetical third-century koinon fluctuated considerably, and that only rarely was the whole of Arcadia included. Nielsen 2002, 497 underlines that the sources used by Roy in which the koinon is attested are only non-Arcadian sources, and therefore it is difficult to determine how precise they are. For a different view altogether on the end of the koinon, see Urban 1979, 71-88.

²⁶² On the Achaian League: Polyb. 2.40-41; Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 33-34. Larsen 1968, 215-240 (institutions) and 303-98 (history); Urban 1979, 71-88.

²⁶³ Polyb. 2.40.1-2. Lykortas was Polybius' father. Philopoemen was highly honoured in Arcadia. At Megalopolis, he received sacrifices on day of festival of Zeus Soter: IG V.2 432.39; Paus. 8.52.6; Jost 1985, 272. Polybius himself, because he had interceded on behalf of the Greeks with the Romans to soothe their fate and because he was a native of Megalopolis, had statues at Megalopolis (Paus. 8.30.8) and Pallantion (Paus. 8.44.5), was featured on a stele in the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura (Paus. 8.37.1), and had a stele at Tegea (Paus. 8.48.8).

²⁶⁴ Polyb. 2.44-6, 56-58; Plut. *Vit. Cleom.* 4-6.

was sent into exile in Egypt, marking the end of the war.²⁶⁵ In reprisal against Mantinea for its defection to the Spartan camp, the Macedonians and the Achaian League under the orders of Antigonos Doson and Aratos completely destroyed the city. Its people were sold into slavery or killed, and the city re-founded as Antigoneia.²⁶⁶

The third century was also marked by interventions of the Aetolian league, which had taken control of Delphi after repelling an attack by the Gauls in 279 BCE, everywhere in Greece.²⁶⁷ The Aetolians penetrated into Arcadia in order to reach Messenia and to prevent an alliance between the Achaian League and the Messenians. They settled at Phigalia. The Achaean league saw the threat and in 220 BCE a battle at Kaphyai opposing the Aetolian league, the Spartans and the Eleans to the Hellenic league (composed of an alliance of the Achaian League, the Boeotians and the Macedonians) kicked off the so-called Social War. Polybios' portrait of the Aetolians is highly negative, and among the cities victim of their supposedly impious plundering the historian lists Lousoi and the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera, and Mantinea and the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios.²⁶⁸ The war ended in 219 BCE with the victory of Philip V of Macedon, who then turned his attention to another growing threat: Rome.²⁶⁹ The Romans crushed Philip V's army at Cynoscephalae in 196 BCE, and fifty years later the Romans fully conquered Greece.²⁷⁰

Altogether, the historical events that took place on the Arcadian territory contributed to shape its religious topography, but with different degrees of impact. On the one hand, changes in social geography impacted religious topography the most. The shift from an ethnic structure to poleis in various areas of Arcadia impacted the shape of sanctuaries.²⁷¹ In the case of synoecisms and *dioikismos*, since people relocated their place of residence, certain cult places that used to be at the core a community found themselves offset. To the contrary, new central cult places were created, and the old one duplicated or visited in new rituals: Megalopolis is a particularly enlightening case.²⁷² In fact, top-down attempts to create new community structures underpinned changes in the religious landscape, for sanctuaries were privileged places to legitimise the creation of a new identity. The battle of Leuctra was, in that respect, an important benchmark in the formation of the religious landscape of the Peloponnese, and indeed of Arcadia. The creation of the koinon of the Arcadians and the foundation of Megalopolis necessitated to reactivate myths

²⁶⁵ De Souza 1999, 84-6; Shimron 1972, 53-78.

²⁶⁶ Polyb. 2.56; Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 45.4-6. The name lasted until 125 CE, when Hadrian restored the city's original name.

²⁶⁷ The Mantineans had concluded an agreement with the Aetolians during the Cleomenian war before siding with Sparta, Polyb. 2.57.

²⁶⁸ Polyb. 4.11-13, 4.25-26.2. Larsen 1968, 326-58; Pritchett 1969, 120f.

²⁶⁹ Polyb. 4.3-37, 3.57-87, 5.1.30, 5.91-103; Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 41.3. Walbank 1979, 774.

²⁷⁰ After Cynoscephalae the Romans tried to make a better impression on the Greeks than the brutal end of the first Macedonian war: Polyb. 4.20-1, 18.44-45.1, 6, 18.46; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.33.3; Ferrary 1988, 81-8; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 443-447.

²⁷¹ See p. 104-106.

²⁷² Parker 2009. See p. 118-120, 130-132, 155-159.

pertaining to Arcadia's antiquity, and changed the shape and status of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaïos to make it a regional, ethnic sanctuary.²⁷³ On the other hand, war and conquest impacted local pantheons and inflected sacred space. The wars between Tegea and Sparta shaped the nascent Tegean identity and coloured the Tegean sacred spaces – and local myths – with anti-Spartanism, from the agora to the temple of Athena Alea and to the temple of Mavriki near the border with Laconia.²⁷⁴ Destruction and plunder ruined cities and their sanctuaries, like Mantinea after Antigonos' destruction, and a sanctuary may not recover from plunder: for instance, the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi declined after the Aetolians' violent visit. Finally, territorial conquest certainly impacted religious topography: the annexation of Triphylia may have been mostly celebrated in the shape of a dedication at Delphi, but the Roman conquest left an impact on the whole religious topography of Arcadia, and even on the province of Achaea as a whole, of an unprecedented magnitude.²⁷⁵

²⁷³ See p. 118-120.

²⁷⁴ See p. 89-93.

²⁷⁵ See p. 169-171.

PART I

The Material Landscape

Chapter 1: Open air cult places and the early times of Arcadian sanctuaries

Poets claimed that the Arcadians were ‘older than the moon’ and autochthonous to the Peloponnese.²⁷⁶ Without going that far, evidence of prehistoric activity does exist in Arcadia, although our knowledge of it remains very limited. Indeed, despite greater recent interest in the early history of Arcadia on the part of archaeologists, the age leading to the early Archaic period still remains largely mysterious.²⁷⁷ This lack of knowledge is not surprising if we consider the nature of the evidence for most Bronze Age sites. Few sites feature Cyclopean masonry or equally eye-catching features; oftentimes, only a few broken figurines and patches of burnt earth indicate that some kind of activity took place.

Signs of activity dating from the Mycenaean period have been identified in Arcadia on a number of sites. The most prominent of them are the large-scale drainage works carried around Pheneos, Stymphalos, Tegea, Kaphyai and Orchomenos. Although they did not survive the Early Iron Age, these works were still evoked in the time of Pausanias.²⁷⁸ In terms of sacred spaces, the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea has yielded evidence going back to the tenth century BCE.²⁷⁹ At Palaipirgos, near Palaioikastro, K. Khristou found some Late Helladic IIIC tombs.²⁸⁰ There is also a strong indication of Late Bronze Age religious activity in Arcadia at Mount Lykaion and in the Asea valley, in southern Arcadia. There, on three mountain summits, patches of burnt earth with offerings inside have been excavated, suggesting the existence of early open-air altars.

In addition, some smaller finds were excavated at various places. For instance, in Mantinea, G. Fougères found some Mycenaean sherds and flints near the theatre.²⁸¹ In Tegea, archaeologists of the early twentieth century identified pottery fragments going back as far as the late Mycenaean period.²⁸² K. Rhomaios found some prehistoric stone tools at Analipsis.²⁸³ A. Milchhöfer recognized in 1883 a Mycenaean gemstone from Phigalia.²⁸⁴ In the east, near Elis, Heraia yielded a prehistoric sauceboat.²⁸⁵ Finally, in the north the earliest evidence comes from Lousoi, where some Submycenaean votives including fibulae and Late Geometrical votive offerings

²⁷⁶ *Lyc. Alex.* 482; Borgeaud 1979, 19-23; Jost 1989, 285-293.

²⁷⁷ Recent large-scale excavation projects were carried out in the last twenty years at Asea (Forsén et al. 1999 and Forsén and Forsén 2003), Tegea (Østby et al. 1994), Pheneos and Lousoi (Tausend 1999).

²⁷⁸ Knauss, Heinrich and Kalcyk 1986, 604. See p. 174-177.

²⁷⁹ Voyatzis 2002, 160 mentions two fragments of Mycenaean terracotta figurines.

²⁸⁰ Khristou 1958, 717. See also Desborough 1972, 84. Bronze Age graves in particular are rare for Arcadia. See Morgan 1999, 382-456, esp. 442 n.32 for a list of Bronze Age graves.

²⁸¹ Fougères 1887, 490. Hodgkinson and Hodgkinson 1981, 274 report some possible Cyclopean masonry in the fortifications after Simpson 1965.

²⁸² Mendel 1901, 256; Dugas 1921, 403f; Voyatzis 1990, 65-69.

²⁸³ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 198.

²⁸⁴ Milchhöfer 1883, 54.

²⁸⁵ Childe 1924, 163f.

were found near the later sanctuary of Artemis Hemera.²⁸⁶ These interesting yet limited finds can at most indicate human presence or hints of a cult before the historical period, but are too small to inform us on the religious life of the region at the time.

The sites

The mountain range that includes Mount Lykaion forms the western limit of the Megalopolitan plain. There, the excavators found a large mound of ash and blackened earth (30m in diameter by 1.50m in height) at the very top of the mountain. Inside the ash mound, a range of religious offerings was found – including anthropomorphic figurines, pins, and so on – which demonstrates that the site was in fact a cult site with a large ash altar. Burnt sacrifices are attested by the presence of a great number of burnt bones, most of them from cows and pigs.²⁸⁷ Besides, burnt Late Helladic and Protogeometric pottery sherds from a variety of vessels were also found in the mound, along with dedications such as a Protogeometric double axe.²⁸⁸ According to the archaeologists, these finds allow dating the activity of the site from the Mycenaean period (Late Helladic II) at least.²⁸⁹ The rest of the evidence shows that the site was used continuously down to the Late Classical period.²⁹⁰

The Asea valley lies on the other side of the Megalopolitan plain, to the east. It is completely enclosed by mountain ranges, and forms a buffer zone between the Megalopolitan and the Tegean plains. Two sites of a type similar to Mount Lykaion were found during the recent excavations. The first is at Aghios Elias Kandreva, on a conical hill 2km northwest of Asea Palaiokastro, the ancient acropolis of Asea.²⁹¹ There, a patch of burnt earth was found, and inside it the archaeologists uncovered burnt bones, metal dedications and pottery, dated from around the tenth century.²⁹² The archaeologists dated Aghios Elias from at least the tenth century thanks to the ceramic evidence.²⁹³

In order to explore the religious topography of Arcadia before the Iron Age, there are three important points to discuss with respect to these sites. Firstly, it has been argued notably by A. Cook that cults on mountaintops in Greece originated as cults of Zeus ‘Sky-God’ in the Bronze Age: how verifiable is this hypothesis, and

²⁸⁶ Submycenaean fibulae: Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 52 fig. 81. Late Geometrical offerings: Mitsopoulos-Leon 1990, 165; Voyatzis 1992.

²⁸⁷ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 631. They compare the Lykaion finds with similar ones at Pylos. One the bones in the Arcadian ash altar, see Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 579-581.

²⁸⁸ See detailed catalogue of finds in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 584-612 (temenos).

²⁸⁹ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 631. Mylonas 1943 somehow had the intuition that the site was much older than the seventh century, the oldest date attributed to it by Kourouniotes 1904.

²⁹⁰ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 629.

²⁹¹ See fig. 3 p. 44.

²⁹² Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 178-181; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 251f. Pottery finds include sherds of a closed vessel and some painted Protogeometric sherds: a skyphos rim identified as imported from Laconia by its style, and another sherd from a closed-vessel.

²⁹³ Morgan 1999, 400; Fields 1994; Cooper 1996, 75-79.

how does it apply to Mount Lykaion especially? Then, there will be need to discuss the first evidence for a cult to Zeus at Mount Lykaion, and what the options are for Vigla and Aghios Elias. Finally, it will be necessary to evaluate how the cult sites may have related to contemporary population settlements.

Zeus Lykaios, the Mycenaean ‘Sky-God’ who rains?

Since the discovery of mountaintop cult sites dedicated to Zeus, there has been a keen interest in them in scholarship. Indeed, their antiquity has attracted all sorts of hypotheses relating to the origins of Greek religion. Even though archaeologists of the last century did not infer the antiquity of these cults from the evidence itself, but from a parallel with Minoan peak-sanctuaries, the evidence later confirmed that some continental sites dated from the Late Bronze Age. This discovery only encouraged the desire to discover the original, prehistoric Greek gods, one of which is the mysterious Zeus ‘Sky-God’.

Firstly, it has been argued that the mountaintop cult sites in Greece have an origin spinning off from the Minoan peak sanctuaries. The Minoan cults would have been carried to Greece and set up on similar cult sites.²⁹⁴ However, virtually no evidence so far suggests that there is any common measure, or any relationship between the Minoan peak sanctuaries and the continental mountain cult sites beside their location. It is true that a Minoan fifteenth-century lentoid seal has been recently found in the ash altar on Mount Lykaion, and it looks tempting to make it embody the relationship between the Minoan and Mycenaean mountaintop cults. Yet, this find is not sufficient to support any link between the Cretan cults and the Greek ones. The seal was found in a highly disturbed area of the ash altar, which does not allow its deposition to be dated. Thus, it might only be a dedication of a precious old object by a worshipper long after the fifteenth century. The dedicator may or may not have made the connection between the two birthplaces of Zeus, Crete and the Lykaion.²⁹⁵ The dedicator may not necessarily even have been Cretan, but merely someone who acquired the gem. Thus, there is no strong evidence to support the theory of a filiation between the Minoan peak sanctuaries and the cult on Mount Lykaion, and evidence for the early stages of the Arcadian cult should not be looked for in Crete.

²⁹⁴ Dietrich 1982 argues for a filiation between the Minoan peak-sanctuaries and the Mycenaean mountain cults. De Polignac 2002, 119-122 vehemently rejects that hypothesis and argues that the Greek mountain-cults are a distinct type of religious site.

²⁹⁵ As two myths on the birth of Zeus competed: he was said to be born on Mount Ida in Crete as well as on Mount Lykaion. Call. *Hymn* 1, Paus. 8.38.2-6. The myth might not even be that old: Callimachus is the first author we know to explicitly state that Zeus was born on Mount Lykaion. This version does not appear in Homer or Hesiod, and therefore might well be a creation elaborated later, when the cult of Zeus Lykaion was embellished by the Arcadians, see p. 118-120.



Figure 5: Mount Lykaion: rock-crystal lentoid seal stone depicting bull on front. Back is smooth. Drawing on left from mould, on right from seal itself. (Photo: E. Fergason in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 617 fig. 26)

Beside the Minoan origin hypothesis, a theory that mountaintops in Greece were the realm of the Bronze Age, pre-anthropomorphic ‘Sky-God’ was developed. Starting from the cult of Zeus Lykaios, it was claimed that the epithet ‘Lykaios’ was etymologically related not to ‘lykos’ the wolf, but to ‘lyke’ the light. Zeus Lykaios would therefore be the old Sky-God.²⁹⁶ This is why, according to this theory, the god was originally placed on mountain summits: to be closer to the sky, his domain. The ‘Sky-God’ theory has encountered a great deal of success, especially since many mountain sites dedicated to Zeus in Greece apparently featured rituals calling for rain.²⁹⁷ These rituals were taken as the proof that the original cult of Zeus on mountains was that of the prehistoric Sky-Zeus, to whom worshippers would appeal for rain for their crops.

The presence of a chapel of Aghios Elias near the temenos of Zeus has also been taken as proof that there was an early cult of a Mycenaean ‘Sky-God’ Zeus. A. Cook, establishing a continuity between places where Zeus was worshipped on summits and chapels to Aghios Elias, argues that since Aghios Elias is also prayed to for rain and weather-related requests, it must follow that mountaintops are connected to the weather in religious thought. The theory of succession between Zeus and Aghios Elias is verifiable in modern Greece²⁹⁸, but the rest of the argument does not hold. Christians placed chapels of Aghios Elias on mountaintops knowing that there had been a sanctuary of Zeus at the same spot: the chapels were meant to replace the pagan cult sites. Hence, inferring that a link between rainmaking and mountaintops was so strong that it transcended the change to Christianity based on this evidence does not work: Aghios Elias simply took over the role of Zeus, and it does not illuminate the cult of ‘Zeus Sky-God’ in the Bronze Age.

The very concept of a Mycenaean ‘Sky-god’ deserves more attention. In Homer and Hesiod²⁹⁹ Zeus is the god of meteorological phenomena, such as lightning and rain. And indeed, the two mountaintop cults of Zeus that we know of and which date from the late Bronze Age show a relationship between Zeus and rainmaking. The

²⁹⁶ Cook I 1914, 63f.

²⁹⁷ Gruppe 1906, 818-834; Langdon 1976, 85f.

²⁹⁸ Cook I 1914, 163-186. Lykaion: Cook I 1914, 177-8; Hymettus: Langdon 1976, 5-7; Acharnaion: Rupp 1976, 261

²⁹⁹ See for instance Hom. *Il.* 10.5f; Hes. *Theog.* 140f, 504f, 689f, 707.

first is on Mount Lykaion, where Pausanias reports such a ritual taking place near the temenos below the ash altar.³⁰⁰ There, in times of drought, the priest of Zeus would lower an oak branch over the spring Hagno and make rain clouds form. A fountain has been identified by archaeologists in one of the layers of the site, half way between the upper and lower sanctuary.³⁰¹ Nonetheless, it is unclear whether the rite in question was already taking place in the Bronze Age. In fact, the only evidence we have about it is in Pausanias, who does not put a date on the rite. The second site, Hymettus, shows better evidence of a direct link between the cult of Zeus and his celestial prerogatives. The earliest known epithet of the god is ‘Semios’, which is found inscribed on dedications in the seventh century BCE: M. Langdon interprets it as Zeus ‘Sign-Giver’, who sends signs to predict the weather.³⁰² Then, later in time, the epithet changed to Ombrios, ‘Showery’, more clearly stating the link between the god and rain.³⁰³

Altogether, it is likely that Zeus on mountaintops in the Bronze Age had to do with weather phenomena. It is clear from early literary sources such as Hesiod and Homer that he was responsible for rain, thunder and lightning. In addition, the epithets of Zeus on Hymettus suggest that the cult also had to do with the weather. On the other hand, the existence of Bronze Age rainmaking rites on mountain summits is not documented. In front of this issue, we can accept that these primitive-looking rites would make sense in the context of an early society heavily relying on the weather. Or we can adopt a more sceptical stance, and not totally exclude the possibility that these rites might be archaizing rituals created later in the historical period.³⁰⁴

Gods in high places

Once the hypothesis of a Mycenaean ‘Sky-God’, rainmaking Zeus worshipped on summits has been questioned, it remains to explore what the evidence suggests with regards to the nature of the cults at Mount Lykaion, Vigla and Aghios Elias. Actually, there does not seem with certainty to be any Bronze Age evidence that would allow attributing the sites to the cult of a particular deity.

As far as we know, the earliest mention of an abaton of Zeus on Mount Lykaion is in Hesiod.³⁰⁵ As for the earliest material evidence known so far attesting a cult to Zeus, it is a seventh-century bronze figurine found near the temenos, below the ash altar: it was identified as a nude figure of Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his right hand with an eagle perched on his left.³⁰⁶ The archaeologists infer the existence of a Bronze Age cult of Zeus on the Lykaion from these pieces of evidence.³⁰⁷ However,

³⁰⁰ Paus. 8.38.6.

³⁰¹ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 630.

³⁰² Langdon 1976, 3 and chapter 2.

³⁰³ Paus. 1.32.2.

³⁰⁴ For a similar conclusion, see De Polignac 2002, 122.

³⁰⁵ Hes. Fr. 181 Rz (=163 Merk-West).

³⁰⁶ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 626 support the identification with Zeus.

³⁰⁷ M. Langdon has made a similar calculation in his study of the mountaintop cult of Mount Hymettus in Attica. Ceramic evidence show that activity started on the site in the twelfth

there is nothing specific in the Lykaion pre-eighth-century offerings, either in the pottery or faunal remains, which would confirm that the site was indeed dedicated to Zeus at that early date. We must then assume that the divinity worshipped in the Bronze Age and in the Iron Age on the same site remained the same to accept the attribution of Mount Lykaion to Zeus before the eighth century.

There is even less information about Aghios Elias of Kandreva. Since Pausanias does not seem to have visited the site at all, we have no idea of who the divinity worshipped there was. The only educated guess that could be made is that it might have been a cult of Zeus at some point in its history. The topographical setting of the site is similar to Mount Lykaion, Mount Hymettus and Mount Arachnaion in Argolis, another mountain-cult of Zeus. All are located on fairly high isolated summits (Aghios Elias Kandreva culminates at 1100m) with an ash altar.³⁰⁸ Furthermore, if we follow Cook's theory, the presence of a chapel of Aghios Elias would be a good indicator of the former presence of a cult of Zeus on the site. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to back up this guess at all: further excavations might solve this mystery.

Relationship with settlements and nearby populations

Unsurprisingly, it is nearly impossible to tell who were the early worshippers at the three ash altars. A good start would be to look at M. Langdon's detailed study of the cult site of Zeus on Mount Hymettus, in Attica. Langdon, as a partisan of the Mycenaean weather-cult hypothesis, argued that the people who visited the Mount Hymettus site were probably farmers from Attica relying on rain for their crops.³⁰⁹ He also suggested that accessibility was a key factor for the worshippers: most would have come from the areas on the western side of the mountain, since it is much more accessible than the eastern side. Those dwelling there would have, according to him, frequented other mountain-cult sites. However, it is difficult to assess where people lived in Bronze Age Arcadia in general, since few remains of settlements or cemeteries have been excavated so far in the region. It is often the case that concentrations of pottery sherds are the only indications of population gatherings.

Yet, thanks to the extensive survey carried out by the Norwegian Archaeological Institute, the patterns of prehistoric settlements in the Asea valley are observable. Pottery evidence suggests that some parts of the valley were occupied from the Late Neolithic period, and the acropolis site was occupied at least down to c.

century, but the name of Zeus only appears in graffiti from the seventh century BCE onwards. Therefore, he infers that the god who was worshipped there before the seventh century was already Zeus. Langdon 1976, 7 and chapter 2 for the detailed study of the graffiti found on the site, esp. p. 41 for dates and conclusions.

³⁰⁸ See studies of Langdon 1976 (Mount Hymettus) and Rupp 1976 (Mount Arachnaion). The evidence for Mount Arachnaion so far goes only back to the eighth century BCE.

³⁰⁹ Langdon 1976, 78. For a different view, see de Polignac 2005, 19-24. He identifies the performance of writing graffiti on sherds *on site* as an act of 'showing off' one's literacy in front of the other dedicators. It implies either that there were far more literate farmers in Attica than we thought, or that there were also a number of worshippers of higher social status visiting the site.

1100 BCE.³¹⁰ The excavation team found a large number of Late Neolithic chipped stone tools and a few pottery sherds on a site located on a hill east of the Aghios Elias cone and on the site of the acropolis (S60). During the Bronze Age, the main site of activity indicated by pottery remains the acropolis, while two sites on either side of the cone – S23 and S47-61 Aghios Georgios of Athenaion – show some minor traces of activity. In the Late Bronze Age finally, evidence still comes from the acropolis (S60) and S47-61, and three new sites show Mycenaean material: S67, S15-16 and S18. S67 is located 1km north of S47-61, southwest of the Aghios Elias cone. S15-16 and S18 are located on the opposite side of the valley, at the foot of the western slope of Mount Boreion, on top of which Vigla is situated, and show traces of activity in pottery debris.³¹¹

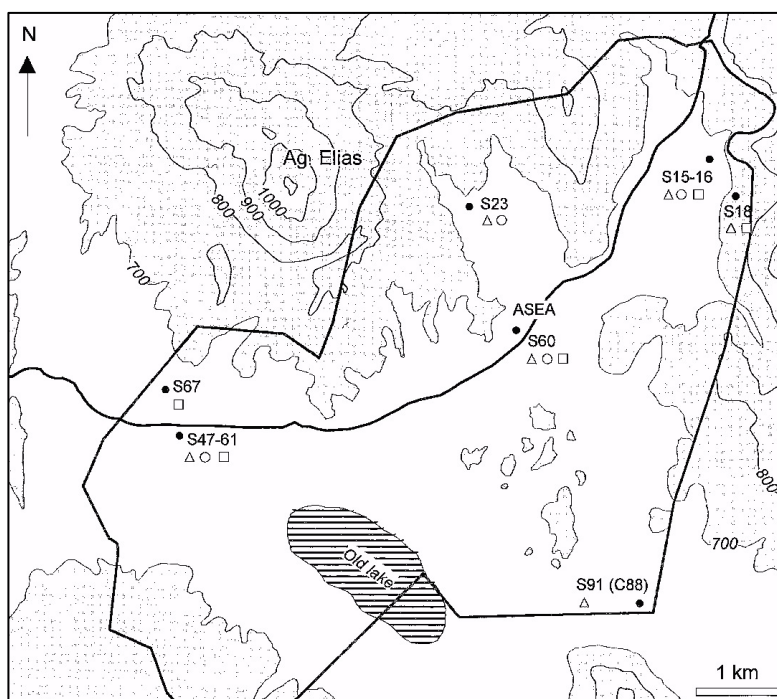


Figure 6: Asea Valley: Prehistoric sites (•) with Early Helladic (Δ), Middle Helladic (O), and Late Helladic (□) finds (Forsén and Forsén 2003, 197 fig. 132)

Thus, it might be possible to infer that the most likely visitors to Aghios Elias of Kandreva and the Vigla site lived nearby in small rural settlements. The only problem is that, curiously, by the time we start having evidence for dedications at Aghios Elias in the tenth century, activity on the acropolis site seems to have stopped for a century. This could mean two things: either the people who used to live at Palaiokastros moved to smaller, less visible settlements in the countryside, or we need to wait and see if another survey contradicts the Norwegian team's results. In

³¹⁰ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 185-199.

³¹¹ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 196 and map fig. 132.

addition, there is no interruption of activity recorded for the smaller sites closer to slopes below Aghios Elias and Vigla.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of a comparably extensive survey in Parrhasia, it is impossible to tell who were the worshippers at the Mount Lykaion site. They were in all likelihood also people from rural communities living nearby, in the Megalopolis basin.

Conclusion: pre-historic Arcadia

As a result, religious life at the end of the Arcadian Bronze Age still remains rather obscure. This is mostly due to the uneven coverage of the region by surveys. The case of the Asea valley, where two mountaintop cult sites and a few Bronze Age settlements were discovered, exemplifies what could be unveiled after an extensive survey: perhaps more comparable mines of information are waiting to be discovered. In the meantime, it appears that Arcadia features mountaintop cult sites, like Attica and other Peloponnesian places. The divinities worshipped and rites performed there still remain quite unclear. It was proposed in this chapter that they might not have originated from a Minoan filiation. Considering the evidence and the location of the cults, it is likely that they were addressed to a ‘weather-god’; however, worshippers most probably had other gods of which we find no trace today, perhaps because their open-air cult sites were erased by centuries of ploughing and building in the lower basins. These three Arcadian sites, Mount Lykaion, Aghios Elias Kandreva and perhaps Vigla, were presumably visited by small communities living nearby who came to ask for something. What it is exactly they were looking for when making offerings to the gods remains to be discovered. In any case, the evidence from Arcadia strengthens the hypothesis that there was no ‘spatial indeterminacy’ during the Mycenaean period and Early Iron Age³¹²: sacred places were identified as such and discriminated from non-sacred space.³¹³ In addition, the status of mountains in Arcadia must be underlined. Mountains had a very important role in Arcadian economy, since it was largely relying on pastoralism in the whole of its ancient History: they were a crucial resource for the transhumance of herds. They were therefore not completely isolated places, but rather places of economic importance and crucial to the survival of communities. Locating cult places on mountaintops, in this regard, is also very significant for they are actually one of the most important part of the territory, and not necessarily inaccessible.

³¹² Generic term corresponding to the periods named Submycenaean and Protogeometric after pottery terms, Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 13 n. 1.

³¹³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 1-13 against de Polignac 1984, 27-31; Morris 1987, 189-192; Morris 1989, 317-318.

Chapter 2: Temple building and community formation in the Archaic period

Religious activity in Arcadia becomes better attested after the end of the Early Iron Age: higher concentrations of votive objects are found on several sites scattered all around the region. The nature of the offerings, their number, their location and their occasional association with architectural structures demonstrate that the sites in question had a religious function. M. Voyatzis in her detailed catalogue of Archaic sanctuaries in Arcadia counts eleven of these sites presenting Geometric and/or Archaic evidence.³¹⁴ Post-1990 excavations carried out in Arcadia now bump this figure up to forty-three sites.³¹⁵

This chapter traces the evolution of these sites during the Archaic period (eighth to sixth century BCE), when temples start to appear first in mud brick then in stone. Certainly, this investigation is limited by the current state of research; Arcadia has not so far been extensively surveyed and excavated, and it is likely that more sites will be unearthed in the future. Still, looking at the patterns of location of religious sites in those two centuries sheds light on the way populations were spread across Arcadia, and how this may have inflected their interaction with the divine.

Evolution of religious topography after the Bronze Age: archaeological evidence

Mount Lykaion

The cult on Mount Lykaion seems to have survived through the Early Iron Age, as the sequence of continuous offerings found on the upper sanctuary attests.³¹⁶ The votives deposited on the ash altar or around it point more and more precisely to a cult of Zeus.³¹⁷ Since the early twentieth century archaeologists have unearthed in the ash altar objects including small phialai and skyphoi with solid black gloss typical of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, a number of terracotta lamp fragments, roof tiles – some stamped with inscriptions that might be dated from the fourth century –, an Archaic iron knife, some bronze rings, an iron key, a fourth-century terracotta bird figurine, an Archaic coin from Aegina, an ‘Arcadian league’ coin, and miniature bronze tripod cauldrons.³¹⁸ There was also a late Archaic bronze hand, perhaps of

³¹⁴ Voyatzis 1990, 28.

³¹⁵ See Voyatzis’ updated catalogue (1999, 153-159). Sixteen sites are uncertain: there may have been a temple, but due to very limited or no excavations it is difficult to assert it. See table and map in the appendix.

³¹⁶ Gilman Romano, Voyatzis 2014, 629 and 632.

³¹⁷ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 626.

³¹⁸ Kourouniotes 1904b, cols. 164-166. For the stamped tiles see also Jost 1985, 180. The latest excavations uncovered 33 miniature tripods or fragments at the southern limit of the ash

Zeus, a seventh-century lead wreath, and a lead miniature kouros (torso and upper legs) of 'Daedalic' style dated from the same period. A tenth-century iron double axe was also discovered.³¹⁹

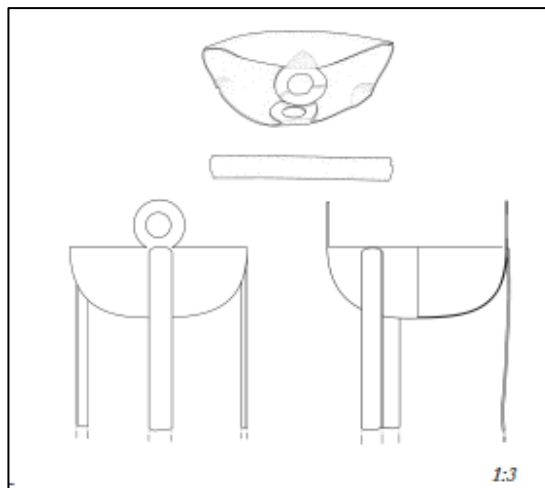


Figure 7: Mount Lykaion: drawing of miniature bronze cauldron found at the southern edge of the ash altar. Scale 1:3. (Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 619 fig. 27 n. 109)

Twenty-four meters below the ash altar lay the temenos. Kourouniotes suggested that there was another sacrificial area at the eastern edge of the temenos, approximately 10m west of the two columns topped with eagles described by Pausanias (8.38.7).³²⁰ There, he found a patch of black, greasy earth, as if soaked with animal blood. As no animal bones were found at that spot, he concluded that it was where animals were slaughtered before being carried on top of the ash altar for the burnt sacrifice.³²¹ However, M. Voyatzis and D. G. Romano argued that this area was not in fact part of the temenos since it lay beyond a partial line of stones identified as the peribolos at the base of the southern peak of the mountain.³²²

In the vicinity of the north column base, Kourouniotes uncovered statuettes; among them was the nude figure of Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his right hand with an eagle perched on his left, dated from the seventh century BCE. It is the earliest object found in this area by the excavator.³²³ Near the south column, he found two silver coins: a fifth-century 'ARKADIKON' coin and an Argive one.³²⁴ Other objects

altar (trench ZZ, p. 625). The five tripods listed in the inventory are dated from the eighth century BCE (p. 618-620).

³¹⁹ See catalogue in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 620-622.

³²⁰ Column bases identified by Kourouniotes 1904a, col. 151. See also Cook 1914, 81-86 and Jost 1985, 181.

³²¹ Kourouniotes 1904b, col. 173.

³²² Gilman Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 629. For the description of the line of stones, see Kourouniotes 1904b, col. 161.

³²³ It was originally attached to a larger vessel, probably a tripod cauldron. Kourouniotes 1904b, cols. 180-184.

³²⁴ Kourouniotes 1904b, col. 173 and Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 577.

found around the column bases include a bronze two-headed snake, a bronze askos, and an inscribed fifth-century bronze greave dedicated to Athena and perhaps Zeus³²⁵.



Figure 8: Mount Lykaion: temenos, column bases and ash altar mound, view from east. (Photo D.G. Romano in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 577 fig. 4)

Nothing was found in the temenos properly speaking apart from some iron objects and roof tiles in the south area.³²⁶ On the other hand, finds were more numerous in front of the temenos: Kourouniotes found nine complete bronze statuettes and the pieces of a tenth, bases from other similar statuettes, and a bronze eagle. The statuettes include two fifth-century figurines of Hermes, one wearing a cloak chlamys and conical hat, and the other raising his right arm and wearing a chlamys and petasos. Both were found close to one another.³²⁷ On the same level, bronze jewellery, a bronze plaque, a double iron link and many roof tiles were also found, but no pottery.³²⁸

Finally, other bronze figures of Zeus have been found in the temenos: an early-sixth-century Zeus 'Ithomatas', an Archaic seated Zeus dated from 540-530 BCE, a statuette of Zeus in himation, and a fifth-century hand (of Zeus) holding a

³²⁵ IG V.2 551: [— —]ελίδας ἀνέ[θεκε Διὶ καὶ Ἀθάναι..

³²⁶ Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 577 argue that the lack of finds is in line with Pausanias' description of an abaton where no one is allowed to enter, Paus. 8.38.6. Jost 1985, 255-258 on the other hand argues that no other ancient author than Pausanias refers to this practice.

³²⁷ Kourouniotes 1904b, cols. 199-203 figs. 20-22, pl. 9; Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 577-578.

³²⁸ Kourouniotes 1904b, cols. 171, 196-197, 203-204, fig. 20, pls. 9, 10.

lightning rod. A fifth-century bronze foot and a bronze miniature eagle of the same period are also thought to be related to Zeus.³²⁹

As a result, it emerges clearly that Mount Lykaion not only continued to be a functioning religious site, but also expanded. Cult activity was not limited to the ash altar anymore, as it extended to the temenos on the terrace just below. Similarly, the growing number of offerings on the ash altar around the eighth and seventh centuries may indicate an increase in the number of worshippers. The quality of the offerings, too, contrasts with their Bronze Age predecessors: it clearly shows that artisanal techniques were refined. Nonetheless, the fact that no architectural structure has been so far dated from this period suggests that the cult continued to be practiced in the open air, with the ash altar remaining the centre of activity.

³²⁹ Kourouniotes 1904b, cols. 184-185, figs. 11-19; Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 578. For the complete catalogue of finds from the latest excavations: Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 584-625, esp. 615-625 for finds from the altar.

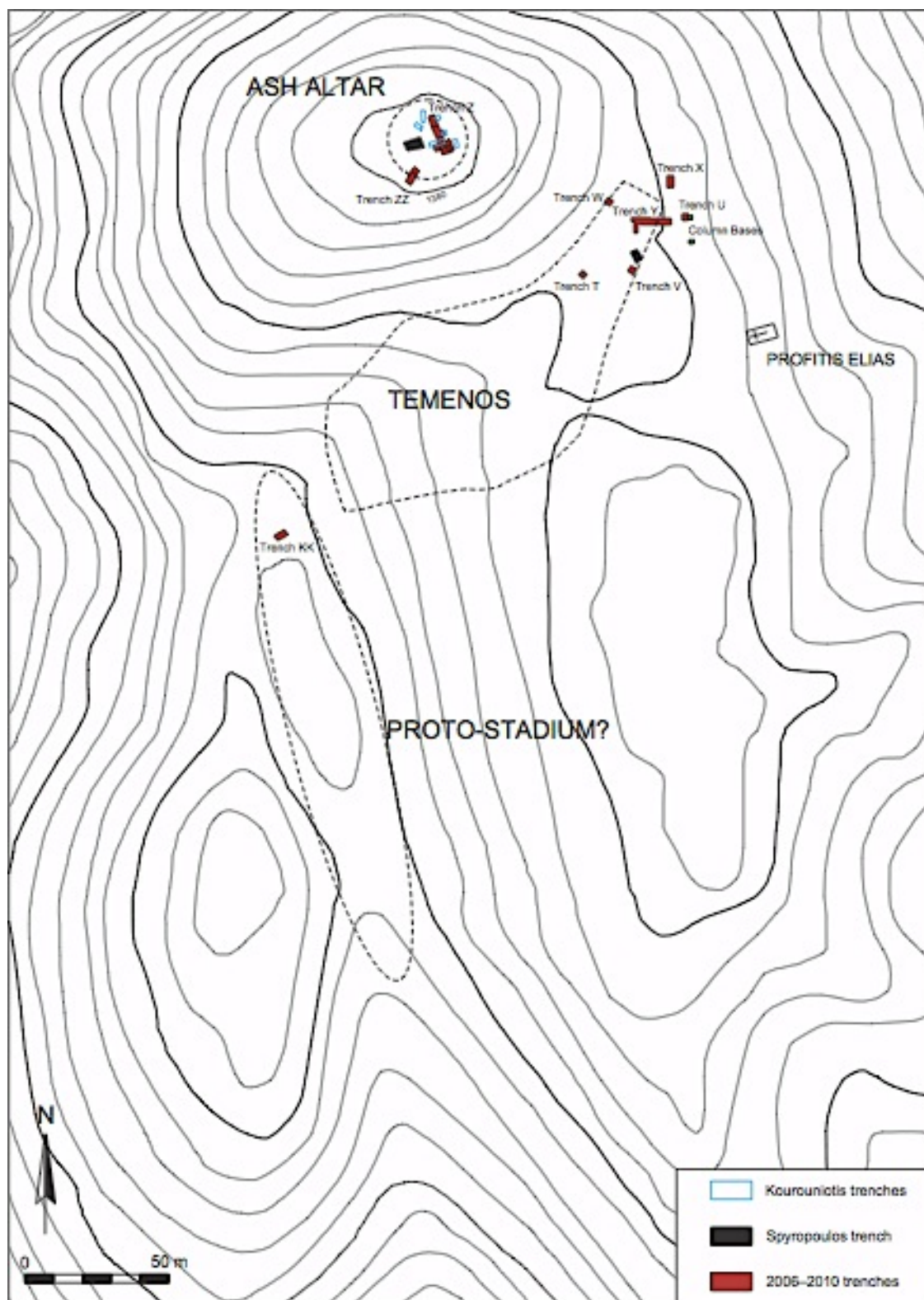


Figure 9: Mount Lykaion: map of the temenos, ash altar and proto-stadium. (By A. Insua, M. Pihokker, E. Rodriguez-Alvarez, A. Mayer, in Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 627 fig. 33)

Aghios Elias (table: 1)

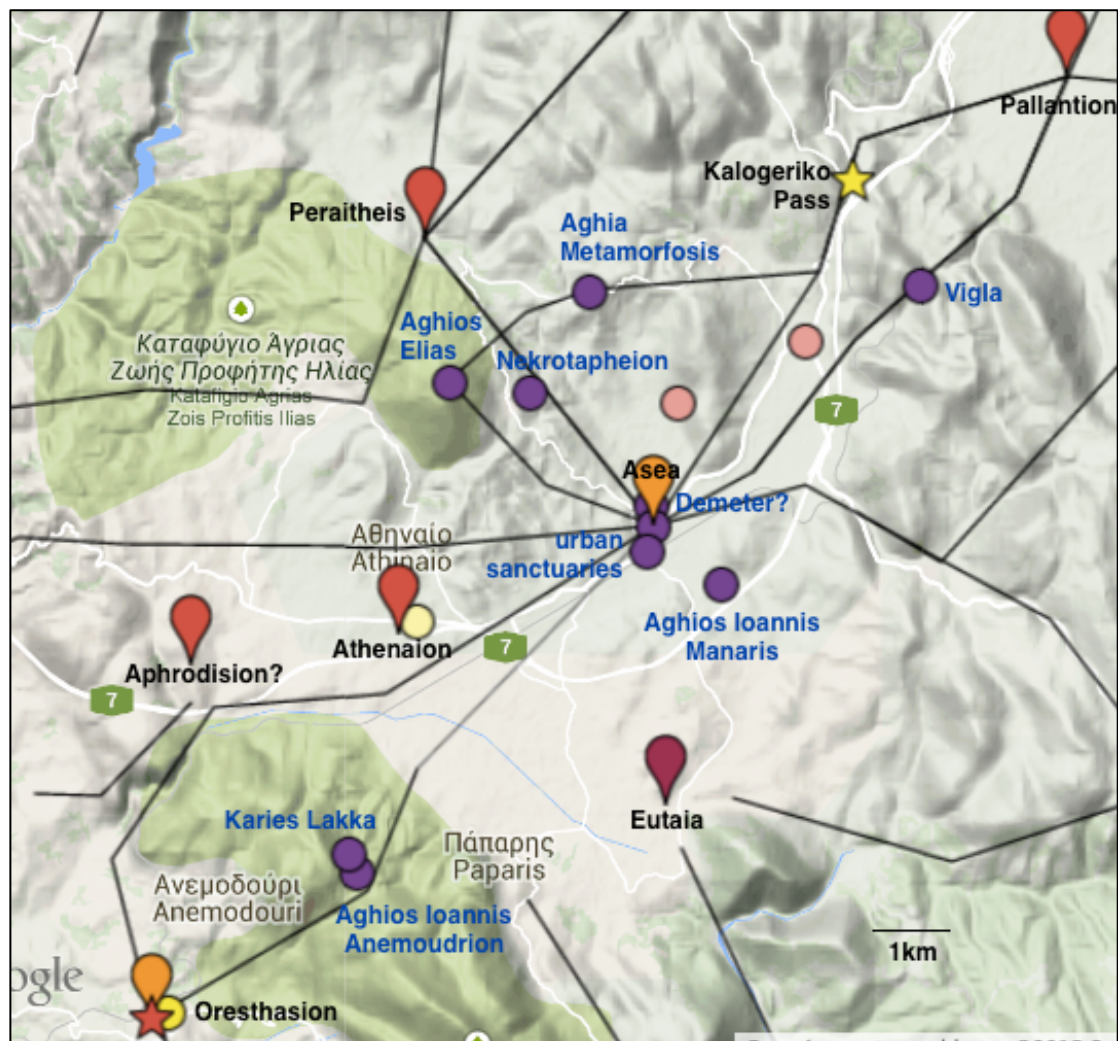


Figure 10: Map of the Asea valley and related settlements. Cult places are in purple and settlements in orange and red. (Baleriaux 2014).

The existence of an open-air cult site predating the temples at Aghios Elias is proven by abundant finds from the eighth and seventh centuries BCE: the Norwegian excavators list both pottery and metal votives, and the old ash altar remained in use after the temple's construction.³³⁰ Late Geometric and Archaic votives found in the sanctuary include objects made of iron, lead, bone, glass, terracotta, and even gold and possibly ivory. A remarkable bronze bull head pendent has been singled out by the excavators and dated, based on a similar object found in the Laconian Menelaion, to the seventh century. Other objects include a human head-shaped oil bottle identified as a Corinthian import, and a life-size left marble foot of a woman.³³¹

³³⁰ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 178. No more detail is given on these precise offerings.

³³¹ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 181-182.

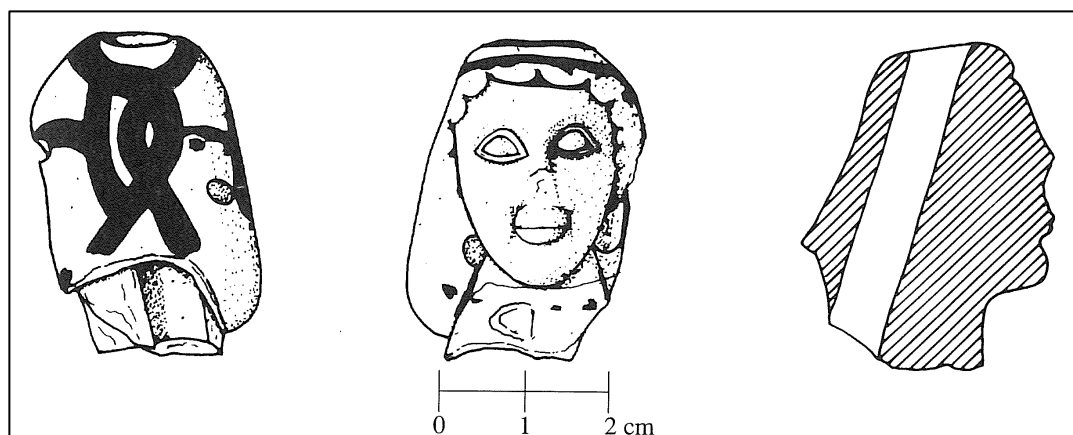


Figure 11: Aghios Elias of Kandreva: opening of an oil bottle in the shape of a human head found on site. Interpreted as a Corinthian import based on style. (Drawing: B. Greiner in Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 181 fig. i).

The *AVS*³³² records evidence of two possible predecessors to the late Archaic temple based on the terracotta roof tiles found on site. The first Archaic temple was located c. 10m west of the altar.³³³ It was made of mud brick and wood, and was dated from the late seventh or early sixth century BCE.³³⁴ The second temple was dated from some time after 560 BCE.³³⁵ Finally, the late Archaic temple was built around 500-490 BCE.³³⁶ Its euthynteria measured 15.23x32.45m, with a cella of 6.88x22.30m.³³⁷ It is one of the largest temples in Arcadia so far, behind the later temple of Apollo at Bassai (16.10m) the Archaic temple of Athena Alea (16m) and the temple of Orchomenos (13.33m), and was entirely made of stone: the superstructure was in Doliana marble and the pediment in local limestone.³³⁸

The worshippers may have originated from settlements in the valley and from the acropolis of Asea Palaioikastro, where evidence of occupation resumes around 750 BCE.³³⁹ There is no indication so far as to which divinity was worshipped there.

Vigla (table: 2)

The first temple was built at Vigla around 630-620 BCE. Its measurements were reconstructed as 10.49x10.55m wide on the stylobate.³⁴⁰ Fragments of Laconian roof tiles and a terracotta acroterion allow the existence of a mud brick structure to be inferred, and the apparent lack of foundations suggests that the first temple lay

³³² Forsén and Forsén 2003.

³³³ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 178-181.

³³⁴ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 251.

³³⁵ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 177-181; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 251.

³³⁶ Date proposed by Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 176-177 based on stylistic comparisons with temples of Vigla, Delphi and Alipheira.

³³⁷ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 171. The stylobate measures 12.04x29.1m. Holmberg 1941, 6-7 had different measurements (euthynteria: 15.30x32.64m; stylobate 11.95x29.27m; cella 6.92x22.47m).

³³⁸ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 174-175 and fig. C, 185.

³³⁹ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 199.

³⁴⁰ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 175.

directly under its successor. The altar deposit was located near the building.³⁴¹ The temple itself seems to have been richly decorated for the time: a late seventh century so-called 'Daedalic' relief with a female character was found, and probably belongs to this Archaic temple. It is the earliest example of such a relief found in Arcadia so far, preceding the one found in Tegea by a century.³⁴² This shows that effort was put into the temple and thus it betrays the importance of the site for the community it served. There is little evidence among the offerings allowing the divinities honoured at Vigla to be identified. They are usually thought to be Poseidon and Athena Soteira, from the description made by Pausanias of their temple on Mount Boreion at what seems to be the same place (8.44.4). The evidence found on the site cannot confirm this identification at this stage; we must therefore either follow Pausanias' identification assuming that Vigla was the temple he saw and that the divinities were already Poseidon and Athena Soteira, or renounce any identification for now.



Figure 12: Vigla: Daedalic relief. Museum of Tegea.

Aghios Ioannis near Anemodourion (table: 7)

At Aghios Ioannis of Anemodourion, on the highest point of the Tsemberou range separating Asea from Oresthasion, Pikoulas found architectural blocks with T-clamps. The AVS team did not find those; however they identified other such blocks.³⁴³ Pikoulas also reports late Archaic to Hellenistic pottery fragments of Laconian type.³⁴⁴ A mid- to late-seventh century Laconian acroterion was also found some 200m north, at Karies Lakka, and it has been suggested that the two sites were contemporary structures that may have been part of the same building programme.

³⁴¹ Morgan 1999, 400; Forsén and Forsén 1997, 170; Østby 1990-1991b, 348-50; Voyatzis 1990, 33-36; Pikoulas 1988 site n. 2; Rhomaios 1957, 114-125.

³⁴² Tegea museum 1605; Raftopoulou 1993, 1-6 fig. 2; Rhomaios 1957, 144-146, fig. 35.

³⁴³ Pikoulas 1988, 106 site n. 63 pls. 59-60; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 253.

³⁴⁴ Pikoulas 1988, 107-11, site n. 60; Morgan 1999, 403 and n. 142. The fragments come from bases of vases of unspecified shape; Pikoulas provides drawings pls. 4-6 fig. 60.1-60.11.

Pallantion (table: 10)

Pallantion, a small city squeezed between Tegea to the east and the heights enclosing the Asea valley to the west, has the particularity of having one of the largest concentrations of archaic sacred buildings known so far in the whole of Arcadia.³⁴⁵ Four stone temples were built during the sixth century, two on top of the acropolis and two on the southeastern slope of the hill.³⁴⁶ The largest (Temple D, on top of the hill with Temple B) measured 10x17.50m, while the smallest (Temple A, on the southeast slope of the hill with Temple C) measured 6x9.20m.³⁴⁷ Østby assumes that they were all part of the same sanctuary, perhaps that of the Katharoi Theoi mentioned by Pausanias (Paus. 8.44.5-6).³⁴⁸ However, the objects discovered so far in the excavations do not allow this hypothesis to be confirmed or attributing the temples to other divinities.

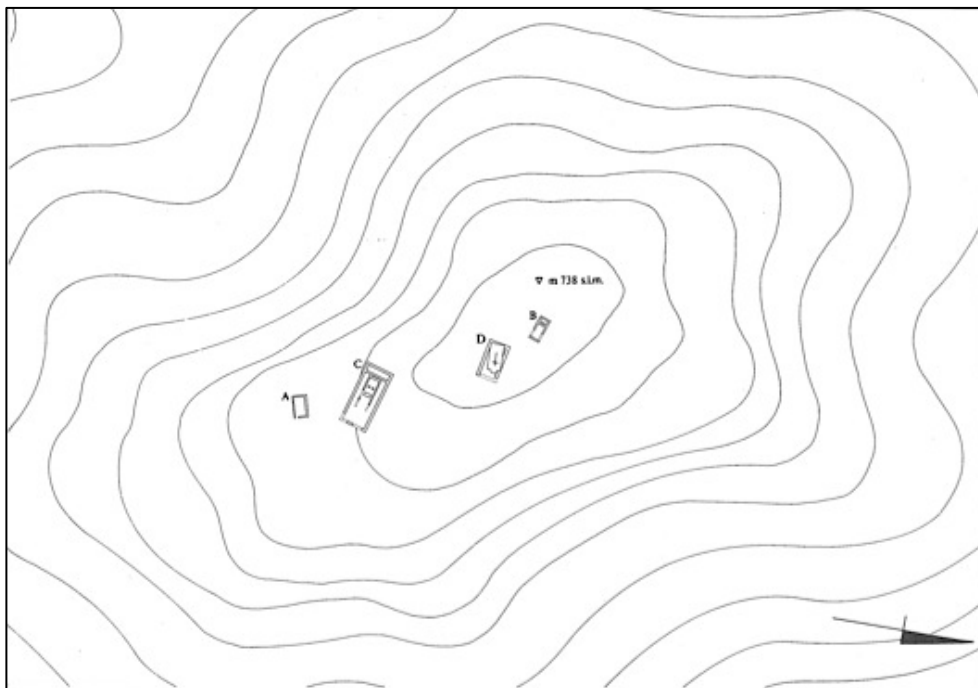


Figure 13: Pallantion: map of the acropolis. (Scuola Archaeologica di Atene, in Morgan 2003 fig. 3.22)

Bassai (table: 32)

On a mountain southwest of Lykaion and northwest of Phigalia, 20km east of the Elean border, there is evidence of activity in what became the sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios. The site is on a terrace below the summit of Mount Kotilion at an elevation of 1131m above sea level.

The altar, which demonstrates the religious function of the site, was identified in a patch of black earth with pottery and metal objects located at the northwest corner

³⁴⁵ Østby 1990-1991a, 42-44.

³⁴⁶ Østby 1990-1991a, 53-93.

³⁴⁷ Østby 1990-1991b, 285-391.

³⁴⁸ Jost 1985, 520-521; Østby 1990-1991, 42-43, 54.

of the second temple.³⁴⁹ The votives included a Late Geometric horse, a bronze double protome pendant or harness, and many miniature bronze weapons.³⁵⁰ Pottery evidence starts with a mid-seventh-century Corinthian alabastron and a number of Early Corinthian aryballoi.³⁵¹

Architectural terracottas, roof tiles and unworked stones found near foundations just 7.5m to the south of the Iktinian temple, on a small rock platform, indicate the existence of an Archaic temple. It has been dated to the last quarter of the seventh century (625-600 BCE) based on antefixes, acroteria and roof tile fragments found there.³⁵² The temple already had a N-S orientation, like its famous successor, and measured 25x7.5m. It appears from the lack of stone walls that the temple was made out of wood and mud brick.³⁵³

³⁴⁹ Kourouniotes 1910, 275-278.

³⁵⁰ Yalouris 1979, 91-94.

³⁵¹ Kourouniotes 1910, 287-289, fig.8 and 291-292.

³⁵² Yalouris 1973, 49-51, fig. 1 plan 5; F. Cooper 1978, 66-75; F. Cooper *PECS* 1976 s.v. Bassai; Jost 1985, 92-96; Voyatzis 1990, 43.

³⁵³ Kelly 1995, 227-232.

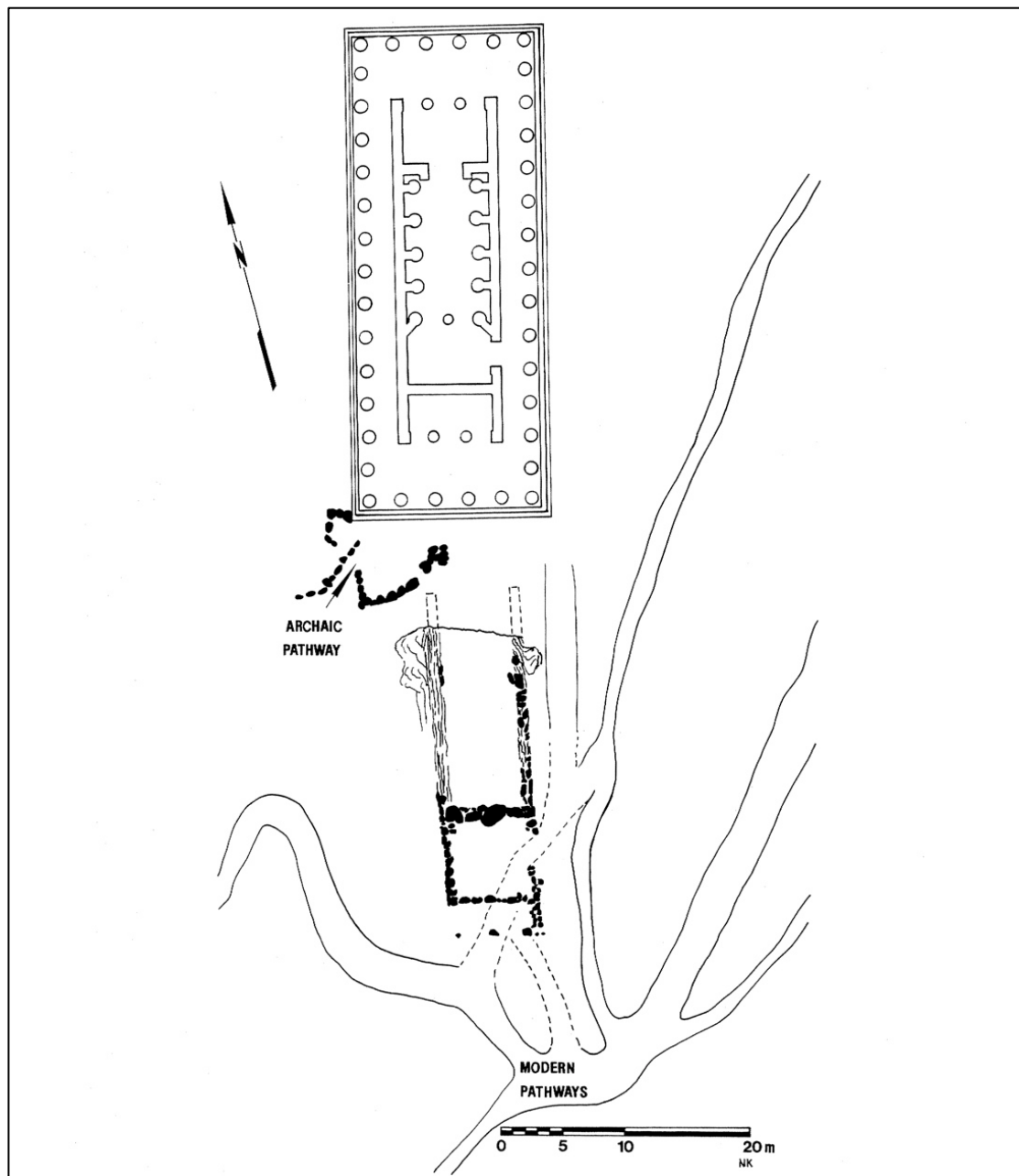


Figure 14: Bassai: topographical plan of the Classical temple with the Archaic one to the south. (Kelly 1995, 233 fig. 3).

As a result, we can so far conclude that Bassai was visited as a religious site from the Late Geometric period onwards as an open-air cult site at first, then followed at the end of the seventh century by the building of a relatively large temple in perishable material.³⁵⁴

³⁵⁴ The hypothesis advanced by F. Cooper (Cooper 1978, 66-67) that Bassai and the two temples on the Kotilion were built within the same building programme has been accepted by M. Jost (Jost 1985, 97) and rejected based on inconsistencies in the chronology of architectural findings in the two sites by M. Voyatzis (Voyatzis 1990, 41-42).

Petrovouni (table: 37)

Petrovouni is located in central Arcadia, 3km west of Methydrion, about 1000m above sea level. The site has produced one Geometric bronze object: a group of four male round-dancers with animal heads on a rectangular base, arranged in groups of two facing each other.

The group is very peculiar. As M. Voyatzis underlines, its style does not match the other known round-dancers groups.³⁵⁵ For instance, the group from Olympia reproduced here shows female dancers in a circular ring, set on a circular base. Whereas this disparity may result from a difference in regional style, the most

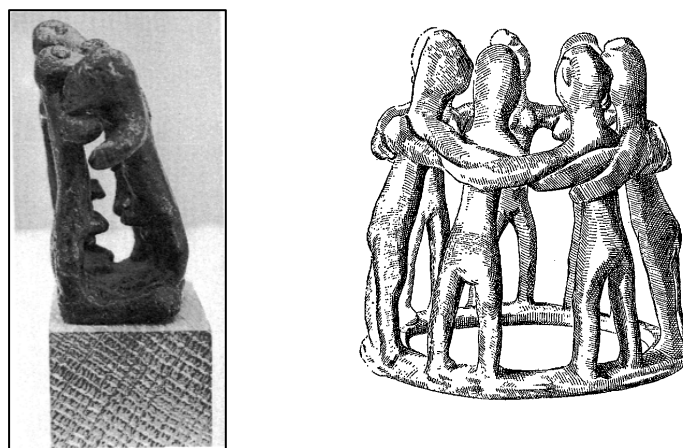


Figure 15: Left to right: Petrovouni statuette group, profile view. Height: 6.8cm. NM13788 Athens, National Museum (Voyatzis 1990, pl. 65); Drawing of a bronze statuette group from Olympia. Athens, National Museum (Schweitzer 1971, 155 fig. 98).

striking specificity presented by the Petrovouni statuette is in the heads of its dancers. Identifying what animal is supposed to be represented has been abundantly debated: Schweitzer sees ram or stag heads, while Voyatzis sees a horse head. Considering the lack of horns on the statuettes and their elongated face, I would tend to accept the latter identification.³⁵⁶ The statuette might be an early indicator that the cult of Poseidon Hippios at Methydrion reported by Pausanias (8.36.2) was at Petrovouni, but the identification of the site itself as the temple of Poseidon Hippios is highly uncertain due to the lack of clarity in Pausanias' description.

³⁵⁵ Voyatzis 1990, 118.

³⁵⁶ The animal head could also be that of a hornless ox. However, the horse is the most likely animal to be represented for two reasons: firstly, the animal has a special link with Poseidon Hippios, who was worshipped at Methydrion (Paus 8.36.2). Secondly, the figure of a stallion would fit well with the ithyphallic character of the figurines: it looks as if underlining the male characteristics of the dancers was important, and the stallion had a clearer association with manliness and fertility in ancient Greece.

The foundations of an early temple were found under the Hellenistic one. Several foundation dates have been proposed based on the stylistic assessment of terracotta architectural fragments found on the site; a date between the seventh and the sixth century seems to have the most support.³⁵⁷

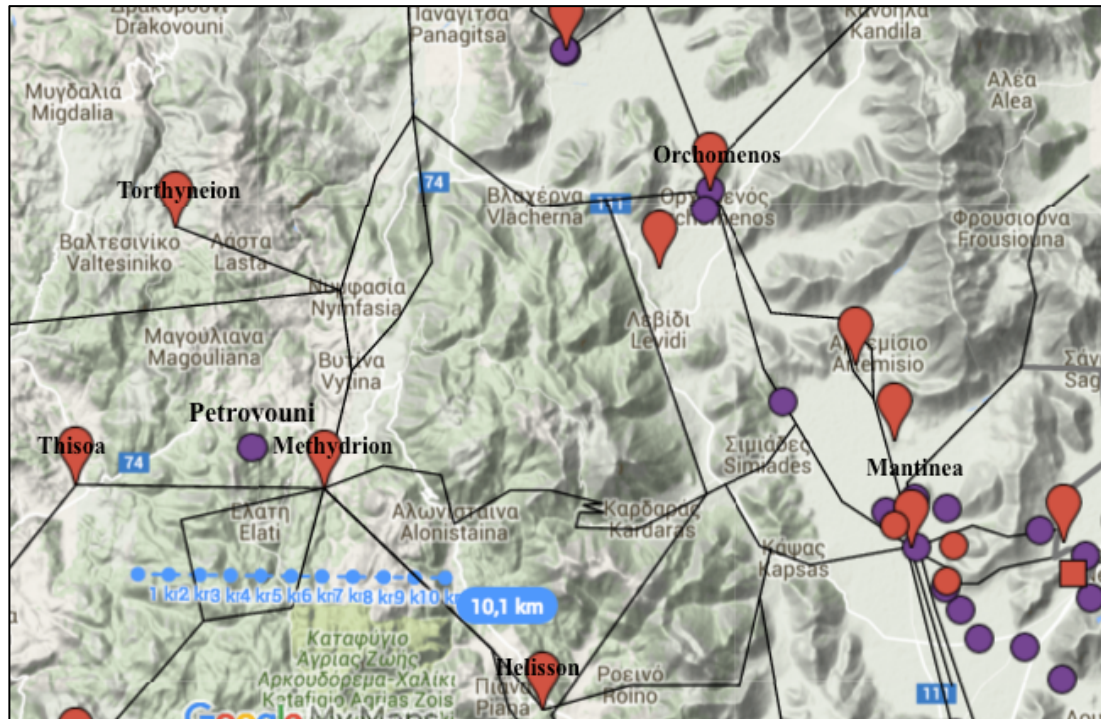


Figure 16: Map of Petrovouni and its surroundings. (Baleriaux 2014, courtesy of Google Maps).

Lousoi (table: 22)

The ancient town of Lousoi, in northern Arcadia, was at the foot of the western slope of Mount Chelmos (previously Mount Aroania) and was the last Arcadian city before Achaia. The sanctuary of Artemis Hemera overlooks the town at an elevation of 1200m above sea level, on the lower part of the slope.³⁵⁸ The earliest evidence of activity on the site is a large collection of small bronzes, notably including two Geometric side-saddle riders, quadrupeds and birds.³⁵⁹

The old altar might be identified with an area of burning found west of the Hellenistic bouleuterion, in the temenos, in which a mixture of terracottas and bronzes was found in disturbed layers.³⁶⁰ In addition, an area of discarded material containing a mixture of stones, bronzes, terracottas, Late Geometric and Archaic skyphoi was found near the northeast corner of the Hellenistic temple.³⁶¹

³⁵⁷ Callmer 1943, 11 (seventh century BCE); Van Buren 1926, 180 (sixth or seventh century BCE).

³⁵⁸ Sinn 1992, 177. The term 'saddle-riders' was coined by Voyatzis 1992. For maps of the site, see below p. 101 and 124.

³⁵⁹ Voyatzis 1992; Voyatzis 1990, 35-37, 133-138, 143-144, 155-156.

³⁶⁰ Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 23.

³⁶¹ Sinn 1980, 27-40.

There is no evidence for a temple before the sixth century, which is when the acroteria and antefixes found on the site are dated.³⁶²

Orchomenos (table: 18)

At Orchomenos, in eastern Arcadia, two sites yielded Geometric material. The first is in the village of Kalpakion, in the lower city of ancient Orchomenos. East of the sixth-century temple, one large deposit including some unpublished geometric pottery was found.³⁶³ The other site was also in the lower city, near the sixth-century hekatompedon. Unfortunately, the French archaeologists do not provide any image of the finds for this second site either, and the comparison they make with the Geometric finds at Lousoi is too vague to be helpful.³⁶⁴ No altar was reported, but a dentillated acroterion found on the site of the hekatompedon suggests the existence of an earlier structure, perhaps to be dated from the end of the seventh century.³⁶⁵

³⁶² Reichel, Wilhelm 1901, 61.

³⁶³ Plassart and Blum 1914, 81.

³⁶⁴ Plassart and Blum 1914, 73-76.

³⁶⁵ Van Buren 1926, 181.

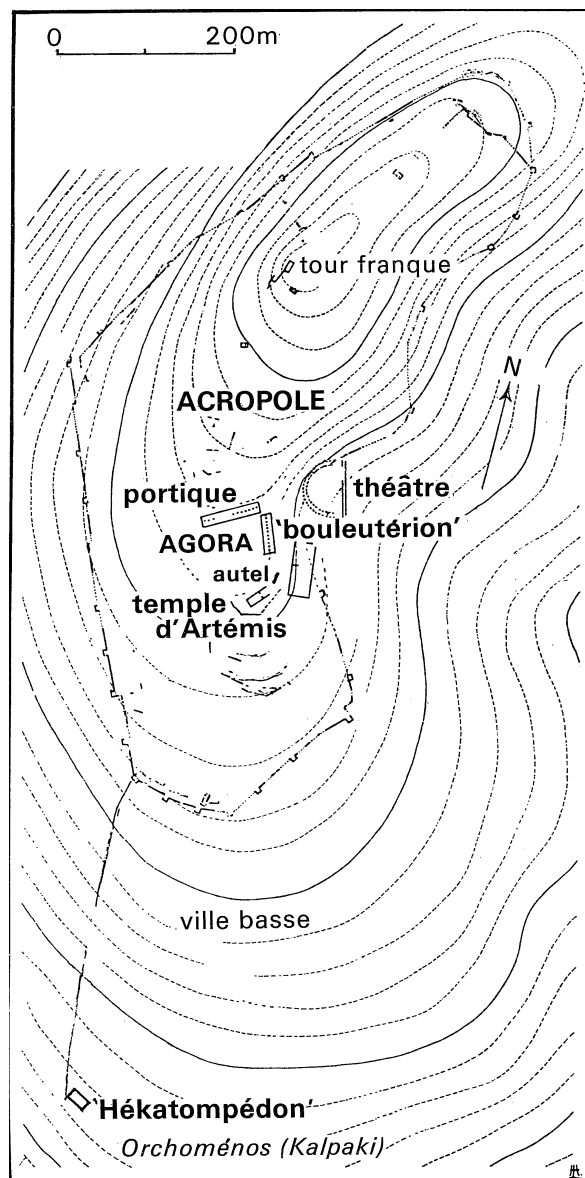


Figure 17: Map of the site of ancient Orchomenos. (Jost 1985 Pl. 30-1 after BCH 38 (1914) pl. III).

Gortsouli (table: 14)

1km north of Mantinea, in eastern Arcadia, an undated structure enclosing a smaller one was found on the west slope of an isolated hill called Gortsouli. Geometric fragments of pottery, bronze sheets and some iron votives were discovered all around the hill, indicating that it was visited in that period.³⁶⁶ Pottery deposits on the site range from Sub-Geometric to Classical, and were deemed of 'poor quality' by the excavator.³⁶⁷ Although the structures have been interpreted as two successive temples, or one temple and its internal layout, no altar has been found so far. Nonetheless, Archaic offerings suggest that it was a cult site dedicated to a female deity: the excavators uncovered bronze and iron pins, hundreds of clay fragments of

³⁶⁶ Voyatzis 1990, 31.

³⁶⁷ Karageorga 1963. Unfortunately, the report is quite short.

female figures including ‘Daedalic’ female statuettes with a high polos, about a hundred bronze rings and some silver ones, and various female ornaments.³⁶⁸

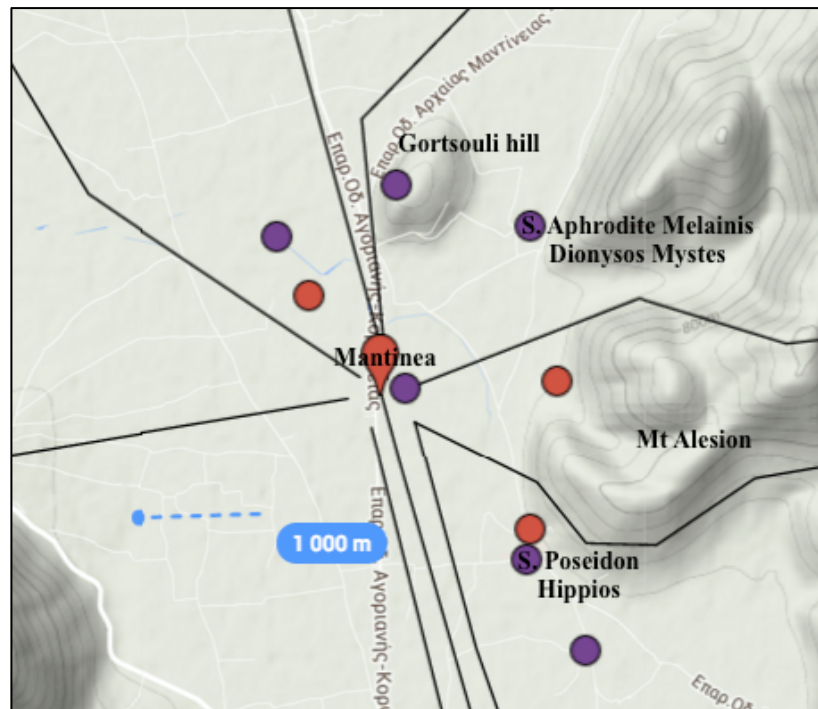


Figure 18: Map of Mantinea and Gortsouli. Religious sites in purple. (Baleriaux 2014, courtesy of Google Maps)

The identification of Gortsouli has been abundantly debated: some scholars identify the hill with Ptolis, the ancient acropolis of Mantinea, while others see it as the grave of Penelope (Paus. 8.12.5, 7).³⁶⁹ The wording used by Pausanias suggests that Ptolis was a proper natural hill or mountain (ὄρος), whereas Penelope’s grave was perhaps a manmade, smaller mound (γῆς χῶμα ὑψηλόν). Thus, it seems more likely to identify Gortsouli with Ptolis, which reaches 100m above the plain, while the grave of Penelope may have been reduced or disappeared because of erosion. On the other hand, M. Jost underlines the fact that the hill of Gortsouli seems too small to accommodate a whole village, and she is reluctant to locate Ptolis at Gortsouli³⁷⁰ – however, it is more likely that Ptolis should not be taken too literally to be a nucleated settlement, as ‘polis’ did not necessarily have this meaning in the Archaic period.³⁷¹ Altogether, the limited possibilities offered by the Mantinean plain today in terms of hills make it difficult to completely reject the suggested identification of Gortsouli with Ptolis; indeed, among the hills visible today in the Mantinean countryside, it is the most logical option. The grave of Penelope, on the other hand, remains problematic.

³⁶⁸ Jost 1985, 137.

³⁶⁹ Ptolis: Morgan 1999, 391; Voyatzis 1990, 32; Jost 1985, 136-137; Fougères 1890, 65; Frazer 1898, 221-222. Grave of Penelope: Papachatzes 1980, 219-221; Mactoux 1975, 224; Fougères 1897, 117-118; Loring 1895, 84-85.

³⁷⁰ Jost 1985, 137.

³⁷¹ Sakellariou 1989, 207-211.

As for the cult site itself, it is difficult to identify the divinity to which it was dedicated. Although the offerings could point to a female divinity, it is unlikely to be the sanctuary of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias. The sanctuary was near the grave of Penelope and the stadium of Ladas, and Pausanias does not locate it *on* a mound of earth, but next to it. Pausanias' sanctuary of Artemis was therefore probably on the level of the plain. As a result, the divinity worshipped at Gortsouli remains mysterious.

Tegea (table: 13)

The most impressive and flourishing site in the eighth and seventh centuries was undoubtedly Tegea, for which material evidence goes back to the tenth century.³⁷²

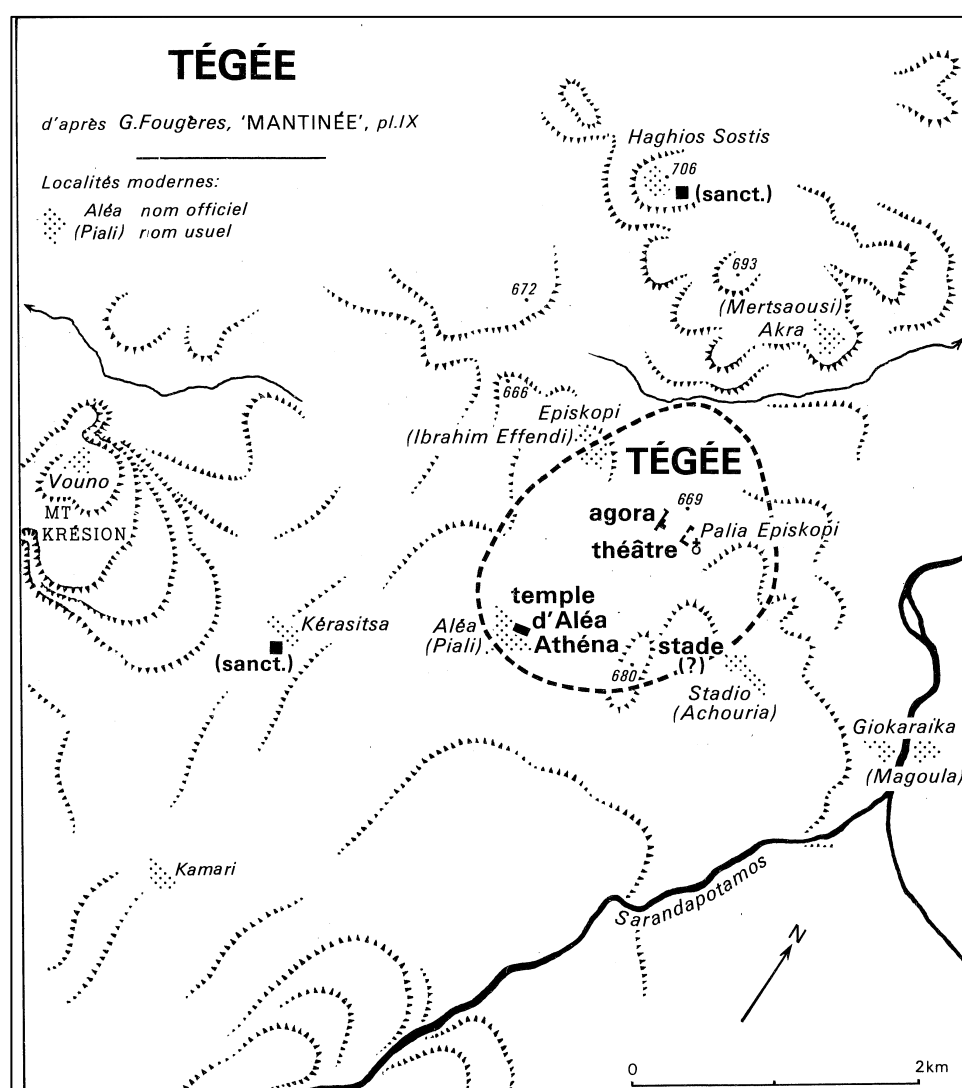


Figure 19: Map of ancient Tegea and neighbouring sites. (Jost 1985, Pl. 36-I)

³⁷² Voyatzis 2002, 167.

In 1921 Ch. Dugas mentioned in his report Geometric and early Archaic bronzes found on the site of the sanctuary of Athena Alea, near Palaio Episkopi, without any precision about their exact location.³⁷³ He notes that an overwhelming majority of objects are beauty accessories such as pins.³⁷⁴ A much smaller proportion of the tiny bronze statuettes represent humans, both men and women, at different stages of life³⁷⁵. A figurine of a water-carrier was found and dated by Dugas from the Geometric period. Others represent animal shapes such as quadrupeds (cattle, horses, sheep, stags, dogs), birds, a few tortoises and fish, and one saddle-rider comparable to that found at Lousoi.³⁷⁶ The majority of animal figurines represent oxen, though, and Dugas argued that it was because cattle were the main economic resource of the Tegea basin at the time. In addition, later works in the area of Dugas' 'couche A', north of the temple and west of the fountain, revealed in the lowest stratum of the trench a number of eighth-century objects mixed with a small amount of tenth-century material.³⁷⁷ More recent finds suggest that the bronze offerings were made on site, as evidence for an eighth-century metal working area was discovered in the pronaos of the Classical temple.³⁷⁸

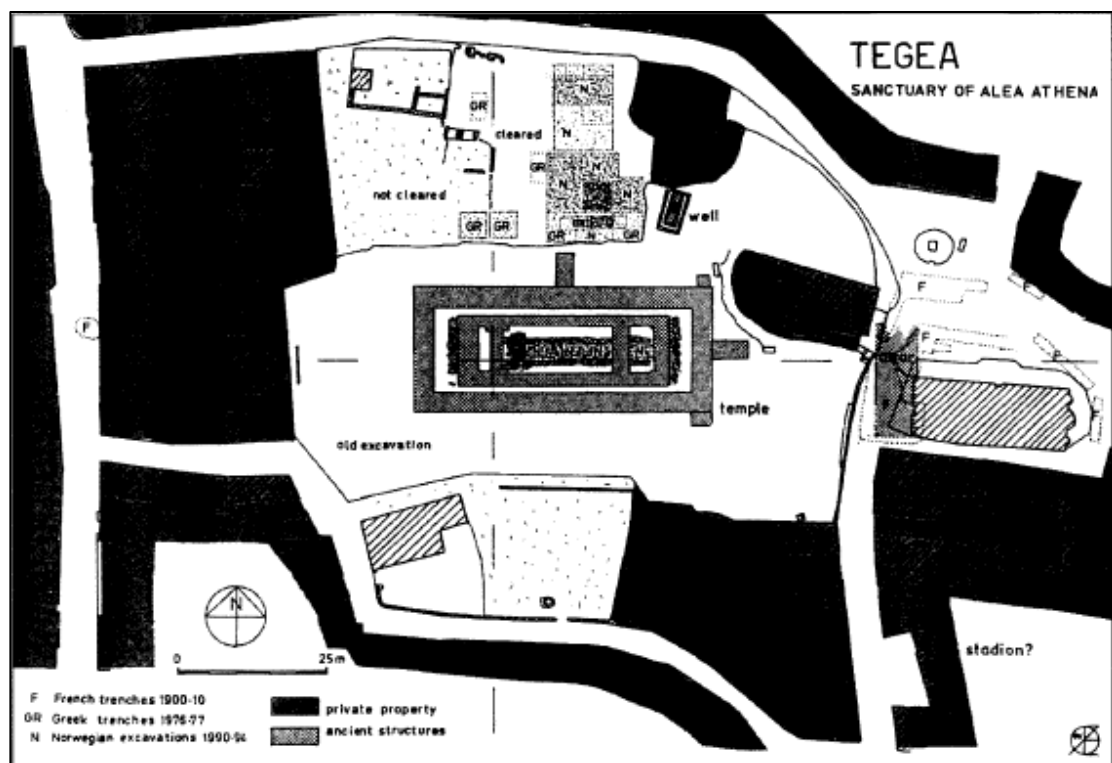


Figure 20: Map of the excavations at Tegea. (Tarditi 2005, fig. 1. Drawing by E. Østby)

³⁷³ Dugas 1921, 341f.

³⁷⁴ See Heraion of Argos, sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi, temple of Aphaia at Aegina.

³⁷⁵ Some figurines have a walking stick and might represent old people. See for instance Dugas 1921, 355 fig. 52.

³⁷⁶ Voyatzis 1992, 262, fig. 3.

³⁷⁷ Voyatzis 1990, 24-25.

³⁷⁸ Voyatzis 2002, 162.

Dugas' 'couche B', on the surface of the Classical temple and directly around it, yielded an abundance of finds, too. Østby recognized in some architectural structures inside the cella and pronaos of the Classical temple a large, late-seventh-century Archaic building, which had been previously identified by Dugas as Byzantine.³⁷⁹ Besides, at the northeast corner of the Classical temple, inside and outside the foundation wall, there was a major votive deposit with fine Mycenaean, Proto-Geometric, Geometric and seventh-century bronzes, mostly statuettes, pins and rings.³⁸⁰ The offerings stop at the end of the seventh century, which is when M. Voyatzis dates the construction of the late Archaic temple on the site of the Classical one: she argues that the deposit was sealed in order to allow the construction.³⁸¹ There was an even earlier structure on the site, as Østby found two apsidal structures used until 680/670 BCE. Between then and the late Archaic structure, no architectural remain has been found but offerings are uninterrupted, suggesting the continuity of the cult. He also found a bronze workshop dated from the end of the Bronze Age under the pronaos of the Classical temple.³⁸² As for the first altar, it is likely to have been located under the Classical one, as was customary in Greece.³⁸³

In addition, another site with early activity is at Aghios Sostis, near Tegea. There, a large deposit of terracotta figurines found on the northwestern slope of the hill, in what would become identified perhaps as a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore Karpophoroi (Paus. 8.53.7), shows signs of activity at that place from the seventh century BCE at least down to the Hellenistic period.³⁸⁴

Mavriki (table: 11)

On the road from Tegea to the Laconian border, about 20 stadia from the Tegean wall, Pausanias (Paus. 8.53.11) reports a sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis. Rhomaïos identified it with the small marble temple he found above the village of Mavriki, at Psili Korfi, on an isolated summit culminating at 1520m. There, small Geometric bronze birds were found, which are of a type similar to those on the site of Athena Alea at Tegea; they allowed Rhomaïos to date the foundation of the sanctuary to around 700 BCE or a little earlier.³⁸⁵ Other unspecified offerings go down to the Hellenistic period, and a small Doric temple of an approximate size of 14x6m was built on the site in the sixth century. M. Jost rejects Rhomaïos' identification of the site with the sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis since the archaeologist bends Pausanias' description to make it fit his find.³⁸⁶ Nonetheless, the site was probably dedicated to

³⁷⁹ Østby 1984, 123. Norman 1984, 171 and 172 n. 18 independently reached the same conclusion.

³⁸⁰ Dugas 1921, 377; Voyatzis in Østby II 2014, 163-282.

³⁸¹ Voyatzis 1990, 26-27.

³⁸² Østby in Hägg 2002, 139-147; Nordquist in Hägg 2002, 149-158; Voyatzis in Hägg 2002, 159-168; Kernos *ChronARG* 2004 02.00 and 02.20; see detailed study in Østby I 2014.

³⁸³ Rupp 1983, 101.

³⁸⁴ Karapanagiotou and Leventi in Muller and Laflı 2015, 431-436.

³⁸⁵ Rhomaïos 1907, 120-121; Voyatzis 1990, 29 and 147-154 for a stylistic study of the bronze birds.

³⁸⁶ Jost 1985, 160-161.

Artemis since offerings deposited after the Archaic period include forty clay Artemis figures with dogs, thirty bronze arrows, one marble dog and miniature lead kouroi.

Continuity with the Bronze Age?

Evidence from the three Bronze Age sites at Mount Lykaion, Vigla, Aghios Elias and Athena Alea shows that despite the lack of clear evidence for a continuous use of the sites during the Early Iron Age, the cults did not disappear altogether or stop: visits on the sites resume at the beginning of the Archaic period.³⁸⁷ On the contrary, the increasing amount of offerings at these sites during the Geometric period and the construction of temples in the eighth century for Athena Alea and in the seventh century at Vigla and Aghios Elias demonstrate that the sites expanded after the Early Iron Age. It is unclear whether cult continued in an uninterrupted manner during the Early Iron Age, or whether sites were abandoned and then cult resumed in the Iron Age: both possibilities remain open, as the evidence from the sites is not conclusive on the matter.

A case of uninterrupted continuity has been suggested for the bronze saddle-riders of Lousoi and Tegea and the group of Petrovouni³⁸⁸: M. Voyatzis argues that they may indicate a direct, uninterrupted continuity in Arcadia with Bronze Age cultic iconography.

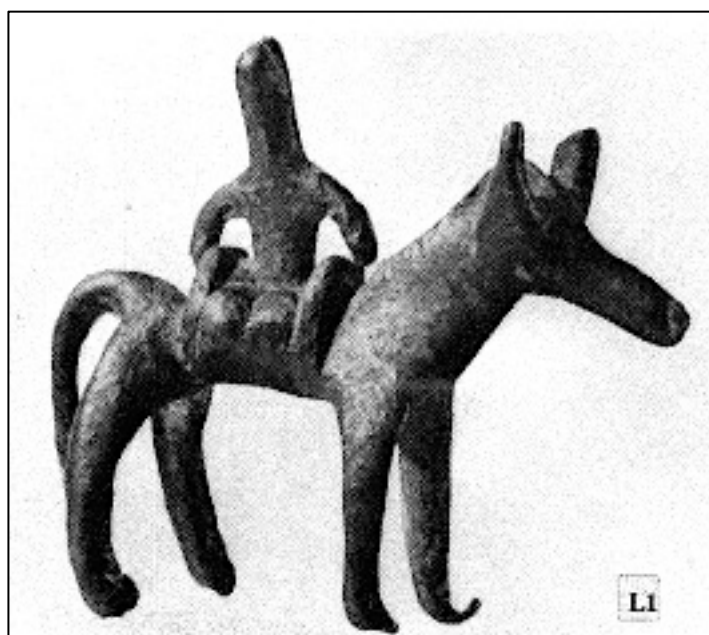


Figure 21: Lousoi: bronze 'side-saddle rider'. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. n. VI 2904. Photo Voyatzis 1992 fig. L1).

³⁸⁷ The excavators argue for a continuous use of the site from the Mycenaean period down to the fourth century BCE. More specific evidence will hopefully arise from the analysis of the remaining data by the team, Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 629 and 632.

³⁸⁸ For the group, see p. 74 and fig. 15.

She proposes that the iconographical type of a female side-seated saddle-rider derived from Mycenaean cultic imagery, since similar figures were found in Mycenaean tombs in Argolid and Attica.³⁸⁹ According to her, the imagery would have survived in Arcadia through Mycenaean refugees who took shelter there during the Early Iron Age. The type then reappeared at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and that of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi, where respectively one and two bronze side-saddle riders were found. She argues that the cult sites were dedicated to local *Potniai Therôn*, fertility goddesses. She also sees in the fact that the female character is seated on a horse – as opposed to oxen and other types of animals usually found on comparable Near Eastern and Cretan figurines – a special connection to horses.³⁹⁰ She argues besides that this iconographic type was dispersed further from Tegea and Lousoi: a more elaborate, contemporary bronze side-saddle rider found at Olympia would be derived from the Arcadian statuettes, perhaps dedicated by an Arcadian. The dispersion of the female side-saddle rider type further continued in the seventh and sixth century: terracotta examples have been identified at the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi, but also at the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at Perachora, the sanctuary of Hera at Argos, that of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, the Menelaion at Sparta and the sanctuary of Demeter at Aghios Sostis, just north of the sanctuary of Athena Alea.³⁹¹

It is difficult to assess what connects the Mycenaean side-saddle riders in the Argive tombs and the eighth-century Arcadian ones. Dedicating this form of votive to the Arcadian goddesses seems to have been thought fitting, but it is unclear what connects the two different cult sites six centuries apart. Therefore, even if an iconographical continuity with the Bronze Age can be observed, it is hard to fully measure its significance. To come back to the eighth century instances, it is highly uncertain whether the fact that the female character is seated on a horse indicates that we are dealing with a fertility goddess who controls the animal world. The rest of the evidence for the sites shows that the divinities worshipped were goddesses, but further deduction is tricky. Even more problematic is the inference made by Schweitzer,

³⁸⁹ Voyatzis 1992, 259-279. Examples from Argolid, Attica and Crete presented by Voyatzis 1992, 269: Aghia Triada, Crete: four seal impressions from a signet ring. 'Second Palace period'. Gournia, Crete. Seal impression. 'Second Palace period'. (Now missing.) Argolid: from tholos tomb at Dendra, near Medea. Eight blue glass plaques. c. 1350 BCE. Argolid: near tomb of Clytemnestra, Mycenae. Lentoid seal. fourteenth cent. BCE. Argolid: in tomb at Mycenae. Fragmentary ivory plaque. c. fourteenth cent. BCE. Attica: in tomb at Spata. Terracotta rider. thirteenth-twelfth cent. BCE. Archanes, Crete. Terracotta rider. fourteenth-twelfth cent. BCE.

³⁹⁰ Levi 1945, 259-279.

³⁹¹ Voyatzis 1992, 272. Lousoi, sanctuary of Artemis Hemera: H. 11.3 cm, first quarter of seventh century BCE. (Athens Nat. Mus inv. no. 19800). Kombothekra (Elis), sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis: H. 9 cm, sixth century BCE. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). Perachora, sanctuary of Hera Limenia: H. 14.2 cm. c. 550 BCE. Argos, sanctuary of Hera: H. 6.5 cm, sixth century BCE. Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: 14 riders of various sizes; one dated from the seventh century BCE, the others from the sixth century. Menelaion, sanctuary of Helen and Menelaos: 5 riders of various sizes, sixth century BCE. Aghios Sostis (Tegea), sanctuary of Demeter: H. 11 cm, end of sixth century BCE.

followed by Jost and Voyatzis, that the figurines refer to the myths of western Arcadia where Poseidon Hippios and Demeter-mare mate.³⁹² The sanctuaries of Phigalia, Lykosoura and Thelpousa do not show any sign of activity in the eighth century. If that does not necessarily mean that there were no horse-related myths circulating at the time, one might still wonder why no side-saddle riders were found in this region as opposed to in eastern Arcadia where no such myths occur.

As a result, we can more cautiously infer that a type of votive figurine representing an aspect of a goddess, who cannot clearly be identified but could probably be related to agricultural activity or husbandry, continued through the Early Iron Age and expanded from the Argolid to Arcadia. On the other hand, the fact the goddesses are seated on horses does not necessarily hint at a cultic connection between the goddesses of Lousoi and Tegea and the strange horse-headed statuettes of Petrovouni. It might be that the horse-headed figurine of Petrovouni refers to the cult of Poseidon Hippios, but nothing links it formally to Lousoi or Tegea. Hence, it is unsafe to infer any Bronze Age connection between the cults of Lousoi, Tegea and Petrovouni, and the Petrovouni statuette remains mysterious.

A divine wind of change

The eighth century marks a significant turning point in religious topography in the whole of mainland Greece, and Arcadia is no exception. The increase in offerings, their enhanced quality and the multiplication of cult sites point to major changes in demography, economy and social structures. Each aspect of this change implied by the archaeological evidence will now be explored in further detail.

Demographic increase in the eighth century?

The usual theory put forward to explain why cult sites and offerings multiplied is that mainland Greece saw its population increase in the eighth century BCE: more people means more worshippers, and therefore more offerings deposited. A demographic increase would also logically lead to a greater number of settlements occupied by the growing population, and therefore perhaps the creation of more cult sites closer to settlements. In order to verify whether that was the case, scholars have used two indicators: the number of graves on the one hand (more graves meaning that more people died, and therefore that more people were alive), and the number of settlement sites on the other (more people need larger or more settlements).³⁹³

However, the hypothesis of a population increase in the eighth century has since been questioned by R. Osborne (1996) and vigorously challenged by W. Scheidel (2003). As Scheidel pointed out, the two indicators mentioned above may obscure the real picture. First, looking at grave counts is misleading. As I. Morris pointed out, an increase in the number of graves may not reflect the fact that more people were alive at a certain point, but is more likely to show a change in burial

³⁹² Voyatzis 1992, 278; Jost 1985, 301-317 and 333-335; Schweitzer 1971, 156-159.

³⁹³ Osborne 1996, 77-85.

practices and socio-political structures: more people have access to a formalised burial than before, and therefore traces of an increased number of dead are visible today.³⁹⁴ Besides, burial rates go back to their pre-eighth century levels in the seventh century, whereas there is no sign of a significant population decrease at that point. Hence, graves are not reliable indicators of demographic variations, although they do highlight social changes. Taking the multiplication of sites as an indicator of population increase is equally unreliable. Even if we observe a multiplication of settlements in mainland Greece in general, it is hard to quantify how densely they were populated. In addition, as Scheidel underlines, it remains doubtful to what extent the scale of demographic change can be extrapolated from trends in the density of settlements.³⁹⁵

In the case of Arcadia anyway, the two indicators of grave counts and settlement counts cannot even be used due to a lack of data. The only part of Arcadia that has so far benefitted from an extensive and recent survey is the Asea valley. The survey reveals a slight increase in the number of farmsteads and small towns in the eighth century. However, the most notable transformation is the re-occupation of the acropolis of Asea Palaioikastro after a hiatus during the Early Iron Age, between 1150 and 750 BCE.³⁹⁶ It might show that the population of the Asea valley increased: the small settlements might have become too small for the expanding population, and therefore re-building the habitation site of the acropolis might have made sense. On the other hand, it might also mean that people who previously lived in smaller farmsteads in the country gathered again on the acropolis: the population may have just relocated and not necessarily increased. At all events, a change in the pattern of settlements of the Asea valley becomes visible in the mid-eighth century.

As a result, it is very difficult based on our current knowledge of Arcadia to assess whether or not there was a demographic expansion in the eighth-century. Therefore, in order to explain the apparently greater attention granted to the divine, we should also look elsewhere.

Offerings on display

At the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, a votive deposit found at the northeastern corner of the Classical temple yielded a considerable amount of votive material dated from the eighth and seventh century BCE. Among the bronze figures, Dugas listed some eighth-century human bronze figurines, eighteen eighth-century bronze birds on a base or used as pendants, a few seventh-century horse figurines, and a large number of pins and loom weights.³⁹⁷ A significant amount of geometric

³⁹⁴ Morris 1987, 57-109.

³⁹⁵ Scheidel 2003, 129.

³⁹⁶ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 199: only a handful of metal objects dating from the eighth to seventh century were found on the hill, perhaps indicating the presence of a sanctuary or tombs at the top.

³⁹⁷ Dugas 1921, 345 n49-51 and fig. 17, 348-351 and 353 n. 42, 364-375, 404-414 and 416-422. The style of the pins and loom weight suggests that they were made in the Peloponnese, and parallel can be found at Bassai, Lousoi and Alipheira. Jost 1985, 152. For a complete

Argive, Laconian and protocorinthian pottery - mostly closed vessels – have also been found, some of which continue to be dedicated into the seventh century.³⁹⁸ This marked contrast in the number and quality of the offerings compared to the previous periods might be part of the phenomenon of ‘embellishment’ of the offerings observed across Greece in the same period. This trend peaks with the emergence of the first temples in Greece at the end of the eighth century, such as the Heraion of Samos built around 800 BCE, the eighth-century temple of Artemis at Ephesos, the seventh-century Argive Heraion, the early seventh-century hekatompodon of Ano Mazaraki-Rakita in Achaia, and of course the first temple of Athena Alea in the late seventh century.³⁹⁹

What made people dedicate more elaborate objects in greater number to cult places has been widely debated. A. Snodgrass argues that there was no change in the amount of wealth owned by the Greeks, but rather that people moved the focus of their spending from graves to temples. On the other hand, W. Scheidel claims that Greece after the Early Iron Age experienced ‘efflorescence’, namely ‘an outburst of economic expansion and creative innovation that temporarily enables gains in output to outpace increase in population size, thus engendering population growth’.⁴⁰⁰ In other words, one phenomenon that would have occurred at the end of the Early Iron Age was that more wealth was created, and people were becoming able to accumulate it better, which allowed them to make better gifts to the gods. Osborne argues that the reason why people would have decided to spend more on offerings was because offerings at sanctuaries had various functions: of course, they were gifts to the divinity, but spending money on an elaborate object and depositing it in a site visited by many people was a meaningful act in itself. Since people did not all accumulate wealth to the same degree, a form of social differentiation based on wealth as well as birth would have occurred, and one way by which the elite would have been able to differentiate themselves from the rest of the community was by offering costly dedications.⁴⁰¹

These models elaborated to describe a Panhellenic phenomenon however do not seem to be verifiable in Arcadia. Some offerings are indeed of better quality and manufacture than others, and metal offerings gradually become more common than clay ones; most of the dedications, however, are of very similar types. Pins, ornaments and weapons might allow the gender of the divinities to be identified, but apart from a few notable exceptions, most of the figurines found are very generic. As in the rest of the Peloponnese, the fashion was for representing humans and nature in

study of the finds at Tegea, see Voyatzis 1990, 71-84 (pottery), 103-127 (human figurines), 127-147 (quadrupeds), 147-155 (birds), 239-242 (terracottas and objects of other material).

For the Peloponnesian bronze objects, see Voyatzis 1990, 175-239.

³⁹⁸ Osborne 1996, tables 3 and 4; Voyatzis 1990, 71.

³⁹⁹ Osborne 1996, 88f. For the temples, see Mallwitz 1981; Billot 1990, 95-102; Barletta 2001, 32-9. Spawforth 2006, 150 gives for Ano Mazaraki the approximate measurements of 27.5x7.5m.

⁴⁰⁰ Scheidel 2003, 136 after a concept developed by J. Goldstone. Even Scheidel allows for some population growth.

⁴⁰¹ Osborne 1996, 105.

a naïve way: in most sanctuaries we find a large number of anthropomorphic figurines, both male and female, birds, cattle and herd animals, as well as dogs. This shows that in most cases dedications did not have much to do with the cult itself, but rather represented natural characters and humans – perhaps the dedicators themselves, or the divinity. If the types of offerings are roughly similar, the variation in quality may be an indication that a certain elite was rising in the Arcadian communities – or at least that they started to think that sanctuaries were good places to advertise their social status. The only place where seemingly more elaborated offerings were deposited was Mount Lykaion, where two bronze tripods, symbols of wealth and status, were found, which suggests that the cult site was a suitable place to display one's social status. This could imply that the site must have held an important status within the community that visited it, and that a fairly large number of people visited the site. On the other hand, the chances of preservation of bronze artefacts must be taken into account, and it is not at all impossible that other sites contained higher quality bronze offerings as well.

The gods descend from the mountains?

Another notable evolution from the Bronze Age situation is that cult sites are found spreading on hills and in valleys closer to human settlements. This is observable throughout the Greek world and shows that cult places can also be located nearer to where people lived; in fact, it is even likely that such non-mountaintop cult sites existed in the Late Bronze Age already but were not excavated yet. Some new sites also appear on heights, too, as for instance at Bassai.

While a certain proportion of the Archaic cult sites identified in Arcadia were located in areas of high visibility, some were also located on important communication routes. For instance, Vigla was already above the pass between the Asea and the Tegea valleys. Similarly, the sanctuaries at Tegea, Petrovouni, Lousoi, Orchomenos, Gortsouli and Mavriki were at strategic points of communication. Passing through Petrovouni, for instance, allowed one to go around the west of Mount Mainalon. The sanctuaries at Orchomenos were at a strategic pass between the Mantinea basin and northern Arcadia, while the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi was at the crossroads between Arcadia and Achaia. The temple of Athena Alea in particular is a very striking example of how these geographically lower temples were located at strategic points. It was in a plain on the way between Sparta, northern Arcadia, Argos and on route to the coast at Astros. This situation proved both a blessing and a curse to the Tegeans. On the one hand, Sparta was a constant threat to the southern Arcadians, and being en route to their enemy Argos was a risky position that exposed Tegea to countless attacks from the Spartans. On the other hand, it meant that the city and its sanctuary were exposed to a large number of travellers, and therefore visitors.

Thus, there were two relatively distinct sets of priorities determining the location of cult sites. Some privileged visibility, both in the sense of the site offering a large panoramic view of the land around and of being visible from a long-distance.

Others seem to have privileged access as a determining factor, by locating the sanctuary on a much-used route. It is difficult to assess whether one option was more widespread than the other since, as underlined before, the data we currently have about religious sites in this period is probably not complete. It is very likely that other open-air cults, perhaps set in valleys or slopes, have not survived. As the only features that characterize early open-air cult sites are often fragmentary offerings and an ash altar, some sites may have been buried into alluvium or ploughed away. Therefore, it is prudent not to draw any quantitative conclusions about the proportion of cults in higher or lower places.

Sanctuaries and communities

These new temples were built by someone for someone.⁴⁰² Trying to determine who the worshipping community was and who was in charge of the construction of these temples is an arduous issue that has been addressed in a number of previous studies on the relationship between temple building and the rise of structured communities in Greece.⁴⁰³ It is generally assumed that the communities visiting the temples for worship are a fluid group made up of locals as well as outsiders, coming to venerate the divinity, to ask for something and to leave offerings for the god. It is often difficult to assess precisely who the worshippers were and where they came from unless we find evidence of it in dedications and inscriptions – something quite uncommon for Archaic Arcadia. On the other hand, building temples supposes that a certain group of individuals or a community found an interest in constructing sacred buildings, and supposed the ability to organise labour accordingly.⁴⁰⁴ It is imaginable that fairly informally organised small-scale groups, perhaps communities living in a nearby village, wealthy families, or some similar type of organisation built temples of light material.

However, this explanation becomes unsatisfactory once the temples are replaced by new, richly decorated large stone ones. Such large endeavours presuppose a significant amount of resources and a certain level of coordination within a big enough community in order to source the material and workmanship required. Such new imposing temples were built in the sixth century to adorn the sites studied above. For instance, around the Asea valley large temples replaced their predecessors: at Vigla and Aghios Elias, large Doric peristyle temples made of marble were built: Vigla measured approximately 25x12m, and Aghios Elias 32x15m.⁴⁰⁵ The marble was taken from the quarry of Doliana, located on the territory of Tegea. At Pallantion, four temples were built in the first half of the sixth century on the acropolis and its slope. At Orchomenos, marble and stone temples were built on and below the

⁴⁰² Large votive deposits – such as the one found at Aghios Sostis – are certainly also important indicators; however, this chapter will focus on sacred architecture.

⁴⁰³ For instance by Morgan 2003, Voyatzis 1999, de Polignac 1984.

⁴⁰⁴ Nielsen 2002, 177: *'it seems to be the accepted opinion that almost all temples were erected by communities and not by individuals'*. See also Coulton 1977, 17-18; Morgan 1993, 19; Osborne 1996, 101; De Polignac 1995, 19-20.

⁴⁰⁵ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 171, 174-175 and fig. C; Voyatzis 1990, 33-35.

acropolis during the same century, while at Gortsouli and near Mantinea below Mount Alesion other stone temples were built in the second half of the sixth century. At Psili Korfi above Mavriki, a small all-marble temple sat imposingly near the Doliana marble quarry from the first half of the sixth century. Finally, two large temples were built on top of their stone predecessors at Bassai and near Tegea in the Classical period.⁴⁰⁶ In order to explain how these large, solid and ornamented temples all came to life in the sixth century BCE, many scholars have proposed to connect them with the rise of city-states.⁴⁰⁷ Poleis indeed provide the organisation, structure, network and funds necessary to undertake such ambitious endeavours. Unfortunately, evidence independent from temples does not allow the time when poleis arise in Arcadia to be determined with precision.⁴⁰⁸

Therefore, this section will investigate how the two waves of construction of temples of light material (wood and mud brick or brick) in the late seventh century, then stone in the sixth century related to communities living in Arcadia. If the model linking the building of monumental temple in the sixth century with the emergence of poleis seems to fit the Arcadian evidence, things are a lot less clear in the case of light material temples. Three well documented cases will be investigated: the sanctuaries of Athena Alea and Mavriki in eastern Arcadia; the sanctuaries of Vigla and Aghios Elias in southern Arcadia; and the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera in northern Arcadia. However, unfortunately once again the scarce evidence does not allow definitive conclusions to be drawn, or even to always distinguish clearly the two periods – of mud brick and stone temples.

Athena Alea and Mavriki

In the eighth century, two successive mud brick temples were built on the age-old cult site of Athena Alea.⁴⁰⁹ The latest mud brick temple was replaced around 630-600 BCE by another one of wood, mud brick and terracotta on marble foundations.⁴¹⁰ It remained in place until it burned down around 345 BCE, and was replaced by the famous Skopaic temple in the late fourth century.

Before the marble temple was built, offerings found on site show that the cult of Athena was flourishing: a considerable quantity of offerings in shapes ranging from wreaths to figurines and pins has been uncovered during the successive archaeological campaigns, and most of them dated from the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.⁴¹¹ Unfortunately, the types only give a very vague idea of the goddess' function.⁴¹² The excavators tried to determine their provenance based on style. They noticed that beside the considerable number of offerings of local

⁴⁰⁶ See inventory in Voyatzis 1999, 151-159.

⁴⁰⁷ In particular by de Polignac 1995, Voyatzis 1999; Morgan 1999; Nielsen 2002.

⁴⁰⁸ See discussion in Nielsen 2002, 159-226.

⁴⁰⁹ Spawforth 2006, 160. See appendix.

⁴¹⁰ Nordquist 2002, 149; Voyatzis 1990, 11; Østby 1986, 75-102; Norman 1984, 171.

⁴¹¹ Voyatzis 2002, 167; Osborne 1996, 92 tab 3 and 4; Dugas 1921, 335-435.

⁴¹² Despite a thorough study of the offerings, M. Voyatzis 2002, 163f can only give a rather vague description of the role of the goddess.

manufacture⁴¹³, a large number of offerings are comparable to similar ones found in nearby regions, such as Sparta and Argos. Many lead objects and bone and ivory offerings found inside the geometric temple recall similar types found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta and the Heraion of Perachora.⁴¹⁴ Based on this, M. Voyatzis insists that there is a strong connection visible between the offerings at the sanctuary of Athena Alea and Artemis Orthia, and hence suggests that Spartans visited the early sanctuary of Athena Alea.⁴¹⁵ She argues that the Laconian offerings were most prominent in the ninth century, mixed with Argive and Athenian style ones. By the eighth century, the Laconian presence is less pronounced while late geometric Argive types become more common. This shift in offering proportions is interesting, as it may indicate a change in the relationship between Tegea and Laconia, while it corresponds with the construction of the first mud brick temples.

There is little evidence so far of the state of development of Tegea as a settlement in the eighth and seventh century, although Homer singles out Tegea in the *Catalogue of Ships*.⁴¹⁶ It is probably this Tegea, whether a gathering of kômai or only the closest settlement to the temple, which coordinated the erection of the mud brick temples for Athena Alea: we may witness at Tegea an evolution where a community crystallises around an existing, shared cult place, and gradually appropriates it while rejecting threatening neighbours. A similar process may have occurred at Psili Korfi, where the temple may have belonged to one of the demes that came to compose Tegea.⁴¹⁷ The construction of light material temples took place in chronological conformity with the evolution of sacred places in Greece at the time: the increasing quantity of offerings needed to be accommodated in a safe place, while the goddess benefited from a new shrine.

The worshippers of Athena Alea were not limited to the people living around the temple, though: the wealth and diversity in style of offerings found in the layers corresponding to the ninth to seventh century indicate that a variety of worshippers came to the sanctuary. Considering that Tegea was located at a strategic point between the Argolid, Corinthia, Arcadia and Laconia, it is not surprising that the offerings reflect such connectivity, whether they were deposited by people from these regions or manufactured in situ in conformity with models that travelled along that route. Equally, the offerings deposited at Psili Korfi suggest that the worshipping community resembled that of Athena Alea, as there is a large overlap in the type of offerings in both places.⁴¹⁸ The temple was located less than ten kilometres south of

⁴¹³ Voyatzis 2002, 150 argues that there was an eight-century workshop in the Classical pronaos of the temple.

⁴¹⁴ Voyatzis 2002, 162; Voyatzis 1990, 247; Dugas 1921, 428-9. Parallels with Artemis Orthia at Sparta: Dawkins 1929, 249-284, 179-200.

⁴¹⁵ Voyatzis 2002, 161. On undated pottery sherds with Laconian and Corinthian influence: Coldstream 1977, 156; Courbin 1966, 500-1.

⁴¹⁶ Hom. *Il.* 2.606. As noted at p. 45, the date of the *Catalogue of Ships* remains problematic and the work therefore cannot inform relative chronology.

⁴¹⁷ It is unclear in the area of which of the Tegean demes listed by Paus. 8.45.1 Mavriki was located.

⁴¹⁸ Voyatzis 1999, 145.

Tegea, at the confines of Arcadia and Laconia, near a major communication road between the two regions and in a highly visible location. The proximity between Mavriki and the Laconian border⁴¹⁹ might explain why Laconian-type offerings were deposited there. In a time when borders between regions were not completely fixed, people moved around and could share certain places of worship.

Things changed at the turn of the sixth century. An elaborate marble one on the same site replaced the mud brick temple of Athena Alea, while a well-developed site started to take shape around the temple.⁴²⁰ The marble Doric temple at Psili Korfi above Mavriki was built a bit later, in the first half of the sixth century, and adorned with a spacious colonnade.⁴²¹ As the temples were embellished, the offerings show fewer and fewer traces of Laconian elements.⁴²²

M. Voyatzis argued that the construction of the marble temples is to be connected with the growing concern of Tegea for the integrity of its territory.⁴²³ Located in the middle of a fertile basin, difficult defensible due to a lack of acropolis, and located near a major road, Tegea was a strategic prey for its powerful and belligerent neighbour. Herodotus mentions the wars between Tegea and Sparta that were said to have taken place in the sixth century.⁴²⁴ The Lacedaemonians, following a misleading oracle, attacked Tegea in an attempt to capture their ‘καλὸν πεδίον’.⁴²⁵ They were however pushed back by the Tegeans, who used the fetters brought by the Spartans to measure the arable land of the plain and dedicated them as war spoils.⁴²⁶ This passage indicates that Tegea had a territory defined enough to be invaded and measured by the sixth century, and that Sparta was a real threat to its integrity.

Tegea started to distance itself from its powerful Lacedaemonian neighbour and made an effort to protect its territory. This is visible not only in the change in offerings and resistance to Spartan invasions, but in the investment made by the community in costly temples, one near the centre of the community – just north of the place that would become close to the centre of the synoecised Tegea – and at least another near the border with Laconia, near the valuable resource that was the Doliana marble quarry. The temple of Athena Alea then became the place to showcase of Tegean war victories: as said earlier, the fetters brought by the Spartans were still hanging on the walls of the temple of Athena Alea in Herodotus’ time and were so precious to the community that they were placed in the new temple of Athena Alea when it was reconstructed.⁴²⁷ Equally, the Tegeans dedicated the Persian spoils taken

⁴¹⁹ Although the distance between Mavriki and Sparta – roughly 30km – is still great.

⁴²⁰ Morgan 1999, 396-397; based on various sixth- and fifth-century finds in the area.

⁴²¹ Voyatzis, 1999, 145; Jost 1999, 21 with references to the previous archaeological campaigns.

⁴²² Voyatzis 1999, 145.

⁴²³ Voyatzis 1999, 151.

⁴²⁴ Jeffery 1976, 171.

⁴²⁵ Hdt. 1.66.2, oracle dated from the sixth century BCE.

⁴²⁶ Hdt. 1.66.3-4.

⁴²⁷ Hdt 1.66.4; Paus. 8.47.2.

from Mardonius to the goddess.⁴²⁸ Hence the temple of Athena Alea has a crucial importance for the community, and undoubtedly played an important role in structuring the community of Tegea around the cult and its site. Besides, the community in charge of the temple, the Tegeans, showed a strong interest in cultural trends outside the region. Voyatzis argued that the first marble temple of Athena Alea presented similarities with the Heraion of Argos, and Pausanias reports that the Tegeans appealed to the famous sculptor Endoios of Athens for their cult statue.⁴²⁹ His floruit is placed in the second half of the sixth century BCE, and we know that he received commissions from Ephesos and Erythrai.⁴³⁰ The cult developed quickly, as by the late sixth century the games Aleaia start to be mentioned.⁴³¹

Finally, to assert its existence and ownership over a delimited territory, build temples and resist Sparta in the sixth century, Tegea must have been an organised enough polity.⁴³² The date of the synoecism has been much debated and proposed dates range from the seventh to the mid-fifth century BCE.⁴³³ The latest suggestion for the date of the synoecism is now just after 550 BCE, which reinforces the link between temple building and the creation of a strong political entity.⁴³⁴

Hence the construction of the marble temples reflects the growing need for the Tegeans to assert their ownership of their territory, to delimit it, and to establish themselves as serious competitors able to resist Sparta. The notable inspiration taken from the Argive Heraion in the shape of the temple, and the commission of a renowned artist for the cult statue confirm the ambitions of Tegea to attain a status comparable to the large cities that emerged all around in the seventh century. Perhaps Tegea, like Mantinea, was established as a nucleated settlement earlier than other Arcadian settlements because of its location in arable plains: in contrast to the pastoral regions of western and central Arcadia, territory mattered and it quickly became imperative to secure land and assert the community's ownership of it in order to keep it.⁴³⁵ Competition and identity assertion, therefore, were the key motivations behind the building of the Tegean temples in the Archaic period.⁴³⁶ Yet this does not necessarily entail that Tegea was synoecised in a unified polis at the time.

⁴²⁸ Hdt. 9.70.3.

⁴²⁹ Voyatzis 1999, 143-144; Paus. 8.46.1.

⁴³⁰ Ephesos: Romano 1980, 236. Erythrai: Paus. 7.5.9.

⁴³¹ IG V.2 75.

⁴³² The idea that synoecism are connected with the rise of urban, nucleated centres and thus poleis was extrapolated from Strab. 8.3.2 (synoecism of the Tegean demes), Nielsen 2002, 171.

⁴³³ Seventh century: Callmer 1943, 67-70; Voyatzis 1999, 151. After the Persian wars (after Strab. 8.3.2): Moggi 1976, 131-139 and n. 39 (478-473 BCE); Demand 1990, 66 (464-459 BCE).

⁴³⁴ Ødegård 2005, 209-221; Ødegård 2007, 23-24. Ødegård argues for a mid-sixth century date based on the recent magnetometric survey conducted by the Norwegian Institute at Athens which documented the earliest finds on the site of the city center from the second half of the sixth century BCE, later confirmed by excavations, as well as a regular urban plan.

⁴³⁵ Morgan 2003, 39. Perhaps this process was inspired from Tegea's neighbours, such as Argos, who had followed a similar evolution.

⁴³⁶ Voyatzis 1999, 151-152; Nielsen 2002, 184.

Aghios Elias, Vigla and the Asea Valley

As described earlier, at the end of the seventh century mud brick and wooden temples were built around the Asea valley.⁴³⁷ Two were built near the existing ash altars at Vigla and Aghios Elias⁴³⁸, one at Aghios Ioannis of Anemodourion on a summit west of the valley, and another 200m north of there, at Karies Lakka.⁴³⁹ The existence of these four wood and mud brick temples in the late seventh-century indicates that there existed a community who valued these sacred sites enough to justify going through the trouble and expense of building temples. Trying to identify who this community might have been is an arduous problem that has been long avoided, but shall be addressed here.

Before poleis: role of the Mainalian ethnos?

In the seventh century, archaeology reveals that the Asea valley was still only sparsely populated.⁴⁴⁰ There is no evidence for the establishment of poleis or even nucleated settlements this early, as the first traces of poleis-like settlements are dated from the sixth century by archaeology and the fifth in inscriptions and literary sources.⁴⁴¹ Therefore, it is quite unreasonable to assume that poleis emerged as early as in the seventh century and started building temples; yet there must have been some sort of organisation able to coordinate endeavours as large as temple building. It has been proposed in modern scholarship to connect the construction of temples in the early Archaic period in Arcadia with sub-ethne. Snodgrass argued in 1980 for the existence of ‘ethnos sanctuaries’ preceding poleis.⁴⁴² Following this view, Forsén, Forsén and Østby proposed to connect the evidence for thin, scattered settlement in the Asea valley and the construction of temples on conspicuous landmarks before the first occurrence of poleis with such ethnos sanctuaries.⁴⁴³

There is evidence for a group called the ‘Mainalioi’ in the area of Asea in ancient literary sources; however, the earliest testimonia date from the fifth century. An Olympic victor called ‘Tellôn Mainailios’ is recorded for the year 472 BCE, and another called ‘Ephotion Mainailios’ won the pankration in 464 BCE.⁴⁴⁴ Thucydides mentions Mainalians among the allies of Tegea, Sparta and Heraia at the first battle of Mantinea in 418 BCE.⁴⁴⁵ Pausanias reports a dedication made by ‘Phormis Arkas

⁴³⁷ See p. 68-71 and p. 61 fig. 6.

⁴³⁸ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 177-181, Morgan 1999, 401. There is no indication so far as to which divinity was worshipped there.

⁴³⁹ A mid- to late-seventh century Laconian acroterion was found at Karies Lakka, suggesting the existence of a temple which may have been built around the same time as Aghios Ioannis. Forsén and Forsén 2003, 251-253, fig. 154 site S82. 251; Morgan 1999, 403; Pikoulas 1988, 106-7 n. 64.

⁴⁴⁰ Morgan 1999, 402-403.

⁴⁴¹ See p. 96-97.

⁴⁴² Snodgrass 1980, 42-43. Morgan 1997, 168-169 criticises the use of the term ‘ethnos’.

⁴⁴³ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 182-183.

⁴⁴⁴ Tellôn: *POxy* 222 col. 1 l. 29; Ephotion: *Olympionikai* 253.

⁴⁴⁵ Thuc. 5.67.1-4, 5.77.1.

Mainalos' at Olympia, which has been dated from the fifth century.⁴⁴⁶ More Mainalian victors are recorded in the early fourth century: 'Damoxenidas Mainalios' and 'Xenokles Mainalios' son of 'Euthyphronos Mainalios'.⁴⁴⁷ The rest of our evidence mostly comes from Pausanias, and especially his account of the synoecism of Megalopolis, where two Mainalians were sent as oikists and Mainalian communities were emptied to fill the capital city.⁴⁴⁸

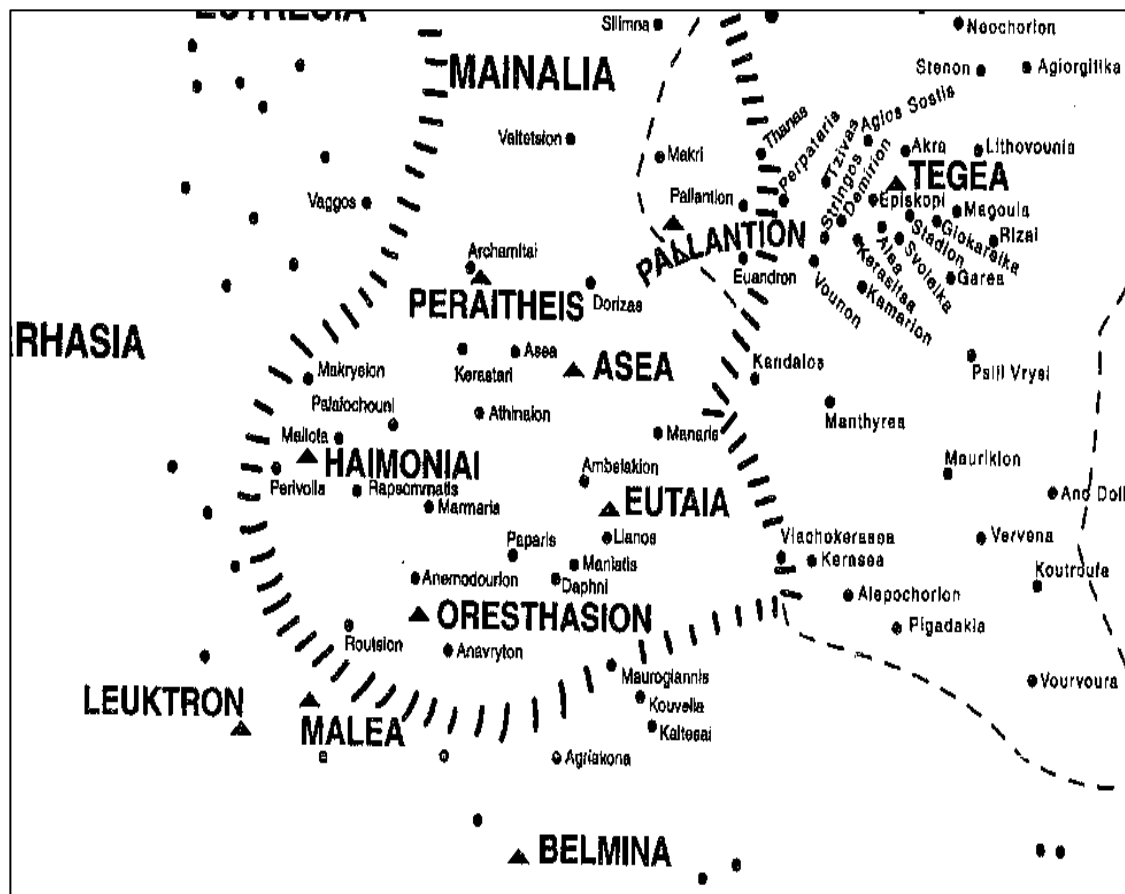


Figure 22: Mainalia, or the area occupied by the Mainalioi. (Forsén and Forsén 2003, 255 fig. 155)

Nonetheless, the Mainalians are never explicitly referred to as an 'ethnos' or any other related term in our sources, but rather by the collective plural.⁴⁴⁹ In fact, a high proportion of the Arcadian 'ethne' we know today derive from Pausanias. We are also certain that the name refers to a group tied to an entity larger than a settlement. It does not designate people originating from the Arcadian settlement of Mainalos, since we find the same Tellôn mentioned earlier as a Mainalian listed as 'Arkas Oresthasios' in another Olympic inscription referring to the same victory.⁴⁵⁰ Besides, 'Mainalia' is a territory, as Thucydides indicates that Oresthasion was indeed

⁴⁴⁶ Paus. 5.27.2.

⁴⁴⁷ *IvO* 158 (the line with the Mainalian is a first century BCE copy); *IvO* 164 (400-380 BCE).

⁴⁴⁸ Paus. 8.27.2-3.

⁴⁴⁹ Nor are the other groups considered as sub-ethne. 'Eutresioi': Telekides apud Heschyios s.v. Etresios, Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.29.4bis, Paus. 8.27.3. 'Parrhasioi': Thuc. 5.33, Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28, Paus. 8.27.4 (relying on a least a Hellenistic source), Strab. 8.8.1. 'Kynourioi': *IG* V.2 1.40, Paus. 8.27.4. See Nielsen 2002, 272f for the definition of 'tribe' and 'ethnic group'.

⁴⁵⁰ *IvO* 147, 148.

located in Mainalia⁴⁵¹: therefore, there is no doubt that ‘Mainalian’ designates another kind of identity than a city-ethnic, something connected to a territory within Arcadia. However, the limits of Mainalia are unclear, and in fact it would not be surprising if its limits were not actually fixed.

If the Mainalians were around in the fifth century BCE on a territory called Mainalia on which we know Asea was located⁴⁵², could their existence as a group have preceded the formation of Asea and the other Mainalian settlements as poleis? It is what the excavators of Aghios Elias and Vigla argue. Since there was evidence of scattered occupation around the sites, it would be tempting to attribute visits to the early sacred sites to a fluid group of worshippers belonging to the elusive group of the Mainalians.

Generally, modern scholars accept the existence of ethne⁴⁵³ as a pre-polis phenomenon that, once poleis emerged, continued to exist, although not all poleis were included in an ethnos.⁴⁵⁴ However, as ancient evidence of the phenomenon is scarce and dated from when poleis existed, the nature of Arcadian sub-ethne and their function is still largely obscure. They could join leagues, since the Mainalians for instance were included in the Peloponnesian League in 418 BCE, take part in coalitional armies and send representatives, such as the oikists Pausanias refers to. They undoubtedly had a role on the Panhellenic and regional stage, but there is no evidence of the existence of a ethnic army as such, or of ethnic institutions.⁴⁵⁵ It is assumed that what would have cemented the sense of common belonging to a certain ethnos was a community of cult, centred in certain places visited by all members of the ethnos.⁴⁵⁶ This has been proposed mostly since we have no evidence about what could have tied members of an ethnic group together other than these large

⁴⁵¹ Thuc. 5.64.3.

⁴⁵² Paus. 8.27.3.

⁴⁵³ Although Morgan’s criticism is well placed, the term will continue to be used here for consistency to designate a non-political, fluid group of people.

⁴⁵⁴ Coldstream 1983, 17-25; Jost 1985, 1999; Morgan 1997, 1999, 2000, 205-211 2003; Hall 2007, 51-58; Voyatzis 1990, 1999; Roy 1996, 101f; Kowalzig 2007, 285f. Nielsen 1996, 132-143 is the only one to argue that ethne were created as a defence mechanism by small poleis. The image of pre-polis ethne is somewhat based on a passage of Thucydides referring to the ethnos of the Aetolians in ‘primitive’ terms: they eat raw meat, are dispersed in *kômai*, and have a different speech than the other Greeks (Thuc. 3.94.4-5; see also Thuc. 1.5-6). The case of Arcadia is somewhat different, since inside a regional ethnic comparable to the Aetolians we have several sub-ethnics. Similarly, relying on Aristotle *Pol.* 1261a29-30 where the ethnos of the Arcadians is defined as being made up of poleis, like a *symmachia*, does not illuminate the case of Archaic Arcadia: it is more likely that Aristotle alludes to the contemporary fourth-century Arcadia and perhaps the *koinon*. Hansen 1999, 80-86.

⁴⁵⁵ Nielsen 2002, 301, 307. See Thuc. 5.67.4 (Mainalians on the side of Sparta at the battle of Mantinea 418 BCE); *IG V.2* 1.16 (membership of the *koinon* of the Arcadians); Paus. 8.27.3 (Mainalians supply oikists to the founding of Megalopolis). Only the Parrhasians minted coinage in the fifth century BCE.

⁴⁵⁶ Hall 2007, 51; Voyatzis 1999, 140-142.

sanctuaries flourishing in the eighth and seventh centuries in areas where poleis are attested only much later.⁴⁵⁷

Thus, Mainalians are likely candidates to have taken responsibility for building the temple of Aghios Elias. It is quite likely that the communities surrounding the shrine at the time when it was still an ash altar, living nearby in scattered settlements, may have called themselves ‘Mainalians’.⁴⁵⁸ The groups now designated as ethne were located in the western and central part of Arcadia, in highly mountainous areas where arable plains were scarce and the main resource was pastoralism.⁴⁵⁹ There, the populations of herders practicing transhumance were small mobile groups who left little evidence of settlements behind them.⁴⁶⁰ As populations were almost constantly on the move, territory did not matter as much as in the east, where delimiting ownership of fertile land was certainly crucial, and mountains were an integral part of economic life.

Thus the ethnos was a product of the relationships and interactions between the communities that made it up⁴⁶¹ and entailed a sense of common identity and belonging. It does not seem to have had any formal institutions or to have any precise spatial component other than an undefined territory, however it must have been organised enough to co-ordinate the construction of temples. Vigla, too, may have been erected by the Mainalians: the community may have needed different temples for different gods.

Second wave of temple construction: multiplication of the evidence

The landscape of the Asea valley changed considerably in the sixth century BCE. The mud brick temple at Vigla was replaced in the mid-sixth century by a much more prestigious one with walls and roof in Doliana marble, built right on top of its predecessor. It was rather large with dimensions of 25x12m, Doric and peripteral with

⁴⁵⁷ A similar situation is for instance observed at the sanctuary of Apollo of Abai at Kalapodi, Flesch 1996 and 2007; Morgan 1997, 184; Ellinger 1993, 34 (rejected by Morgan 1997, 177-183). A comparison with parallel cases in central Greece would have been useful; unfortunately, it was not possible to carry it out in this thesis due to time constraints.

⁴⁵⁸ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 251 suggest that the tenth-century BCE cult place at Aghios Elias was already an ethnos sanctuary.

⁴⁵⁹ Hence the epithet ‘rich in flocks’ applied to Arcadia and its settlements, see Hom. *Il.* 2.605 for Orchomenos and other references in Roy 1999, 350-356, Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981.

⁴⁶⁰ On the debate on whether transhumance occurred in Greece in antiquity, see Skydsgaard 1988, 75-84; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 99-101; Forbes 1995, 325-336. Against: Hodkinson 1988, 51-58; Alcock, Cherry and Davis 1994, 147-148. Evidence for the practice of transhumance has been argued by Chaniotis 1999, 195-196 cf. SEG 35 991B (Archaic decree of the Lyttians in Crete). Forsén and Forsén 2003, 267 argue for a middle way, with ‘small flocks owned by ordinary farmers being pooled together into communal transhumant herds’ based on evidence taken from Chaniotis and the mention of the term ‘xenike hodos’, perhaps referring to roads taken by transhumant herds, in IG V.2 443 l. 45 (Megalopolis, second century BCE; see also *IPArk* 32) and Polyb. 11.11.5 (Mantineia, 207 BCE) and 13.8.7 (Megalopolis, 204 BCE).

⁴⁶¹ Parts of the definition of a koinon by Mackil 2003, 10 applies to Arcadian ethne: ethne resulted more from a spontaneous sense of belonging among the communities which composed it than from a top-down political organisation.

13x6 columns.⁴⁶² The sculptural decoration of the temple was highly elaborate, with elegant floral acroteria and pedimental statues of a lion resembling a contemporary Spartan example⁴⁶³, a dolphin and a Triton⁴⁶⁴. Such decorations were rare at that period outside Athens and Corfu: the objects display precocious awareness on the part of the Arcadian craftsmen of the artistic ideas that were being implemented elsewhere in Greece.⁴⁶⁵

At Aghios Elias, a second temple made of mud brick with a terracotta roof was built some time after 560 BCE.⁴⁶⁶ Then, between 500 and 490 BCE, it was also replaced by a large and sumptuous Doliana marble temple.⁴⁶⁷ With a size of c. 32x15m, it was one of the largest temples of Arcadia, behind the temple of Apollo at Bassai and the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea.⁴⁶⁸ Although it was comparable in style to the temple of Athena Alea, which served as a model for most Arcadian temples at the time, and the contemporary temple at Orchomenos, there is also a strong influence of the late Archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi in the column capitals.⁴⁶⁹ This betrays a conscious will to differentiate it from its other Arcadian equivalents and the usual Laconian models.⁴⁷⁰ Nonetheless, despite its specificity, the temple and its deity remain unidentified. A fragment of a statue was found in situ, but it is impossible to tell whether it was a cult statue.⁴⁷¹

Meanwhile, temples multiplied all around the valley. A few kilometres away, at Aghia Metamorfosis, a relatively large stone Doric temple with a size estimated at 29x12m was built.⁴⁷² The temple is commonly identified as the temple of Pan that

⁴⁶² Forsén and Forsén 2003, 252; Rhomaios 1957, 126-163; Østby *Annuario* 68-69 (1995) 338-350.

⁴⁶³ Ridgway 1993, 300 and 303; Bookidis 1967, 104-107; Rhomaios 1957, 143-44 fig. 33-34; Dawkins 1929, 21-22 pl. 5.

⁴⁶⁴ The dolphin and Triton may contribute to the identification of the site as the temple of Poseidon and Athena Soteira, Morgan 1999, 401.

⁴⁶⁵ Morgan 1999, 403. Other fragments of human, gorgon and animal figures in bronze sheet were found on the site and suggest the existence of a local workshop.

⁴⁶⁶ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 251

⁴⁶⁷ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 175.

⁴⁶⁸ Measurements of the euthynteria. Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 170-74. For the size of the other temples, see Østby 1990-91, 330 fig. 188.

⁴⁶⁹ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 176.

⁴⁷⁰ Morgan 1999, 401.

⁴⁷¹ The marble life-size left foot of a female statue was uncovered near the temple. The statue was dressed in a long garment and sandals. Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 182; Nielsen 1999, 39. Pausanias does not even give any clue on the matter, since he does not even mention the building. This raises the question of whether the traveller did not mention the temple because he did not go and see it, or because it was no longer in use when he visited. Considering the wealth and size of the temple, which equates with the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea described with admiration by Pausanias, it is unlikely that the periegete would not have visited it if he knew of its existence. Therefore, a likely *terminus ante quem* for the end of the temple's use would be the second century CE.

⁴⁷² Pikoulas 1999, 275-76 n. 25 supports the identification with the temple of Pan, adding that the idyllic location of the site, with a water fountain, in addition to some characteristic spolia point towards this identification (he calls it Aghia Soteira near Akharmites). Paus. 8.36.7; Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 184, map 2 fig. 1; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 260 fig. 157.

Pausanias reports near Peraitheis.⁴⁷³ In addition, sanctuaries dated from that period emerge in the valley itself. On a hill c. 3km northwest of the ancient acropolis of Asea, on top of the modern cemetery of Asea, was built an Archaic sanctuary of an unknown god.⁴⁷⁴ Another was found right outside the lower city of Asea, next to a road leading north: a small site yielded over an area of 20x20m a large number of fragments of black-glazed tableware, terracotta figurines, miniatures and metal objects of good quality ranging from the sixth to the third century BCE. It seems that it would have been an open-air cult dedicated to Demeter, with a peak of activity in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.⁴⁷⁵ Finally, a 0.98m high statue of a seated woman was found in 1986 in the area of Kato Asea and dated c. 530-510 BCE. Subsequent excavations have unearthed traces of a shrine and a building, indicating the existence of a further possible rural temple.⁴⁷⁶

Thus, the sixth century brought a range of important changes in the religious topography of the Asea valley. At Aghios Elias and Vigla, luxurious marble temples replaced the wood and mud brick ones, while a race to host the biggest temple seems to have taken place between the two sites. The decoration of the two temples took a very different shape, Vigla being influenced by Laconian and Arcadian architecture while Aghios Elias adopted Delphi as a model and stepped away from Peloponnesian architectural tradition. In addition, further temples were built on the edges of the valley, as well as at least three sanctuaries in the valley around Asea.

Emergence of poleis in the Asea valley?

Although it used to be argued that poleis developed later in Arcadia, the building of stone temples and the growing concentration of population in settlements demonstrate that poleis may have arisen in the Asea valley in the sixth century.⁴⁷⁷ The

⁴⁷³ Paus. 8.36.7; Pikoulas 1999, 275-76 n. 25. Unfortunately, the so-called spolia are not described further.

⁴⁷⁴ The site is c. 300m away from modern Asea on a small hill, c. 1.14ha in dimension. The excavations showed the floor of square building made of large stones north of the chapel of Nekrotapheion, while painted roof tiles and fragments of limestone blocks were found on the northwest slope of the hill. Because of the current use of the site further excavations are not possible, Forsén and Forsén 2003, 102, 253 fig. 154, site S39; Pikoulas 1988, 63 n. 15.

⁴⁷⁵ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 250-251, site S60/35-36. The large quantity of female terracotta figurines and burnt pig bones, and the suburban location of the site, suggest a cult of Demeter.

⁴⁷⁶ Spyropoulos 1993, 257-58. There might be another sacred place in the chora of Asea: the discovery of a headless 1m high statue in Laconian marble representing a female seated on a throne inscribed with AGEMO in retrograde on the footstool, dated to c. 530-520 BCE, was found in one of the towers of the third-century city walls of Asea in 1866, then 'rediscovered' at the Han of Frangovrysi spring right outside Asea two years later. However, its original location is unknown. The statue has sometimes been linked with the sanctuary of the Meter Theôn recorded by Pausanias 8.44.3. Forsén and Forsén 2003, 26-27, 251-52.

⁴⁷⁷ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 249-252. See de Polignac 1995, 21-25. Nielsen 1996, 80-100 argues that Heraia, Kleitor, Lousoi, Mantinea, Orchomenos, Phigalia, Psophis, Tegea, Thaliades and possibly Gortys, Nonakris, Paion, Pheneos and Stymphalos were poleis by the sixth century. The evidence for it is traces of settlements in the sixth century, mostly pottery remains and some pre-Classical fortification (at Oresthasion for instance, Pikoulas 1988, 102-104; on the acropolis of Asea, Forsén et al. 2002, 100-102). At Peraitheis, Pikoulas notes

multiplication of cult sites around Asea shows that it was in a community's interest to increasingly visit and build sacred shrines around the nucleated settlement. Similarly, there must have been an interest in monumentalizing century-old visual landmarks corresponding to the limits of the Aseatan valley in the eyes of other emerging cities. For instance, when the marble temple was built at Vigla, Pallantion was developing into a small polis with four temples built on its acropolis⁴⁷⁸: monumentalizing an old temple to make it more imposing was one way of warning the Pallantians, who were clearly establishing a nucleated settlement, that the territory beyond the mountains was not up for grabs. Thus the embellishment of Vigla was probably ordered by the Aseatans, who were asserting their ownership of the valley. Perhaps they gained control of the fertile plain all around their acropolis, which would have made asserting their ownership over the land much more important than before – in a situation comparable to Tegea.⁴⁷⁹ If the sanctuary was originally an ethnic one, it seems that its ownership shifted to Asea in the sixth century. Similarly, Aghios Ioannis of Anemodourion may have belonged to the emerging community of Oresthasion, which is attested as a polis in the fifth century and located a few kilometres west at the foot of the Tsemberou mountain range.⁴⁸⁰ Aghia Metamorfosis, located only a few kilometres away but established much later than Aghios Elias, may have been also built by a polis rather than an ethnos. Aghia Metamorfosis is sometimes identified as the temple of Pan that, according to Pausanias, belonged to Peraitheis. If Asea and Oresthasion were consolidating their borders by embellishing their sanctuaries in the sixth century BCE, it is not unlikely that the neighbouring settlement of Peraitheis was doing the same at the same time.⁴⁸¹

Finally, the sharp distinction in style and rivalry in size between the temples of Aghios Elias and Vigla may suggest that both temples depended on different communities. Besides, the large temple at Aghia Metamorfosis was built just across the pass from Aghios Elias and both sites must have been visible from each summit. Who was in charge of Aghios Elias thus becomes an intriguing question. Since Peraitheis was a tiny community at the time, it is unlikely that they built a second large and costly temple near Aghia Metamorfosis.⁴⁸² Asea, which was a larger city, is

some Archaic archaeological remains (Pikoulas 1999, 276). The earliest literary evidence for Asea as a polis dates from the late fifth century: Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5. Toponym in Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.15; *IGP* n. 510.

⁴⁷⁸ Morgan 1999, 398f. See p. 71.

⁴⁷⁹ Voyatzis 1999, 146-147. Forsén and Forsén 2003, 266 argue that Asea was an agricultural society in the Archaic to Hellenistic period. See Roy 1999, 328-329 for ancient references to food habits and dedications of agricultural products by the Arcadians.

⁴⁸⁰ Oresthasion: *IGP* n. 287 with references to ancient sources.

⁴⁸¹ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 260 fig. 157; Nielsen 1996, 139-142. Voyatzis 1999, 146-147 argues that the multiplication of temples partly results from a competition between cities regarding the size and beauty of their temples.

⁴⁸² So far, the only point of reference as to how much a marble temple cost is the detailed accounts of the construction of the early fourth-century temple of Epidauros carefully studied by A. Burford. According to her, the 23x12m marble temple of Asclepius, decorated with 6x11 columns, would have cost 23 talents (Burford 1969, 81f). Unfortunately, the comparison with temples around the Asea valley is too limited to be enlightening: the time of

a likely candidate: if Peraitheis asserted its claim to territory when confronted with Aghios Elias, as the competition in size between the two temples suggests, then it seems reasonable to infer that Aghios Elias was a border temple of Asea. Another possibility is that Aghios Elias, with its location overlooking a strategic passageway towards other Mainalian settlements, may have remained an ethnic sanctuary. Forsén, Forsén and Østby remarked that the large marble temple of Aghios Elias was the result of a very difficult and costly work. Carrying the marble from the Doliana quarry some 30km away, across the Kalogeriko pass near Vigla and up the mountain where the temple was set required proper organisation. They concede that, since Vigla was closer to the quarry, the temple may have been built by a single community, but they exclude the possibility that it was also the case at Aghios Elias: the temple was simply too big to have been built by a community of a few thousand inhabitants, especially if they had just finished building Vigla some twenty or thirty years later.⁴⁸³ Thus, they argue, the temple must have been an inter-state enterprise, something confirmed by the careful research in decoration – namely the choice of designing capitals similar to those at Delphi.

As a result, two stages can be identified in the construction of temples in the Asea valley. The first was in the late seventh century, when wood and mud brick temples were erected on century-old sacred sites. They were most likely built by members of the Mainalian ethnos, a loose entity gathering mobile communities living off pastoralism in the southern half of central Arcadia. The Mainalian consciousness crystallised around common cults, the very ones that were materialised by temples in this period. The second stage took place in the sixth century, when expensive and ornamented stone temples were built all over the Asea valley. This evolution corresponds with a demographic increase in the area and the emergence of nucleated settlements, suggesting that poleis started to form. Temples located on summits delimiting the territory of cities were consecutively adorned with large marble temples, competing in size and style: this process probably reflects the gradual assertion of the different cities' ownership over a given territory delimited by these temples. At that point, the ethnos seems to have lost its ownership of some cult places, indicating an important shift in religious habits. People continued to worship at their ethnic sanctuaries, but on the other hand certain cult places were appropriated by given communities. It seems that Asea gained precedence over the valley, and as the most populated settlement, managed to gain control of Vigla. On the other hand, the ethnos did not vanish altogether: we find instances of Mainalians in the fifth century and later, and the ethnos seems to have remained a layer of identity for the people who belonged to the poleis that arose on ethnic territory.⁴⁸⁴

construction, area, and circumstances in which the temples of the Asea valley and Epidauros were built is too different to allow a fruitful comparison.

⁴⁸³ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 185-186. They estimate the population at Asea at the time to have been between 2,000 and 3,000 people (Forsén and Forsén 1997, 174-175 fig. 1). See also Pikoulas 1999, 280 n. 30.

⁴⁸⁴ For instance Tellôn, Mainalian, but also Oresthasian and Arcadian, p. 123-124 and n. 426.

Artemis Hemera

The sanctuary was located at a major junction, in a basin where modern Arcadia, Achaia and Corinthia meet and near an important route between the coast and the interior of the Peloponnese.⁴⁸⁵ A variety of offerings indicate that the sanctuary was attributed to Artemis, but the first evidence mentioning Artemis Hemera explicitly dates from the sixth century.⁴⁸⁶ There may have been an Archaic mud brick temple on the site, as suggested by a Laconian acroterion found in situ. The Archaic history of the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera is obscure, and what community visited the goddess in this period is debated between an inclusive view, arguing that the sanctuary was shared between the people of this area of the northern Peloponnese regardless of their ethnic – Arcadians or Achaians – and a more restricted view.

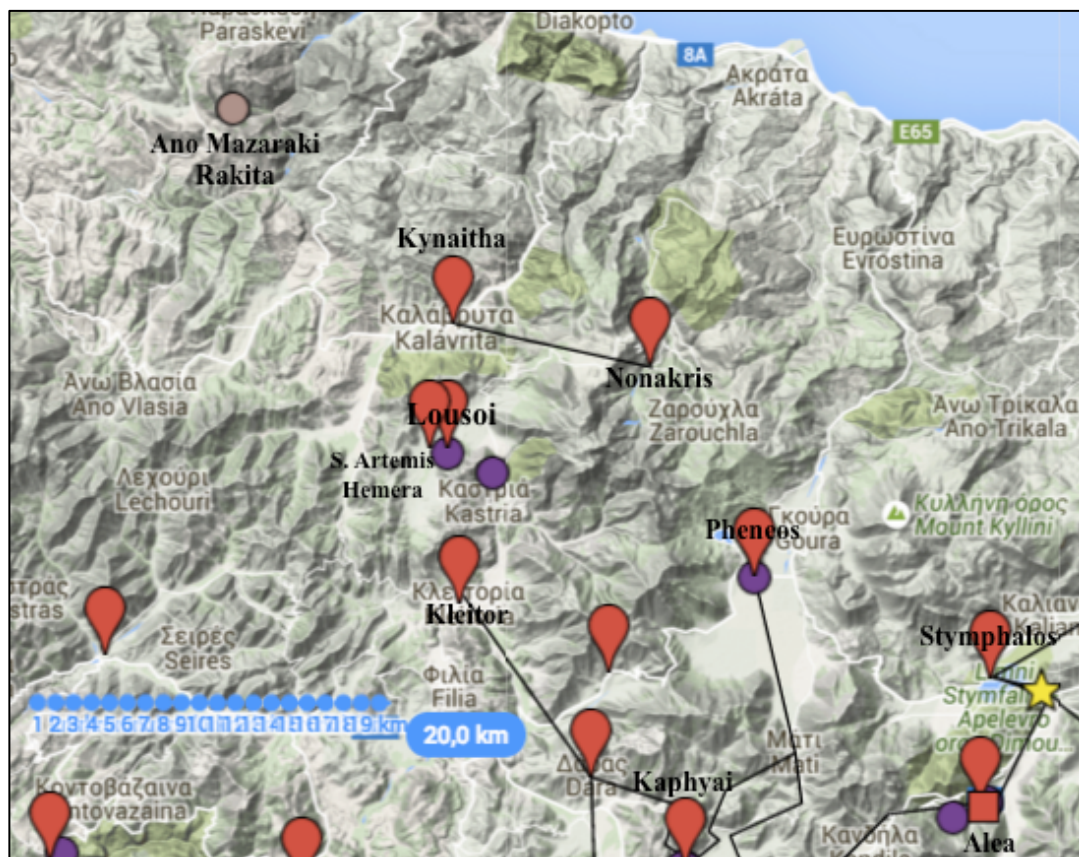


Figure 23: Map of Lousoi and its surroundings. (Baleriaux 2014, courtesy of Google Maps)

⁴⁸⁵ Tausend 1999, Morgan 1997, 190. On the mixture of Arcadian and Achaian dialect in inscriptions demonstrating close contact between the coast and the interior, see Jeffery 1949, 30-31 and *IG* V.2 360 (Pheneos). These connections were effective, as numerous contacts were established between the sanctuary, or at least its workshops, and the rest of the Peloponnese: Morgan 1999, 418; Morgan 1997, 129, 190-191; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1997, 60; Schauer 1998, 267-269.

⁴⁸⁶ Mitsopoulos-Leon 1990, 163f. Offerings: fibulae and pins decorated with bronze animal characters, female protomes and an Artemis with bow. Inscriptions: *IG* V.2 400, *IG* V.2 401 (sixth century BCE) and *IG* V.2 397 (fifth century BCE).

The possibility that the sanctuary was a meeting place for a large community is suggested in Bacchylides' *Ode* 11. The poet traces the myth of the Proetids, who fled from Argos or Tiryns to Lousoi in madness and were healed there: they vowed to build an altar to Artemis at the very spot where they were cured, and are therefore considered founders of the sanctuary. Then, Bacchylides writes that it was at this sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi that the Achaians assembled before going to Troy, and that these same men were later involved in the foundation of Metapontum⁴⁸⁷: the sanctuary would thus have been visited by Achaians. This passage is challenging and has been interpreted in many different ways, since 'Achaians' can designate the Homeric Greeks as well as the ethnos living north of Lousoi in Achaia.⁴⁸⁸ This is problematic, because two foundation myths featuring the two types of Achaians coexist regarding Metapontum. On the one hand, the city was supposed to have been founded by Pylian followers of Nestor who got lost after their return from Troy⁴⁸⁹, on the other hand, Metapontum was re-founded by Peloponnesian settlers from Achaia, who had been summoned by the Achaians of Sybaris in a dispute with the Spartan colonists at Tarentum.⁴⁹⁰ Thus, in this case the exact meaning of 'Achaian' intended by Bacchylides is ambiguous.

Why would Lousoi, an Arcadian town, have been a plausible meeting place for the Achaian colonists? To answer this question, different interpretations of the extent of Lousoi's influence have been proposed. The most inclusive view argues that the sanctuary was a meeting place shared by the communities of the whole northern Peloponnese. This hypothesis relies on the fact that populations living in the high basins of what would become Achaia and Northern Arcadia were mostly transhumant herdsman or living in small-scale settlements during the early history of the sanctuary; mountains would have been, for all of them, very familiar places with the resources necessary to feed the flocks, regardless of what region they are supposed to belong to.⁴⁹¹ For instance K. Tausend, who presents the most inclusive view of the matter, proposed that the Achaians who settled at Metapontum included members of the northern Arcadian tribe of the Azanians, therefore implying that the cult of Artemis was shared between the Achaians and the Azanians.⁴⁹² There are several difficulties with the hypothesis. First of all, even if the Azanians claimed to be one of the oldest Arcadian ethne, there is no evidence that they existed at the moment

⁴⁸⁷ Bacchyl. *Epin.* 11.110-125.

⁴⁸⁸ Cairns 2005, 36.

⁴⁸⁹ Strabo 5.2.5, 6.1.15; Vell. Pat. 1.1.1.

⁴⁹⁰ Antiochus, *FGrH* 555 F12 apud Strabo 6.1.15. D. Cairns argues that this tradition is the most historical one, since no Bronze Age Greek settlement was found on the site: Cairns 2005, 36.

⁴⁹¹ Morgan 1997, 189-191 and 1999: 418-420, who discusses early graves at Kalavryta and Manesi around 700 BCE.

⁴⁹² Tausend 1993, 16, 24. The Azanians included people from Lousoi, Pheneos, Kleitor, Psophis, Paion and perhaps Kynaitha. However, there is no evidence that they participated in the colonisation movement: for a less inclusive view, see Roy and Nielsen 1999, 23-26, 36-39. On the Azanians, see Jost 1985, 28; Hdt. 6.127.3; Steph. Byz. s.v. Pheneos, Azania. Paus. 8.4.3-5 for the descendants of Azan.

Metapontum was founded in the late eighth or early seventh century BCE – in fact, there is even less evidence for the Azanian ethnos than for any other Arcadian one.⁴⁹³ Secondly, Bacchylides' appeal to an Achaian origin for Metapontum is in itself problematic, for it comes in the context of the fifth century BCE when the definition of Achaian identity in Southern Italy was much debated.⁴⁹⁴ Finally, B. Kowalzig questions the involvement of Achaian settlers altogether, as she argues that the cities of Magna Graecia were much more developed in the fifth century than their so-called Achaian founders, still living in small villages at the time.⁴⁹⁵

However, even if making the Azanians take part in the alleged colonization of Metapontum by Achaian settlers seems excessive, it is still plausible that Lousoi was a shared cult centre for northern Arcadians as well as Achaians. The religious site emerged in a context predating the division of the Peloponnese into formal regions.⁴⁹⁶ According to the variety and quality of the dedications found, and since the sanctuary was at the crossroads of different valleys with a scattered habitation pattern, it is possible that it was a meeting place for a fluid worshipping group including small communities from all around, regardless of whether their region of habitation was 'Achaia' or 'Arcadia'.

If in the Archaic period the sanctuary was a meeting place for a loose community of worship made up of mobile groups living in the northern Peloponnese, by the fifth century BCE the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera came to belong to the polis of Lousoi.⁴⁹⁷ Since the earliest evidence for the existence of Lousoi as a polis dates from the same century⁴⁹⁸, it is likely that a similar process to the one which took place in the Asea valley occurred at Lousoi. At some point, possibly in the sixth century, the settlement of which traces are visible in the late geometric period was permanently established as the community of Lousoi. This settlement became a polis by the fifth century, and Lousoi took ownership of the sanctuary that was located near its urban centre in its process of formation.

⁴⁹³ Azanians as the oldest of the Arcadians: Polyb. 4.70.3; Strab 8.8.1; Paus. 10.9.5. Earliest source mentioning an Azanian: Hdt 6.127. See discussion in Jost 1985, 25-27; Pikoulas 1982, 82; Morgan 1999, 416; Tausend 1993, 23-26 for testimonia. Note that Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* mentions the Parrhasians but not the Azanians, Hom. *Il.* 2.601-610.

⁴⁹⁴ The 'Achaians' in the sense of a community established in the Northern Peloponnese do not appear in sources before well into the fifth century, Kowalzig 2007, 298. On the Achaian colonization: La Torre 2005, 35-47, 355-86; Hall and Morgan 1996; Bérard 1957, 323-383.

⁴⁹⁵ Kowalzig 2007, 298-301. Farnell 1898, 346 was already sceptic about making the Lousoi temple a starting point for the colonisation of Metaponto.

⁴⁹⁶ As convincingly argued by Kowalzig 2007, 290. See also Morgan 1999, 419 for the variety of dedications.

⁴⁹⁷ *IG* V.2 397, 399 (Lousoi, both fifth century).

⁴⁹⁸ *IG* V.2 399 (Lousoi, early fifth century); *IG* V.2 387 (fifth century); perhaps *Nomima* 1 n. 57 (against: Dubois 1986, 220). *IPArk* n. 20 may belong to Lousoi (sacred law for a cult of Demeter, c. 525 BCE). Paus. 8.18.8 also reports a dedication made by Agesilas of Lousoi, victorious in the Pythian games in 546 BCE; on the problems with early victor lists, see Thomas 1989, 287-8.

Conclusion

Hence, we can distinguish two distinct phases in the evolution of sanctuaries in the Archaic period, coinciding with significant changes in the way populations were organised and used geography.

First, in the eighth century in the basins of eastern Arcadia, and in the seventh century in the mountains of the Asea valley and western Arcadia, two types of brick sanctuaries emerge: those visited by a structured group of worshippers, and those visited by a fluid one. Making this distinction solely based on offerings can prove problematic, mostly – but not only – due to the limited scope of excavation so far; looking at the locations of the sanctuaries compared to settlements proves a more fruitful approach.

On the one hand, we have ‘proto-polis’ sanctuaries, controlled by a defined community living in a defined territory. On the other hand, we have sanctuaries visited by a community made up of several smaller communities, which does not present itself as a unified entity. These are sanctuaries located in the rest of Arcadia, located at Mount Lykaion in Parrhasia, Vigla and Aghios Elias in the territory of the Mainalians, Lousoi in Azania, and Gortys in Kynouria. In these areas, the settlement pattern is highly dispersed, as no nuclear city of a size comparable to the eastern Arcadian cities is identified by excavations or in sources before the sixth century. There is some evidence of a small settlement at Lousoi in the eighth century, but it is not impossible that it was mostly established to take care of the sanctuary – as was the case later in Lousoi’s history.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, we can distinguish two broad patterns of implantation of cult sites: on the one hand, those located at a strategic middle place for a large community living in very small and scattered settlements. On the other hand, those located near relatively high concentrations of people on one given territory.

Fr. de Polignac argued that the construction of rural temples resulted from a will to assert the community’s ownership of their territory by implanting expensive religious buildings as boundary markers. This statement does not describe the situation in Archaic Arcadia accurately, where in most of the region ‘territoriality’ is a vague notion. It is true that cities with their own distinct identity emerge relatively early in the east, perhaps in reaction to pressure from their neighbours (Argos and Sparta for Tegea, for instance). But there, the first temples emerge close to urban centres: only Mavriki could be considered as a ‘border-temple’. The rest of Arcadia seems to be occupied by relatively small and mobile groups of people living in scattered settlements. There, cult sites were located at places that overlook the communities and from where the territory can be surveyed, and which are places as crucial to their lifestyle as the plains are to the formers. The fact that some of these temples were built at these previously open-air places shows how important they were. These cult places defined the communities in another way: not by creating a self-defined identity to project to outsiders visiting sanctuaries, but by assembling

⁴⁹⁹ ÖAI online report summary <http://www.oelai.at/index.php/318.html> visited 22/01/15 14:02.

scattered communities around the same cult. For instance, Artemis Hemera was the centre of a cult shared by a wide and relatively undefined ethnos, including different smaller communities living in the mountains of the northern Peloponnese, who did not seem to feel the need to present themselves as a coherent community through the sanctuary. This latter situation may be similar in the case of Mount Lykaion. The sanctuary was probably originally a Parrhasian cult site. The Parrhasians were an old ethnos⁵⁰⁰ and, as at Lousoi, there is very little evidence for any display of communal self-definition in the sanctuary. At Aghios Elias and Vigla, communities living in the area occupied by Mainalians, which spread northwards to Mount Mainalos west of Mantinea, and westwards along an arc north of the future Megalopolitan plain as far as Alipheira, were probably already gathering at the open air cult sites in the Bronze Age. They continued to do so in the early Archaic period. There is no evidence of any community self-definition or advertisement at this point either, although there are signs that a settlement was re-established on the acropolis of Asea in the mid-eighth century.⁵⁰¹ Ethnic sanctuaries were meeting places strengthening the cohesion of these fluid groups, but did not serve to assert any territorial claims.

Besides, the construction of brick temples shows a significant shift in the way people practiced religion after the eighth century BCE: open-air cult places were not sufficient anymore. The escalation in demonstration of devotion to the gods led parts of the worshipping community, probably those who lived closest and were most likely to benefit from the economic profit caused by the sanctuary, to erect brick and wood temples. These had multiple advantages: they could host offerings safely, were more visible than open air places, and their aesthetics could attract more worshippers as well as display the community's piety to the god.

This trend expanded in the late seventh, sixth and down into the fifth century BCE into building elaborate and ornamented marble temples, with well-researched architectural features and artistic input brought from elsewhere in Greece, being erected even on ethnic territory. These coincide with a growing concentration of population in settlements and the establishment of certain groups of population in territories bound by limits. The phenomenon was observable in Tegea as early as the late seventh century, probably triggered by the growing threat caused by Sparta. In the Asea valley, a number of settlements built their own religious sites in an apparent competition for the largest and most prestigious temple. It is notable that Asea, being the largest settlement of all and controlling the small but fertile basin, may have appropriated the old sites of Aghios Elias and Vigla. Ethnic cults gradually lost importance as the members of ethne identified more with smaller entities set in space, perhaps influenced by the development followed by their neighbours from the east such as Tegea. A similar evolution is noticeable at Lousoi, where the sanctuary initially welcoming a loose and fluid group of worshippers gradually comes under the control of Lousoi, a settlement that grew nearby and in all likelihood developed

⁵⁰⁰ Already listed in the *Catalogue of Ships*: Hom. *Il.* 2.609.

⁵⁰¹ Vigla and Aghios Elias may not have been the only ethnic sanctuaries of the Mainalians; the possibility that other sites may be found in Mainalian zone is not to be excluded.

thanks to the economic benefits brought by the sanctuary. These costly temples were a significantly greater investment than their mud brick predecessor: they may have been funded and ordered by communities which had strengthened their grasp on the sanctuary and the land around it as their own. As a result, although worshippers could still come from a variety of places both close and far, places like Tegea mixed worship with communal identity-building by displaying tokens of Tegean greatness in the temple of Athena Alea.⁵⁰² In this light, temple building and the formation of proto-poleis were indeed intertwined. This entails that poleis may have emerged in Arcadia when marble temples were erected and when settlements which were previously members of large, non-territorial communities started to assert their ownership of smaller but defined pieces of land. By the fifth century BCE, poleis were attested all over Arcadia.⁵⁰³

Altogether, the Archaic period, between the eighth and the sixth century BCE, is a crucial period for the formation of Arcadian religious topography. The vagueness and fluidity of the Early Iron Age, with its diversity of cults and cult places invisible to the eyes of archaeologists, gradually settles into a variety of small, sedentary settlements established around key cult places located in convenient places, on hills or in corridors, as at Lousoi, Gortsouli or Tegea. The tradition of holding worship on heights inherited from the Bronze Age also persists, and fluid communities continue to gather there until one larger and more powerful settlement, a member of the worshipping community, decides to take it over, as at Asea. The concern for establishing territorial boundaries and constructing a coherent community started in eastern Arcadia, probably both because of its ecology and resources coming from the land, and because of the influence of the emerging polis system in the Argolid and Laconia. It then spread to central and western Arcadia, without altogether wiping away the old ethne: they remained, but some cults which used to be meeting places for the whole ethnos were taken over by proto-poleis. This may be why we have evidence of other vague but unifying roles played by some surviving ethne on the political stage in the fifth and fourth centuries – the Mainalians, the Parrhasians – but why we lose track of others, such as the Azanians, Eutresians, and Kynourians.

⁵⁰² Perhaps a similar process took place elsewhere, but unfortunately we do not have comparable testimonies to that of Herodotus for other places, and our material evidence for the use of the marble temples in the sixth century BCE in the other sites is too scarce to be conclusive.

⁵⁰³ *IGP* s.v. Arkadia.

Chapter 3: Connected Arcadia

‘Connectivity’, in the sense of patterns of connection and associated movements between places⁵⁰⁴, has been a dynamic field of studies since Braudel’s study of the Mediterranean, and brought back into focus by Horden and Purcell’s *Corrupting Sea* in 2000.⁵⁰⁵ While these works deal with inter-regionalisms on a different scale within the Mediterranean as a whole, this chapter has a much more modest goal: evaluating to what extent Arcadia took part in the Panhellenic network of communication through which ideas, goods, people, news and political agreements (or disagreements) transited. As this thesis is focused on religious topography, the topic of Arcadia’s ‘connectivity’ will be investigated through the lens of its sanctuaries. The investigation focuses on the Classical and Hellenistic periods, although the connectivity of Arcadia certainly goes beyond these chronological bounds.

One of the most notable changes that impacted connectivity in the fourth century BCE was the creation of *koina* gathering several independent poleis: the Arcadians and the Aetolians, among others, organised themselves in such confederations at this time.⁵⁰⁶ *Koina* significantly differed from *symmachies* and *sympoliteiai*: while the latter were mostly based on military obligations, *koina* required a greater involvement on the part of the communities they included, notably by synchronising diplomatic interests and restricting communities’ ability to determine their own laws.⁵⁰⁷ One way to enhance communities’ willingness to adhere to such an institution was to build on a sense of common identity, sometimes, but not always, based on an existing ethnic identity.⁵⁰⁸ This common identity did not override the feeling of belonging to a particular polis, but it still fostered a greater collaboration between the entities comprised in the *koinon*. The Arcadians illustrate this point well. Their cities were included in a *koinon* cemented by a shared ethnic identity going back at least to the fifth-century BCE, but nonetheless remained independent, with their citizens referring to themselves in most cases by their city of origin.⁵⁰⁹ Organising into a *koinon* came with the selection of a cult as a regional one,

⁵⁰⁴ Rutherford 2013, 9.

⁵⁰⁵ Horden and Purcell 2000, 123 define connectivity of micro-regions (the units of their study) as ‘the various ways in which micro-regions cohere, both internally and also one with another – in aggregate that may range in size from small clusters to something approaching the entire Mediterranean’. A concise bibliographical introduction to the study of movement in Antiquity is provided by De Angelis 2013, 1-12.

⁵⁰⁶ For the *koinon* of the Aetolians: Mackil 2013, 76-77 with references. A further comparison between the *koinon* of the Arcadians and the *koinon* of the Aetolians would have been interesting since both are characterised as ‘ethnic states’; unfortunately, the time limit allotted to this thesis does not allow going further into the subject.

⁵⁰⁷ Mackil 2013, 8 and 346-389.

⁵⁰⁸ Mackil 2013, 7. For the Arcadians, see Pretzler 2009.

⁵⁰⁹ Fifth-century identity: see p. 44-45 and Pretzler 2009. Dual identity: a practice already observable in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, see Roy 1972d. See for instance *SEG* 54 472: in a fourth-century BCE list of Arcadians abroad, Arcadians referred to themselves mostly by

and its expansion. Zeus Lykaeos was already singled out as pan-Arcadian in the fifth-century⁵¹⁰, and continued to serve as regional sanctuary under the koinon. In Arcadia, the koinon, despite its short existence, had an impact on social geography: Megalopolis was created, changing dramatically the human and religious landscape of Parrhasia and Mainalia.⁵¹¹ When the koinon disintegrated, the changes it had established in terms of ownership of sanctuaries and city creation remained.

Then, in the third century BCE, the integration of the Arcadians into the Achaean koinon and the region's very location in the middle of the Peloponnese contributed to its involvement in the wars that marked the Hellenistic period. Comparatively with the fourth century, little primary sources have reached us from this troubled period: if Polybios and Plutarch reported extensively the military events that shook the Peloponnese at the time, the small amount of inscriptions and archaeological finds make it difficult to fully account of the connectivity of Arcadian sanctuaries in the period. Besides the need for more excavations focused on the Hellenistic period, one of the reasons accounting for this decrease in our religious evidence may be the continuous wars that ravaged Arcadia in the third century. Polybios reports that most religious activity had stopped in the Peloponnese until the peace was concluded at the end of the Social War c. 216 BCE:

*'Along with the Achaeans the other Peloponnesian communities also set to work to repair the losses they had sustained; recommenced the cultivation of the land; and re-established their national sacrifices, games, and other religious observances peculiar to their several states. For these things had all but sunk into oblivion in most of the states through the persistent continuance of the late wars.'*⁵¹²

(tr. Shuckburgh, 1962)

Unfortunately, the state of evidence for second-century BCE Arcadia is equally poor. This situation may be correlated with the demographic contraction recorded by the *AVS* at the end of the third century BCE and that persisted afterwards.⁵¹³ Archaeologically, a decrease in population is implied by the gradual abandonment of country estates around the Asea Valley at that period. Equally, the increased availability of cultivable land to settlers in Mantinea, Orchomenos and Stymphalos indicates a reduction in the demographical pressure in those areas.⁵¹⁴ The diminishing evidence for Arcadian mercenaries may also indicate signs of population

their polis, with or without the addition of Arkas. In a few cases they were designated simply as Arkas.

⁵¹⁰ See p. 44-45 for the ARKADIKON coinage types and the celebration of Lykaia in the Anabasis.

⁵¹¹ See p. 43-51.

⁵¹² Polyb. 5.106: '... ἀνενοῦντο δὲ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς παρ' ἑκάστοις ὑπάρχοντα νόμιμα...'

⁵¹³ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 269-271.

⁵¹⁴ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 269; Roy 1999, 342-343.

decline: if some Arcadians were recorded at the service of different powers in the early second century BCE, our evidence stops after the middle of the second century.⁵¹⁵ Finally, the rarefication of new large public buildings implies that cities were drained of funds, and perhaps also of population. Two notable exceptions were the theatre of Tegea and the new walls of Megalopolis, both built in the second century BCE; however, neither was funded by the civic community, as both were financed by Antiochos IV Epiphanes.⁵¹⁶

Why move?

Broadly speaking, three main reasons encouraged mobility in and out of Arcadia during Antiquity as a whole: trade, war, and religion.

Trade and economic activity were an important reason come to, leave, and transit through Arcadia. For instance, the last chapter suggested that transhumance was most likely practiced in Arcadia both by locals and by shepherds from nearby regions, stimulating connections between Arcadians and their neighbours.⁵¹⁷ The lack of olive presses in Arcadia also demonstrates that the region was a market for olive and olive oil importation, most likely from Laconia or Argolid.⁵¹⁸ Other products that were not natural resources in Arcadia such as metals, fish and salt were probably imported, as well as secondary products such as pottery.⁵¹⁹

War lured the Arcadians out of their homes as early as it came to exist. It is mostly for their military qualities that the Arcadians were known in Antiquity. Homer lists Arcadian warriors among the Greeks landing at Troy, and the poet indicates that Arcadian warriors were already famous for their skills in fighting.⁵²⁰ During the Persian wars, Arcadians from various communities took part in crucial battles alongside the other Greeks. They went out of their land and mingled, to the point of inspiring a cult of Pan in Athens.⁵²¹ Pheidippides reputedly crossed Mount Parthenion running to reach Sparta, which demonstrates that mountains were certainly not obstacles to connectivity. The rest of Arcadia's history demonstrates clearly enough that the Arcadians were in constant contact with the other Greeks through wars or

⁵¹⁵ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 270-271 link this phenomenon with the treaty of Apamea limiting opportunities for mercenary service in the Seleucid kingdom (Liv. 38.38.10; Polyb. 21.42.15).

⁵¹⁶ Ameling et al. 1995, 99-102.

⁵¹⁷ See p. 96 n. 460. The date at which transhumance started to be practiced is debated.

Evidence is certainly difficult to obtain on the matter, but it is unlikely that in a country such as mountainous Arcadia, offering a perfect ecology for pastoralism, transhumance only started in the Hellenistic period. Besides, Chaniotis' conclusions for Crete (transhumance practiced as an economic alternative in the Hellenistic period because of a population growth and lack of arable land for everyone, Chaniotis 1995, 68 and 1999, 201) are not applicable to Arcadia, since no population growth is attested in the Hellenistic period (Forsén and Forsén 2003, 267).

⁵¹⁸ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 266; Pikoulas 1995, 365-367.

⁵¹⁹ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 267. Fish trade in Arcadia, imported from Argos to Tegea: Arist. *Rh.* 1365a, 1367b and *SEG* 11 423 l. 21-29; see Dillon 1997, 170.

⁵²⁰ Hom. *Il* 2.600-615.

⁵²¹ Hdt. 1.105.

diplomatic alliances.⁵²² It is also well known that mercenary service was one of the key activities for the Arcadians, perhaps already in the Archaic period.⁵²³ They were present in many wars, even if Arcadia was not directly involved, as mercenaries. Thousands of Arcadian mercenaries from various cities marched with Cyrus the Great in his attempt to take the throne of Persia.⁵²⁴ In the early fifth century, 15,000 Arcadians were in the service of Gelon of Syracuse, which demonstrates that they had no problem moving around the Greek world, even by sea.⁵²⁵ Arcadians found in inscriptions overseas in the fourth century BCE were probably mercenaries.⁵²⁶ Athens imported epikouroi in the 420s BCE, when Arcadia was officially a member of the Peloponnesian League.⁵²⁷

Due to these belligerent activities, Arcadians were famous in the whole Greek world for their military skills, in which they took pride.⁵²⁸ It is even thought that Arcadian mercenaries funded the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai in homage to this particular Arcadian tradition.⁵²⁹ This specialty was so famous that Hermippos joked that Arcadia's best export was its mercenaries.⁵³⁰ The contrast between the military skills of the Arcadian mercenaries and the defeats suffered at home gave rise to the proverb '*Arkadas mimesthai*', which is said of 'those who struggle for others with success but harvest at home nothing but defeat'.⁵³¹ The practice carried on well into the Hellenistic period, until the treaty of Apamea limited opportunities for mercenary service.⁵³²

Finally, sanctuaries were places of meeting, and therefore also places of contact. This contact was not restricted to local groups: although each city had its own sanctuaries, people could travel long journeys to visit one in particular. These were most famously the Panhellenic sanctuaries, where visitors would be either looking for the solution to a particular problem, or they would attend agonistic festivals, on behalf of their community or for themselves. The first category of sanctuaries includes

⁵²² See historical overview p. 39-53.

⁵²³ Hornblower 1991, 162; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 267-268 and n. 139. The evidence is scarce and controversial, consisting mainly of miniature weapons dedicated in Arcadian sanctuaries in the Archaic period and of an Alkmeonid coin found in Arcadia that Fields 1994, 64-65 assumes was brought back by a mercenary at the service of the Alkmeonidai in the late sixth century. For a more sceptical point of view, see Roy 1999, 347-349.

⁵²⁴ See occurrences of Arcadians in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Roy 1967, 308-9: calculated that at least 4000 of the Ten Thousand were Arcadians.

⁵²⁵ Parke 1933, 11 and n. 3; Nielsen 1999, 40-41. The Mainalian Phormis was one of them: Paus. 5.27.1; Forsén and Forsén 2003, 268 n. 140. He dedicated richly at Olympia and Delphi.

⁵²⁶ *SEG* 54 1767 and *SEG* 58 398: Arcadian mercenaries in Black Sea before 349/8 BCE, during reign of Leukon I; *SEG* 54 1767: epitaph of the Arcadian Damnis (Egypt, second century BCE).

⁵²⁷ Tundle 2004, 54.

⁵²⁸ Lykomedes' speech at Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23. See also Pind. *Ol.* 6.80; Thuc. 7.57.9; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23.

⁵²⁹ Cooper 1996, 75-79; Fields 1994, 95-113; Cooper 1978, 20-28.

⁵³⁰ Hermippos Fr. 63 (Kock); Nielsen 2002, 81

⁵³¹ Nielsen 2002, 81 and 82 n. 221; Borgeaud 1988, 21-2.

⁵³² See p. 144.

oracles, mystery cults and healing sanctuaries; the second sanctuaries such as those of Zeus at Olympia and Nemea, Apollo at Delphi, and Poseidon at Isthmia. ‘Pilgrimages’⁵³³ to large sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia are attested from the Archaic period, corroborating both the reality and the age of religious mobility in early Greece.⁵³⁴ It seemed plausible to date travelling to far away places for religious purposes from Homer’s time: Homer mentions travels undertaken by Odysseus to the oracle of Dodona and sanctuary of Apollo at Delos⁵³⁵, while Pausanias (10.7.3) places the beginning of religious travel in the time of Homer and Hesiod. It must be noted that travelling was a hazardous activity: although religious mobility was protected by obligatory truces, such as when the Panhellenic games and the Eleusis mysteries were taking place, the non respect of truces and robbery were real dangers faced by the travellers.⁵³⁶ And yet, despite these perils, people kept on travelling.⁵³⁷

In addition, agonistic festivals or contests provide probably the most visible evidence for religious mobility in the ancient world. They attracted athletes and performers, as well as spectators from various points of the Greek world. The victorious among the athletes and performers participating in the games would then go on a tour around Greek cities.⁵³⁸ In particular, the glory of winning at one of the ‘Big Four’ Panhellenic games was proclaimed formally in epinikia. Besides the Panhellenic games, Pindar recorded some ‘lesser games’, including a few taking place in Arcadia.⁵³⁹

Movement also originated from the place where the festival was to be held: theoroi were sent to other Greek cities to announce the festival and invite representatives of the cities they reached, along with sometimes acknowledgement of a particular request related to the city they originate from.⁵⁴⁰ They were met by theorodokoi who hosted and entertained them, then acted as ambassadors of their own

⁵³³ On the suitability of the term ‘pilgrimage’ to designate religious mobility in ancient Greece: Scullion 2005, 111-130.

⁵³⁴ Dillon 1997, xiii-xiv identifies four kinds of sanctuaries which were particularly visited by ‘pilgrims’: the four Panhellenic sanctuaries with agonistic games; oracular sanctuaries; mystery cults; healing sanctuaries.

⁵³⁵ Dodona: Hom. *Od.* 14.326-329; Delos: Hom. *Od.* 6.162-67; *Hymn Hom. Ap.* 146-150.

⁵³⁶ Truce for the Eleusinian Mysteries: *IG I³ 6B*, 1. 17-27 and 36-47. It lasted fifty-five days. On the breaking of truces, see the example given by Thuc. 8.9.1-2 (Spartans breaking the Isthmian truce, 412 BCE); Plut. *Vit. Cleom.* 17.7 (Cleomenes II attacks Argos during the Nemean games). Olympic games in 480 BCE: Hdt 8.26.2. The dangers of religious travel were narrated in myth. Kyknos on the road to Delphi: Ps.-Hesiod *Shield* 57-140, 318-480; Pind. *Ol.* 10.15f. Oedipus killing his father on the same road: Soph. *OT* 1. 734f. On the subject, see Rutherford 1995, 275-192 with sources and Fontenrose 1959. The sea was no safer: a sacred ship sailing from Athens to Sounion was for instance captured by Aeginetans (Hdt 7.87).

⁵³⁷ For instance, the Olympic games and their attendance carried on despite the Persian wars: Thuc. 4.117-119, 122.1, 5.1. For an introduction to scholarship on religion and travel, see Harland 2011, 1-26.

⁵³⁸ Robert *OMS* VII, 35 (under the Roman Empire). See the extreme example of the musician Arion, touring in Magna Graecia and Sicily (Hdt. 1.23-24).

⁵³⁹ Pind. *Nem.* 9.1, 10.47, *Ol.* 9.96.

⁵⁴⁰ See definition of theoria in Rutherford 2013, 4-6 and the movements of the theoroi 6-9.

cities in attending the festival. Theorodokoi were either designated by their own city or by the city organising the festival.⁵⁴¹ The practice of proclaiming festivals is attested for the Panhellenic games from the Classical period at least, and *theoria* and *theorodokia* are attested as formalised institutions by the early fourth century.⁵⁴² In the third century BCE, we observe a multiplication of the ‘lesser games’ along with requests made by organising cities to make their games ‘isolympoi’ or ‘isonemean’ or, from around 250 BCE, as ‘stephanitai’ or ‘crowned’⁵⁴³. These requests reflect an important change: at certain games, instead of receiving a valuable prize, victors received a symbolic crown. Since it entailed a material prize and honours as a reward at home for the victor, each individual city invited by the envoys was requested to acknowledge the status of the games.⁵⁴⁴ Due to this process consisting of sending and receiving *theoroi* and *theorodokoi*, our epigraphic evidence shows a significant increase in the number of communications between cities regarding attendance to their festivals.⁵⁴⁵

Arcadia as a place of religious mobility will be investigated in two sections. First, the evidence for Arcadians moving outside of Arcadia to reach Panhellenic sanctuaries will be surveyed. Then, the religious mobility towards Arcadia will be examined through the examples of agonistic games taking place in Arcadia, especially the Lykaia and Hemerasia, and an evaluation of the outreach of the mysteries of Despoina at Lykosoura.

Going out

This section offers a quick survey of our current evidence for Arcadian presence at Panhellenic sanctuaries through dedications made on behalf of a

⁵⁴¹ Plassart 1921, 36; Perlman 2000, 13-60.

⁵⁴² Perlman 2000, 13 and 20 argues that while the term ‘*theoros*’ is attested since the early fourth century BCE, the term ‘*theorodokos*’ is not before the third century BCE. She argues that before that date the functions of hosting and representing the city at the festival must have been the responsibility of *proxenoi*. However, she traces the history of *theorodokia* in the Peloponnese back to the fourth century at least (2000, 157). On the other hand, Plassart 1921, 33 already identifies a short list engraved on a cippus found at Delphi and dated in the last years of the fifth century BCE as a list of *theorodokoi*.

⁵⁴³ The terminology appears in the middle of the third century, and occurs until c. 50 CE: Remijsen 2011.

⁵⁴⁴ Robert *OMS* VII, 3 argues that the ‘stephanitic’ games and their ballet of envoys started with the games organised by Ptolemy Philadelphos for the death of his father, which then triggered a range of copy-cats all around the Greek world, and especially in the Hellenistic kingdoms. On the other hand, Parker 2004 argues for a more organic evolution of the phenomenon rather than attributing the increase in games to a particular event, since the practice of sending of envoys to announce games was already recorded before Ptolemy’s games, and since a variety of contests existed in the Peloponnese at the time of Pindar already. He concedes however that the Hellenistic Kings, as well as Leagues and individual cities, encouraged the proliferation of these games in the third century BCE. See also Remijsen 2011, 103-104.

⁵⁴⁵ The two most complete epigraphic dossiers for the third century BCE are from Magnesia on the Maeander (*I.Magnesia* 16-87, 208 BCE) and the list of *theorodokoi* who hosted Delphic *theoroi* (Plassart *BCH* 45 1921, 1-85, second half of the century).

community to Delphi or Olympia on the one hand, and on the other hand evidence for Arcadian athletes competing in agonistic games

Dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries

We have evidence of Arcadian presence at major Panhellenic sanctuaries since the sixth century BCE. Psophis sent a dedication at Olympia in the second half of the sixth century BCE and so did Kleitor, to celebrate ‘the many cities they subdued’.⁵⁴⁶ Orchomenos and Tegea are mentioned on dedications at Delphi and Olympia as members of the Hellenic League who fought the Persians at Plataia.⁵⁴⁷ Tegea later sent the spoils of her war against Mantinea to Delphi around 423 BCE (Thuc. 4. 134.1-2). Gortys and Kaphyai sent dedications at Delphi in the first half of the fifth century BCE.⁵⁴⁸ A dedication by the Mantineans at Delphi in the fifth century is implied by Paus. 8.36.8 and Hdt 4.161, while a wingless Nike made by Kalamis was dedicated by them at Olympia (Paus. 5.26.6).⁵⁴⁹ Thelpousa made a dedication at Olympia in the fifth century BCE.⁵⁵⁰ Contacts and dedications sent at Delphi and Olympia then increased in the fourth century, notably through military achievements of the koinon: Spartan spoils were dedicated by the Arcadians at Delphi in c. 369 BCE⁵⁵¹, as well as a large statuary group of Arkas, Apollo, Kallisto, Triphylos celebrating the annexing of Triphylia around 368 BCE⁵⁵². In 346/5 BCE the Megalopolitans went further and requested the right to become members of the Delphic Amphictyony.⁵⁵³ The evidence does not stop there, as for instance Arcadian cities are listed in the catalogue of Delphic theorodokoi of c. 230-210 BCE.⁵⁵⁴ Arcadians also took part in Panhellenic agonistic competitions, evidence of which will be detailed below.

Agonistic festivals

Although no Arcadian apparently commissioned Pindar, the *Olympionikai* list contains 39 individuals from all over Arcadia who won victories at the Olympic games, some of them more than once. The first recorded victor is dated from 708 BCE – a victory of doubtful historicity – and the last one in 188 BCE.⁵⁵⁵ An overwhelming majority of the victories are won in the fifth and first half of the fourth century BCE (36 out of 47) and in the boys’ boxing (13 out of 47). Victors came from

⁵⁴⁶ Psophis: *SEG* 24 299. Kleitor: implied in Paus. 5.23.7.

⁵⁴⁷ Delphi: Meiggs and Lewis 1989, n. 27 coil 3 (Tegea) and coil 4 (Orchomenos). Olympia: Paus. 5.23.2.

⁵⁴⁸ Kaphyai: *Syll*³ 48. Gortys: *Syll*³ 49.

⁵⁴⁹ Hejnic 1961, 29.

⁵⁵⁰ *SEG* 11 1254a. Nielsen 2002, Appendix II, X.

⁵⁵¹ *SEG* 31 558-559.

⁵⁵² Polyb. 4.77.8; *CEG* 824.

⁵⁵³ Didymus, *In Demosth.* 4.2-13; *Syll*³ 221.

⁵⁵⁴ Plassart 1921, 15.

⁵⁵⁵ *Olympionikai* 22 (Eurybatos of Lousoi or Sparta, 708 BCE); *Olympionikai* 608 (Akresilaos of Megalopolis, 188 BCE).

Dipaia (1), Heraia (7, including three twice-victors), Kleitor (4), Lousoi (1), Mantinea (6), Megalopolis (1), Mainalon (5, including 2 twice-victors), Methydrion (2), Oresthasion (1), Parrhasia (2 in the fifth century BCE), Pheneos (1), Phigalia (2, including one three-times victor), Stymphalos (1 twice-victor), Tegea (3, including one twice-victor) and Thelpousa (1).⁵⁵⁶ The lack of victors after 188 BCE, although the inscriptions continue to record victors from all over the Greek world until 369 CE – with more or less historical credibility – may be related to the large demographic contraction experienced by Arcadia after the late third century BCE, a decrease from which the population never fully recovered.

There were also Arcadian victors at the other Panhellenic games. For instance, a Tegean was Pythian victor in 554 BCE (Paus. 10.7.7) and another one won at the Nemean games in the fifth century⁵⁵⁷. Pausanias (8.18.8) reports a Louseatan who won at the Pythia in 546 BCE. Finally, a list of victories found at Tegea, perhaps dedicated by a Tegean tragic actor, lists the Great Dionysia of Athens, the Soteria of Delphi, the Ptolemaia of Alexandria, the Heraia of Argos, the Naia of Dodona and eighty-eight other prizes won theatrical contests.⁵⁵⁸ However, our evidence for Arcadians in the other Panhellenic games is a lot less extensive than for the Olympic games.

Coming in

While Arcadians travelled to attend games, the games would sometimes come to Arcadia. Delphic theorodokoi are recorded in Arcadia since the fifth century BCE.⁵⁵⁹ In the third century BCE, when games multiply, we also find instances of Arcadian theorodokoi appointed for lesser games and festivals.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ Origin of the victors: Arcadia (*Olympionikai* 529, 292 BCE); Dipaia (*Olympionikai* 314, 440 BCE); Heraia (*Olympionikai* 132, 520 BCE; 138, 516 BCE; 189, 484 BCE; 190, 480 BCE; 295, 480 BCE; 313, 440 BCE; 317, 436 BCE; 344, 416 BCE; 394, 384 BCE; 483, 312 BCE); Kleitor (*Olympionikai* 395, 384 BCE; 406, 376 BCE; 456, 336 BCE; 520, 296 BCE); Mantinea (*Olympionikai* 163, 500 BCE; 193, 484 BCE; 202, 480 BCE; 254, 464 BCE; 256, 464 BCE; 265, 460 BCE); Lousoi (*Olympionikai* 22, 708 BCE); Megalopolis (*Olympionikai* 608, 188 BCE); Mainalon (*Olympionikai* 253, 400 BCE; 336, 420 BCE; 343, 416 BCE; 362, 400 BCE; 377, 392 BCE; 393, 384 BCE; 408, 372 BCE); Methydrion (*Olympionikai* 410, 372 BCE; 411, 372 BCE); Oresthasion (*Olympionikai* 231, 472 BCE); Parrhasia (*Olympionikai* 243, 468 BCE; 359, 400 BCE); Pheneos (*Olympionikai* 380, 392 BCE); Phigalia (*Olympionikai* 95, 572 BCE; 99, 568 BCE; 102, 564 BCE; 392, 384 BCE); Stymphalos (*Olympionikai* 188, 484 BCE; 199, 480 BCE); Tegea (*Olympionikai* 366, 400 BCE; 486, 308 BCE; 593, 208 BCE; 600, 200 BCE); Thelpousa (*Olympionikai* 576, 228 BCE).

⁵⁵⁷ Dubois 1986, *TE* 1.

⁵⁵⁸ IG V.2 118 (not before second century BCE). The list is strange because it counts among theatrical victories one victory at boxing in Alexandria. See Austin 2006, 141 and 263, Syll³ 1080.

⁵⁵⁹ Rutherford 2013, 91; Daux 1949, 4-12. The inscription is a fragment of a list of theorodokoi covering Arcadia and Achaia. See context in Nielsen 2002, 311-312. See also SEG 24, 379 (a Stymphalian appointed Delphic theorodokos: c. 373-347 BCE).

⁵⁶⁰ Polemon *Peri Hellados* fr. 55 Preller = Ath. *Deipn.* 13, 606ab (Arcadian theoroi at the court of Antigonos Gonatas at Pella, third century BCE); IG IV 727B 1. 7-8 (Tegean theorodokos of Hermione for the festival of Demeter Chthonia, 225-220 BCE).

In addition, athletes also came to Arcadia to compete. Among the typical prize list of the victors celebrated by Pindar were also mentioned victories at lesser games taking place in Arcadia, such as the Lykaia and Aleaia.⁵⁶¹ This demonstrates that in the first half of the fifth century BCE Arcadian contests were renowned enough to be worthy of mention by the famous poet. Altogether, we know of at least six ‘lesser games’ taking place in Arcadia. Tegea organised the Aleaia in the sanctuary of Athena Alea, Mantinea the Poseidaia near the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, Kleitor organised the Koriasia (or Koreia) for Athena Korias⁵⁶², Pheneos the Hermaia for Hermes, Lousoi the Hemerasia for Artemis Hemera, and the Lykaia took place on Mount Lykaion in the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios.⁵⁶³ We know next to nothing about the four first games. The Aleaia are known from a few inscriptions no later than the third century BCE⁵⁶⁴, however Pind. *Nem.* 10.47 mentions a competition at Tegea, perhaps the Aleaia. The Poseidaia are not attested before the second century BCE but may be older.⁵⁶⁵ The Koriasia are known thanks to a handful of undated inscriptions, and like the Aleaia, they may be alluded to in Pind. *Nem.* 10.47.⁵⁶⁶ Finally, the Hermaia took place in the stadium at the foot of the acropolis and are attested in the fifth century BCE.⁵⁶⁷ As for the Lykaia and the Hemerasia, they present the most documented dossiers to study agonistic games in Arcadia: they will be now examined.⁵⁶⁸

The Lykaia

Around the fifth century, the age-old sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios was considerably extended. Remains of athletic installations were found in what was called the ‘lower sanctuary’, located on a large terrace below the upper sanctuary. The archaeological remains include a 300x125m hippodrome, a dromos, a fountain house, rows of seats and a 67m-long stoa.⁵⁶⁹ These athletic facilities were used for the Lykaia, a regular festival held in the sanctuary in honour of Zeus Lykaios and Pan

⁵⁶¹ For instance Pind. *Nem.* 9.1, 10.47, *Ol.* 9.96.

⁵⁶² Jost 1985, 390-391. Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.23.59 states that Athena Korias invented the quadriga. Paus. 8.21.2 does not mention the games.

⁵⁶³ Polemon *Periegeta FHG* III Fr. 26 (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 8.153).

⁵⁶⁴ *IG* V.2 142 (end of the third century BCE); *IG* IV² 1, 629 l. 6 (Epidauros, second century BCE) an Epidaurean won at the diaulos at the Aleaia; *IG* V.2 22 l. 8 (second to first century BCE). *IG* V.2 113 (Tegea, early fifth century BCE) mentions ‘agôni’, but it is unclear whether it refers to the Aleaia.

⁵⁶⁵ *IG* IV².1 629 (Epidauros, second or first century BCE); Robert *OMS* VI, 711 proposes to identify the Poseidaia mentioned in *IG* V.1 656 (Sparta, undated) and *IG* VII 47 (Megara, undated) with the Mantinean competition. Jost 1985, 133 n. 8 and 290.

⁵⁶⁶ Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.153a; *IG* VII 47 (Megara, undated); Reinach 1886, 326; Robert *OMS* II, 1095 and n. 4.

⁵⁶⁷ Pind. *Ol.* 6.79; Jost 1985, 29-30; *IvO* 184 (a victor from Asia Minor, third century BCE); schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.153a. Jost 1985, 29-30.

⁵⁶⁸ It must be noted that the divinities celebrated were all the protector of the cities that organised the games: the relationship between cities and agonistic festivals should therefore not be underestimated.

⁵⁶⁹ Kourouniotes 1903, 50f; 1904b, 153f.

Lykaïos. The stadium has not been found, but D. Romano argues that it might be in fact located inside the hippodrome – which would be a unique occurrence in the Greek world.⁵⁷⁰ It was also suggested that the stadium could have been in the upper sanctuary.⁵⁷¹ Altogether, the archaeological finds in the upper sanctuary, the extension to the lower sanctuary with athletic installations, and the number of inscriptions and literary sources dated from this period make it likely that the Classical period was the sanctuary's peak of activity.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷⁰ G. Romano, 1981.

⁵⁷¹ G. Romano 2005; Davies 2008, 13.

⁵⁷² De Polignac 2002, 119. The cult continued around the ash altar, as indicated by the material from that period found in the ash altar and on the upper sanctuary. The excavations of the ash altar uncovered a Classical-looking statuette of Zeus in a himation on a square plinth, a hand of Zeus holding a lightning rod, a foot, presumably of Zeus, a miniature eagle (see Kourouniotes 1904a, cols. 184-185, figs. 11-19; Lamb 1925-1926, 143-146, n. 29, 30, 43; Jost 1985, 252, n. 2-5); mid-fifth century roof tiles (Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 624; for parallels, see Winter 1971, 75-77, 79, 81-82, n. 163); fifth- and fourth-century fragments of small phialai and skyphoi, with solid black gloss (Kourouniotes 1904a, cols. 164-166); fourth-century terracotta fragments (Kourouniotes 1904a, cols. 164-166; Jost 1985, 180; Kourouniotes 1904b, 153-214; Romano and Voyatzis 2014, 379). On the upper sanctuary, ten meters from the column bases: 2 bronze figurines of Hermes found close to one another (one wearing a cloak, chlamys, and conical hat, and one raising his right arm and wearing a chlamys and petasos. The legs of the latter are covered in lead. See Kourouniotes 1904a, cols. 199-203, figs. 20-22, pl. 9); eight other statuettes, bronze jewellery, a bronze plaque, a double iron link, and many roof tiles (Lamb 1925-1926, 145, n. 39, 40. 28; Kourouniotes 1904a, cols. 171, 196-197, 203-204, fig. 20, pls. 9, 10), all dated from the fifth century BCE. For the newest archaeological finds on the site, see Romano and Voyatzis 2015.

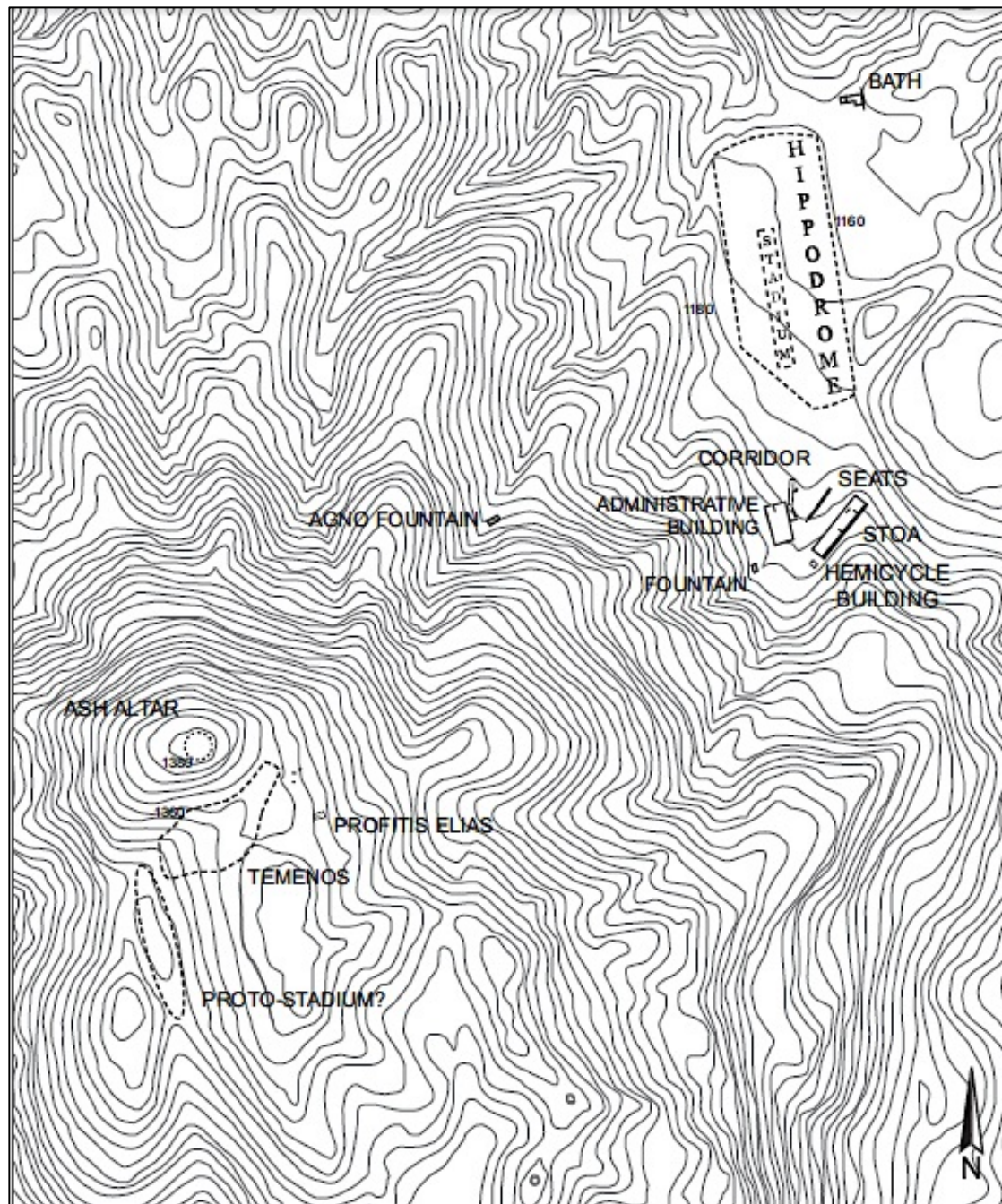


Figure 24: Mount Lykaion: map of the upper and lower parts of the sanctuary. (By A. Insua, M. Pihokker, and E. Rodriguez-Alvarez, in Gilman Romano & Voyatzis 2014, 574).

Outreach of the games

The earliest evidence for the festival goes back to Pindar, who mentions several times victories at the Lykaia among the prize list of his patrons.⁵⁷³ The games were mentioned in the prize list of athletes from all around Greece: for instance men of Corinth, Argos, Rhodes and Opous were recorded.⁵⁷⁴ These men often also won victories in some of the Big Four games (Olympian, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian games), showing that high-class athletes bothered travelling to Mount Lykaion to compete.⁵⁷⁵ The Pindaric evidence, albeit meagre, shows that the Lykaia were already of some renown in the fifth century BCE – almost as soon as the athletic installations were completed, predating and the multiplication of agonistic games in the Peloponnese – and that they attracted a broad range of skilled participants. What the reward for the victors was at this time is unknown, but is referred to by Pindar as ‘bronze (prize)’, perhaps a bronze tripod.⁵⁷⁶

Participation in the Lykaia in the late fourth century BCE was recorded in some detail in *IG* V.2 549 and 550 (figure 15).⁵⁷⁷ The two stelai record the names and provenance of victors of the games in the years 320-304 BCE. It appears that the games took place every four years, in this period at least, and were under the patronage of the priest of Zeus Lykaios and Pan Lykaios in alternation.⁵⁷⁸ In these inscriptions, participation fans out from the Peloponnese and central Greece to Asia Minor, Rhodes and western Greece. They also indicate that the games were purely athletic, since there were no artistic performances recorded in the inscriptions.

⁵⁷³ Pind. *Ol.* 7.84; *Ol.* 9.95; *Ol.* 13.105-111; *Nem.* 10.45f.

⁵⁷⁴ Pind. *Ol.* 7.84 (Diagoras of Rhodes, 464 BCE); 9.96 (Epharmostos of Opous, 466 BCE); 13.107 (Xenophon of Corinth, 464 BCE); *Nem.* 10.45 (Theaeus of Argos, 444 BCE).

⁵⁷⁵ For instance Kleainetos of Argos (third quarter of the fourth century BCE). Charneux BCH 109 1985, 357-384), also victor at the Pythia and Nemea and Menodoros of Athens (*IDélos* 1957, c. 140-130 BCE. Cf. Roussel 1907, 435; Dow 1935, 81-90) whose impressive victory list counts 36 victories including at the Olympia, Nemea, Soteira of Delphi, Eleusinia and Panathenaia.

⁵⁷⁶ Pind. *Nem.* 10.45 ‘χαλκὸν’. Tripods: Charneux 1985, 367.

⁵⁷⁷ See also inventory in Nielsen 1999, 61-62 tab. 1 and 62-63 tab. 2.

⁵⁷⁸ For discussions on the periodicity of the games, see Klee 1918, 66-68.

Date	320 BCE	316 BCE	312 BCE (very fragmentary)	308 BCE	304 BCE
<i>Eponymous</i>	<i>Priest of Zeus Lykaios</i>	<i>Priest of Pan Lykaios</i>	<i>Priest of Zeus Lykaios</i>	<i>Priest of Pan Lykaios</i>	<i>Priest of Zeus Lykaios?</i>
Arkas	7	7	1	0	6
Argeios	4	2	0	1 (2?)	4
Athenaios	1	0	0	0	0
Milesios	1	0	0	0	0
Aleios	2	0	0	1	0
Lakedaimonios	0	3	0	0	0
Akarnan	0	1	0	0	0
Makedôn	0	0	0	2	1
Rhodios	0	0	0	0	1
Surakosios	0	0	0	0	2
Kassandreias	0	0	0	0	1

Figure 25: Ethnic names of the victors listed in *IG* V.2 549 and 550.

Hence the evidence suggests that the Lykaia from the fifth century BCE to the late fourth century grew quickly to attract competitors from beyond the Peloponnese as far as Asia Minor and the islands. The epigraphy is limited, however, and may not be indicative of the amount of participants that the sanctuary would have drawn and the range of the origins. Still, our fourth-century epigraphic evidence for the expansion of the games is corroborated by archaeology: an administrative building was constructed in the fourth century BCE, in all likelihood to provide support for the organisation of the games.⁵⁷⁹ Our evidence then becomes less detailed and less abundant for the next centuries; however, some inscriptions indicate that athletes from Epidauros, Messene, Argos and Athens took part in the Lykaia in the third and second centuries BCE. It might suggest that the Lykaia's catchment area shrank after a period of expansion during the fourth-century or, perhaps more likely, that no trace of the other participants has yet been found.⁵⁸⁰

Then, the Lykaia appear again in an inscription from Athens: in the late third century BCE, a Megalopolitan theoria was sent to Athens to request the recognition of stephanitic status for the Lykaia.⁵⁸¹ Habicht proposed to date the decree from 215 BCE based on Polybius' account of the end of the social war dated from 216 BCE and

⁵⁷⁹ Voyatzis and Romano 2015, 216-217.

⁵⁸⁰ Epidauros: *IG* IV.2 629 (second or first century BCE). Messene: Gauthier 2000, 631-635 (second half of the second or first century BCE). Argos: Charneux 1985, 357-384 (third quarter of the fourth century BCE); *IAG* 45 (third century BCE). Athens: *IDélos* 1957=Roussel 1907, 435 (mid-second century BCE).

⁵⁸¹ *IG* II² 993.

of the restoration of religious festivals in the Peloponnese.⁵⁸² Yet, very little is known about the links that the sanctuary established with other cities beside the inscription from Athens. In any case, the Lykaia were apparently stephanitic at the end of the third century, swelling the ranks of the many stephanitic games in Greece at the time.⁵⁸³

Pan-Arcadian games?

The cult place on Mount Lykaion was particularly important to the Arcadians. Pindar already suggests it in a passage describing the Lykaion altar as ‘ruling over the Arcadians’.⁵⁸⁴ The pan-Arcadian dimension of the Lykaia is confirmed by the famous passage in Xenophon in which the Lykaia were organised in Phrygia by the Arcadians in Cyrus’ army: it is the only instance we have of a festival carried abroad.⁵⁸⁵ In the account, all of the Arcadian mercenaries under Cyrus, regardless of their city of origin, took part in the agonistic games that were organised: this suggests that the games were effectively pan-Arcadian by 400 BCE, since the festival was important enough to the Arcadians as a whole to be celebrated during a campaign.⁵⁸⁶ Besides, Zeus Lykaios was chosen as one of the types for the ARKADIKON coinage, which was part of a pan-Arcadian rhetoric used by different cities.⁵⁸⁷

In the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the sanctuary played an important role in Arcadian ethnic identity, which explains its expansion in this period. M. Pretzler argued that the shared Arcadian identity was key to the functioning of the koinon, which was neither based on a long-standing ethnic cohesion like in Aetolia nor on a hegemonic city that could impose its agenda on the smaller entities like Thebes in Boeotia.⁵⁸⁸ This shared identity aiming to unify the fragmented communities of Arcadia rested on two pillars: autochthony and a long history of war skills.⁵⁸⁹ It is on the bases of these two arguments of identity that political claims were articulated, for instance in Lykomedes’ speech of 369 BCE as reported by Xenophon.⁵⁹⁰ The

⁵⁸² Habicht 2000, 125. Polyb. 5.106.

⁵⁸³ Charneux suggests that the Lykaia were in fact already stephanitic in the third quarter of the fourth century BCE, Charneux 1985, 357 (picture of the inscription reproduced page 359). The inscription of the Argive Kleainetos qualifies the Lykaia as ‘druostephanois’ (l.7), ‘oak-crowned’. The date of the inscription is debated. Charneux’ dating rests on the lettering style of the inscription, which he admits was used in the third century BCE. Furthermore, the parallels he refers to date from the third and second century, Charneux 1985, 365-368.

⁵⁸⁴ Pind. *Ol.* 13 l. 107-108: ‘ὅσα τ’ Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσων Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἄναξ.’

⁵⁸⁵ Xen. *An.* 1.2.10.

⁵⁸⁶ It is highly unlikely that Xenophon’s reference to the Arcadians as a group results from ignorance or idle: whenever possible in the *Anabasis* the author mentions Arcadian figures by their city-ethnic or sub-ethnic. Xenophon led and lived with thousands of Arcadians on campaign for two years: he obviously must have had a good working knowledge of the Arcadians. See for instance *An.* 4.7.11 (Eurylochos of Lousoi, Aristonymos of Methydrion), 6.5.1 (Arexiôn the Parrhasian). For a similar point of view see Pretzler 2009, 93.

⁵⁸⁷ Pretzler 2009, 93-99. See p. 44-45.

⁵⁸⁸ Pretzler 2009, 87-88.

⁵⁸⁹ Pretzler 2009, 86-87.

⁵⁹⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23-24.

sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios perfectly exemplified the autochthony of the Arcadians: it had been in place ever since Arcadia existed, an autochthonous king created it, and it was the place where ancient-, pre-civilisation-looking myths took place.⁵⁹¹ Indeed, the Arcadians were famous for their strange religious customs taking place in the sanctuary: sacrificing children, eating human flesh and having worshippers turned into wolves for a set amount of years.⁵⁹² In addition, the cult had been founded by the son of the autochthonous Pelasgos, Lykaon, who was in turn the father of Arkas. These myths had been circulating earlier already, but the image of the Arcadians they promoted contributed to strengthen an Arcadian identity that gained salience and culminated with the political unification of the region into the koinon. The sanctuary crystallized the image that the Arcadians sought to promote, and had the additional benefit to be one of the most renowned Arcadian sanctuaries abroad thanks to the Lykaia. As a result, it naturally became the focus of regional identity as early as in the fifth century BCE, and kept this status under the koinon.⁵⁹³ The god was again present on the coinage minted by the fourth-century koinon, demonstrating the continuation of its status of regional sanctuary.⁵⁹⁴ It is therefore not surprising that the latest excavations identified a major building phase in the sanctuary in the second quarter of the fourth century BCE, corresponding to the foundation of Megalopolis and the rise of the formal koinon.⁵⁹⁵



Figure 26: Silver stater of Megalopolis struck in the name of the Arcadian koinon, c. 363-362 BCE. Rev. Zeus crowned; obv. seated horned Pan with monogram 'APK'. (Walker 2006 n. 1512).

⁵⁹¹ Bergese 1995, 103-104 adds that the Arcadians also considered Zeus as born in their land.

⁵⁹² For instance Plat. *Rep.* 565d-e; Plat. *Minos* 315c. In fact, the myths that imagined brutal rites on Mount Lykaion found an association with the Lykaia: the Parrhasian Demainetos/Damarchos had supposedly been turned into a werewolf after tasting human flesh during the sacrifice before winning boxing contests at Olympia upon retrieving his human shape. Damarchos: *Olympionikai* 359 (400 BCE); Paus. 6.2.8, 8.2.6. Demainetos: Pliny *NH* 8.34; Aug. *Civ.* 18.17.

⁵⁹³ Pretzler 2009, 95.

⁵⁹⁴ Walker 2006, n. 1511-1513 (c. 363-362 BCE). I fail to see how the letters below Pan form 'OAY(M)'. See figure 26.

⁵⁹⁵ Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 263.

The importance of the sanctuary in Arcadia significantly outlived the koinon, which dislocated around 363 BCE.⁵⁹⁶ The Lykaia remained a place where ‘Arcadianess’, confronted with other Greek ethne, overrode any other regional sub-ethnic or city-ethnic: in the victory lists from the late fourth century BCE, all Arcadian victors are named by their regional ethnic ‘Arkas’.⁵⁹⁷ Megalopolis, which had obtained control of the sanctuary after its foundation, kept it: it is Megalopolitan theoroi who are sent to request the stephanitic status of the games to Athens in the late third century.⁵⁹⁸ In addition, the reputed old age of the Lykaia was acknowledged by non-Arcadians until the Roman period: Aristotle, followed by Pliny the Elder, considers them to be older than the Olympic games, while the Parian marble makes their foundation contemporary to the reign of Kekrops in Athens.⁵⁹⁹ It was suitable that men who lived before the moon, and were the only autochthonous people of the Peloponnese, also founded contests the first.⁶⁰⁰ Finally, the monetary types showing crowned Zeus and Pan were kept with some variations until the first century BCE.⁶⁰¹

The Hemerasia

The sanctuary of Artemis Hemera was located at the foot of Mount Helmos, just above the city.⁶⁰² It had its most flourishing period at the end of the fourth century and in the third century, when it was considerably developed: a new temple and several other constructions were built in what looks like a single building programme. It was laid out on two levels with access provided through propylea. To the south lay a basin and a fountain, whereas to the north, at the extremity of the first small terrace, was a square building of c. 15m-long sides identified as a bouleuterion.⁶⁰³ Behind that building, to the north, a 1.5m-thick semi-circular wall opened to the south has been interpreted as the foundations for curved rows of seats, perhaps what M. Jost called a cultic theatre.⁶⁰⁴ Finally, there was a small peristyle building to the east of the so-called bouleuterion that has been identified by the excavators as the small Archaic

⁵⁹⁶ See p. 49-51.

⁵⁹⁷ *IG* V.2 549-550 (320-304 BCE); Pretzler 2009, 93.

⁵⁹⁸ *IG* II² 993, see p. 119.

⁵⁹⁹ Aristotle, apud schol. Aristid. p. 105; Plin. *NH.* 7.57; Parian Marble, *FGrH* 239A 17 (inscribed 264/3 BCE).

⁶⁰⁰ Arcadians ‘proselenoi’: Lyc. *Alex.* 481.

⁶⁰¹ Walker 2006, n. 1517-1518: rev. horned head of Pan, obv. large monogram over syrinx (c. 340 BCE); 1519, 1522, 1523, 1526-1528, 1530 rev. head of Zeus crowned, obv. seated Pan and monogram (c. 320s-275/270); 1520-1521, 1524, 1525, 1529, 1531-1539 rev. horned head of Pan, obv. large monogram over syrinx (c. 320s-275 BCE); n. 1540 rev. head of Zeus crowned, obv. seated pan and monogram (second century Arcadian koinon type, c. 195-188 BCE). The type is used until the 80-50s BCE (n. 1550-1568).

⁶⁰² The remoteness of the sanctuary has been largely over-emphasised in scholarship; for instance Kowalzig 2007, 271 who describes the sanctuary as ‘dwelling high up in the mountains far away at the fringes of civilisation’.

⁶⁰³ Jost 1985, 48; Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 15-24. Identification of the bouleuterion based on a similar example at Eleusis, see Mylonas 1961, 153.

⁶⁰⁴ Jost 1985, 48. For another instance of steps, perhaps for seating, in an Arcadian sanctuary, see Lykosoura.

temple of Artemis.⁶⁰⁵ The Hellenistic temple itself, whose foundations have been unearthed and are visible today, is located on a higher terrace.⁶⁰⁶ Oriented east, it was Doric, made of marble with a Corinthian terracotta roof decorated by antefixes, and measured 32x20m: the temple was therefore remarkably large for the size of the Louseatan population. It was dated, like the buildings above, from the late fourth to early third century based on archaeological finds inside the building.⁶⁰⁷



Figure 27: Lousoi: Temple of Artemis Hemera. (Photo Baleriaux 2014)

⁶⁰⁵ Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens website update, consulted December 2014, agree with Reichel and Wilhelm 1901, 32; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1992, 100 agrees with them, although she cannot locate the small temple.

⁶⁰⁶ Jost 1985, 47, 49 and pl. 5.1; Voyatzis 1990, 36.

⁶⁰⁷ Coinage, fragments of a lamp, etc. Mitsopoulos-Leon 1992, 100.

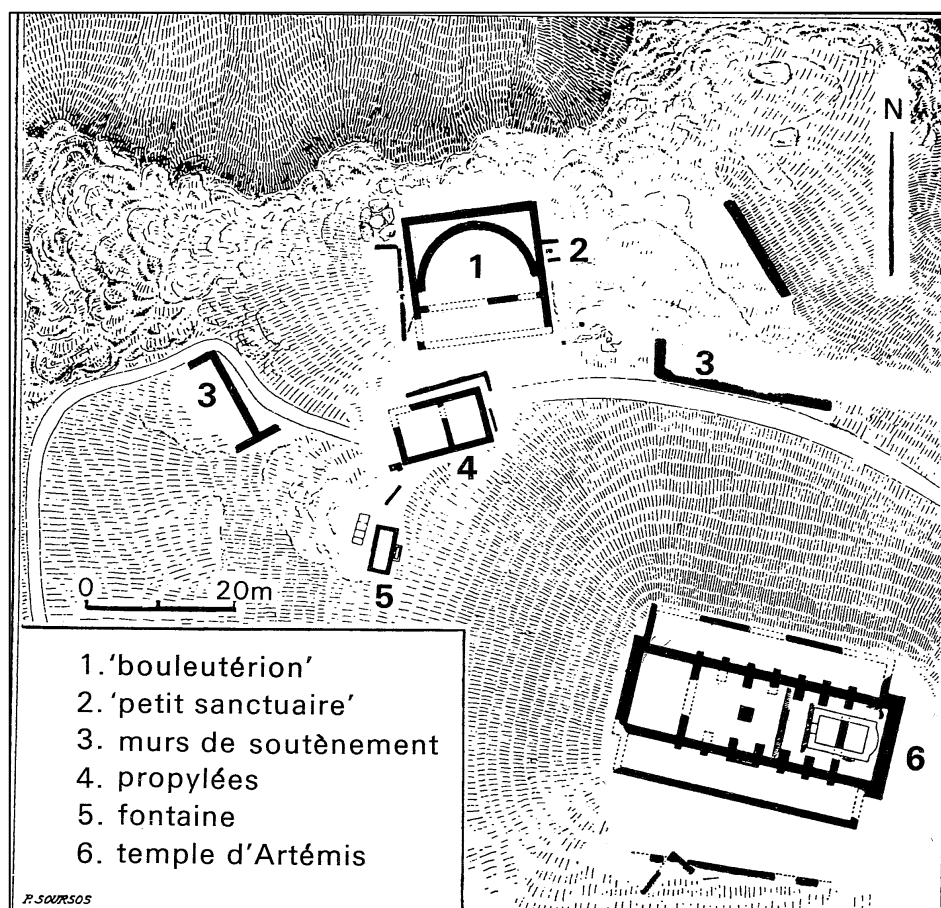


Figure 28: Map of the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi. (Jost 1985, Pl. 5-1 after *ÖJh* 4 (1901), 16)

Outreach of the festival

The Hemerasia do not appear in our sources until the third century BCE, when the monumental programme is implemented in the sanctuary. They are mentioned in victory lists of athletes of Thouria, Aigion, Alexandria Troas and Perge next to the Aleaia of Tegea and Poseidaia of Mantinea.⁶⁰⁸ These few inscriptions indicate that the games were far-reaching in the third century, as they attracted athletes as all the way from Asia Minor. In addition, a number of honorary decrees inscribed on bronze sheets demonstrate that in the same period theoroi were sent throughout Greece to announce the Hemerasia. The theorodokoi listed in the decrees were all also granted proxenia and sometimes also called euergetes. They originated from various parts of Greece, notably from Pharai in Achaia, Charadra in Phocis and Kyparissia in Messenia.⁶⁰⁹ These honorary decrees demonstrate the ambition of organisers of the Hemerasia, and their outreach.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ *IG* V.1 1387 (Thouria, third century BCE. See Robert *OMS* II, 1135-6); Bingen 1953, 628-36 (Aigion, c. 80 BCE. See *SEG* 11, 1237 = 13, 279); *IvO* 184 (Alexandria Troas, second or first century BCE); *SEG* 17, 628c (Perge in Pamphylia, first century BCE).

⁶⁰⁹ Pharai: *IG* V.2 392 (c. 325-300 BCE); Charadra or Charadros: *IG* V.2 389 (late fourth to early third century) and 391 (date uncertain). Kyparissia: *IG* V.2 390 (late fourth to early third century). The provenance of the proxenos Nikodamos in *IG* V.2 388 (fourth or third century

What the extent of the festival was before the third century is unclear: it might have previously been a local festival which subsequently took measures to encourage broader participation, or it may have been founded from scratch in imitation of the games taking place throughout the Peloponnese.⁶¹¹

Status

It has been taken for granted that the Hemerasia were, like other Hellenistic games in the Peloponnese, ‘crowned’.⁶¹² This rests mainly on the assumption that all agonistic festivals listed in *IG* V.1 1387, namely the Aleaia, Hemerasia and Poseidaia were stephanitic, and the fact that ‘crowned’ games were common in that period in the Peloponnese.⁶¹³ Although it is plausible that the Aleaia were crowned, since a victory list of the runner Damatrios found at Tegea lists side by side the Big Four games along with the Asclepeia, Hecatombia, Lykaia (known otherwise to have been crowned), the Basileia and the Aleaia, there is no direct evidence for such a status at Lousoi or Mantinea.⁶¹⁴ As ‘crowned’ games status requested the consent of the invited cities, we would expect to find at least some epigraphic evidence confirming this. The same goes for the reputed asyilia of the sanctuary at the time of its plunder by the Aetolians, in the second half of the third century BCE.⁶¹⁵ Polybius includes the sanctuary among the ‘inviolable’ shrines victim of the Aetolians.⁶¹⁶ Rigsby, in his volume on asyilia, discussed the Lousoi case and expressed doubts about whether that was truly the case, considering that Polybius’ aim in the passage was to exacerbate the impiousness of the Aetolians.⁶¹⁷ Asyilia was normally requested and granted by a

BCE) is unknown. All inscriptions were dated by Wilhelm in the *IG* on the basis of the lettering style. The punch holes in the plaques suggest that they were hung in the temple.

⁶¹⁰ The combination of proxenia and theorodokia in four inscriptions out of five conserved for that period is explained by Perlman, who observes a similar phenomenon occurring across Greece in the fourth and third centuries BCE. She argues that the similarity between the role of proxenos and theorodokos led both functions to be associated and granted to the same individuals. Both rested on xenia, hospitality, and establishing good and lasting relations with other cities especially in times troubled by war, Perlman 2000, 20-21. All theorodokia-related inscriptions at Lousoi specify that the function is hereditary.

⁶¹¹ Perlman 2000, 157 highlights that both options are possible in the Hellenistic period at least. Tausend 1999, 372-373 dates the beginning of the Hemerasia from before *IG* V.2 388 (fourth or third century BCE), but it is not clear what makes him think so. Merkelbach 1973, 257-260 suggested that Bacchylides’ *Ode* 11 was actually written not for a victory won at the Pythian games but at the Hemerasia, which would have entailed that the Hemerasia had an international dimension as early as the fifth century BCE. This is highly unlikely, since no doubt can be cast on the fact that Alexidamos of Metapontum won a contest at Delphi, and since the Hemerasia are not mentioned in any inscription or literary source before the third century. Against Merkelbach: Perlman 2000, 159.

⁶¹² Deshours 2011, 59; Jost 1985, 47-48, 419-420; Robert *OMS* VI, 37.

⁶¹³ *IG* V.1 1387 (Thouria, third century BCE). See Robert *OMS II* 1135.

⁶¹⁴ *IG* V.2 142 (late third century BCE).

⁶¹⁵ Walbank I 1957, 483 dated the event to 240 BCE.

⁶¹⁶ Polyb. 9.34. The same passage implies that the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea was also an asylum.

⁶¹⁷ Rigsby 1996, 91-92.

similar process to ‘crowned’ status. Requests and grants of *asylia* developed in the middle of the third century BCE and peaked in the next; the fact that no such document has been preserved at all for Lousoi, despite the relatively rich dossier that has reached us, does not support the case.⁶¹⁸ In any case, the Aetolian attack hit the sanctuary hard. Inscriptions mentioning the Hemerasia become rarer in the second century BCE, and the last victors are recorded in the first century BCE.⁶¹⁹ Their importance may have already declined in the second century though, when Lousoi was incorporated by its southern neighbour Kleitor.

Thus, agonistic festivals in Arcadia filled different roles. They facilitated the integration of individual cities into the Panhellenic religious network, while at the same time providing a platform for each individual city to express and advertise its specificity. They favoured communication between cities, dissemination of innovation in the religious sphere, and generally also contributed to the circulation of information on a less formal level.⁶²⁰ For instance we can easily imagine athletes hosted in *xena* sharing stories from their homeland, people from the public exchanging news, and visitors of the host sanctuaries being awe-struck at the sight of gods that were so similar yet different from their own. Places of meeting and exchange, these festivals were of course an important source of income for the city in charge of the sanctuary, and therefore had an significant economic dimension: people might purchase votives on site at the local workshop for the god to whom the festival was dedicated, or bring their own votives from home. As a result, we have valuable evidence of these regular connections made through the Greek world.

Mystery cults and the sanctuary of Despoina

‘Mystery’ cults are broadly defined as rituals introduced by a secret initiation, offering to the initiates the hope of getting a better lot in the afterlife. As a corollary, they mediate the formation of social groups with a distinct self-conscious identity based on the knowledge of these sacred rites and defined as opposed to the unknowing non-initiates.⁶²¹ The secret of these cults has been so well-kept that, still

⁶¹⁸ Deshours 2011, 83 and Kowalzig 2007, 286 follow Polybius and accept the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera as inviolable. Rigsby 1996, 92 rejects any connection with *IG IX.1*² 135 (from Calydon, third century BCE), an Aetolian grant of personal inviolability to the citizens of Lousoi (the text is mostly restored based on parallels with a dozen other Aetolian grants of personal inviolability), on the basis that this type of act does not concern cult. For the opposite view see Ducrey 1968, 310.

⁶¹⁹ IvO 184 (Alexandria Troas, second or first century BCE); Bingen 1953, 628-36 (Aigion, c. 80 BCE. See SEG 11, 1237 = 13, 279); SEG 17, 628c (Perge in Pamphylia, first century BCE). Lousoi was incorporated in Kleitor by the second century BCE, Rogl 2008, 17.

⁶²⁰ Festivals, even Panhellenic, were never independent from poleis (Parker 2011, 252).

⁶²¹ Graf 2003, 256; Pakkanen 1996, 65-68; Burkert 1987, 12-29. Initiates were uncertain whether initiation would actually guarantee a better lot in the afterlife: Parker 2011, 252 with sources. The subject of mystery cults is vast and challenging: it is unrealistic to aim even just to brush the surface of it in a few paragraphs. This brief introductory section only intends to contextualise the section.

today, they largely remain mysterious to us. The most famous of those cults in Greece are of course the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, of the Great Gods or Kabiroi at Samothrace and the mystery cults of Dionysos, along with the younger cults of Isis, the Great Mother and Mithras.⁶²²

However, there are many more mystery cults in the Greek world. Designated as ‘lesser mysteries’, they seem to flourish and multiply in the Hellenistic period, appearing all over continental Greece as well as in Asia Minor and on the islands.⁶²³ Pausanias in his description of the Arcadian religious landscape mentions eleven mystery cults in all parts of Arcadia: from Pheneos in the north to Phigalia in the south, from Mantinea in the east to Heraia in the west, Demeter, Dionysos, the Great Goddesses and Artemis supervise mystery cults.⁶²⁴ Inscriptions and a scholion to Lycophron allow two cults to be added to the list, as well as giving more information on the other ones.⁶²⁵ These cults are labelled under different names by Pausanias: *telete*, *orgia* and rites involving *mystai*. But since the detail of the rites performed in each category still remains largely mysterious, scholars specialised in mystery cults generally assume that they refer broadly to the same type of cults, mysteries, with some variations.⁶²⁶

In Arcadia, the evidence from the sanctuary of Despoina, which is located just below the acropolis of Lykosoura at the western edge of the Megalopolis plain, shows that mysteries were practiced the late fourth century BCE, although the sanctuary existed already before the foundation of Megalopolis. The evidence from the other mysteries mentioned by Pausanias is too scarce to put a date on it, but a general trend in Greece to multiply mystery cults seems to have occurred in the Hellenistic period. They might have originated before that, but we lack evidence to trace a more precise

⁶²² Bowden 2010; Graf 2003, 241; Burkert 1987; Metzger 1984, 1259-1423. Sometimes the mysteries of Andania in Messenia are added to the list (Burkert 1977). For recent bibliography on mysteries, see Bremmer 2010; Edmonds 2013.

⁶²³ Graf 2003; Parker 2011, 251.

⁶²⁴ Demeter Eleusinia in Pheneos (Paus. 8.15.1); Demeter Kidara in Pheneos (8.15.2-3); Demeter Thesmia in Pheneos (8.15.3-4); Demeter Erinyes and Lousia in Thelpousa (8.25.4-7); Despoina, Demeter, Artemis and Anytos in Lykosoura (8.37.8-9); Great Goddesses at Bathos (8.29.1); Great Goddesses in Megalopolis (8.31.7); Artemis Knakalesia in Kaphyai (8.23.4); Dionysos in Heraia (8.26.2); Dionysos at Melangeia, in the Mantinean country (8.6.5). The eleventh is Roman: the cult of Antinoos in Mantinea (8.9.8). For catalogue of the mystery cults in Arcadia, see Stiglitz 1967: his theories on the origin of the Arcadian goddesses are now largely out-dated, but the work remains a useful inventory of sources.

⁶²⁵ Demeter and Kore, and Kore alone in Mantinea (*IG* V.2 265, 266, mid-first century BCE); Dionysos at Phigalia (Schol. Lyc. *Alex.* 211); Despoina et al. in Lykosoura (*IG* V.2 514 (second century BCE), 515b, 516, 543 (all imperial, first and second century CE)); Great Goddesses at Megalopolis (*IG* V.2 517, late second or third century CE). See table in Jost 2003, 143 tab. 6.1.

⁶²⁶ *Telete*: Paus. 8.15.1, 8.15.3, 8.15.4 (Demeter); 8.37.2, 8.37.8-9 (Despoina); 8.29.1, 8.31.7 (Great Goddesses); 8.23.1 (Artemis); 8.9.8 (Antinoos). *Orgia*: 8.5.5, 8.9.8, 8.26.2 (Dionysos). *Mystai* and related terms: 8.15.1, 8.54.5; see also *IG* V.2 515b l. 10, 516 l. 15 (Despoina, early imperial period), *IG* V.2 265 (Kore Mantinea, mid-first century CE) schol. Lyc. *Alex.* 211. See Jost 2003, 144.

history of mysteries.⁶²⁷ On the other hand, the cult site at Eleusis is age old: activity there resumes in the eighth century, and it is recognisable as a place where initiation rites took place in the early sixth century.⁶²⁸ In this context, considering the time gap between Eleusis and the multiplication of lesser mysteries, is it imaginable that Eleusis was the only sanctuary in Greece where people who were concerned with the types of questions that an initiatory rite raised could go to? Or were there already other similar places in Greece, perhaps open-air and archaeologically invisible?⁶²⁹ It is undeniable that Eleusis served as a model for some Arcadian mystery cults.⁶³⁰ On the other hand, other mysteries located in Arcadia have very little to do with the myths and rites of Eleusis, and it is tempting to see there some heritage of old, aboriginal mystery cults.⁶³¹

In any case, whether or not the habit was due to a severe lack of mysteries before the Hellenistic period, mystery cults triggered religious mobility: people travelled to be initiated. A sacred truce protected the aspiring initiate at Eleusis, in a similar fashion to the Panhellenic games. This however seems to be a singular instance; we also have evidence of people travelling to be initiated to other mysteries, without the luxury of having their journey protected. In this section, the outreach of the most prominent Arcadian Mysteries, those taking place at the sanctuary of Despoina, will be examined.

The sanctuary of Despoina before the synoecism of Megalopolis

Lykosoura is located to the west of the Megalopolis basin, in southern Arcadia, at the foot of Mount Nomia. The city was set on the northern slope of the Terzi hill, below the walls of the Classical acropolis. The famous sanctuary of Despoina was just outside the city walls, in a depression below the acropolis separated in two parts by a narrow ridge. Mount Lykaion overlooks the sanctuary to

⁶²⁷ Parker 2011, 251.

⁶²⁸ Parker 2011, 255.

⁶²⁹ Herodotus already mentions the existence of mysteries in the Peloponnese in a strange passage (Hdt. 2.171). He attributes the origin of the Thesmophoria of Demeter in Athens (referred to as *τελετή*) to the Danaids returning from Egypt. They would have taught the rite to Pelasgian women, and the knowledge would have been kept in Arcadia. The story is doubtful and the connection with Arcadia probably only results from the old conception, explicit in Herodotus, that they had remained in their mountains while the Dorians replaced the rest of the Pelasgians. Yet this shows that *telete* were not restricted to Eleusis in his time, and that they might have been other mystery cults elsewhere in Greece.

⁶³⁰ Jost 2003, 151-155. Demeter Eleusinia at Pheneos (Paus. 8.15.1); replicas of the Eleusinian mysteries implemented at Megalopolis (Paus. 8.31.7). On the other hand, there are no mysteries mentioned in the cults of Demeter Eleusinia at Basilis (Athen. *Deipn.* 13.609 e-f; Jost 1985, 338-340) and at Thelpousa (Paus. 8.25.3; Jost 1985, 311-312).

⁶³¹ Demeter Erinys/Lousia at Thelpousa (Paus. 8.25.7); Demeter and Despoina at Lykosoura (Paus. 8.37.4) both have representations similar to Eleusis, holding a cost and a torch; however, as Jost 2003, 155 and 2008, 107 underlines, this Eleusinian tone does not affect the cult itself. Other seemingly non-Eleusinian mysteries: the Koragia in Mantinea (IG V.2 265 l. 1-12) deemed 'specifically Mantinean' by Jost 1996, 200; Great Goddesses and natural phenomena at Bathos (Paus. 8.29.1); Demeter Kidaria and mask at Pheneos (Paus. 8.15.2).

the northwest. Pausanias located the sanctuary forty stadia from Megalopolis and four stadia from the small settlement of Akakesion.⁶³² The city was mostly famous for its sanctuary of Despoina, which in Pausanias' description featured a cult statuary group sculpted by Damophon, of which considerable remains still exist today.

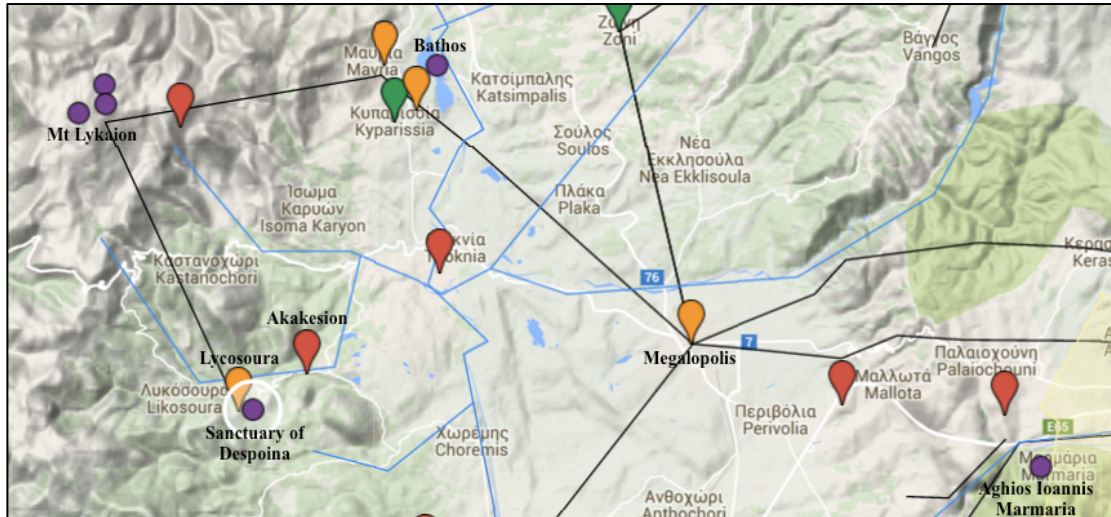


Figure 29: Map of the Megalopolis valley, with the sanctuary of Despoina and Lykosoura to the West (on the left) (Baleriaux 2014, courtesy of Google maps).

The history of the sanctuary before the foundation of Megalopolis is still largely mysterious. Pausanias writes that in 371 BCE the Lykosoureans revolted against their forced integration into Megalopolis. Contrary to the other settlements of Lykaia, Trikolonoi and Trapezous, which also resisted, they did not have to face any punishment for their disobedience: the Lykosoureans were spared by the Arcadians because they took refuge in the sanctuary of Demeter and Despoina.⁶³³ This episode is highly significant: it implies that the sanctuary of Despoina was already well established at the time, and that its reputation was important enough to justify leaving the Lykosoureans alone while the other reluctant cities were destroyed or taken by force.

Despite its apparent importance, it is unclear what form the sanctuary had in 371/369 BCE.⁶³⁴ The monumental marble temple whose foundations are visible today was probably not yet erected at the time: its foundation date has been much debated, but the latest consensus follows M. Jost's dating from the late fourth to early third century.⁶³⁵ Thus, if the date of the marble temple is right, it would mean that the

⁶³² Paus. 8.37-38.1.

⁶³³ Paus. 8.27.4.

⁶³⁴ Paus. 8.27.4-6.

⁶³⁵ Jost 1985, 175 based her hypothesis on the comparison of the decoration of the statuary base of Despoina to similar architectural features in the temple of Zeus Soter at Megalopolis, the temple of Athena Pronaia at Marmaria, the monument of Nicias and the Philippeion at Olympia, which were all dated to this period. In fact, the dating of the temple has been the subject of a nearly one century-long debate. Dating from the fourth century BCE and amended in the Roman period: Kavvadias 1893, 8; Daniel 1904, 41-57. Dating from the

sanctuary at the time of the synoecism was either limited to a precinct, or that there was a temple of perishable material. And yet, no traces of mud brick roof tiles – which usually point to the existence of a wood and mud brick temple – have been found so far. This lack of evidence does not necessarily imply that there was no structure antedating the late fourth-century temple. Considering that the cult was a mystery cult, it is not inconceivable that there was no structure at all still in the first quarter of the fourth century BCE, but that the cult took place in the open air, only delimited by a sacred precinct. However, the secrecy of the rite would then be rather threatened, especially since the sanctuary was located just below the acropolis of Lykosoura. No conclusion can therefore be drawn regarding the shape of the sanctuary of Despoina at that time.

Development of the sanctuary after the synoecism of Megalopolis

If there was no monumental temple yet in 371-368 BCE, it did not take long for the sanctuary to become a remarkable cult site. Pausanias's second-century CE description of the sanctuary gives an idea of its finished state, the core of which was put in place in the late fourth to early third century. One would enter the precinct from the east, looking towards the temple and, above, the acropolis. The first monument encountered by the visitor before even entering the temenos was a 6 foot-high statue of Artemis Hegemone holding a torch. Then, one entered the sacred enclosure of Despoina. To the north, there was a stoa with four marble reliefs on the wall. The first represented Zeus and the Fates, the second Herakles attempting to steal the Delphi tripod, the third Pan and Nymphs, and the fourth Polybios son of Lykortas called 'saviour of Greece'.⁶³⁶ Between the two first reliefs, Pausanias noticed a tablet describing the mysteries taking place in the sanctuary.⁶³⁷ In front of the temple, there were three successive altars: one of the Great Mother, one of Despoina, and that closest to the temple was Demeter's. To the south of the sanctuary, perched on the hill, was the Megaron where the mysteries were celebrated. Finally, beyond the megaron Pausanias reports a grove of Despoina, an altar of Poseidon Hippios, altars and statues of several other gods, an oracular sanctuary of Pan with a stoa and a small statue, an everlasting fire and a sanctuary of Athena.

second century BCE: Thallon 1906, 302-329; Dickins 1905, 112-20. Dating from the fourth century BCE with repairs in the second century BCE and second century CE: Kourouniotes 1911, 10-18.

⁶³⁶ There was also a statue of Polybios in the sanctuary, as indicated by *IG V.2 535* (second century BCE).

⁶³⁷ Perhaps *IG V.2 514* (second century BCE).

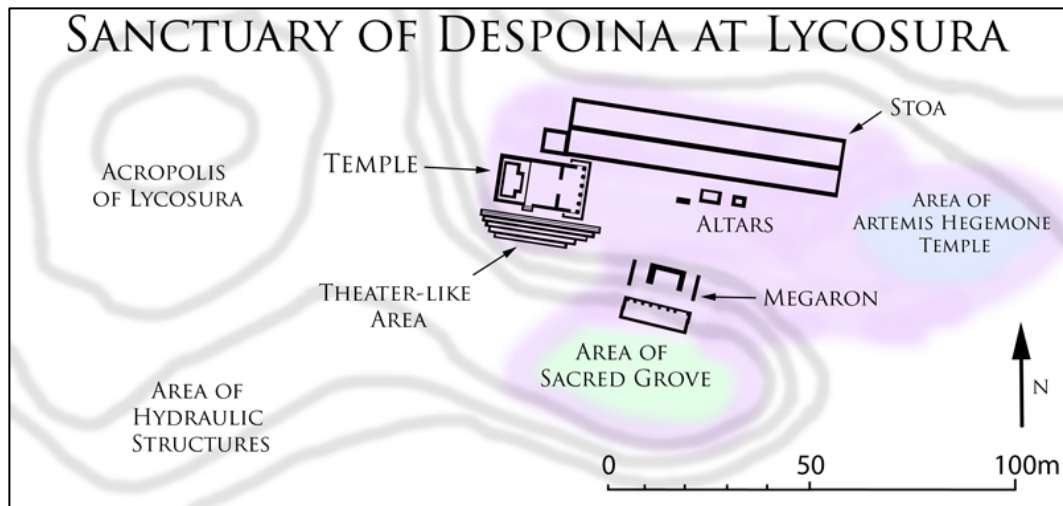


Figure 30: Lykosoura: archaeological remains of the sanctuary of Despoina. (by J. Matthew Harrington)



Figure 31: Lykosoura: Sanctuary of Despoina. (Photo Baleriaux 2014).

At the time of Pausanias, then, the sanctuary was a large and rich one: considering the amount of epigraphic documentation we have on benefaction to the sanctuary in the early imperial period⁶³⁸, it is likely that Pausanias' description is that of the sanctuary's maximum expansion, and that it was somewhat smaller yet important in the previous periods. In fact, before reaching this final stage, the sanctuary went through several periods of expansion, the first being probably in the late fourth to early third century when the monumental building programme was

⁶³⁸ See p. 163-169.

implemented. It included the stoa, the 21.3x11.15m Doric temple of Despoina oriented east, the megaron and a fountain house on the terrace south of the sanctuary.⁶³⁹

The Mysteries of Despoina

The earliest evidence we have of the functioning of the cult is a sacred law dating from c. 200 BCE, perhaps the one noted by Pausanias in the stoa.⁶⁴⁰ We can infer from it and the many dedications found in the sanctuary that the worshippers were both men and women, and that there were both priests and priestesses.⁶⁴¹ The presence of a megaron indicates that mysteries were celebrated in the sanctuary, and the finding of a lamp in the precinct also suggests that rites took place in the dark, probably at night, which fits well with the usual pattern of celebration of mysteries.⁶⁴²

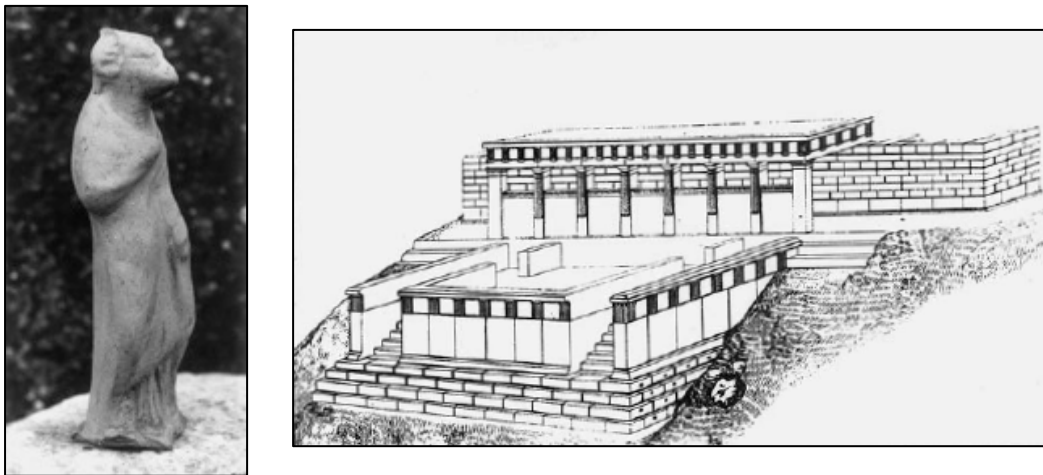


Figure 32: Lykosoura: Ex-voto figurine with ram head (left, photo: Jost 2003) and reconstruction of the megaron (Jost 2005 fig 6.3 after *ArchEph* 1912, 148).

There is not much left of the megaron itself. It was adapted to the slope, and staircases were hidden by walls, indicating a layout conforming to the expectation of secrecy for a mystery building.⁶⁴³ Inside, there was an ash altar with much debris in it, and 140 small terracotta votive offerings.

The statuettes represent human silhouettes with donkey-like or ram-like heads, and were dated between the fourth century BCE (for the few oldest ones) and the second to first century BCE (for most of them), with a more recent series dated from

⁶³⁹ Jost 1985, 178. Temple of Despoina: Kourouniotes 1906, 121; Jost 1985, 173. Stoa: Leonardos 1896, 118 suggests that the first stoa antedated the construction of the monumental temple of Despoina. Megaron: Jost 1985, 177, date based on a stylistic comparison of the wall base with the Thesmophorion of Thasos, see Rolley 1965, 478-83. Basins: Mee and Spawforth 2001, 269.

⁶⁴⁰ *IG V.2* 514 paraphrased here. Jost 2008, 94f proposes parallels with the sacred law of the Andania Mysteries (*LSG* 65).

⁶⁴¹ *IG V.2* 517, 522, 536, 541, 542, 543; SEG 34 324. Durie 1984, 137-147.

⁶⁴² See above.

⁶⁴³ See Jost 2005, 144, 148 for definitions of Mysteries in Arcadia and Arcadian megara.

the first century CE.⁶⁴⁴ Thus, the dedications started as soon as the megaron was created, and considering their location inside the megaron, they were probably dedicated by initiates. What these puzzling offerings may actually represent remains a mystery. M. Jost proposes that they represent masked priests, a practice occurring in the cult of Demeter Kidaria at Pheneos, and that perhaps the mystai also wore such masks.⁶⁴⁵ She also established a parallel between the figurines and the decoration of the veil of Despoina, where similar figures with animal heads and a human attitude dance and play music, suggesting that the dancers give an indication of one aspect of the ritual. In fact, the only thing we do know about the rites is the unusual way in which the sacrifices were conducted: contrary to normal sacrifice, Pausanias (8.37.8) writes, the worshippers tear apart the sacrificial victims in a way that recalls the Bacchai⁶⁴⁶:

'(...) the Megaron, where the Arcadians celebrate mysteries, and sacrifice to the Mistress many victims in generous fashion. Every man of them sacrifices what he possesses. But he does not cut the throats of the victims, as is done in other sacrifices; each man chops off a limb of the sacrifice, just that which happens to come to hand.'

(tr. Jones and Ormerod, 1918)

This sacrificial practice, usually associated with Dionysos, has led Ferrari and Jost to argue that the cult at Lykosoura was orgiastic. The sacrifice was celebrated at the same place as the Mysteries, in the megaron: Bowden suggests that both however took place during the same festival, in a similar fashion to what occurred at Andania.⁶⁴⁷ The orgiastic interpretation of the cult of Despoina also relies on the presence of the statuettes, which they interpret as masked initiates, and Pausanias' refusal to say anything further about the Kouretes and Korybantes sculpted on the podium of the statuary group to support their view.⁶⁴⁸ Although this interpretation should not be discarded wholesale, there are several problems: the most obvious one is of course the absence of Dionysos from the sanctuary.⁶⁴⁹ As for the statuettes and

⁶⁴⁴ Jost 2003, 157. These statuettes are difficult to date. Perdrizet 1899; Hejnic 1961, 28 date the oldest specimen from the Archaic period, probably influenced by the idea of so-called primitive animal-gods in Greece (on this subject, see Visser 1903; Farnell 1896 vs. Irving Forbes 1990, 49-50). Kourouniotes dated the oldest ones according to their drapery style from the fourth century BCE.

⁶⁴⁵ Jost 2003, 157-162. Demeter Kidaria: Paus. 8.15.3. She mentions other parallels of people wearing masks in a cultic context at Brauron (Reeder 1995, 322, 327-328 n. 100) and on Kabiric vases from Thebes (Daumas 1998, 30-31).

⁶⁴⁶ Eur. *Bacch.* 990sq. Bacchantes tearing Pentheos' limbs: Attic red figure lekanis, Louvre G445 (ca. 450-425 BCE).

⁶⁴⁷ Bowden 2010, 74.

⁶⁴⁸ Ferrari and Prauscello 2007, 199-200; Jost 2003, 143-164.

⁶⁴⁹ The awkward absence of Dionysos is succinctly discarded by Ferrari and Prauscello 2007, 200 n. 64: Anytos is supposed to be the one through whom the Dionysiac 'mythic heritage' is brought. Ferrari and Prauscello also connect the cult of Despoina at Lykosoura to Phigalia,

dancing characters on Despoina's veil, they may not represent 'masked dancers': they are hieratic and motionless, emphasizing their animal features, and their limbs are covered by their veil in a very dignified attitude that does not fit with orgiastic dancers; at best they might illustrate another part of the ritual. The characters on the veil may be dancing but, although they behave like humans, they clearly have full animal bodies.⁶⁵⁰ In fact, we still do not know what these statuettes were supposed to represent, and their match with the decoration of Despoina's veil on the Damophon group is intriguing.

All in all, the mystery cult at the sanctuary of Despoina was such a well kept secret that it is still impossible to discern what was going on, despite our relatively abundant evidence. Nonetheless, thanks to the traces left behind by worshippers, we can trace the magnitude of the sanctuary's connectivity.

Status and outreach of the sanctuary

According to Pausanias, Despoina is the goddess the most venerated by the Arcadians, and they all come and sacrifice to Despoina regardless of their city of origin.⁶⁵¹ The sanctuary was doubtlessly very popular in Arcadia, indeed it was important enough in the fourth century to grant the Lykosourens the right to remain in their city when Megalopolis was created.⁶⁵² However, whether the sanctuary was already pan-Arcadian at the time of the creation of Megalopolis is uncertain.

Once founded, Megalopolis had a strong impact on the sanctuary. If Lykosoura was allowed to survive, probably mostly to tend the cult, inscriptions found on the site dated before the Roman period show a predominance of Megalopolitan dedicators.⁶⁵³ It is not the only case where Megalopolis gradually takes over a cult from one of the surrounding communities. Once the smaller communities around were obliged by the Arcadians to move to Megalopolis, their old cults threatened to crumble into oblivion. In order for that not to happen, the Megalopolitans either established a 'doublet' of the cult in the urban centre, or established a procession linking the city and the old cult sites.⁶⁵⁴ The sanctuary of Despoina in particular rose to prominence and acquired a particular meaning for

where Dionysus' cult involved orgiastic mysteries; however the link seems quite weak. M. Jost argues that the cult is that of Magna Mater (personal communication).

⁶⁵⁰ The hypothesis formed by Jost 2003, 160 that they may be people wearing animal limb prostheses does not find any parallel. The limbs could be artistic extrapolations rather than a reference to the actual cultic attire.

⁶⁵¹ Paus. 8.37.6-9. We can safely assume that if the sanctuary was only visited by Lykosourens or another local community, Pausanias would be more precise, as it is his habit. Besides, the evidence from his own time proves him right, see p. 167-169.

⁶⁵² Paus. 8.27.6.

⁶⁵³ For instance *IG* V.2 534 (by Lydiadas of Kaphyai, perhaps to be identified with the tyrant of Megalopolis Paus. 8.27.12), 535 (by Polybios son of Lykortas, the famous Megalopolitan), 536. The inscriptions from the third and second century BCE are few and often fragmentary, and may therefore not be representative of the catchment area of the cult.

⁶⁵⁴ See p. 159-160 for a similar process exacerbated in the early imperial period.

newly founded Megalopolis, seat of the koinon.⁶⁵⁵ An interesting parallel can be found in the Mysteries of Andania: the cult became strongly linked to the re-foundation of Messene in 369 BCE, namely almost at the same time as the synoecism of Megalopolis.⁶⁵⁶ Both cults were small-scale, local Mystery cults with little to do with the Eleusinian rites that developed considerably once associated with the cities. It is likely that by doing so, the Megalopolitans and Messenians were trying to legitimise their newly created cities by rooting them in local cults with a long history behind them.⁶⁵⁷ If we follow M. Jost' dating, the monumentalisation of the sanctuary dated from the late fourth century BCE at the earliest: Megalopolis would then have embellished it nearly half a century after its creation, perhaps when its grip over the sanctuary was secure enough.

After Megalopolis took charge, the sanctuary expanded in a further series of costly constructions and prestigious embellishments. The famous Messenian artist Damophon was commissioned to sculpt the cult statue group, of which large parts are still preserved today.

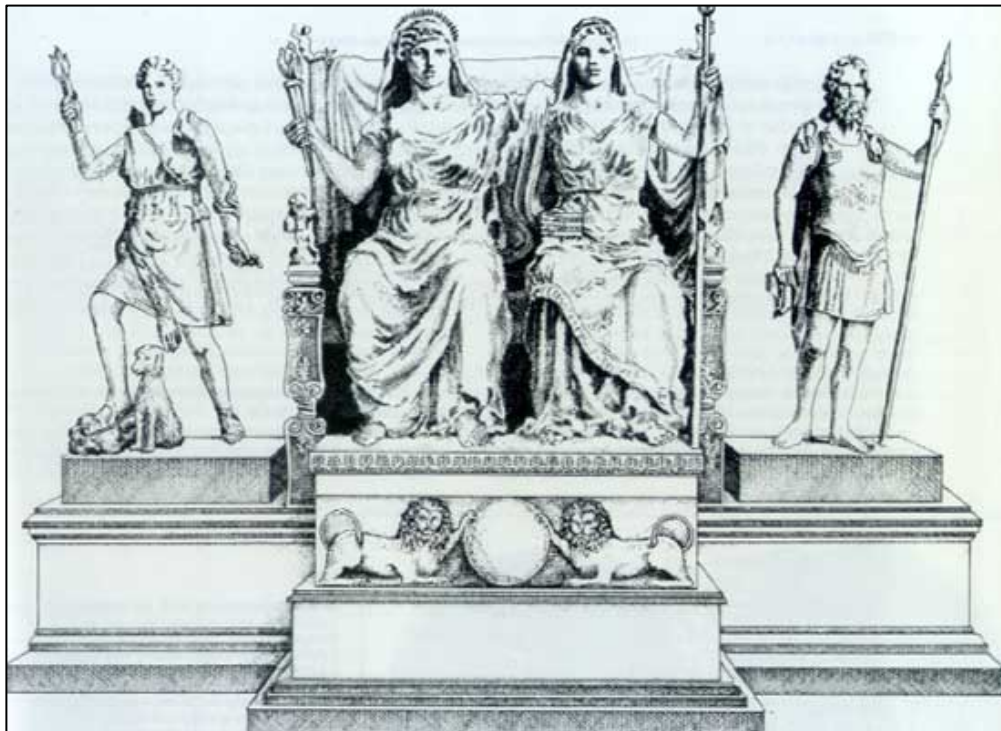


Figure 33: Lykosoura: reconstruction of the statuary group by Damophon at the sanctuary of Despoina.

⁶⁵⁵ Jost in Ogden 2007, 278 suggests that Despoina was one of the pan-Arcadian divinities alongside Zeus and Pan Lykaïos. The female head on the obverse of the coinage of the koinon with Zeus on the reverse may represent Despoina.

⁶⁵⁶ Deshous 2006, 236-237. Pausanias' account of the history of Messenia revolves around the Mysteries of Andania (Paus. 4.1-17 and more explicitly at 4.27.5-6 with regards to the re-foundation of Messene).

⁶⁵⁷ The genuinely pre-fourth century Mysteries of Andania played a central part in the Messenian national myth and the city's mythical past constructed after the re-foundation of the city, Luraghi 2008, 92-94. Lykosoura and its sanctuary undoubtedly antedated the creation of Megalopolis and Lykosoura was, according to Pausanias' source, the oldest city on earth: whether than was believed in the fourth century already is not unlikely.

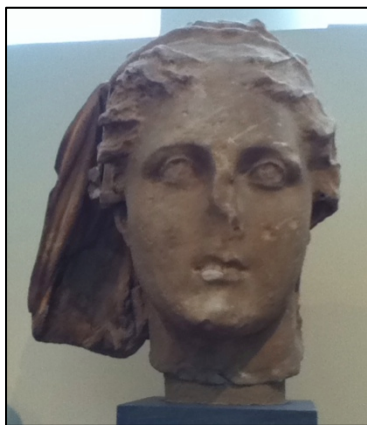


Figure 34: Lykosoura: left, head of Demeter (NM1734 Athens, National Museum) . Right: head of Anytos (NM1736 Athens, National. Museum) from the statuary group of the sanctuary of Despoina, c. 190-180 BCE. (Photos: Baleriaux 2014)

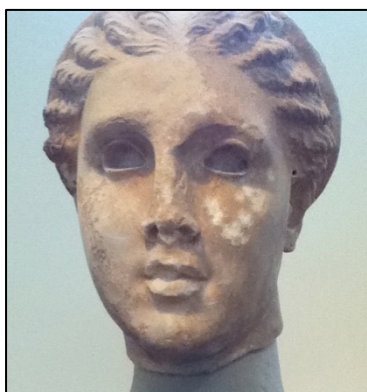


Figure 35: Lykosoura: left, head of Artemis (NM1735 Athens, National Museum). Right: two Tritons (NM2171, 2172, 2174, 2175 Athens, National Museum), c. 190-180 BCE. (Photos: Baleriaux 2014)



Figure 36: Coin of Megalopolis with statuary group of the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura on the reverse (National Numismatic Museum, Athens), 193-217 CE. (Photo: Baleriaux 2014)



Figure 37: Lykosoura: veil of Despoina (NM1737 Athens, National Museum), c. 190-180 BCE. (Photo Baleriaux 2014)

Although the date of Damophon's activity is still very much debated, it seems now clear that he worked in the first half of the second century BCE.⁶⁵⁸ His intervention at Lykosoura is confirmed by the discovery in the pronaos of the temple of two inscriptions mentioning Damophon of Messene and his brother Xenophilos.⁶⁵⁹ The statuary group 'made of one piece of stone' was inside the temple and represented more-than-life size seated Demeter and Despoina, flanked on each side by standing Artemis and Anytus.⁶⁶⁰ The statues would have reached the ceiling although they were represented seated, in a similar impression of grandeur and majesty to the statue of Zeus at Olympia; in fact, the statues were sculpted by the acrolithic process which gave the impression that they were sculpted of one big piece of marble.⁶⁶¹ The scale of the constructions, the similarity of the statues with the prestigious statues of Olympia, and the commission of Damophon all suggest that the sanctuary of Despoina was particularly important to Megalopolis.

Nonetheless, despite the care taken in embellishing the sanctuary, the actual clientele of the Mysteries remains enigmatic apart from the dedications made by Megalopolitans mentioned above. This is probably due to the lack of recent extensive archaeological excavations on the site. Hence it is tenuous to assert that the Mysteries were only frequented by Megalopolitans, but on the other hand, it is impossible to tell with certitude who the other visitors would have been.

Conclusion: the fallacy of isolated Arcadia

It used to be widely acknowledged in scholarship that Arcadia was a stand-alone region, some sort of isolated and conservative land with its own peculiar religion, sheltered from the Greek miracle in the shade of its mountains. Our evidence demonstrates how blatantly wrong this picture is. Fortunately, under the impulse of studies focused on Arcadia, scholars of Greek religion have started to consider this picture and gradually abandon the fallacy of 'isolated' Arcadia.

By its geographical location, Arcadia was meant to be a space of transit. Despite the high mountains in the centre and in the north, people moved around the region and through it. Achaian shepherds would take their flocks to pasture in

⁶⁵⁸ Platt 2011, 125 places Damophon's activity between 214 and 182 BCE. She takes her dates from Themelis 1994, 24-30 and Dickins 1905. They place Damophon's activity during the independence of Messene, before the capitulation of the Achaean League. For different dates on the capitulation of the Achaean League: Luraghi 2008, 284-5 (175-150 BCE) and Torelli 1998 (275-200 BCE). In a recent lecture at the Ashmolean Museum (23/10/2014), M. Melfi proposed to down-date Damophon to 160-140s.

⁶⁵⁹ *IG* V.2 539 (rectangular base near the pronaos of Despoina), 540. Compare *IG* V.2 1443 (Messenia). Jost 1985, 176-7 questions the actual involvement of Damophon in order to make the existence of a cult statue before the second century BCE possible. Considering the two inscriptions referring to Damophon and the similarities between the statues and his other works, I would tend to accept Damophon's intervention.

⁶⁶⁰ Platt 2011, 126. On the location of the statues: Lehmann 1964, 191; contra Loucas-Durie 1987-1988, 401-419.

⁶⁶¹ Platt 2011, 221. There is a debate on what the cult statue looked like before Damophon's intervention. Marcadé and Lévy 1967, 1003 argue that there was no cult statue at all prior to that date.

Arcadian mountains; armies, traders or religious travellers moving on foot would transit through the plain of Tegea to exit the Peloponnese peninsula; and anyone travelling by land from Argolid, Corinthia, Achaia and beyond the Isthmus to Olympia for the big festival would need to cross Arcadia. In fact, it was often unavoidable to transit through Arcadia, and reciprocally the Arcadians were bound to have contact with the outside. In general, there are three main causes that led people to encounter outsiders: economic reasons, war, and religion. The Arcadians did not escape this rule, and although they did not take part in the colonisation movement in the Archaic period, there is mention in our evidence of contacts between Arcadia and the outside as early as in the seventh century.

As this chapter demonstrated, religion was one of the biggest motivations for mobility all over the Greek world, with people moving in the name of their polis or in their own right to sanctuaries elsewhere. If the evidence from the Mysteries of Despoina was not conclusive, the example of the Lykaia and Hemerasia reveal how connected Arcadia was in the Classical and Hellenistic period, embedded into the wider Greek network. Athletes from all over the Greek world came to compete in Arcadian games and took their prizes home, where they were honoured and the memory of their deeds sung and carved for a lasting effect, thereby also commemorating the memory of the contests they participated in. The Arcadians conformed in all ways to the other Greeks, by organising regional games in the Classical period in imitation the Big Four Panhellenic contests, similarly to their Argive and Epidaurean neighbours: the Lykaia, but also the Aleaia and Korasia were listed in Pindar. Equally, Arcadian athletes also competed in games elsewhere in Greece. Arcadian theorodokoi were appointed to host foreign theoroi: the evidence for Delphic theorodokoi in Arcadia dates from as early as the late fifth century. In the late Hellenistic period, when the practice of requesting ‘stephanitic’ status for games became common and regional cults multiplied: we see the Megalopolitans sending theoroi to Athens for that purpose, while Lousoi was perhaps granted asyilia and a ‘crowned’ status for the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera and the Hemerasia. Agonistic games in Arcadia conformed to the larger trends observable in the Greek world at the same time.

Thus people moved in and out of Arcadia for a variety of reasons. Was this mobility an innovation of the post-Persian wars world? In the previous chapters it was suggested that Bronze Age mountaintop sanctuaries were visited by communities other than just locals. Can the possibility that the Bronze Age open-air cult site on Mount Lykaion was visited by people who did not dwell on Arcadian territory be excluded? It is very likely that in a world where boundaries were blurred and population structures fluid, people from different places would gather at a shared cult place. An old cult site does not necessarily entail that it was a local one.

Another hint that Arcadians were open to trends from outside is that the first temples built in Arcadia showed striking stylistic similarities with other Greek temples. The first marble temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, built in the late seventh century, presented similarities with the Heraion of Argos in a valley fifty kilometres east of Tegea. This suggests that contacts existed between the Tegeans and the

Heraion.⁶⁶² Style, in fact, can be a good indication of contacts between regions when not taken independently of other evidence. The early fifth century BCE temple of Aghios Elias Kandreva showed inspiration drawn from the Archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi in the column capitals. We have seen that the Arcadians started offering communal dedications at Delphi in the sixth century BCE, and it is very likely that Arcadians started to visit Delphi early in the sanctuary's history to consult the oracle.⁶⁶³ Finally, the first instance of a Corinthian column was found in the Classical temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, but then spread to the rest of Greece.⁶⁶⁴

Lastly, the example of the Lykaia demonstrated that if the Arcadians were considered as an 'odd lot' by the other Greeks, it is not so much on account of their isolation than because they were thought to be the oldest among the Peloponnesians, and the only autochthonous folk. In fact, the myths associated with cult places all over Greece and especially with extra-regional sanctuaries such as Mount Lykaion reveal the tension that existed between the local and the Panhellenic. In a world so intensely connected, people moved and were confronted with other Greeks, but they did not lose their singularity. On the contrary, telling strange myths from home to foreigners and giving publicity to the oddest ones, such as the werewolves of Lykaion reinforced the sense of Arcadianess of the locals.

Thus, mobility in and out of Arcadia did take place, and probably since early times. Arcadia was well connected to the rest of Greece thanks to its geographical location, and its inhabitants participated actively in larger Greek trends thanks to moving around, experiencing sanctuaries outside of their homeland and communicating with locals of other places.

⁶⁶² Voyatzis 1999, 143-144, see p. 92.

⁶⁶³ Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 176, p. 110 n. 525.

⁶⁶⁴ Cooper *PECS* s.v. Bassai; Norman 1984, 172, 179-180.

Chapter 4: Traditional cults in Roman Arcadia, between conservationism and innovation

Certainly, our understanding of Roman Arcadia remains incomplete, largely due to the lack of extensive surveys and the uneven finding of inscriptions and coinage across the region.⁶⁶⁵ By contrast with previous periods, archaeology is not particularly helpful in uncovering the appearance of Roman Arcadia: often, archaeologists tend to overlook the Roman legacy of buildings to focus on the Classical masterpieces and earlier buildings. Fortunately, this patchy picture is held together by literary accounts. Strabo writes about the region under the Augustan period, but his description of Arcadia might be second-hand – and therefore it might reflect the situation of Arcadia at the time of his source. Our other valuable source, Pausanias, thoroughly visits Arcadia around two centuries later. Of course, each author has his bias and must be understood within his own historical context. M. Pretzler convincingly showed that Strabo, writing under the later Hellenistic and Augustan period, aims to fit Greece into the wider Roman world.⁶⁶⁶ In his time, many Greek writers worked in Rome and depended on Roman patronage, and were still engaged in the project of negotiating Greece's place in the Roman world – following the footsteps of Polybios. Pausanias, on the other hand, writes in the second century CE, when Greek cities – especially in the east – were much better off and integrated into the Empire, and could live without constant reference to Rome. This is reflected in their literary perspective when writing about mainland Greece: while Strabo emphasises the human impact on the landscape, Pausanias seeks to unlock the Classical past.

In both cases the general picture of Roman Greece is rather pessimistic⁶⁶⁷: urban centres, which were formerly independent poleis, seem to have contracted under the lack of inhabitants. Some cities have even disappeared completely and only stand as a few ruined walls. Countryside villages were not spared either. Emptied of their population, they died out, bringing down local cults with them. Roman Greece projects an image of decline, that of a land whose past glory and cultural superiority has been overwritten by the strength of Rome.⁶⁶⁸ Arcadia, secluded inside the province of Achaea with no access to the sea, did not seem attract much imperial attention.

However, this overly bleak image must be tempered. Despite mentioning numerous ruins, Pausanias records several cities thriving under Roman rule. In fact, it appears that most ruins are not the feat of the Roman rule, but rather of earlier political events such as synoecisms. Epigraphy and archaeology show that in Arcadia,

⁶⁶⁵ As Roy 2010, 59 underlines.

⁶⁶⁶ Pretzler 2005b.

⁶⁶⁷ Baladié 1980, 316-321.

⁶⁶⁸ Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 813e-f highlights the lack of independence of Greek politicians: '[do] not have great pride or confidence in your crown, since you see the boots of Roman soldiers just above your head'.

Tegea, Mantinea and Megalopolis in particular benefitted from imperial attention, and that wealthy members of the local elite ensured that their venerable cults stay alive. Pausanias also records a number of lively traditional cults all over the territory, which contrasts with his general image of a countryside was emptied of its inhabitants. He also describes a large number of peculiar, Archaic-like cults and myths scattered all over the region. This suggests a form of religious continuity, in spite of the new intrusive Roman rule. This final chapter will deal with this apparent continuity in cults presented in Pausanias and by the material evidence for Arcadia, and how it relates to the state of the region under Roman rule between the first century BCE and the second century CE.⁶⁶⁹

Decaying Greek cities?

The general impression one gets from reading Strabo is that Arcadia is scattered with ruined towns.⁶⁷⁰ Over a century later, Dio Chrysostom draws an even worse picture of the land. According to him, Arcadia is a desolated, empty country:

‘Does not the Ladon flow through an Arcadia whose people have been driven from their homes?’⁶⁷¹

Yet Dio and Strabo never went to Arcadia themselves; to understand the image they give of Roman Arcadia, their literary goals must be considered. As Pritchett underlines, we must allow for a certain margin of rhetorical exaggeration in the accounts given as opposed to the actual state of the province of Achaia – although it is true that mainland Greece was not exactly prosperous until Hadrian’s reign.⁶⁷² Most of all, there was a certain equivalence in ancient discourses – especially when aimed at a Roman or Romanised audience – between civic and moral decline. As S. Alcock suggested, when Polybios laments over the depopulation of Greece in the famous passage 36.17.5-6, he also flags the moral decline that prompted the situation.⁶⁷³ Likewise, Strabo’s and Dio’s accounts, which were directed to a Roman or

⁶⁶⁹ Naturally, it would have been interesting to extend this study to the situation in Athens and in other landscapes comparable to that of Arcadia, such as Lycia in Asia Minor for instance. Unfortunately, the time allotted for the thesis was not sufficient to conduct extensive comparisons.

⁶⁷⁰ Baladié 1980, 316-21.

⁶⁷¹ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.25. In the so-called *Tarsian Oration*, Dio states that prosperity is ephemeral and does not depend on the beauty of a landscape (natural or built). Arcadia is listed alongside Egypt, Babylon, Thessaly and colonies of Magna Graecia among beautiful landscapes that did not save their inhabitants from misfortune (*Or.* 33. 23-27). The ruin of these places is attributed to their softness: by evoking how inhabitants of the rough island of Ithaca overcame wealthy Troy, Dio implicitly contrasts the regions mentioned with Rome who overcame them thanks to its disdain for luxury (*Or.* 33.19-22).

⁶⁷² Pritchett 1999, 196. See also for instance Dio *Or.* 31.160; Lucian *Dialog. Mortem* 22 (27); Sen. *Epist.* 91.10. For a completely opposite view see Aelius Aristides *Roman oration* 94 and 96 (second century CE), who praises the good care of Rome for Greek cities.

⁶⁷³ Alcock 2003, 26.

Romanised audience, were rather judgemental about the contemporary situation of Greece, which had fallen from grace because of its decadence.⁶⁷⁴

Pausanias, who visited Arcadia under the Antonines, gives a less bleak picture of the province as a whole. Still, he lists more ruins in Arcadia than in any other region. In Pausanias' *Periegesis*, Pritchett counts 36 instances of abandonment (ruins or deserted places) in Arcadia, against 13 in Boeotia and 11 in Elis; other regions count even fewer instances.⁶⁷⁵ This strikingly high number of deserted and ruined places relative to the rest of Roman Greece, however, needs to be taken with a pinch of salt. Pausanias is particularly thorough in his investigation of the Arcadian countryside, and the fact that he sees many more ruins and deserted places there may simply result from more extensive research on his part compared to the other Greek regions he visited. Besides, all instances of desertion and ruin did not directly result from the brutality of Roman conquest: some indeed date back from previous wars, or result from natural causes.⁶⁷⁶

In addition, definitions of 'ruin' or 'deserted place' by authors are very relative. On several occasions, Strabo states that a city died out while archaeology attests unmistakably that it was still functioning in his time. For instance, he writes that among the Boeotian cities only Thespiiai and Tanagra survive, something that has been contradicted by archaeology.⁶⁷⁷ Alcock underlined that Strabo's definition of 'existence' for a city depended on its political independence⁶⁷⁸ – a doubtful equation, since many settlements survived despite their loss of independence. He also exaggerates the state of Arcadia (Strab. 8.8.1-4), saying that Megalopolis was a desert and that there were no traces of Mantinea, Orchomenos, Heraia, Kleitor, Pheneos, Stymphalos, Kaphyai and Kynaitha; yet archaeological, numismatic evidence and other accounts attest the continuous existence of these cities in the first century CE.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁴ On Roman stereotypes about the Greeks (*levitas, volubilitas*, softness): Woolf 1994, 132. Dio's *Tarsian Oration* (33) is, in this regard, edifying.

⁶⁷⁵ Pritchett 1999, 195-222, especially tables at 197-200 on 'ruins' (*ereipia*) and 200-202 'deserted' places (*eremos* and related terms).

⁶⁷⁶ For instance, Paus. 8.32.2 attributes the destruction of a temple of Dionysos in Megalopolis to lightning, and at 2.5.5 he attributes the burning of a temple near Corinth to Pyrrhus son of Achilles or lightning.

⁶⁷⁷ Strab. 9.2.25; Alcock 1993, 147.

⁶⁷⁸ Alcock 1993, 147.

⁶⁷⁹ At 8.8.2 Strabo also adds Mainalon, Methydriion. These cities were however still alive. Mantinea: Paus. 8.6-8.12; Walker 2006, n. 1493-1502 (coinage with Antinoos donated by Vetourios in 134 CE and minted in Mantinea); Walker 2006, 1503-1510 (Severan). Orchomenos: Paus 8.13.2 (177 CE), Head 1991, 451 (coinage 'Orchomeniôn' of Severus-Geta, 192-212 CE); Walker 2006, n. 1584-1589 (Severan). Heraia: Head 1991, 449 (coinage 'Heraieôn' Severus/Caracalla, 192-218 CE); Walker 2006, n. 1374-1377 (Severan). Kleitor: Head 1991, 447 (coinage 'Kleitioriôn' under Severus, Julia Domna, Plautilla, 192 CE); Walker 2006, n. 1441-1445 (Severan); *IvO* 473 (Claudia Tyche of Kleitor), 212/13 CE. Pheneos: Head 1991, 452 (coinage 'Pheneatôn' under Severus-Geta, 192-212 CE); Walker 2006, n. 1634-1640 (Severan). Stymphalos: Paus. 8.23.1 (Stymphalos belongs to Argolis, but lies mostly in ruins). Kaphyai: Head 1991, 446 (coinage 'Kaphuiatôn' under Severus-Geta 193-212 CE); Walker 2006, n. 1385-1392 (Severan). Kynaitha: statue dedicated by Hadrian on the agora; Head 1991, 447 (coinage 'Kynaitheôn' under Caracalla, 211-217 CE).

Similarly, Pausanias describes Lousoi as a deserted city, while recently discovered glass vessels in the residential area called Phournoi, below the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera, attest some occupation of the site between the first and late third centuries CE.⁶⁸⁰ All in all, literary testimonies darkening the picture need to be taken with caution.

Potential causes

Several causes can be put forward in order to explain the apparently ruinous state of the province of Achaia. Warfare and its consequences, for instance, are invoked as one of the principal factors causing the destruction of cities and temples.⁶⁸¹ Since the third century BCE, conflicts ravaged mainland Greece almost continuously. To the wars involving the Macedonians, Aetolians, Spartans and the Achaian League succeeded further conflicts involving the Romans, culminating in the defeat of the Achaean League and the destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE. Once incorporated as a Roman province, Greece was sucked into the whirlpool of the war against Mithridates and Roman civil wars.⁶⁸² The theatre of the crucial operations in the war between Anthony and Octavian was mostly set in Greece: large armies, of a size unprecedented until then in Greece, were stationed in the Peloponnese for nearly one year until Actium.⁶⁸³ The Greek cities were also asked to contribute, as we are for instance told by Pausanias (8.8.12) that all of the Arcadians but Mantinea chose to side with Anthony.

However, warfare does not explain everything. Sieges and attacks certainly destroyed buildings and drove populations out, but these effects did not last indefinitely: resilient populations rebuilt their cities and continued to revere their gods, even in ruined temples. For instance, the Abaians, whose temple of Apollo was burnt down first by the Persians then by the Boeotians, did not rebuild it in order to preserve the memory of their hatred.⁶⁸⁴ Yet worship of Apollo in this place must have survived, since Hadrian built a smaller temple to Apollo, Leto and Artemis right next to the frail, burnt larger temple (Paus. 10.35.2-4). In addition, cities continue to disappear during the Pax Romana: between Pausanias and Hierokles' *Synekdemos*

⁶⁸⁰ Rogl 2008. Roy 2010, 61 argues that Pausanias never actually visited Lousoi.

⁶⁸¹ See for instance Strab. 8.8.1.

⁶⁸² Cic. *Att.* 9.9 worries about the effects of civil war in Greece in 49 BCE. Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 68.4-5 describes the situation in Boeotia after Actium.

⁶⁸³ Compare Polyb. 29.24.8: the Achaian League could gather 30,000 to 40,000 men, namely less than half of Octavian's infantry. Pelling 1996, 141; Pretzler 1999c, 200.

⁶⁸⁴ Temple ravaged by the Persians and the Thessalians: Hdt. 8.31-33. Burnt during the Sacred War by the Boeotians and not rebuilt: Paus. 10.35.2-3 'The Greeks who opposed the barbarians resolved not to rebuild the sanctuaries burnt down by them, but to leave them for all time as memorials of their hatred'. Against: Diod. Sic. 16.58: temple burned by accident. For archaeology, see Yorke 1896, 298-301.

written in the first half of the sixth century CE, half of the cities mentioned in Pausanias are in ruin or have disappeared altogether.⁶⁸⁵

Depopulation is also one of the main reasons put forward by ancient authors for the decline of rural settlements and smaller cities.⁶⁸⁶ They argue that because of a generalised demographic contraction, people left rural settlements to settle in larger, more prosperous cities, leaving behind empty villages and uncultivated fields. The extensive archaeological survey conducted in the Asea Valley confirms this demographic trend for Arcadia. Forsén and Forsén suggest that the decline was driven by the abrupt end of opportunities for mercenary service in the Seleucid kingdom in the second century BCE after the treaty of Apamea. Reproduction rate would then have plummeted in Arcadia with lasting effects on the population, resulting in a demographic decrease compared to the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁶⁸⁷ Yet Achaia was still one of the most urbanised provinces of the Empire⁶⁸⁸, which suggests that the degree to which population decreased in the Roman period was not so dramatic. Besides, if the villages and some cities disappear or shrink, many larger cities remain energetically active.

Hence, depopulation seems to have been mostly focused on the countryside. Modern scholars have correlated the disappearance of rural settlements with a dramatic alteration in landholding patterns. Large estates would have strangled smaller ones and driven away the rural population, who lived off small farms, towards the increasingly more attractive and urbanised cities.⁶⁸⁹ That hypothesis has some merit, but it is difficult to assess whether it applies to Arcadia. Three intensive surveys have so far been conducted in Arcadia: Howell (1970) covered the eastern part of the region, the Sheffield-Swansea expedition the Megalopolis area (Lloyd et al. 1985; Roy et al. 1988, 1989), and the Norwegian Institute at Athens surveyed the Asea valley (Forsén & Forsén 2003). The difficult nature of the evidence, mainly consisting of potsherds, does not allow in any of the three cases the finds to be dated precisely. However, the Megalopolis survey confirms the presence of large farmsteads in the Hellenistic period already, some even with a Classical or, more rarely, Archaic origin.⁶⁹⁰ Small and medium size farms were still more common, but cannot be dated more precisely than some time within the five last centuries BCE.⁶⁹¹ J. Lloyd suggests the possibility of estate agglomeration already occurring in the Hellenistic period, but evidence supporting this phenomenon is better attested for the late Hellenistic and early Roman period. At this point, a greater number of large farmsteads is recorded, some becoming ostentatiously wealthier, while on the other

⁶⁸⁵ Only 70-80 cities left. Hierokles might be inaccurate: and archaeology has shown that the absence of a polis from his account might not necessarily mean that the city disappeared, but rather that it lost its polis status.

⁶⁸⁶ Polyb. 36.17.5-9; Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.4, *Pro Flacco* 16.62-4; Horace *Ep.* 2.2.81.6; Ovid. *Met.* 15.425-30; Plut. *Mor.* 414a; Strab 8.4.11 and 8.8.1, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.25, 1.52; Paus. 10.33.1.

⁶⁸⁷ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 269-271.

⁶⁸⁸ Alcock 1993, 147-8.

⁶⁸⁹ See Alcock 1993, 148-149 and related bibliography.

⁶⁹⁰ Lloyd 1991, 180 and 190.

⁶⁹¹ The evidence for these sites mainly consists of black glaze pottery. Lloyd 1991, 190.

hand the smaller rural sites indicated by black glaze pottery fall by 80 per cent in the two first centuries CE.⁶⁹² The data for the Asea valley survey, on the other hand, is too uncertain in date to confirm if any agglomeration of estates occurred in the region. Still, Arcadia attracted well-known landowning families: testimonies attesting the presence of elite family members in Arcadia, such as the Spartan Euryclids and Voluseni, have led some scholars to suggest that they owned land in Arcadia.⁶⁹³ These families were famous absentee landlords, and they may have been attracted by the fertile basins of eastern and southern Arcadia, along with the prospect of profits based on pastoralism, livestock and horse breeding in a landscape favourable to this type of economy.⁶⁹⁴ Thus, although evidence for it is scarce, a change in landowning patterns in the countryside cannot be excluded and might contribute to explain why people left villages. Besides, the presence of wealthy elite families, attested in epigraphy in the Megalopolis area, suggests a shift in social and political structures. The conspicuous presence of a local elite in Arcadia, dedicating gifts to certain sanctuaries, points to the existence of an elite class whose interests inflected economic, political and religious life in the region.⁶⁹⁵

Thus, depopulation, warfare and change in landholding patterns are the three main reasons invoked as having caused the progressive decay of Greek settlements, leaving an image of countryside scattered with ruins around some surviving cities. However, as S. Alcock underlines, even those three reasons do not explain everything.⁶⁹⁶ For instance, why do some cities disappear while others do not? And why did some cults survive in ruined cities? The pattern of disappearance of Greek cities reflects an important trend occurring in the Roman period: the involvement of local elites and of the emperor, who act to save or develop selected cities and sanctuaries based on what prestige and honours such actions could bring as reward.

Roman Arcadia

The Roman provincial administration remodelled the landscape of the vanquished. While a large part of autonomy was allowed for Greek city-states, Roman governors often had the final say: for instance, they arbitrated disputes

⁶⁹² Lloyd 1991, 190 and fig. 5 after data collected by Howell 1970. On a column drum in fine limestone and concrete blocks found in a large farm estate near Rapsommati by the Megalopolis survey: Lloyd 1991, 190.

⁶⁹³ Voluseni: *IG* V2 544 (Volusena Iusta, statue at Lykosoura; mid-second century CE), see *Roman Peloponnese* I ARC 172, RP II LAC 621, RPI ARC 136; *IG* V.2 543 (Pompeius Damainetos, Lykosoura, c. 180 CE), see RPI ARC 135; *SEG* 11 1130 (tombstone at Thelpousa of one of the Voluseni, early second-late third century CE). Euryclids: *IG* V.2 281 (C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanius gave to Mantinea and god Antinoos a stoa with exedra, Mantinea, 136/7 CE). Roy 2010, 69-70 argues that such contact through cult between families favoured the establishment of an aristocratic network in Achaëa. See also Spawforth 1985; Lloyd 1991, 190.

⁶⁹⁴ Spawforth 1978, 1985; Lloyd 1991, 190. On the praise of Arcadian horses and donkeys: Strab. 8.8.1; Varro 2.1.13; Columella 7.1.1.

⁶⁹⁵ As Alcock 1993 argues.

⁶⁹⁶ Alcock 1993, 148f.

between cities and settled them.⁶⁹⁷ Cities could enjoy a relative independence, but at the end of the day, final decisions often belonged to the representative of the Roman power.

The general trend in Roman provincial urbanism was to form clusters of populations in a reduced number of cities. It is therefore not surprising to observe that Arcadia was broadly cut out in districts under the control of a main city, from which depended a string of smaller villages. According to Pausanias, the poleis that survived in his day were Alea, Alipheira, Heraia, Kaphyai, Kleitor, Kynaitha, Lykosoura, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pallantion, Pheneos, Phigalia, Psophis, Stymphalos, Tegea, and Thelpousa, although Stymphalos and Alea belonged to the Argives (Paus. 8.22.1, 8.23.1). Past synoecisms were kept as they were: Megalopolis and its countryside is the most striking example of it. Epigraphic documents indicate that civic life went on almost unchanged in the largest cities.⁶⁹⁸ Yet, it is very difficult to assess where populations did live in the Roman period. Most cities did not mint coinage between the period of the Achaean League and the Severan period (193-222 CE).⁶⁹⁹ Coinage can help identify which cities survived through the first two centuries of the Roman rule, but does not enlighten the period any further. Hence, until complete surveys of the Arcadian countryside are carried out and published, one way to proceed is to identify cities and villages listed in Pausanias and see which are ruined in his time, which cities are downgraded from poleis – possibly due to their depopulation – and which cities survive, while bearing in mind the limits to Pausanias' information stated above.

Plutarch also suggests another line of enquiry. He points out that the reason why oracles were dying away in his day was because of the demographic decrease incurred in the province of Achaea.⁷⁰⁰ Thus, looking at the territorial distribution of cults may give a good idea of the patterns of settlement in Roman Greece: where cults survive, people must survive too to visit them. Pausanias, since his main interest is in religious buildings, offers an extensive picture of the religious landscape of Arcadia, both urban and rural. We must certainly remain careful and not take all of his assertions for granted, but even when allowing for a margin of error, we can assume the following statements:

- If a city is alive, then it will have functioning urban cults;
- If a city is alive, then it will have functioning rural cults. Processions are a good indicator for this.
- If a city is alive, it will hold festivals.

⁶⁹⁷ Woolf 1994, 132.

⁶⁹⁸ See for instance Megalopolis: *IG* V.2 464, *IG* V.2 463 (late second to early third century CE). For decrees and public dedications at Mantinea, Megalopolis, Lykosoura, Tegea, see Lafond 2006, 86 tab. 4, 123-4 tab. 6. Documents on the ephebate: *IG* V.2 43-58 (Tegea); *IG* V.2 268 l. 18-10 (Mantinea); Paus. 8.31.8, *IG* V.2 515B l. 15, *SEG* 14 1957, 347 (Megalopolis).

⁶⁹⁹ Exceptions: cities with first-century coinage (Pheneos, Walker 2006, n. 1633; Thelpousa Walker 2006, n. 1760-1763; Megalopolis Walker 2006, n. 1552-1568; Tegea Walker 2006, n. 1749-1752).

⁷⁰⁰ Plut. *Mor.* 414a.

To this must be added that some ruined cities, however, still have functioning cults.

Urban cults: business as usual

Based on the religious landscape described by Pausanias and the little information he gives about the state of cities, it is possible to infer that at least twelve of the cities enumerated above are still very active in terms of religious practices in the Roman period, while no religious ritual is mentioned for the remaining ones.⁷⁰¹ Despite occasional attempts by some Emperors to modify civic pantheons, what appears is that cities tend to keep their traditional gods and local myths, with local variation on the Panhellenic pantheon. Overall, there is a strong religious continuity into the Roman period.

Continuing civic religion? Traditional pantheons and local adaptations

Tegea, Mantinea, Megalopolis and Pheneos are particularly vivid examples showcasing the usual sets of gods ruling civic life in the city and presiding over country life in the countryside. ‘Local twists’ are observable in pantheons: by selecting which gods should be honoured by the community and to what extent, the community and those who govern it shaped their own self-identity.⁷⁰²

Despite Pausanias’ pessimistic statement that most of Megalopolis is in ruins (8.33.1), it appears that its urban centre is packed with cults and religious monuments. Most of them connected the new city with the religious past of the smaller cities it had swallowed (8.30.2-32.5). Only five monuments out of the nearly forty recorded by the periegete are in ruins, and all of these ruins are located in the urban area.⁷⁰³ At Mantinea, the image that prevails in Pausanias’ writing is that of urban cults having to do with the good functioning of civic life – cults of Zeus, Hera, Asclepius, tombs of founders and so on⁷⁰⁴ – while the countryside reveals the mythical past of Mantinea. The old sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, tombs of mythical and epic beings such as the Peliads, Areithoos and Anchises, and the hill through which Rhea wandered all contribute to drawing the picture of an age-old landscape once one gets out of the city

⁷⁰¹ Mantinea (8.8.4-8.9.10; 8.8.1 Nestane festival; 8.13.1 Artemis Hymnia at border of Orchomenos; 8.9.8 Antinoeia); Orchomenos (8.13.2); Pheneos (8.14.1-8.15.4, mysteries; 8.14.10 Hermaia); Kleitor (8.21.3-4); Kaphyai (8.23.2-3); Kynaitha (8.19.1-3, festival of Dionysos); Psophis (8.24.1-4); Thelpousa (8.24.4, 8.25.1-3); Heraia (8.26.1-2: festival of Dionysos but temple of Hera in ruins); Megalopolis (8.30.2-8.32.5: government offices in use and many monuments; mysteries of the Great Goddesses. Ruined temple of Hermes and of Hera; 8.38.8 festival of Apollo; 8.2.1, 8.38.5 Lykaia); Phigalia (8.39.1-8.41.6; 8.41.4-6 festival of Eurynome; 8.42 festival of Demeter Melaina); Tegea (8.45.1-49.1; 8.53.1-6 Apollo Agyieus; 8.53.9-10 Zeus Klarios; 8.47.4 Aleaia and Haliota).

⁷⁰² See Pretzler 1999c, 217-226 for analysis of how religious and civic monuments help shape local identities at Tegea, Mantinea and Megalopolis.

⁷⁰³ Temple of Meter (Paus. 8.30.4-5), sanctuary of Athena Polias (8.31.9), sanctuary of Hera Teleia (8.31.9), temple of Dionysos struck by lightning (8.32.3), temple of Herakles and Hermes (8.32.3).

⁷⁰⁴ Sanctuaries of Zeus Soter, Zeus Epidotes (Paus. 8.9.1); temple of Asclepius (8.9.1); temple of Hera (8.9.2-3); tomb of Arkas (8.9.3); Common Hearth and tomb of Antinoe (8.9.5).

walls.⁷⁰⁵ Finally, at Tegea, the urban cults suggest an image of the city as leader and protector of the Arcadians, especially against attacks of the Dorians and their descendants the Lacedaemonians.⁷⁰⁶ By contrast, the countryside cults suffer more than anywhere else: whereas Pausanias does not mention ruins in the country of Mantinea, Megalopolis and Pheneos, the Tegean countryside counts four of them.⁷⁰⁷

The non-reconstruction of a few destroyed temples within a relatively well-preserved landscape may have different causes: natural disasters, violence, or simple maintenance failure. But the fact that these temples fell into ruin and that Pausanias does not report any particular local story as to why reconstruction did not happen suggests that some cults did not interest the community as much as time went by; and as the pool of worshippers shrank because of a lack of interest, the cult disappeared. This phenomenon is not surprising, as it underlines how versatile and flexible polytheism is: gods useful for the community are honoured and worshipped, while those who for one reason or another do not respond to any need anymore are gradually excluded from religious life.

Finally, a multitude of festivals and cults are thoroughly alive, and their peculiarity betrays their local and traditional character. Pheneos, for instance, is particularly lively and holds two ceremonies of sacrifices (to the hero Iphikles Paus. 8.12.10; to Apollo Pythios and Artemis 8.15.5), two mystery cults (Demeter Eleusinia 8.15.1-3; Demeter Thesmia 8.15.4) and the games Hermaia in honour of their principal god, Hermes (8.14.10). The mysteries of Demeter Eleusinia are clearly distinct from those taking place at Eleusis in the way the ceremony is conducted: the priest whips the ground to stimulate the underground spirits, and a mask of Demeter Kidaria is taken from the great stones of Petroma for the Greater Rites (8.15.1-3). This exemplifies a trend quite common in Arcadia as anywhere else in Greece, where mysteries of Demeter and Demeter Eleusinia in particular were adapted to the particular traditions of local communities.

Imperial modification of pantheons

Thus, although the larger trend is to the continuation of civic religion, religious landscapes somewhat changed. This is due partly to changing interest in cults, as seen above, but not only. The Roman involvement in Arcadia led to some obvious modifications in the Arcadian landscape. Several Emperors reconstructed or built civil buildings in a number of Arcadian cities. Domitian, for instance, rebuilt a stoa in Megalopolis that had been destroyed by fire with his own funds.⁷⁰⁸ An

⁷⁰⁵ Wanderings of Rhea (Paus. 8.10.1); sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios (8.10.2); tomb of the Peliads (8.11.1-3); tomb of Areithoos (8.11.4); tomb of Anchises (8.12.8-9).

⁷⁰⁶ Spartan fetters in temple of Athena Alea (Paus. 8.47.2), Eryma (8.47.5), Ares Gynaikothoinas (8.48.4), Hestia Koine (8.53.9), stele of Echemos (8.53.10). See Pretzler 1999b, 89-129 for a detailed analysis.

⁷⁰⁷ Unidentified sanctuaries (Paus. 8.53.11); temple of Artemis Knakeatis (8.53.11); bones of Orestes stolen by the Spartans and his tomb removed (8.54.4); sanctuary of Apollo Pythios (8.54.5).

⁷⁰⁸ *IG* V.2 457.

imperial freedman of Trajan rebuilt the agora of Thelpousa⁷⁰⁹. Hadrian, too, brought modifications to the Arcadian landscape: at Stymphalos, he ordered an aqueduct to be built to bring water to Corinth (Paus. 8.22.3).⁷¹⁰ Antoninus Pius changed the status of Pallantion from that of *kôme* to that of a free polis, free of taxes, because of its link with Evander who built the first city on the Palatine hill (Paus 8.43.1-3). On the other hand, dedications declaring local loyalty to the ruler were set up in the shape of statues and dedications.⁷¹¹ Cults of the Emperor were of course introduced.⁷¹² In addition, Augustus and Hadrian, the only two Emperors to have visited Greece, further modified the existing religious landscape in Arcadian cities.⁷¹³

Gods as rewards and punishments

Augustus' hand only fell on Arcadia to reward or punish, which was effected by either adding or taking away a divinity from the city. He famously took away the statue of Athena Alea at Tegea along with the tusks of the Calydonian boar that hung in the sanctuary as a punishment for the city for having supported Antony (Paus. 8.46.1). On the other hand, he rewarded the Mantineans for having joined his ranks at Actium by building a sanctuary of Aphrodite Symmachia, thereby celebrating his divine ancestry by adoption (Paus. 8.9.1). Despite being an imperial gift, Aphrodite Symmachia did not encounter much religious fervour: Pausanias reports that the temple was in ruins in his day (Paus. 8.9.6). Only a statue dedicated by Nikippa was still standing.⁷¹⁴

While the popularity of the cult to Aphrodite Symmachia was short-lived, the Tegeans' trauma from the removal of their cult statue and most valuable spoils was lasting. S. Alcock has underlined how much emotional investment a community put into its cult statue.⁷¹⁵ The loss of the Palladion precipitated the fall of Troy; likewise, the desperate Phocians, under attack from the Thessalians, were ready to burn their women, children, possessions and cult images rather than let the enemy take them (Paus. 10.1.6-7). Removing a cult statue and precious objects from a city was of course a war statement, aimed to complete and advertise the enemy's submission rather than originating from sheer lust for Hellenic art.⁷¹⁶ By taking away the goddess

⁷⁰⁹ *SEG* 11 1124. See Paus. 8.25.3: the city was so deserted in his time that the agora was at the extremity of it instead of in the middle of the city.

⁷¹⁰ Lolos 1997, 271-314; Crouch 1993, 84-88 (with caution, Lolos 1997, 298 n. 69); Knauss 1990, 44f.

⁷¹¹ For instance Paus. 8.19.1: the Kynaithans dedicated a statue of Hadrian on the agora.

⁷¹² Imperial cult: Alcock 1993, 181. *IG* V.2 301-303 (Mantineia); *IG* V.2 459, 533; *SEG* 45, 1995, 342 (Megalopolis); *IG* V.2 346 (Orchomenos).

⁷¹³ Hadrian's visit to Tegea was a new starting point for dating: *IG* V.2 50-52.

⁷¹⁴ This Nikippa might be the same as the priestess of Kore of *IG* V.2 265 (early 60s BCE), see p. 165, 168. Augustus perhaps also dedicated the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Anchisia, at the border between Mantinea and Orchomenos, which had the same fate.

⁷¹⁵ Alcock 1993, 178.

⁷¹⁶ Plundering works of art in Greece was common practice during the first centuries BCE and CE. See for instance Mummius at Corinth (Strab. 8.6.23); Nero at Delphi (Paus. 10.7.1) and Olympia (Paus. 5.25.9, 5.26.3).

of Tegea, Augustus was inscribing his action into the long tradition of *evocatio*: a god was leaving the defeated to join the ranks of those protecting Rome. As Pausanias (8.46.2-4) goes on to explain, many rulers before him proceeded in the same way, snatching cult statues from vanquished enemies and bringing them home. The statue was placed in the Forum of Augustus (Paus. 8.46.4) in the centre of Rome, its new protector.⁷¹⁷

Athena Alea was widely worshipped through the Peloponnese, and the sanctuary was located at a strategic communication point to and through Arcadia. Renowned for its architectural beauty, it was an ideal stopping point for foreign travellers as well as for regular worshippers: after the removal of the statue, Tegea's defeat by Rome was clear for all to see. Athena Alea's importance is also demonstrated by the fact that she even had a sanctuary and a cult statue in Mantinea, probably derived from the cult at Tegea (Paus. 8.9.6).⁷¹⁸ The Mantineans might have sought to capture the prestige that the venerable sanctuary of Athena Alea had brought to Tegea, unsuccessfully: Pausanias only mentions the Mantinean sanctuary in passing, without describing it any further, suggesting that it was still of little interest compared to the Tegean house of the goddess. In fact, being deprived of the image of the goddess was not a sufficient reason to abandon a cult wholesale. The Tegeans continued to worship Athena Alea and replaced her cult statue by one imported from one of the nearby demes.⁷¹⁹

Innovations

There were also a few additions to the traditional Arcadian pantheon, beside the obligatory introduction of the imperial cult.⁷²⁰ Hadrian had a gentler impact on the religious landscape of the Peloponnese than Augustus. The most notable cultic innovation directly introduced by him is the cult of his lover, Antinoos the Bithynian, whose city was said to have been founded by Mantinean settlers (Paus. 8.9.7-8). His cult was established all over the Empire, and in Arcadia it was of course implemented in Mantinea, where it was celebrated with fervour. Annual mysteries and games every four years were celebrated for the youth, who also had a shrine in the gymnasium, packed with statues and paintings of him as Dionysus.⁷²¹ The cult took off so well that

⁷¹⁷ Of the tusks meanwhile one was rededicated to another god, Dionysus, while the other was kept in the garden of the Emperor (Paus. 8.46.5). It is curious that the tusk was dedicated to the god with which Antony identified.

⁷¹⁸ The earliest testimony on the presence of Alea in Mantinea is *IG* V.2 262 (first half of fifth century BCE). See Fougères 1892, 568f; Jost 1985, 374.

⁷¹⁹ Statue of Athena Hippiia from the deme of the Manthoureis, Paus. 8.47.1.

⁷²⁰ Mentions of cult of the *Sebastoi*: *IG* V.2 515 (Lykosoura, Augustan); *IG* V.2 516 (Lykosoura, 42 CE.); *IG* V.2 301 (Mantinea, after 14 CE).

⁷²¹ Antinoeia in the Mantinean stadium *IG* V.2 313 l. 2-3 (second century CE). The passage mentioning the games must be taken with caution, as ἀ[γῶνος τῶν Ἀντινοείων] is a restitution. *IvO* 450; *IvO* 452 l. 5-6 (second and third century CE).

the Spartan aristocrat Iulius Eurycles Herculani L. Vibullius Pius (136/7 CE) dedicated a stoa with exedrae to ‘epichorios Antinoos’.⁷²²

New Eastern gods were also introduced at an unknown date.⁷²³ An inscription bearing the name ‘Sarapis’ was found in the temenos of Despoina at Lykosoura.⁷²⁴ Pausanias reports a statue of Ammon with ram horns in Megalopolis⁷²⁵, and coinage from Tegea shows Isis⁷²⁶.

Founders and fading ethnic identity

Beside gods, cults were also practiced in honour of local personalities, mythical or real. Founders were commemorated in the agora. Arkas, the eponym of the Arcadians, had his tomb moved on the instruction of a Delphic oracle from Mount Mainalos to the Mantinean agora, where he received sacrifices (8.36.8). Antinoe the daughter of king Kepheus had her tomb under the Common Hearth in Mantinea, in the agora (8.9.5). Similarly, Tegeates and his wife Maira had their mnema (but no cult) in the Tegean agora (Paus. 8.48.6). Cults to founders were common in ancient Greece, and it is noteworthy that Pausanias does not record any sacrifice to Antinoe and Tegeates: perhaps the practice lapsed.⁷²⁷

It is striking how mythical founders completely overwrote the existence of a tribal system in Arcadia in Pausanias, and leads one to wonder how much of an ethnic conscience survived in Roman Arcadia. Strabo had already announced his lack of interest in the Arcadian ethne (‘the Azanes, the Parrhasians, and other such peoples’) despite their reputation of being the most ancient tribes of Greece.⁷²⁸ Around two centuries later, there is no mention of ethne in Pausanias’ Arcadian book at all, while genealogies of city-founders take up nearly six chapters (Paus. 8.1.4-8.6.1). Besides, the terms ‘Azania’, ‘Mainalia’ and ‘Parrhasia’ in Pausanias mostly seem to refer to geographical regions.⁷²⁹ The only exception is when Pausanias lists the oikists of Megalopolis (8.27.2): Possicrates and Theoxenos are the representatives ‘of the Parrhasians’ (Παρρασίων δὲ Ποσσικράτης τε καὶ Θεόξενος), but Eucampidas and Hieronymus are ‘from Mainalos’ (Εὐκαμπίδας δὲ καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ἐκ Μαινάλου). The list of the cities drawn into the synoecism is equally ambiguous, since the cities are listed ἐκ Μαινάλου (...) ἐκ δὲ Εὐτρησίων (...) ἐκ δὲ Κυνοουραίων and Παρρασίων (8.27.3-4). Finally, the old oracles quoted by Pausanias are equally confusing: the oracle delivered to the Phigalians evokes ‘the Azanian Arcadians acorn-eaters, who dwell in Phigalia’⁷³⁰ (8.42.6), but the oracle giving instructions to

⁷²² IG V.2 281. This is a unique instance of Antinoos being called ‘epichorios’, doubtlessly to be connected with his so-called Mantinean origins.

⁷²³ More on this type of cults in Bricault I 2005, 41-44.

⁷²⁴ IG V.2 531 (undated).

⁷²⁵ Paus. 8.32.1.

⁷²⁶ Walker 2006, n. 1767 (Severan).

⁷²⁷ Jost 1985, 536.

⁷²⁸ Strab. 8.8.1.

⁷²⁹ Paus. 8.3.3: Azania is the territory given to Azan. 8.36.7: Mainalia is a plain. 8.38.7: Parrhasia is a region of which some villages were taken over by Megalopolis.

⁷³⁰ ‘Ἀρκάδες Ἀζᾶνες βαλανηφάγοι, οἱ Φιγάλειαν νάσσασθ’

bring down the bones of Arkas says ‘Mainalia is storm-swept’⁷³¹ (8.9.4), thus referring to a territory.

As a result, it is difficult to assess how much the Arcadians who were traditionally included in the old ethne of the Mainalians, Parrhasians, Azanians, Eutresians and Kynourians still considered it a part of their identity. The only tribe that seems to have been clearly remembered is the Parrhasian ethnos: a sanctuary and grove of Apollo Parrhasios was visited by the Megalopolitans in regular festivals⁷³², and in the examples above the Parrhasians seem to be more often referred to as a community than a territory. The confusion that appears in Pausanias’ use of the sub-ethnic names, sometimes referring to groups of people, at other times to places, may reveal the unfamiliarity of the visitor with the ancestral Arcadian ethne. Of course, discussing ethne or not, and presenting them as unfamiliar yet typically Greek realities from the glorious past is a conscious intellectual choice: Pausanias and Strabo had their own agenda, and Pausanias’ confused interest for the ethne fits well with his taste for the peculiar and ‘vintage’. On the other hand, the seeming inconsistency in his account might attest the reduced importance of sub-ethnic identity in Roman times.⁷³³ Looking at the map, it appears clearly that once larger cities had drained the population from smaller surrounding villages, many of which were inhabited by members of ethne, their *raison d’être* disappeared.⁷³⁴ The sense of belonging to a more fluid entity, the ethnos, was gradually replaced by a new identity, that of belonging to a well-defined city which had its own history and mythical founder. Only the Parrhasians, whose sense of identity perhaps crystallised around the sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios, may have somewhat resisted this trend. Besides, the polis-system had become by the Roman period one of the signatures of Hellenism.⁷³⁵ In a world where independent city-states were the mark of Classical Greek inheritance, where political claims were made through kinship and genealogies, and where descent was an important component for self-definition, sub-ethne were too vague a concept to be fully relevant.⁷³⁶

⁷³¹ ‘ἔστι δὲ Μαιναλίη δυσχείμερος’

⁷³² Paus. 8.38.2, 8.

⁷³³ See Swain 1996, 75; Pretzler 1999c, 214; Said 2001, 287. It is also possible that these confused references to ethne come from Pausanias’ sources, and therefore do not reflect realities of his own day.

⁷³⁴ When this happened exactly is difficult to assess. If we follow Pausanias’ account of the foundation of Megalopolis, ethne are still important then since the Parrhasians and the Mainalians send oikists to supervise the foundation (Paus. 8.27.2). Perhaps the massive re-installation of smaller cities into the larger capital city set a trend. In any case, if the ethne still existed as territorial entities at the end of the Hellenistic period, the Roman policy of clustering populations finished by making them redundant.

⁷³⁵ Said 2001, 287.

⁷³⁶ Woolf 1994, 129, 132; Said 2001, 288-290. The multiplication of city-states in Arcadia might also result from the Achaian League period, possibly in order to increase the Arcadian voting block.

Continuity in civic religion and the impact of the Roman power

Thus, some general trends are observable in civic religion during the early Roman period. In some cities, civic religion continues as if uninterrupted by the Roman conquest: pantheons remain in conformity with tradition, and cult practices are seemingly untouched. The most obvious innovations brought by the Roman power are the imperial cult, as well as the insertion of divinities favoured by the Emperors Augustus and Hadrian in the local pantheon of Mantinea. We also observe a keen interest in mythical founders, commemorated in public places, while the original tribal identity of most parts of western Arcadia has faded away.

Anthony Spawforth (2012) proposes to look further into these trends in order to understand the deep impact that the early Roman age, in the late Republic and under Augustus, had on the cultic landscape of Greece. The apparent conservatism in civic religion, he argues, results from:

*‘the growing dialogue, religious as well as political, between Greek and Roman elites at a time when religious reorganisation, ritual recovery and the appeal to Archaic models were in the cultural air of Rome’.*⁷³⁷

The Romans had become interested in integrating Hellenic culture and religion with those of Rome as part of a larger programme of re-definition of Roman identity after the civil wars. But this interest in Greek religion had originated long before the Principate and the Augustan reforms. Political personalities such as Sulla and Ap. Claudius Pulcher were initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. Antony triggered a revival of Antiquarianism and old, lost religious practices in a ravaged Athens post-Sulla.⁷³⁸ Cicero even considered that Athens gave ‘religio’ to the rest of the world, articulating clearly the notion of religious continuity between Greece and Rome that was in the air at the time.⁷³⁹ The Romans integrated Greek religion as a part of Roman identity, and in return they superimposed on it their own conception of religiosity. The Romans valued the precise preservation of Archaic forms, while religion and politics were traditionally intrinsically linked. As a result, Greek religion became increasingly politicised under the Roman lead. The most notable innovation with regards to this trend was the new ability of local elites to access important priesthoods, which had a considerable impact on Greek social structures and landscape. Besides, religious office holding became the main channel through which Greek Romanised elites and Romans in the process of religious reform could engage in dialogue. As for the Greeks, who were cautious to keep their own identity through the promotion of Hellenism based on language, culture, custom, descent, the glorious past and of course religion, preserving archaising rituals and myths was crucial. Since

⁷³⁷ Spawforth 2012, 159.

⁷³⁸ Spawforth 2012, 143-144. Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 16; Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 23.4.

⁷³⁹ Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 62. The idea of continuity between Greece and Rome is of course most clearly displayed by Dionysius Halicarnassus’ *Roman Antiquities*.

the interests of both parties converged, the dialogue between the Greeks and the Romans through religious practices could take place seamlessly.⁷⁴⁰

As for the disappearance of sub-ethnic identity in Arcadia, it probably results from the vision that the Romans held of Greece. Unfamiliar with these rather local divisions, the Romans did not fully grasp the importance of these old institutions in Arcadia. The image of ‘true’ Greece conveyed by Roman writers was that of a federated, land united against Barbarian invaders⁷⁴¹: the distinction between regions and city-states had already somewhat disappeared, and it is not surprising that the even more Greek-specific notion of *ethne*, which did not fit into this picture, was abandoned. Actually, as argued above, it is probable that sub-ethnic identity was not a defining criteria anymore for the Arcadian themselves, due to the growing clustering of population in cities. The myths of founders were far more understandable to the Romans, who had a comparable mythical origin for their own city. Hence, it is not surprising to see that founders are celebrated in public places, while *ethne* become an alien and misunderstood entity, as the incoherent account of Pausanias shows.

Thus, the conservation of old civic cults does not simply result from an ossification of religious life in Arcadia and in Greece as a whole; rather, this apparent continuity was the result of gradual Romanisation of religion through the channel of local elites willing to compete in a field that was accessible to them, religious office, in order to climb the imperial social ladder. As we will see below, this period (first century BCE to second century CE) coincides with growing evidence of benefactions to the benefit of cities and selected sanctuaries by local elites. The apparent fossilisation of pantheons is, in fact, a crucial part of the conversation between Hellenism and Romanisation on the religious level.

Rural cults in a deserted countryside

Contrary to what Strabo’s testimony suggests, the countryside of Arcadia was not all ruins. In fact, archaeological evidence rather confirms Pausanias’ image of a countryside populated by more cults than villages.

Shrinking settlements

Pausanias lists a number of poleis downgraded to *kômai* or *choria*, namely villages or mere ‘places’.⁷⁴² This ‘downgrading’ might be largely due to demographical contraction experienced by smaller settlements and cities, while people left to the larger cities. This phenomenon may not have been restricted to the Roman period, as Forsén and Forsén already observe a population decrease in Arcadia

⁷⁴⁰ See below p. 160f.

⁷⁴¹ See for instance the edifying transformation in Roman writers of the Delphic amphictyony into a Panhellenic council, reflecting the incomprehension of the Romans towards Greek internal divisions: Cic. *Inv.* 2.69; Livy 33.35.8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25.3-6. Spawforth 2012, 161; Sánchez 2001, 462-3.

⁷⁴² For instance Haimoniai (Paus. 8.44.1), Akakesion (8.36.10, 8.27.4), Amilos (8.13.5), Asea (8.44.3), Mainalos (8.36.8), Melaineai (8.36.8), Trikolonos (8.35.6, 8.27.5).

at the end of the Hellenistic period.⁷⁴³ It was also suggested earlier that the establishment of large farming estates in southern Arcadia in the two first centuries CE – and to some extent in the Hellenistic period already – contributed to drive rural populations, who used to commute daily to the fields, out of the countryside.⁷⁴⁴

In addition, Pausanias reports about 30 ruined villages or cities. In most cases, he merely signals the ruins and the name of the former settlement. There is no religious site to report, probably because they had been ruined for a long time, too, and therefore impossible to recognise for the unfamiliar traveller who may have not bumped into any local apart from an isolated shepherd in certain places. They may have even vanished from local memory, as for instance the unidentified ruined temples in the Tegean countryside (Paus. 8.53.11). Why these settlements were emptied in the first place is not always clear, but a large proportion of them are villages located in the Megalopolis area: populations had been displaced c. 369/8 BCE to fill the new city, but some of them must have stayed behind, at a more practical distance to tend to their land.⁷⁴⁵ Why people then completely left is difficult to know: the synoecism might have initiated a very gradual process of emptying of these cities, or some other event drove people out. Other settlements may have died out because of population movements towards bigger cities promoted by the imperial power in the province of Achaëa.⁷⁴⁶

Surviving rural cults

Some ruined settlements, however, do have a cult surviving in their countryside. Pausanias lists around 15 of these surviving sanctuaries. Their continuation is largely due to worshippers originating from larger cities close by, who come and visit them in processions, or celebrate regular festivals in those places. Although in some cases it is not clear to which community the sacred place owes its survival⁷⁴⁷, integration of rural sanctuaries into the sphere of influence of a larger settlement almost always seems to result from earlier historical circumstances, going back to territorial re-arrangements across Arcadia in the pre-Roman period.

The most obvious case is of course Megalopolis. The Megalopolitans worship in religious places in their chora that used to belong to villages whose population was drawn into the new city. The temenos of Boreas near Mainalos (8.36.6), the sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios on Mount Lykaion (8.38.8), and possibly the cult of Artemis Lykoatis near the ruins of old Lykoa (8.36.7) are visited by Megalopolitans. It is easy

⁷⁴³ Forsén and Forsén 2003, 269-271, see above p. 109.

⁷⁴⁴ See above. Small 'peasants' lifestyle: Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.15.

⁷⁴⁵ On fourth-century synoecisms, see Demand 1990, 107f.

⁷⁴⁶ Alcock 1993, 180f.

⁷⁴⁷ Bathos (cult of the Great Goddesses with biannual telete) and cult of the Lightning, Storms and Thunder near ruined Trapezous might be visited by all of the Arcadians (Paus. 8.29.1). Sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia at Basilis (Paus. 8.29.5) and temple of Demeter and Artemis at Zoitia (8.35.6) perhaps integrated by Megalopolis. On the other hand, it is impossible to tell who visited the sanctuary of Pan at Peraitheis (Paus. 8.36.7), and roofless temple of Meter and sanctuary of Athena Soteira and Poseidon on the Boreion near Asea (8.44.3-4) in Pausanias' time.

to imagine that the inhabitants of the small settlements near these cults left to join the bigger, wealthier city, but continued to worship at their ancestral sanctuaries. Links between these cult places in the chora which used to be frequented by locals and the city centre were established in Megalopolis from the time of its creation. Important countryside cults were moved inside the city⁷⁴⁸, while processions allowed the inhabitants to survey the land that used to be their ancestral home and to worship their ancestral gods. This process allowed strengthening the Megalopolitan grasp on its territory, while maintaining a connection between the ‘newer’ city and the age-old villages from where the imported inhabitants of the new city originated.

Likewise, the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura had been attracted to the Megalopolitan sphere of influence. Despite the small size of Lykosoura, which only had ‘a few inhabitants’, the ‘oldest city in the world’ (8.38.1) largely survived thanks to the massive, lively sanctuary, and the benefactors it attracted. If the cult logistics seem to have remained somewhat independent, the administrative handling of the sanctuary clearly depended on the Big City.⁷⁴⁹ It is clear what interest the Megalopolitans had in Lykosoura: the place could barely survive on its own as a village, but its sanctuary was old and powerful. It drained large amounts of wealth in the shape of dedications, gifts from benefactors and revenues generated by the mysteries.

⁷⁴⁸ Apollo Epikourios brought by the Phigalians (8.30.3-4); Zeus Lykaios (8.30.2); Hermes Akakesios (8.30.6), xoana from Trapezous in peribolos of Great Goddesses (8.31.5).

⁷⁴⁹ Honorary decree published in the name of the city of the Lykosoureaans but deposited in archives at Megalopolis. *IG* V.2 516 l. 31-32 (42 CE). *IG* V.2 542 (42 CE): honorary decree dedicated by Megalopolis set up in Lykosoura. *IG* V.2 544 (mid-second century CE): honorary decree set up at Lykosoura by ‘ἡ πόλις / ἡ τῶν Μεγαλο / πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ / τῶν Λυκούρα / σίων’ (l. 1-5). *IG* V.2 533 (reign of Hadrian): honorary decree to Hadrian Saviour and Founder of Megalopolis set up in Lykosoura. *IG* V.2 517 (late-second to early-third century CE): dedication to a Megalopolitan who founded mystery cults at Megalopolis set up at Lykosoura.

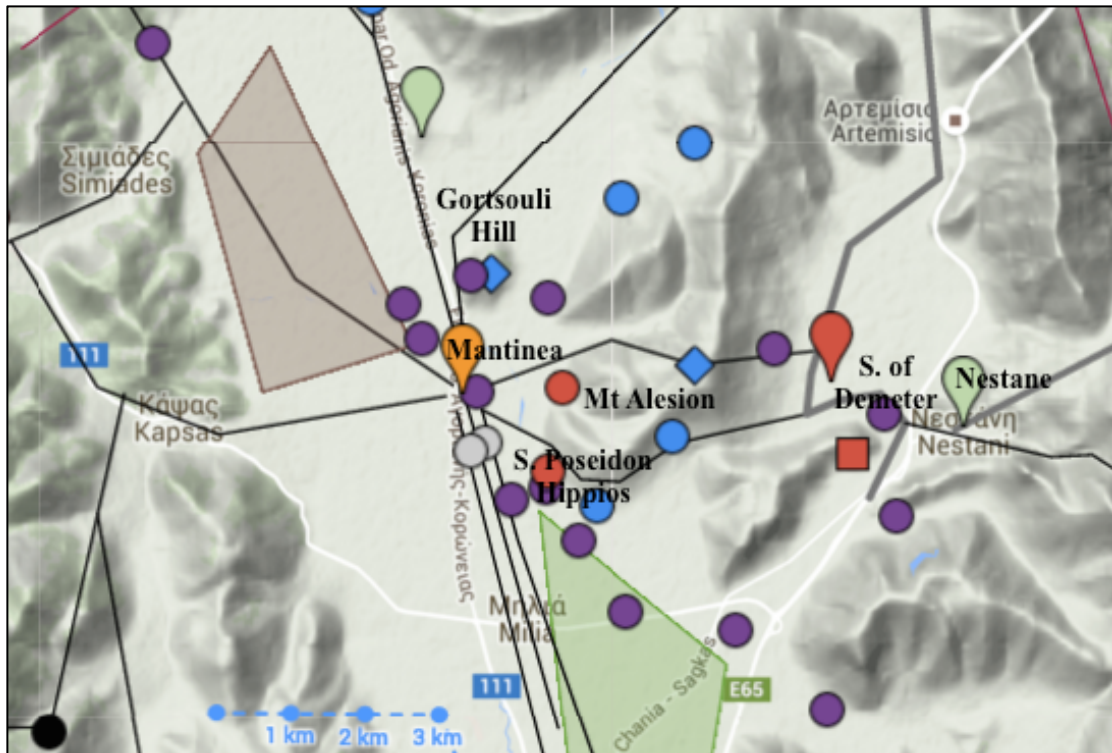


Figure 38: Map of the Mantinike - North above (Baleriaux 2014, courtesy of Google Maps)

East of the Megalopolis plain, the ruins of the village Nestane, located east of Mantinea at the entry of the Untilled Plain, had a sanctuary of Demeter visited in yearly processions by the Mantineans (Paus. 8.8.1). Nestane has been identified as a dependent polis of Mantinea.⁷⁵⁰ Nielsen suggests that it was part of the initial synoecism of Mantinea, but that after the dioikismos provoked by Sparta around 385 BCE, populations moved back to their original *kômai* – including Nestane.⁷⁵¹ The city had its own city-ethnic in the fourth century BCE: some fortifications found on the hill and dated from around 370 BCE, and the presence of Hellenistic sherds on the site of the settlement suggest that Nestane remained a polis after the second synoecism of Mantinea.⁷⁵² Still, this does not necessarily mean that Nestane was completely independent from Mantinea: the treaty of sympoliteia concluded between Mantinea and Helisson in the fourth century BCE, which made the latter a dependent polis, might suggest that Helisson was not the only city in this position.⁷⁵³ Nestane could therefore have been in a similar situation, enjoying polis status while not being completely independent politically. Therefore, the fact that the Mantineans continued to revere the sanctuary of Demeter on the territory of Nestane after the settlement disappeared results from a territorial evolution comparable to the one that occurred with Megalopolis and its depending cults, dating from before the Roman period.

⁷⁵⁰ Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, 247.

⁷⁵¹ IGP n. 281.

⁷⁵² Nestane may have risen to polis status after the dioikismos of Mantinea in 385 BCE. See p. 41.

⁷⁵³ SEG 37 340.

Another interesting case is that of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Kaous (8.25.2), and the sanctuary of Demeter Erinys and Lousia at Onkeion (8.25.4). Both seem to have been somewhat taken over by Thelpousa, a city which Pausanias describes as mostly deserted (8.25.3). Kaous and Onkeion were two villages a few kilometres away from Thelpousa, the first in ruins at the time of Pausanias' visit, the latter seemingly dependent on Thelpousa but still including a few religious sites in its territory.⁷⁵⁴ Onkeion already entered the fold of Thelpousa, perhaps as a dependent settlement, by the fourth century. Indeed, the coinage minted in the fourth century BCE by Thelpousa features the myth of Demeter Erinys/Lousia attached to the Onkeian sanctuary.⁷⁵⁵ Later, Pausanias reports this myth as Thelpousan despite locating the sanctuary near Onkeion, suggesting that the village was within Thelpousan territory (8.42.1).

Finally, a similar case occurs with the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera. In the time of Pausanias, the sanctuary does not depend on the ruined city of Lousoi anymore, but on the Kleitorians (8.18.8).⁷⁵⁶ This is because Lousoi and its sanctuary had been integrated into Kleitorian territory in the time of Pausanias. However, it is unclear when this integration happened: Polybios' account of the plunder of the sanctuary by the Aetolians c. 240 BCE seems to imply that it was still under the sole control of Lousoi.⁷⁵⁷ In addition, victories won at the 'Hemerasia at Lousoi' in the first centuries BCE and CE⁷⁵⁸ imply that the cult still depended only on Lousoi at that point although, as the example of Lykosoura recalls, cultic independence does not necessarily entail political independence. Once integrated into Kleitor, Lousoi mostly existed in order to support the sanctuary much as the deserted Lykosoura supported the sanctuary of Despoina.

As a result, it appears that the cases of ruined settlements having their sanctuary taken over by a larger city in Arcadia are not a phenomenon only occurring in the Roman period: in fact, it results mostly from earlier territorial shifts. Sanctuaries in small *kômai* or *poleis* becoming dependent of larger cities *de facto* became rural sanctuaries of the larger settlement. Reasons why the latter integrated these sanctuaries can be diverse. Pragmatically, this allowed extending the larger city's territory and asserting its ownership thanks to visible territorial markers, the sanctuaries. As de Polignac underlines, processions such as that of Demeter between Mantinea and Nestane were useful to regularly highlight this ownership. On a

⁷⁵⁴ Temple of Apollo Onkeiatis, sanctuary of Asclepius Pais and tomb of his nurse Trygon 8.25.11. Both Kaous and Onkeios have been identified: Kaous is at modern Voutsis 6.5km North of Thelpousa (Jost 1985, 63; *IGP* n. 300) and Onkeion might have been found 2km south of the city (Meyer 1957, 13f for traces of a settlement with a Classical temple; *IGP* n. 300).

⁷⁵⁵ Walker 2006, n. 1757-1759: head of Demeter Erinys; obv. ΕΠΙΩΝ and horse Arion prancing to right.

⁷⁵⁶ Pausanias seems to exaggerate the state of Lousoi. Recent archaeological revealed that the residential area below the sanctuary of Artemis was occupied until the fourth century CE. See ÖAI report summary <http://www.oai.at/index.php/318.html> consulted 22/01/15 14:02.

⁷⁵⁷ Polyb. 4.18-19, 4.25, 9.34.

⁷⁵⁸ Perlman 2000, 160. She dates the end of the sanctuary in the first century CE.

religious level, one could not simply abandon gods as long as communities were willing to worship them: they had to be re-integrated into civic life. So when populations moved away from the smaller settlement to the larger ones, their original gods were likewise added to their new pantheon. However, these regular movements across the countryside then probably lost some of their meaning in terms of territorial assertion in the Roman period, when poleis all lost their political independence and the ability to expand to the detriment of another's territory.⁷⁵⁹ S. Alcock also argues that the prestige attached to sanctuaries, especially larger ones such as that of Despoina or, in its time, that of Artemis Hemera, brought prestige to the community who took care of them. She argues that in a time when cities were threatened with disappearance if they did not conform to the image of 'ancient Greece' formed by the Romans, maintenance of rural cults was a strategy of civic competition and survival.⁷⁶⁰ However, we have seen that in Arcadia at least, this process was a long and gradual one. It did not result from a sudden political decision to integrate an old rural cult, but rather from a centuries-old process of integrating cults of former poleis relegated to the status of small villages into the sphere of influence of the new urban core. This topography was allowed to endure by the Roman administration, who were probably satisfied with the existing clusters of villages.

Thus, as population dropped, people were encouraged to move to the larger urban centre, but did not abandon their ancestral sanctuary. The fact that settlements were dying while their cults survived was the result of a gradual phenomenon triggered by earlier territorial rearrangements validated by the Roman administration rather than sudden claims over an abandoned sanctuary in the countryside.⁷⁶¹

City and country: processions

Despite the apparent demographic decrease in Arcadia and ruin of some cities, Pausanias still records a large number of cults, rural as well as urban. Whereas some small cities and towns fall into ruins⁷⁶², rural cults continue to be visited by the community for festivals. There may have been fewer people, but their religiosity did not decrease. The Roman landscape of Greece was still densely inhabited by *daimones* and gods, if not by people.⁷⁶³

Pausanias mentions ten festivals taking place in Arcadia in his own day, scattered all round the map.⁷⁶⁴ Processions regularly gathered citizens together to

⁷⁵⁹ See below.

⁷⁶⁰ Alcock 1993, 207.

⁷⁶¹ The case of Lousoi and Kleitor is a later exception, but the process at play is probably similar.

⁷⁶² See list in Pritchett 1999, 208-210.

⁷⁶³ S. Alcock argues that the vitality of countryside cults does not correlate with settlements, Alcock 1993, 201. She takes for example the southern Argolid, where the survey led by Jameson, Runnels and van Andel 1994 reported a landscape with many fewer settlements during the early Empire than the number of cults listed by Pausanias.

⁷⁶⁴ Processions: Paus. 8.8.1 (Mantinike); Paus. 8.38.8 (Megalopolis); 8.41.6-7 and 42.1-13 (Phigalia). Other festivals: Paus. 8.19.2 (Kynaitha); Paus. 8.22.8-9 (Stymphalos); Paus. 8.23.1 (Alea); 8.26.7 (Alipheira); Paus. 8.53.1-6 and 8.53.9-10 (Tegea). See Pritchett 1999, 267-283

embark on a common journey and visit a cult site in the country. The Mantineans walked ten kilometres annually in procession to Nestane to celebrate the festival of Demeter (Paus. 8.8.1). The Megalopolitans started their procession on the agora, at the sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios, where they sacrificed a boar; they then carried it up the mountains to the sanctuary of Apollo Parrhasios, also called Pythios (8.38.8). The Phigalians had at least two annual processions: one to visit the sanctuary of Eurynome, two kilometres above the city (8.41.4-6). Another annual procession leads them to the cave of Demeter Melaina, over one hour's walk away from the city (8.42.1-13). These may have both started from the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira, on the flat top of the hill on which the city was built (8.39.5).

The persistence of these sacred rituals in the early imperial period results, of course, from an enduring religiosity on the part of the Arcadians. In addition, it also allowed the continuation of an active connection between the city and its inhabitants and the countryside, by gathering the whole civic body in a scheduled sacred event which allowed the population to survey its land. In a very 'de Polignacean' manner, it is possible to see that these processions continued to fulfil their original purpose: they instilled a sense of unity into the civic body and bound the territory together. Continuing to conduct age-old processions was a way for the Greeks as a whole to link their present with their past, and to re-appropriate their pre-Roman traditions from a time when each city-state was independent.⁷⁶⁵ Besides, poleis had kept a relative sense of autonomy under the Roman rule, and territorial quarrels still frequently arose.⁷⁶⁶ City-states were a central part of Greek identity and Hellenism; preserving them and highlighting the extent of a city's territory through the perpetuation of religious rituals certainly was important for communities.

The Roman period: revival of old cults and the imperial attitude to Hellenism

The grip of Rome on Greece was political as well as cultural. We have seen that modifications were brought to local pantheons, for instance. But the influence of Rome on Hellenic culture went beyond that. The Roman power became judge of what 'Hellenism' was, and shaped directly or indirectly the cultic landscape of Greece according to their vision of what Greece was supposed to be, and to Rome's own political goals.

and 300-302. He includes the border cult of Artemis Hymnia in the list, although it is not clear if a festival effectively took place at the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia: it is likely, but Pausanias 8.13.1 and 8.5.11-12 does not mention it.

⁷⁶⁵ Alcock 1993, 201 also adds that, from a socio-political point a view, processions were the ideal occasion for elites and benefactors to showcase their status. See Paus. 2.35.5-6 for a detailed layout of a procession at Hermione to the sanctuary of Demeter, with the elite members at the front of the group.

⁷⁶⁶ Woolf 1994, 118, 132.

The Panhellenion and the second Arcadian koinon

Founded in 131/2 CE under the impulse of Hadrian, the Panhellenion articulated clearly the will of the Roman imperial power to integrate Roman rule and the Roman vision of Greece with Hellenic culture.⁷⁶⁷ The organisation had its seat in Athens and was placed under the direction of an archon and the council of the Panhellenes.⁷⁶⁸ The archon was also agonothete of the Panhellenia, a Panhellenic festival that only occurred in 137.⁷⁶⁹

'Greekness'

In order to become a member of this large organisation, which included cities from five provinces of the Empire (Achaëa, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia and Crete-and-Cyrene), there were two criteria. One was to have a history of good relations with Rome; the other, the most important one, was for cities to prove their belonging to the Hellenic *genos*.⁷⁷⁰ Hence, cities had to prove their Greekness not only of culture, but of nature. Since the Greek world viewed the mainland as its ethnic cradle, overseas cities wanting to enter the Panhellenion sought to prove colonial relationships with cities of the mainland. Some of these connections were real, others not: Hadrian was left sole judge of their credibility.

This new standard established by the Roman imperial power very much derived from a Roman conception of 'Greekness' and of how it should be inherited. While Isocrates (Isocr. *Paneg.* 50) celebrated in the fourth century BCE the fact that Hellenism was no longer a matter of race but of education and culture (*paideia*), in the Roman mind a people's character depended heavily on the environment they lived in.⁷⁷¹ Culture was therefore not sufficient to guarantee belonging to a common *genos*: one needed to prove ancestry.⁷⁷² A hereditary link with cities of old Greece could be traced via a mythological ancestor, or genuine colonization originating from a city of the mainland – preferably a famous one, such as Athens, Sparta or Argos. Such ancestry was then advertised in speeches, in a very Second Sophistic-like fashion, and set in stone in decrees. This emphasis on ethnicity is perceptible in Pausanias, whether

⁷⁶⁷ Spawforth and Walker 1985, 78 who advocate a greater integration of cultural and political history in the study of Roman Greece.

⁷⁶⁸ Spawforth and Walker 1985, 78-80.

⁷⁶⁹ Lafond 2006, 152; Jones 1996, 35.

⁷⁷⁰ Reynolds 1978, 113 and Oliver and Clinton 1989, n. 120 (Hadrian's letter to Cyrene, 134/5 CE); Oliver and Clinton 1989, n. 5 (decree admitting Magnesia on the Meander); Oliver and Clinton 1989, n. 6 and *OGI* II n. 497 (dedication by Cibrya in Phrygia); Woolf 1994, 129; Said 2001, 288.

⁷⁷¹ In the Roman mind, geographical determinism was very present: people's character was thought to be shaped by their environment, and these characters would be inevitably inherited by their descendants: Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.26, 5.10.24; Livy 37.54.17. Spawforth 2012, 252-254.

⁷⁷² Only in Ps-Dio 37.27 do we find Favorinus (a 'Greek' sophist born in Gaul) arguing that education is as good a qualification for Hellenism as birth. Said 2001, 288.

he tries to track down cities' original *genos* or whether locals advertise it to him.⁷⁷³ For instance, despite the debate on whether Arcadians were Hellenes or not, Bithynion claimed to have been founded by Mantineans, while colonists from Azania were said to have settled in Phrygia and the Tegean hero Telephos became king of Pergamon.⁷⁷⁴ The Romans themselves ended up subscribing to this way of thinking, as Antoninus Pius officially linked Rome to Pallantion through Evander.⁷⁷⁵

The second koinon of the Arcadians?

In this context, some evidence suggests that a koinon of the Arcadians was re-created under the Panhellenion at the earliest. Coins struck in Mantinea with the legend 'the Arkadians' and representing Antinoos were for instance found.⁷⁷⁶ Similarly, a fragmentary statue base set up in Megalopolis in the two first centuries CE was dedicated by Megalopolis and 'the Arkadians'.⁷⁷⁷ Another curious mention of 'the Arkadians' is found in an inscription from Sardis where games held in Mantinea in honour of 'the Arkadians' are attested.⁷⁷⁸ However, the most explicit evidence of the existence of an Arcadian koinon is the honorary decree to Claudia Tyche at Olympia: this woman, who held both Elean and Kleitorian citizenship, was 'Hestia for life of the koinon of the Arkadians'.⁷⁷⁹ However, the date of the inscription is much later than Hadrian's reign, and since no koinon of the Arcadians is registered within Hadrian's Panhellenion, we must assume that, if it effectively existed, it must have come into existence after Hadrian's reign. The idea that an Arcadian koinon may have joined the Panhellenion has been suggested by Lafond, yet the evidence presented above is highly inconclusive.⁷⁸⁰ The mention of 'Arcadians' on coinage by Mantinea and Megalopolis, Arcadian cities that were particularly prominent under the

⁷⁷³ The Stymphalians stated their belonging to Arcadian *genos*, tracing it back to Homer, although in Pausanias' time they were part of the Argive League and no longer part of the Arcadians (Paus. 8.22.1).

⁷⁷⁴ The Arcadians have a different genealogy from the rest of Greece, Paus. 8.4.1. Bithynion: Paus. 8.9.7. Phrygia: Paus. 8.4.3; Hall 1997, 47; Romeo 2002, 29. Pergamon: Jost 1985, 535; Curty 1995, 86-87 n. 41 (159 BCE); Pretzler 1999b, 91.

⁷⁷⁵ Paus. 8.43.1-3, 44.5, see Jost and Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe 2010, 305. Evander was identified as an Arcadian from Pallantion in the first century CE: Livy. 1.5; Varro *Ling.* 5.53; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.31.4; Virg. *Aen.* 8.51.

⁷⁷⁶ Head 1911, 445-446; Walker 2006, n. 355-58.

⁷⁷⁷ *IG* V.2 465 l. 2-3: ἡ πόλις ἡ Με- / [γάλη] καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων. Hiller restitutes 'to koinon' after 'Arkadôn'. The date is based on style.

⁷⁷⁸ Buckler and Robinson 1932, 83-87 n. 79B, l. 15 (212-217 CE). Lafond 2006, 150 links the competition with one held in Mantinea and mentioned in the inscriptions *IEphesos* VI 2072 = *IAG* 75, l. 15 (pentathlon of Ephesos, second half of the second century CE); *IAG* 79, l. 35 (pankratist, c. 200 CE); 84B, l. 15 (M. Aurelius Demonstratus Damas of Sardis, boxer and pankratist, end of the Antonine/Early Severan period); *SEG* 43 732, l. 5 (athlete of Tralles, c. 200 CE); *ISmyrna* II.1 659, l. 19 (C. Antonius Septimius Publius citizen of Pergamon, Smyrna, Athens and Ephesos, citharede, early reign of Septimius Severus). Spawforth 1989, 195 proposes to identify these competitions with the Antinoeia (against this identification: Robert 1980, 135 n. 16).

⁷⁷⁹ *IO* 473 (212/3 CE) l. 13-15: Ἑστία / διὰ βίου τοῦ κοινοῦ / τῶν Ἀρκάδων.

⁷⁸⁰ Lafond 2006, 150.

Roman Empire and which had a history of Arcadian leadership, might rather translate a renewed pan-Arcadian rhetoric, or at least the ambition to re-take leadership over the Arcadians.⁷⁸¹ As for Claudia Tyche's inscription, what 'koinon' it might refer to is difficult to determine on the basis of this meagre evidence. As a result, it is highly uncertain that a koinon of the Arcadians existed in the Roman period, and even less certain that it joined the Panhellenion.

A unified image of Greece

Pausanias' narrative balances between local histories and the bigger picture of Greek history as a whole. At the opening of the book, after listing the mythical kings of Arcadia, he devotes a few lines to the deeds of the Arcadians within Greek military history (Paus. 8.6.1-3). However, as M. Lafond underlines, this common history is barely visible in the monumental landscape that he goes on to describe: only a few tombs, such as those of Epaminondas or Philopoemen (Paus. 8.48.8, 8.52.6), and the monuments of Polybios and Podares evoke this shared past.⁷⁸² It is most often Pausanias who makes the link between the Arcadian landscape and the rest of Greece.

This artificially unified image of Greece presented by Pausanias reflects a systematic attempt on the part of the Greeks to construct a past shared by all city-states. This constant rewriting of the Classical past, in which all city-states equally participated, was a way of defining and asserting a common Hellenic identity.⁷⁸³ Therefore, despite his own interest in local histories, Pausanias needed to integrate the narrative into the larger military and political history of Greece.

Restorations and euergetism

Not only territory but the religious landscape as a whole was reworked under the influence of Rome's perception of Greece. The survival of local cults for instance relied heavily on euergetism. This chapter will argue that euergetism, although not new, contributed by its ability to connect local and imperial interests in the religious sphere to shape the religious landscape.

The Roman period is characterised in Greece by the important role played by local elites. 'Local elites', as defined by A. Spawforth, is a term

⁷⁸¹ A similar device was used, although in a much different historical context, with the fifth-century BCE 'Arkadikon' coinage. Despite the label, no koinon is attested at the time when the coinage was struck. See p. 44-45.

⁷⁸² Lafond 2006, 182. See for instance the collective tomb of the Oresthasians who liberated Phigalia from Sparta (Paus. 8.41.1, see Paus. 8.39.3-5 for the war); heroôn of Podares in the centre of Mantinea, who fought at the battle of Mantinea in 362 BCE (Paus. 8.9.9-10); tomb of Epaminondas in the Mantinean countryside (Paus. 8.11.5-8); trophy of the victory against Agis near the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios near Mantinea (Paus. 8.10.5-8: whether the war Pausanias is referring to ever took place is dubious).

⁷⁸³ E.g. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.157. Bowie, 1974; Swain 1996, 78, 87. The Delphic tripod was notably used as an edifying example of inter-state Greek collaboration against the Persian threat, and therefore evidence of the existence of a pan-Hellenic past.

'widely and loosely used by historians to describe the restricted numbers of prominent citizens within the body politic of the poleis who increasingly assumed the direction of civic affairs in the second and first centuries BCE'.⁷⁸⁴

This social class, made up of rentiers living off income from their properties, dispensed benefits to their hometowns in two ways. On the one hand, they would take charge of restoring civic and religious monuments or take up religious functions at their own expense. On the other hand, thanks to their openness towards the Roman power, they were privileged interfaces between their local city and the rulers: they could act as diplomats in Rome on behalf of their community to try and attract imperial benefits.⁷⁸⁵

Certainly, euergetism did not start with imperial rule. Inherited from Hellenistic practices, we find abundant evidence of euergetism in the Hellenistic period in Greece.⁷⁸⁶ Yet after the weakening of Hellenistic kings, the practice became less dynamic. Antony rekindled the interest of the Greeks in their own past: he resumed the traditions of patronage that stopped with the Hellenistic kings, and announced a long list of imperial repair programmes for famous Greek sanctuaries.⁷⁸⁷ Augustus in turn promoted the restoration of religious buildings as an integral part of his reform program, partly to outdo Antony's actions. This cooperation between the Roman rulers, who from Augustus' time were keen to promote mainland Classical Hellenism as an ideal to emulate, and the local Greek notables, who sought honours and recognition, was most fruitful.⁷⁸⁸ The result of it is visible in the proliferation of inscriptions and honorific statues attesting acts of euergetism both from local elites and the Emperors. Greek cities, especially on the mainland, who lacked funds to maintain their religious and civic life, benefited greatly from this collaboration.⁷⁸⁹

Maintaining ancient religious practices

Euergetai could help to maintain cults in different ways: by rebuilding a temple or sanctuary, by taking on the expensive priesthood and funding festivals, or by enhancing the economic health of the sanctuary by making gifts that would turn into economically fruitful assets.

Firstly, in the Julio-Claudian period, we find evidence of some reconstruction and maintenance work funded by local elites. For instance, Xenarchos came forward and ordered building works on the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura.⁷⁹⁰ Euphrosynos

⁷⁸⁴ Spawforth 2012, 37.

⁷⁸⁵ Alcock 1993, 163.

⁷⁸⁶ In Arcadia: *IG* V.2 265 and 266 antedate the reign of Augustus.

⁷⁸⁷ *Plut. Vit. Ant.* 23.4. Pelling 1988, 176; Spawforth 2012, 143.

⁷⁸⁸ A concept developed by Spawforth 2012.

⁷⁸⁹ Alcock 1993, 210.

⁷⁹⁰ *IG* V.2 515B: Xenarchos son of Onesikrates, maybe of Megalopolis and/or Lykosoura. The *IG* date the inscription to the Augustan period based on writing. However, it mentions a

and Epigone, citizens of Antigoneia, repaired ruined temples in their city.⁷⁹¹ The most numerous reconstruction efforts were made under Hadrian. The Emperor was probably mostly driven by his philhellenism and reverence for Greek culture, since Roman economic interest in Arcadia was limited. The extent of his work can be gauged by the number of inscriptions that commemorate his actions, along with Pausanias' testimony. Hadrian was called 'saviour and founder' at Megalopolis, and promoted a series of reconstructions of religious buildings all over the region.⁷⁹² At Lykosoura, Hadrianic coins and two inscriptions point to restoration works carried out under the Emperor's reign, funded by both the Emperor and wealthy members of the elite.⁷⁹³ Under his leadership, a new temple was also added over the Archaic temple of Poseidon Hippios, built with respect for the local tradition: none of the workmen were allowed to peek inside the old temenos or move any of its parts (8.10.2f).⁷⁹⁴

Secondly, running cults itself was often a problem, as priesthoods often required being in possession of a comfortable private fortune⁷⁹⁵: wealthy euergetai would thus take this opportunity to step in and save the day. In the late Hellenistic period, Nikippa was priestess of Kore and took care of the funding and organisation of the Koragia.⁷⁹⁶ Phaena, also a Mantinean, took on the priesthood of Demeter and subsidised the cult.⁷⁹⁷ Euphrosynos and Epigone organised banquets for the Mantineans, stepping in when the city needed funds to organise them.⁷⁹⁸ Later, Nikasippos agreed to hold the priesthood of Despoina at Lykosoura when the mysteries coincided with the Olympic games. The clash of the two festivals meant a lower income from the cult, since the sanctuary could not sustain the competition with a Panhellenic festival so close nearby.⁷⁹⁹

priest of Augusti, which suggests that it was written after August's death (l. 28-30). The extent of the works is hard to assess.

⁷⁹¹ *IG V.2 268* (Mantineia, 10 BCE- 10 CE). The city is referred to as Antigoneia, a name that Mantineia bore from its destruction by Antigonos Doson to Hadrian's restoration of the city's original name.

⁷⁹² *IG V.2 533* (found at Lykosoura). Hadrian's personal interest in Greece: *Historia Augusta, Alex. Sev.* 42.6. He stayed in Greece a few times, Jost 2010, 299.

⁷⁹³ *IG V.2 520* (stele commemorating works in the naos and pronaos of Despoina, and offerings. Second century CE), *IG V.2 533* (statue base, c. 116/7 CE). The latter inscription may have initially been carved for Trajan, then dedicated to Hadrian by the city of Megalopolis, indicating that the sanctuary was under the control of the city by then. Hadrianic coins: Lévy 1967, 518-45. Reworks on the statue group from the same period: Lévy and Marcadé 1972, 986-1003. Evers 1994, 36 and n. 48 argues for minor restoration works. Platt 2011, 125 evokes the possibility of an earthquake that would have damaged the temple. She is the only one to mention the existence of such an earthquake in Lykosoura – although it is not improbable in a Peloponnesian context.

⁷⁹⁴ Interdiction to enter the sanctuary: Paus. 8.5.5.

⁷⁹⁵ Jost 2010, 297.

⁷⁹⁶ *IG V.2 265* (Mantineia, 64-61 BCE).

⁷⁹⁷ *IG V.2 266* (Mantineia, 46-43 BCE).

⁷⁹⁸ *IG V.2 268* (Mantineia, 10 BCE-10 CE).

⁷⁹⁹ *IG V.2 516* (Lykosoura, *IG V.2 516*. Dated by *IG* from 42 CE, just Jost 2010, 297 suggests first or second century CE).

Thirdly, benefactors could help increase the sanctuary's income by their gifts. In Mantinea again, Iulia Eudia and her husband C. Iulius Strobilus gave six plethra of vines to Asclepius, and fourteen to Zeus Epidotes, hence providing the sanctuary with supplementary revenue sources.⁸⁰⁰

The perks of being a benefactor

All these benefactions did not come for free: when spending such large amounts to support their cities, the euergetai expected something in return. Mainly, benefactors were rewarded by the city that received their benefactions by timeless honours. The decrees listed above, displayed in temples or sanctuaries, testify that the benefactors' actions were commemorated and advertised in the local community and beyond.⁸⁰¹ The prestige of euergetic actions had to be lasting in time: honorary decrees carved in stone are hung in temples, statues and portraits placed in sanctuaries, while ritual benefits (such as a privileged place at ceremonies or in the procession⁸⁰²) are extended to descendants.⁸⁰³ At the same time, honours had to be far-reaching in space as well: the sanctuaries and rituals in which the euergetai invest are those of well-established divinities, which guaranteed that the memory of their actions would be displayed to a wide audience. Besides, proclamations of honours are held in renowned festivals, which also guarantees large impact for their action.

Thus, benefaction is a philanthropic endeavour aimed at enhancing the status of the euergetai's polis, hence augmenting their own status at the same time thanks to the honours received as a result of the action. In order to make this relationship as fruitful as possible, euergetai invest in 'low risk', well established, much frequented and far-reaching cults – such as that of Despoina at Lykosoura, or Kore and Demeter at Mantinea – while cities make sure that the benefactors' actions do not stay uncelebrated. In fact, it is in the community's interest as well to advertise benefaction: the hyperbolic language and closing sentences used in some honorary decrees demonstrate that the aim was to create emulation, probably from members of other local elite families.⁸⁰⁴ The presence of members of at least two Spartan elite families is attested in Arcadia.

⁸⁰⁰ *IG V.2 269* (Mantinea, first century CE). *IG V.2 270* (Mantinea, first century CE).

⁸⁰¹ Lafond 2006, 237; De Polignac 1998, 93-101.

⁸⁰² Alcock 1993, 211 argues that beyond the prestige that arose from leading a religious procession, it allowed the elite to strengthen their grasp on the territory, where they might own large estates.

⁸⁰³ Statues and portraits: *IG V.2 515B l. 22-27* (statues and portraits of Xenarchos and his wife on a gilded shield in sanctuary of Despoina); *IG V.2 516 l. 23-25* (portraits of Nikasippos and his wife in sanctuary of Despoina); *IG V.2 269-270* (portrait of Iulia Eudia in temples of Zeus and Asclepius at Mantinea); *IG V.2 518 l. 8-10* (statues of Heracleia at all panegyrics). Proclamation of honours in festivals: *IG V.2 22* (Aleaia, second or first century BCE); *IG V.2 437* (Lykaia and other stephanitic competitions, second century BCE); *IG V.2 515B* (Lykaia and Kaisareia, Augustean period); *IG V.2 517 l. 15-17* (statues of Saon at Panhellenic games, late second-early third century CE). See Alcock 1993, 211.

⁸⁰⁴ *IG V.2 516 l. 33f.* The role of women's religious euergetism at Mantinea in particular has been explored by Y. Lafond 2006, 228f. See also Loucas-Durie 1984, 137-148. For the presence of Voluseni and Euryclids in Arcadia, see p. 145 n. 693.

Euergetism, between tradition and politics

The revival of energetic euergetism was to some extent a consequence of Roman rule in Greece. Following the impulse set by Antony and Augustus most notably, then by the other Emperors, benefaction became the mark of the Romanised elite. This process was encouraged by the new possibility offered by the Romanisation of Greek religion for the elite, and especially politically prominent figures, to hold priesthoods.⁸⁰⁵ Besides, in order to hold priesthoods, a certain history of gifting the city with civic monuments, or restoring important religious buildings was required. Hence, euergetism resulted not only from an outstanding piety on the part of local elite members, but also from a burning desire to climb the social hierarchy put in place by the Roman rule. In addition, it marked the rise of a political elite able to affect polis religion, and who had the power to inflect and model civic pantheons according to their own interests –generally coinciding with the imperial power’s interests.

As appears in the examples given above, benefactions were not made in a haphazard fashion: certain cities or certain cults were better at capturing attention from the right people than others. Being able to attract benefits was indeed crucial, as failing to do so resulted in religious places and towns lapsing into oblivion. For instance, it seems that the festival of the Hemerasia, which had its heyday during the Hellenistic period, lost its prestige and worshippers in the Roman period.⁸⁰⁶ On the other hand Tegea, thanks to its interesting location on the *cursus publicus*⁸⁰⁷, benefited from a large number of restorations for both its civic and religious buildings.⁸⁰⁸ Pausanias also mentions fewer ruins in Tegea than in many other cities, which demonstrates the efficiency of the city’s euergetai.⁸⁰⁹ Evidence from Pausanias and inscriptions also shows that Mantinea and Lykosoura were quite successful at attracting benefactors.

Thus, the fact that Arcadia seems rich in religious ruins in the Roman period does not result from a lack of religiosity, but from an endemic lack of funds: euergetai could restore certain buildings and maintain some cults, but certainly not all of them. Y. Lafond proposed that this apparent favour on the part of the elite for certain cults and not others could be explained by the general enthusiasm for cults of Demeter, Kore and Asclepius during the early Roman period, since they offered a closer contact with the divine through incubation, initiations and mysteries.⁸¹⁰ However, again, a selection within these preferred cults was made: despite the number of cults of

⁸⁰⁵ Spawforth 2012, 144-146.

⁸⁰⁶ The last mention of the Hemerasia is a victory inscription from the first century CE. Pretzler 1999a, 79-80.

⁸⁰⁷ *CIL* III.7251 (49/50 CE).

⁸⁰⁸ See for instance Kahrstedt 1954, 129-130; *IG* V.2 83 (altar, guild image); *IG* V.2 123 (restoration of market building); *IG* V.2 125 (Pantheon); *IG* V.2 127 (bath and stoa).

⁸⁰⁹ Paus. 8.45.1-49.1. The ruins are limited to outside the city: Paus. 8.53.11 (temple of Artemis on Tegea-Laonia road), 8.54.5 (temple of Apollo on Tegea-Argos road).

⁸¹⁰ Lafond 2006, 268-279. He also lists Dionysus as a successful god. It must be noted, though, that Pausanias’ particular fervour for the cults and mysteries of Demeter might have led to an over-representation of the goddesses’ religious places.

Demeter and Kore scattered over Arcadian territory, the Mantinean and Lykosourea ones were the most favoured.⁸¹¹

On the one hand, Lykosoura was certainly a very active religious centre in the western Peloponnese during Roman rule, as is demonstrated by the number of dedications found relating to the sanctuary.⁸¹² Since it was highly frequented, helping the sanctuary would guarantee to the euergetes timeless honour advertised to a wide group of worshippers, including from other preeminent families, and perhaps even the Emperor. On the other hand, Mantinea clearly had shrewd elite members who could successfully intervene in the city's favour, as demonstrated by the number of dedications and tokens of euergetism. The city had brought the Roman spotlight on itself after Actium, by going against the rest of the Arcadians and siding with Octavian. The Mantinean elite presumably cultivated this privileged relationship with the imperial power, as shown by the dedication of a statue to Aphrodite Symmachia by Nikippa (Paus. 8.9.6) despite the cult's lack of appeal, and of a stoa to Antinoos by Iulius Eurycles Herculanos.⁸¹³ This was a successful strategy, enhanced in the Hadrianic period by the 'fortunate' Mantinean origin of Bithynion. This is doubtless why Hadrian engaged with Mantinea more than any other city in Arcadia, to the point of writing an epigram for the tomb of Epaminondas and giving back the name of Mantinea to the city, which had been called Antigoneia since its destruction by Antigonos Doson in 222 BCE.⁸¹⁴

Therefore, euergetai could insert themselves into the religious landscape in various ways in order to attract lasting honours to their names. Yet beyond that, as Plutarch lucidly observed, euergetism was a way of linking the new politico-social practices with sacred tradition.⁸¹⁵ Without the craving for social recognition of the elite, many cults would have sunk into oblivion in the same way as the formerly glorious Artemis Hemera. Euergetism guaranteed a form of religious continuity with the past, by maintaining ancient cult places and practices. This process is visible in the restoration of the temenos of Poseidon Hippios by Hadrian for instance – again at Mantinea. Without the continuing popularity of euergetism and interest in ancient religious traditions promoted by the ruler in the Roman period, Pausanias would have seen many more temples in ruins.

⁸¹¹ Lafond 2006, 277-278 gives a list of these sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore in Arcadia. It is unclear which of the Mantinean sanctuaries received the benefactions of Nikippa and Phaena (Nestane: Paus. 8.8.1; in the polis: Paus. 8.9.2). Other sanctuaries: Paus. 8.31.1 and 8 (Megalopolis); 8.15.1 (Pheneos); 8.15.4 (Pheneos); 8.29.1 (Trapezous); 8.42.11-13 (Phigalia).

⁸¹² See for instance *IG* V.2 515 (14 CE), *IG* V.2 515B (after 14 CE), *IG* V.2 516 (42 CE), *IG* V.2 517 (late second to early third century CE), *IG* V.2 518-519 (second or third century CE), 524 (38-72 CE), *IG* V.2 520 (Hadrianic), *IG* V.2 523 (27 BCE-14 CE), *IG* V.2 526 (second or third century CE), *IG* V.2 528 (second century CE), *IG* V.2 532 (imperial period), *IG* V.2 533 (125 CE), *IG* V.2 543 (c. 180 CE).

⁸¹³ *IG* V.2 281.

⁸¹⁴ Tomb of Epaminondas, located further southwest from the sanctuary of Poseidon (Paus. 8.11.8). Antigoneia becomes Mantinea: Polyb. 2.56-58; Plut. *Vit. Arat.* 45; Paus. 8.8.12.

⁸¹⁵ Plut. *Prae. ger. rei.* 822b.

Conclusion: a matter of converging interests

Arcadia was singled out by Augustan poets such as Vergil and Horace as a deserted rural landscape populated by shepherds, *daimones* and gods. It exemplifies well the vision of the province of Achaea held by certain authors in the Roman period: a deserted land where gods are more numerous than men, an area physically marked by the moral decline of Greece that resulted after its conquest by Rome. Yet this picture does not reflect the actual situation at the time. In fact, Hellenism and Greek identity was reinvented, and traditional, 'archaising' religion was a very important part of this process of self-definition. Besides, it had the extra advantage to be an area where Roman and local Greek interests converged, which contributed to re-shaping the religious landscape according to the political stakes of the time.

Pausanias certainly gives a somewhat partial picture of the Arcadian pantheon: his focus is on the traditional gods and above all his favourite goddesses, Demeter and Kore, and he overlooks minor divinities otherwise known to us thanks to coinage, such as Tyche or Nike, and Egyptian imports.⁸¹⁶ Yet it is incontestable that the Arcadian pantheons remained very traditional. Most surviving cults indeed celebrate Demeter and Kore, very popular in Arcadia, but also Zeus, Apollo, Asclepius, Dionysus, Aphrodite and Athena. In other words, the set of divinities considered essential to the functioning of the polis had remained the same. In that respect, the impact of Rome on the Arcadian civic pantheons seems rather minor: at most, Augustus tried unsuccessfully to add and remove goddesses in Tegea and Mantinea, Hadrian successfully introduced the cult of Antinoos at Mantinea, and the venerable Lykaia were remodelled as Lykaia-Kaisareia, in line with the assimilation of games for Zeus with the imperial cult.⁸¹⁷

Yet it would be a mistake to think that the Roman power had only a negligible impact on local religion: in fact, the reason why ancient religious traditions endured is in parts due to Roman politics. The 'Augustan renaissance' marked a strong revival of interest in the Greek past, its hoplites, its gods and its culture, which was chosen as a model to emulate for the Romans.⁸¹⁸ This was a lasting endeavour, as a revival of interest in Archaising traditions and peculiar religious practices marked the Second Sophistic and Hadrian's reign in particular. As A. Spawforth (2012) convincingly demonstrated, the impact of this policy favouring a return to Archaic rituals was big as it resonated with the Greek elites' interest in their own past as it was part of the definition of Hellenism. What facilitated this process was the opportunity offered to local Greek Romanised elites to take part in religious life, in conformity with the Roman model of religious offices. This new development put the shape of civic religion in the hands of a local elite eager to please the Roman administration, in the hope of acceding to a higher social status. Therefore, they became the privileged interlocutor of the Roman power, mostly because the Greek elite's interests generally coincided with the Roman imperial ones.

⁸¹⁶ Head 1911, 444-56; Walker 2006, n. 322-423; Jost 2010, 300.

⁸¹⁷ *IG* V.2 515B (Augustan); *IG* V.2 463 (Severan). Robert *OMS* VII, 760, n. 9-10.

⁸¹⁸ Spawforth 2012, 55.

Another consequence of the Roman religious reform was to encourage elite competition, channelled in the field of benefaction. In order to accede to the religious offices opened to them, elite members had to show their worth and their wealth by offering to the city new civic buildings, and by restoring important sanctuaries – again, in conformity with Roman customs. This competition fulfilled Augustus’ plan of increased urbanisation and administrative reform in the province of Achaea. Equally, J. R. Patterson (1991) and J. Lloyd (1991) have persuasively argued that the readiness of the elite to assume offices and to please the imperial power had a large impact on settlement patterns in the countryside. The building programs planned by the elite required funds: in a region where arable land is scarce, this meant that the elite needed to establish larger and larger farms in order to sustain their need for cash. The consequence of this was an agglomeration of estates that gradually drove away small farmers who could not compete with the large estates, or if they found work there, could be made redundant by the increased productivity and economies of scale realised. This, along with the attractiveness of better urbanised cities where there would be no shortage of opportunities to work, contributed to emptying the countryside and filling a limited number of cities, therefore fulfilling the clustering vision of the imperial administration.

On the other hand, since the dawn of the Hellenistic kingdoms Greek cities had increasingly understood that they needed to attract benefactors to overcome the public deficits resulting from centuries of war, and that prevented them from maintaining their civic and religious buildings by themselves. The splendour of Greek past, century-old traditions, and an assurance that their culture was far superior to the rest of the Mediterranean were some of the key features of the redefined Hellenic identity: and this was precisely what the Roman rulers were interested in. Just as the Romans were interested in Hellenism and a return to Archaic religion for their own purposes in Rome, the Arcadians, like the other Greeks, were putting forward traditional cults and local myths in a display of Hellenism.⁸¹⁹ Incidentally, the safest way to enhance the visibility of local religion was to earn the benevolent attention of the powerful and the wealthy among their peers, or in the imperial administration. As a result, one of the main change in Arcadian landscape in the Roman period was the widening gap between cities that managed to grasp the Emperor’s and benefactors’ attention, and those who did not. While the first group, including Tegea, Mantinea and Megalopolis, thrived during the period, smaller cities were deserted, leaving civic buildings and some temples unattended. What differentiated the two categories was their ability to shape their future thanks to their past.

What is more, the benefits of presenting a glorious mythical local past to the Roman administration resulted in more pragmatic rewards than simply prestige. Pallantion recovered its polis status and was freed of taxes at the time of Antoninus Pius as a result of the Roman poets attribution of Evander’s origin to the city. At a

⁸¹⁹ Another example of how the past (authentic or created) was used as a source of symbolic capital under the Roman Empire is the Messenians, who took advantage of the Roman interest for Hellenism to reconstruct their national identity: Luraghi 2008, 298-300.

time when taxation was draining a province already short of cash, this was not a small gift, and therefore advertising one's mythical prestige was well worth doing. This is perhaps why we can read about apparently old local myths so vividly alive in local memory in Pausanias, and why cities energetically advertised their antiquity by quoting Homer or Hesiod.⁸²⁰

From then on, the survival of the Greek heritage depended on how well communities could draw attention to their own past. This competition culminated under the Panhellenion, when the most important criterion for integration into the institution created by Hadrian was to prove a city's genuine Hellenic descent. Genos and history had become more important than *paideia* (culture or education), and the supreme judge of it was Hadrian. On the other hand, the presence of mountains called Anchisiai between Mantinea and Orchomenos led to the creation of an aetiological myth making the mountains the tomb of Anchises, father of the founder of Rome Aeneas and ancestor of the Emperors. A ruined sanctuary of Aphrodite makes plain the reference to the Emperor's descent (Paus. 8.12.8-9).⁸²¹

This process of amplification of Greek past and culture had two beneficial outcomes. It allowed the assertion of Hellenic identity and cultural superiority over the Romans – something that was widely recognized among contemporary writers and by the Roman emperors, too. It also enabled the Greeks to preserve their civic identity, thanks to the endurance of processions and traditional cults, when other traditional forces such as hoplite service had largely disappeared. Equally, it allowed the Roman power to insert itself into the religious landscape of cities down to the very smallest scale, through the benefactions of the Romanized elite. More visible actions, such as transforming the dying Lykaia into the Lykaia-Kaisareia, or introducing the cult of Antinoos hid the fact that, in reality, the shape of the religious landscape in Achaea depended on the ruling class. The persistence of old cults was contingent on the Roman idea of Greece, how well cities were playing the card of Hellenic identity, and the willingness of the wealthy elite to contribute to it. While the Lykaia were saved thanks to the relationship established between the imperial cult and the cult of Zeus, and probably also to the persisting importance of Megalopolis, the formerly celebrated Hemerasia completely died out in the first century CE once Lousoi became too far remote from the places of action like Megalopolis and Tegea. In fact, creating one's past had the twofold advantage of appropriating and asserting a community's identity, while (un)consciously complying with the line of Roman politics.

⁸²⁰ On mention in 'the Roman and Greek poets' as a valid criterion to be granted honours (such as a polis status), see *SEG* 51 641 l. 18-20 (Hadrian's letter to Naryka).

⁸²¹ It is possible, although not certain, that the sanctuary was placed there by Augustus perhaps at the same time as the sanctuary of Aphrodite Symmachia at Mantinea, prompted by the fortunate coincidence of the mountain's name.

PART 2

The Imagined Landscape

Chapter 1: Numinous water management

Karst landscapes

Arcadia is one of the areas of Greece with a particular type of geological setting, karst, which impacted communities' lives greatly. Karst is easily recognizable by the porous limestone stones that are found on the surface, the vast number of caves scattered over the landscape, and the presence of subterranean streams. This type of landscape is created in areas resting on limestone bedrock. Water from rain and melted snow trickles down the mountains into basins and progressively weathers the surface. This creates sinkholes or natural outlets in the valleys, which drain lakes that fill the valleys in winter.⁸²² The water diving in these sinkholes forms underground rivers that progressively carve underground caves in the bedrock, thus creating a cave system. Water then circulates underground until it finds a way out, draining back to the surface further away in the shape of a natural spring. This geological setting is widely distributed across the ancient Greek world, both in continental Greece and on the islands of Crete and in the Aegean.⁸²³ It is for instance found in most of the Peloponnese as well as in Corinthia, in Boeotia, in Epirus, and in Macedonia.

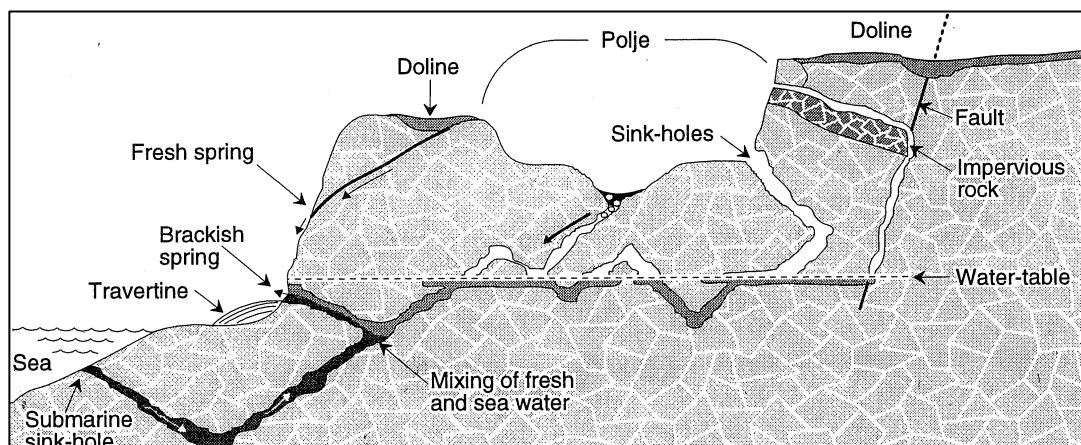


Figure 39: Karst features. Water from rain or snow-melt is drained into dolines or sinkholes then flows underground into caves. It reappears as a karst spring. (Higgins and Higgins 1996, fig. 1.10)

Living in this type of landscape entails serious natural threats. Underground caves caused by water are, for instance, susceptible to collapse and can cause earthquakes.⁸²⁴ When not properly maintained, the natural drainage system can also become clogged or saturated and provoke floods, a phenomenon frequently experienced by the Arcadians and the Boeotians.⁸²⁵ Not only does such an excess of

⁸²² Clendenon 2009, 146; Higgins and Higgins 1996, 13.

⁸²³ Fouache and Quantin 1999, 50f; Higgins and Higgins 1996, 13f; Crouch 1993, 64, 67f and figure 7.1.

⁸²⁴ White et al. 1995, 459.

⁸²⁵ Thuc. 5.65.4; Plut. *De sera* 12; Paus. 8.14.2, 15.5. Mithens 2012, 75-85; Higgins and Higgins 1996, 70-75; Corvisier 1994, 315; Knauss 1988; Knauss 1985-1987; Knauss 1984; Pritchett 1965, 123; Churchill 1929, 121 and 126. See also how Pheneos had become a

water create an obstacle to a productive use of the land, but when stagnating for too long, it could become a serious health hazard in a time when malaria was not yet eradicated.⁸²⁶ Hence, there was need to control this excess water by some means, in order to make the basins healthy to live near and to regain land from marsh.

Due to the ubiquity of that type of terrain and its impact on water distribution, the ancient Greeks had to find strategies to deal with it appropriately. Our first evidence for a conscious interaction with the phenomenon dates from the Bronze Age.⁸²⁷ The large-scale drainage works carried out in Tiryns, Lerna, the Kopais basin, Stymphalos, Kaphyai, Arcadian Orchomenos, Tegea and the Pheneos valley demonstrate that the Bronze Age occupants of Greece had to deal with the ups and downs of living in a karstic environment, and therefore were familiar with subterranean rivers.⁸²⁸ D. Crouch argues that the Greeks had learned to master karst landscapes so well that the colonists sent out by cities between the eighth and fourth centuries BCE consciously sought to settle in similar rock formations. Hence they ended up in Sicily, southern Italy and southern Turkey, where such karst phenomena were significant.⁸²⁹

Water as an issue: early water management works in continental Greece

Thus, Arcadia was not the only part of Greece to struggle with water issues. The site of the largest works that have been excavated to this day include Mycenae, Tiryns, Corinth, Athens and Orchomenos of Boeotia (i.e. the Kopais area). Their purpose was mainly to avert floods and reclaim land, or to bring irrigation and water supplies closer to the settlements.⁸³⁰ In Arcadia, J. Knauss and his team of hydraulic engineers have recorded human alterations to the topography of the Pheneos basin, Lake Stymphalos, the Kaphyai basin, the Orchomenos basin, and Lake Taka near Tegea, which mainly consist of improvement in the natural drainage system of the basins and attempts to reclaim land.⁸³¹ Useful ground for comparison is laid by looking at the non-Arcadian sites that have been extensively studied. In particular, the Kopais basin in Boeotia, and Lerna and Tiryns in Argolis will allow the technology used and the date of the Arcadian works to be better understood.

swampy lake again in the nineteenth century because of the clogging of the katavothras, Tausend 1999, 142-144.

⁸²⁶ It was still hazardous in the eighteenth century. Cf. Blouet 1831-1838: most of the French team had to go back to Nafplio after having trekked through Arcadia to Olympia because of fever. There, they found unluckier expeditioners.

⁸²⁷ See below.

⁸²⁸ Knauss and his team have published extensively on the topic. Knauss 1990, 1-33; Knauss 1989a, 107-141; Knauss 1989b, 31-70; Knauss 1988, 25-36; Knauss, Heinrich and Kalcyk 1986, 583-611.

⁸²⁹ Crouch 1993, 66f.

⁸³⁰ Mithens 2012, 85-88.

⁸³¹ Knauss 1991; Knauss 1990; Knauss 1989b; Knauss 1989a; Knauss 1988; Knauss, Heinrich and Kalcyk 1986.

Case studies: Kopais, Lerna, Tiryns

The Kopais probably has the most studied Bronze Age water management works, and therefore provides a good starting point. The lake, one of the largest in Greece with its 24x13km, swallowed most eastern Boeotia. Its only outlets were sinkholes in the east and northeast sides. Subject to change because of the karstic nature of the ground, the lake was in fact a swamp for most of the year, dry in the summer, then filling up again with water until becoming a real lake in the rainy season.⁸³² The earliest attempts to drain it were during the Mycenaean period, more precisely between 1400 and 1200 BCE, when a successful attempt to enlarge two sinkholes was made in order to turn the basin into arable land.⁸³³ In order to make sure that the water would flow towards the right outlets, the Boeotian engineers⁸³⁴ also built canals to direct the water into one of the enlarged sinkholes. The work did not hold however, and the basin was flooded again. Alexander made a notorious attempt to drain it again but was a lot less successful than the Bronze Age engineers. The plain remained flooded until further works were carried out in the nineteenth century.⁸³⁵ The reason why the works did not hold may simply be the lack of maintenance by the nearby communities, as hinted by Strabo (9.2.18), or a natural disaster. Diodorus and Pausanias on the other hand attribute a mythical cause to the collapse of the drainage works, claiming that the plain was re-flooded by Herakles in a war against the Orchomenians.⁸³⁶

A second site, closer to Arcadia, is Lerna. There, geomorphological evidence shows that the former lake – which has a very different appearance today – attained its maximal capacity in the fifth millennium BCE, before disappearing around 1100 BCE due to drainage works. It swelled again in the Hellenistic and Roman period despite efforts made to rebuild the dams, and persisted until it was recently re-drained.⁸³⁷

⁸³² Higgins and Higgins 1996, 76.

⁸³³ Horden and Purcell 2000, 245-6; Knauss 1984. Krasilnikoff 2010, 118 distinguishes two correlating steps in the evolution of large-scale drainage works: the first one being to contain the damages incurred by heavy rains in terms of flooding, and the subsequent one being the implementation of irrigation techniques to facilitate cultivation. Our cases seem to focus on the first stage.

⁸³⁴ Who these workers were is actually not clear. It has been argued that they might have been Phoenicians or Egyptians, Bernal 1991, 143f. Although a 'technological exchange' might be plausible in these times of intense contact around the Mediterranean, I would tend to think that there is no reason not to attribute the works to Greeks until evidence comes to contradict this assumption.

⁸³⁵ Strab. 9.2.18. Krasilnikoff 2010, 118. The French made an unsuccessful attempt to drain the Kopais in the 1870s, but twenty years later the British managed to turn it into productive land, Salowey 2002, 175; Bernal 1991, 134; Knauss, Heinrich and Kalcyk 1986; Knauss, Heinrich and Kalcyk 1984; Wallace 1979; Simpson 1965, 113-20.

⁸³⁶ Diod. Sic. 4.18.7; Paus. 9.38.7. Similar war tactics in Thuc. 5.65.4, Strab. 8.8.4 and implied in Hdt 7.130.

⁸³⁷ The defeat of the Hydra by Herakles has been often interpreted as a reference to water drainage, but only in modern scholarship: Salowey 2002; Higgins and Higgins 1996, 46; Churchill 1929, 113.

Thirdly, Tiryns is an interesting case since the works carried out there are of a different nature from the two previous sites. Rather than the enlargement of a natural sinkhole, they mainly consisted of a manmade diversion of the Manessi River in order to avoid any flooding of the settlement area.⁸³⁸ E. Zangger led a hydrological study in the area and recorded two attempts to change the course of the river.⁸³⁹ The first was through a stabilization of the south bank of the stream by a levee. The downside was that this prevented any further extension of the settlement southwest of the acropolis. The second attempt was dated from LH IIIB, following the change of course of the river perhaps as a result of the earthquake that damaged the masonry of the citadel around the same period. This provoked a flash flood that discharged a large amount of sediments east, north and south of the citadel. Since the levees had proven ineffective against the threat of water, the Mycenaean inhabitants of Tiryns built a 10m high, 100m long dam just before the river enters the plain to the east of Nea Tiryns, after its formation by the junction of three torrents. The dam was made of earth, stone and cyclopean masonry, which would have been quite an impressive sight. The works also included the digging of a 1,5km long canal in order to channel the water diverted by the dam into a neighbouring riverbed, therefore allowing it to get out into the sea. The efficiency of the works is attested in archaeology by the apparently sudden construction of houses on the then unused riverbed of the diverted Manessi River.

Dating the Arcadian works

In the light of these three cases, several conclusions can be drawn about the Arcadian situation. The works in Arcadia, and in Stymphalos in particular, were similar to Lerna and the Kopais as they consisted in an enlargement of the natural katavothras of the lake in order to reduce its expanse. On the other hand, the works at Pheneos resemble Tiryns: a fifty stadia long and thirty feet deep channel running through the middle of the Pheneatan plain led the river Aroanios (or Olbios⁸⁴⁰) out of the inhabited zone. The deviation, which in conjunction with the draining sinkholes would have contributed to avoiding regular floods in such a fertile land, however did not hold until Pausanias' time.⁸⁴¹

In terms of date, the Arcadian works may date from roughly the same period as the similar water management works carried out at Lerna and the Lake Kopais, although they may not be entirely contemporary. Dating the Boeotian works from Middle Helladic period seems quite consensual, and the existence of the Arcadian works can be surely ascertained by the Late Bronze Age, but their precise date of construction remains unsure.⁸⁴² The current arguments to date the Arcadian works rely on evidence found in nearby settlements – mainly pottery - and the fact that in the

⁸³⁸ Mithens 2012, 90; Zangger 1994, 189-212; Finke 1988, 116-120 and 136-140, fig. 26, 27; Balcer 1974, 141-149.

⁸³⁹ Zangger 1993, 75-82.

⁸⁴⁰ Paus. 8.14.2.

⁸⁴¹ Its existence was nonetheless retained in Pheneatan local memory, since Pausanias learnt that Herakles had built the diversion, Paus. 8.14.1-3.

⁸⁴² Knauss, Kalcyk and Heinrich 1986; Knauss 1987.

Iliad Homer calls Arcadian Orchomenos ‘*rich in herds*’, although it is not clear why there should necessarily be a connection between draining valleys and flourishing husbandry.⁸⁴³ Many conclusions have been drawn from this last adjective, some over-interpreting the phenomenon so much as to claim that it demonstrates the wealth of Bronze Age Arcadia, and that ‘*its [Arcadia’s] backwardness in Classical times seem to indicate that drainage and irrigation works were more effective in the earlier period*’.⁸⁴⁴ Knauss proposes a *terminus ante quem* by recording similarities between the Arcadian engineering and the dams of Tiryns and Boeotia, which themselves certainly date from the Mycenaean period.⁸⁴⁵ However, he points out that the Arcadian works resemble the ‘Minyan’ works in Kopais, and therefore may have begun in the Early or Middle Helladic period already.⁸⁴⁶ These efforts, nevertheless, were swept away in the Early Iron Age: although the Lakes Stymphalos, Kopais, Pheneos and Lerna had successfully decreased, they swelled again at that point. Surface interventions could simply not provide a remedy for blockages deep underground.⁸⁴⁷

Water management in myth

These waterworks of large size and impressive technological skill sometimes subsisted in post-Early Iron Age landscape, but in most places, nature took over and swallowed them, either destroying or covering them out of sight. Nonetheless, in a few places the works survived or, in spite of being covered, were still effective. The sight of these enormous or, on the contrary, seemingly natural drainage systems apparently looked miraculous enough to the Greeks to deserve being assigned a divine or heroic origin.

In Arcadia, nearly all waterworks seem to have disappeared from human perception except for those at Stymphalos and Pheneos. The two are presented in a very different way in Pausanias. On the one hand, at Pheneos, the drainage works were retained in collective memory despite their collapse and attributed to Herakles. On the other hand, at Stymphalos, there was knowledge that a sinkhole drained the lake, but it does not seem that the memory of its human enlargement was preserved. However, the lake was drained at a time that Pausanias called ‘in our day’ by an accident weaved with mythical connections, and perhaps linked with the cult of Artemis. This section will therefore be concerned with investigating what divine agency was ascribed to the remains of water management works, and how these aetiological interpretations of alterations to the natural landscape fitted into the broader frame of Greek religion.

⁸⁴³ Hom. *Il.* 2.605. Pottery: Simpson 1965, 81.

⁸⁴⁴ Bernal 1991, 138.

⁸⁴⁵ Knauss 1987, 5; Higgins and Higgins 1996, 45. On Tiryns: Curtius I 1851-1852, 52; Balcer 1974, 141-149; Finke 1988, 12; Zangger 1994, 204-207. Balcer connects the dam at Tiryns with the Augean Stables.

⁸⁴⁶ Knauss, Heinrich and Kalcyk 1986, 604.

⁸⁴⁷ There are many more Bronze Age works of that type all around Greece and Crete: these three examples were presented on account of their extensive study in scholarship.

Herakles drainer?

Pausanias' local sources explicitly attributed the drainage works at Pheneos whose remains were apparently still visible in his day to Herakles:

*'These chasms according to the people of Pheneus are artificial, being made by Heracles when he lived in Pheneus with Laonome ... Heracles dug a channel through the middle of the plain of Pheneus for the river Olbius, which some Arcadians call, not Olbius but Aroanius. The length of the cutting is fifty stades, its depth, where it has not fallen in, is as much as thirty feet. The river, however, no longer flows along it, but it has gone back to its old bed, having left the work of Heracles.'*⁸⁴⁸

(tr. Jones and Ormerod, 1918)

Based on this passage and other evidence, some modern scholars attribute a function of 'water manager' to Herakles.⁸⁴⁹ They argue that the connection made between him and drainage works or floods in various parts of Greece, as well as his involvement in water control in his Twelve Labours, may actually result from ascriptions made post-Early Iron Age by the Greeks who saw with amazement these man-made technological achievements and sought to fit them into an aetiological framework.

They argue that the reason why ascriptions of water works were made to Herakles was because of his superhuman force and numerous travels, thanks to which he would have gained the technological knowledge required to achieve the works. In addition, his Labours emphasize his ability to tame dangerous natural elements such as wild beasts and threatening creatures: centaurs, the Hydra, the Cerynean Hind, the Erymanthian boar.⁸⁵⁰ These characteristics would fit well with the persona of Herakles as a successful challenger of nature's powerful and dangerous aspects.⁸⁵¹

On the other hand, even if several Labours of Herakles – killing the Lernean Hydra, channelling the Alpheios to clean Augeas' stables and killing the Stymphalian birds – and other myths such as the draining of the Pheneos basin might reflect actual works of water control, the locations evoked in these narratives do not actually match his cult places. In the northern districts, where the hero drains, he was merely present through myths, whereas he is mostly worshipped and materially present in southern Arcadia, where he is not evoked as a drainer at all.

Therefore, two problems will be explored here: on the one hand, whether attributing to Herakles a 'water drainer' personality is justified, and on the other hand the apparent discrepancy between myth and cults of Herakles in Arcadia.

⁸⁴⁸ Paus. 8.14.2-3.

⁸⁴⁹ Salowey 2002, Bernal 1991.

⁸⁵⁰ Stafford 2012, 23-78. The Kerynean Hind is only a threat to humankind in Eur. *HF* 375-9. The Erymanthian Boar was causing trouble to the Psophidians according to the rationalist Hekateos Fr. 6; see also Hom. *Od.* 6.101-2 on boar hunting in these mountains and Paus. 1.27.9 on the ferociousness of animals in the old times.

⁸⁵¹ Salowey 2002, 175-6.

Cults of Herakles in Arcadia

Despite the great number of myths staging Herakles in the Peloponnese, there is only very thin and scarce evidence of his cult in the region.⁸⁵² Arcadia is no exception: contrary to what Pausanias' record may lead one to think, namely that the presence of Herakles in local narratives in northern Arcadia should indicate the presence of cults to the hero, the traveller hardly listed any place of worship dedicated to him in that part of the region. In fact, the only traces of a proper cult to Herakles are in the southeast quarter of Arcadia, in Megalopolis, Tegea and Mantinea.

In Megalopolis, Pausanias reports the former existence of a temple of Herakles and Hermes on the south bank of the Helisson River, near the stadium, of which only the altar survives.⁸⁵³ In the same city, Herakles is an Idaean Dactyl in the Great Goddesses' peribolos, where a one cubit high statue of him used to stand near the statue of Demeter.⁸⁵⁴ He is also present at the Messenian border in the shape of a herm, and among the herms of the Ergatai.⁸⁵⁵ In Mantinea, Thucydides remarks a Heracleion in the chora, in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios.⁸⁵⁶ However, Pausanias does not mention it: whether he did not see it, did not choose to record it or whether it had disappeared in his time is unsure. M. Jost also references the existence of two bronze statuettes of Herakles with the lion skin and club dating from the end of the Archaic period, but unfortunately does not provide any context for them.⁸⁵⁷ No further trace of cult has been archaeologically attested in Tegea despite the mention by Pausanias of a statue of Herakles wounded in his fight against the Hippocoontids. The only material evidence of the presence of the hero is coinage, a herm and two inscriptions, none of which clearly indicates the existence of a cult.⁸⁵⁸ Herakles was also depicted on the pediment of the fourth-century BCE temple of Athena Alea.⁸⁵⁹ If it is no indication of cult, it shows that the mythical connection between Tegea and the hero mattered.

In northern Arcadia, although Herakles is said to have unclogged the Pheneatan katavothra, to have founded a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios and dedicated an altar to Apollo and Artemis, no material finds so far either confirm Pausanias'

⁸⁵² Stafford 2012, 180.

⁸⁵³ Paus. 8.32.3.

⁸⁵⁴ Jost 1985, 344, 533; Paus. 8.31.3. Fowler 2013, 43-44 and n. 167 seems to imply that Pausanias' accounts of Herakles Idaean Dactyl may have been very imaginative. See also Paus. 7.5.5, 9.7.28 for other cases of Herakles Idaean Dactyl. Bernal 1991, 119 links this type of Herakles to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom - but it is not the place to discuss this subject.

⁸⁵⁵ Paus. 8.35.2, 5. In Sparta, Herakles is celebrated alongside other divinities in the Ergatia, but does not have a festival to himself, Hesych. s.v. *Elakateia*.

⁸⁵⁶ Thuc. 5.64.5. It has not been found yet.

⁸⁵⁷ Jost 1985, 533. Type: see Payne 1934, 163-174 esp. 172 n. 26.

⁸⁵⁸ Statue: Paus. 8.53.2, cf. similar type in Laconia Paus. 3.20.5. Jost 1985, 367-8 (coinage); *IG V.2 95* (Archaic inscription with Herakles, Poseidon and Hermes); *IG V.2 77* (stone bloc reused as an ex-voto with 'Herakles', fifth century BCE; see Jost 1985, 533); *IG V.2 91* may read *Chaire Herakles Thèroktone*: Jost 1985, 533 suggests that it may be a reference to his Labours. The inscription is dated from 'much later' and is now unfortunately lost.

⁸⁵⁹ Head preserved. Dugas 1924, 91-92; Delivorias 1973, 117-118 and fig. 2, 3 and 4 (head wrongly identified as Telephos); Howard 1978, 28 and fig. 64.

words or refers to him in a cult context.⁸⁶⁰ Similarly, only coinage seems so far to attest materially the presence of the hero in Stymphalos.⁸⁶¹

Thus, it appears quite clearly that the material evidence on Herakles, including places of worship, does not present him as a water drainer at all. The lack of materialisation around Herakles' hydraulic works besides the dams and drains themselves is somewhat striking. No statue, no shrine, no tomb seems to be dedicated to the hero benefactor: the only places crystallizing the memory of his work are the very places he drained, and there does not seem to be any ritual associated with them. On the other hand, in other places Herakles has a material and cultic presence in southern Arcadia, which conforms to his Panhellenic cult and mythical cycle.

Other parallels

Looking at the rest of Greece, there are actually very few cases where Herakles is represented as the author of hydraulic works. The few instances besides Pheneos in which the hero is referred to as such are the diversion of the Alpheios in the cleaning of the Augean stables, the draining of marshes of the Peneos basin in Thessaly, and the dream of Alkmene in which her son is constantly digging ditches.⁸⁶² Salowey sees in this a reference to his hydraulic works, but it might well refer to other ditches – those for building or for city foundations, for instance. The only other potential rapprochement between Herakles and another drainage work may be a seventh-century BCE inscription found at Tiryns mentioning a Herakleion, but there again, its actual meaning is uncertain and the Herakleion in question may not be connected to Herakles water-manager at all.⁸⁶³ At Lerna, Herakles may have killed the Hydra, but although the monster seems to be an aquatic one, the interpretation of the deed as a metaphor for the drainage of the lake is a modern construct.⁸⁶⁴ As for the diversion of the Alpheios to clean Augeas' stables, this precise version of the Labour

⁸⁶⁰ Drainage episode: Paus. 8.14.1-2; Eratosth. 3 Fr. 140. Herakles as founder of the cult of Apollo Pythios in Pheneos: Plut. *De sera*. 12. Altar to Apollo and Artemis after conquering Elis: Paus. 8.15.5. His brother Iphikles, on the other hand, benefits from a hero cult on a hill near the stadium, down from the acropolis Paus. 8.14.9-10.

⁸⁶¹ Jost 1985, 102 n. 7.

⁸⁶² Thessaly: Diod. Sic. 4.18.6. The swamps of lake Nessonis in this region were completely dried by human hand in the fourth century, Churchill 1929, 122. Alkmene's dream: Moschos, *Megara* 94-98.

⁸⁶³ Hägg 2002, 190-191.

⁸⁶⁴ Actually, the only author to describe it as an aquatic monster is Strab. 8.6.8. In the other instances, the hydra is a snake with a large number of heads: Palaophatos 38; Eratosth. [*Cat.*] 11; Diod. Sic. 4.11.5-6, 8.299-300; Verg. *Aen.* 6.576, 7.658; Eur. *HF* 1188; Eur. *Phoen.* 1135-6; Ov. *Met.* 9.69-74, 193; Paus 2.37.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 30.3; Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 6.575; Quint. Smyrn. 6.212-19; etc. In pictorial representations, it is more often a crab, Fowler 2013, 276-277. Salowey 2002 n. 36 suggests a link between the Mycenaean water works at Tiryns and the myth of the killing of the Lernean Hydra. Considering that the two places, although indeed both in Argolis, are at least 10km apart, I will not support this suggestion.

is in fact a variation that is not attested before Diodorus.⁸⁶⁵ In iconography, the earliest representation of the Labour is on one metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which does not unequivocally refer to the diversion of the Alpheios either. In fact, what the hero is doing is again unclear: he is in action, lifting his arm with a tool in hand, often supplied as an oar-shaped object or some sort of broom. The gesture does not quite correspond to the digging of a canal.

As a result, talking about the ‘*constant efforts in the drainage of water*’⁸⁶⁶ of Herakles in Greece seems to be something of an overstatement. Not only is this role quite clearly of minor importance compared to the rest of his deeds, but the few actual achievements he managed under this function hardly correspond to actual, human-made water management works. In fact, a gap is observable between the persona of Herakles drainer and the aspects of Herakles that are materialized or worshipped. This is the case in Arcadia, but the region is no exception. Herakles water manager is only a minor aspect of his personality in Arcadia, and it does not seem from the evidence that the situation was any different in other parts of Greece. This aspect of his personality may well have survived in the traditional structure of his Labours and the local myths of Pheneos, but it did not evoke lasting reverence.

Artemis Stymphalia and the drowned hunter

During his visit of Stymphalos, Pausanias reports a strange anecdote:

*‘Even in our own day (ἐφ’ ἡμῶν) the following miracle is said to have occurred. The festival of Stymphalian Artemis at Stymphalos was carelessly celebrated, and its established ritual in great part transgressed. Now a log fell into the mouth of the chasm into which the river descends, and so prevented the water from draining away, and (so it is said) the plain became a lake for a distance of four hundred stades. They also say that a hunter chased a deer, which fled and plunged into the marsh, followed by the hunter, who, in the excitement of the hunt, swam after the deer. So the chasm swallowed up both the deer and her pursuer. They are said to have been followed by the water of the river, so that by the next day the whole of the water was dried up that flooded the Stymphalian plain. Hereafter they put greater zeal into the festival in honor of Artemis.’*⁸⁶⁷

(tr. Jones, 1918)

This passage comprises two important elements. On the one hand, at Stymphalos the draining of the marshy lake had been attributed to a natural phenomenon, the chasm, which had been clogged; but in Pausanias’ day, a miraculous event freed the chasm

⁸⁶⁵ Diod. Sic. 4.13.3. Earlier versions seem to emphasize the fact that Herakles asked for payment for the cleaning and did not receive it: Hekatos Fr. 25; Hellanikos Fr. 113; Herod. Fr. 34; Pherec. Fr. 79.

⁸⁶⁶ Salowey 2002 n. 24.

⁸⁶⁷ Paus. 8.22.8-9.

and allowed the plain to be drained. On the other hand, a connection was made between the drainage and the cult of Artemis Stymphalia, although she was not explicitly attributed any role in the action. Hence this section will first examine the personality of Artemis Stymphalia in relation to the lake and her potential involvement in aetiological myths pertaining to drainage issues, before exploring the significance of the tragic event reported by Pausanias.

Artemis of swamps

Artemis was commonly worshipped as ‘Lady of the Lake’ under the epithet Limnaia or its variant Limnatis. As such, she was worshipped in all parts of the Peloponnese. Artemis Limnaia was present at Sikyon, on the Ambracian Gulf and in Sparta, whereas her similar and more widespread epithet Limnatis was attested in Laconia, Messenia, Epidauros, Patrae, Tegea and perhaps Troezen.⁸⁶⁸ Her cults were set in marshy lowlands or near pools of water, and were often paired with initiation festivals including choral dances of young women.⁸⁶⁹

Her epithet refers to the λίμνη, pools of water that can result from the retreat of a river, the sea, or can simply be lakes or swamps: Plato distinguished λίμνη from ἔλος, defined as a lowland or marsh.⁸⁷⁰ However, this distinction between the two had shifted by the time of Strabo and Pausanias to *limna* designating non-foul but stagnant water as opposed to *helos*, stagnant and foul water.⁸⁷¹

Pausanias (8.22.7) reports that the old temple of Artemis Stymphalia was decorated with carvings of the Stymphalian birds near the roof, and at the back with bird-legged maidens.⁸⁷² The birds evoke one of Herakles’ Labours which took place in Stymphalos, namely the hunting of the Stymphalian birds. It is not clear what made the birds worth being taken care of by Herakles. Although they were a popular iconographical motif before the sixth century BCE, there is no early source on the monstrosity of the birds: they are often represented as normal, perhaps only larger-than-life birds. Diodorus is forced to assume that they were simply too numerous, whereas Pausanias adds spice to the myth by making the birds man-eating.⁸⁷³ According to most versions, the hero simply frightened them away with a rattle. With

⁸⁶⁸ References to Artemis Limnaia, Limnatis or Artemis Heleia: Limnaia: Paus. 2.76 (Sikyon), Polyb. 5.5.6.14 (Ambracian Gulf); Paus. 3.14.2 (Sparta). Limnatis: Paus. 3.2.6, 4.4.2, Strab. 8.362; Tact. *Ann.* 4.43 (border of Messenia and Laconia); Paus. 3.23.10 (Epidauros); Paus. 8.53.11 (Tegea); Paus. 7.20.7 (Patras); schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 228 and 1133 (Troezen). Paus. 4.4.2; Strab. 362; Tac. *Ann.* 4.43; Paus. 8.22.7 (Stymphalos); Strab. 350, Hesych. s.v. *Artemis en Messeni* (Messene).

⁸⁶⁹ *NP online* s.v. Artemis (A. Ley 2014). A notable exception is the temple of Artemis Limnatis at Patras, which is located on the agora and supposed to date from the foundation of the city, Paus. 7.20.9; Lafond 1998.

⁸⁷⁰ Plat. *Laws* 7.824a, *Crit.* 114e.

⁸⁷¹ See Paus 1.32.7, Strab 8.6.7. Corvisier 1994, 310–311. Nonnus *Dion.* 6. 352f. seems to refer to the same definition when he writes of Limnai.

⁸⁷² Fowler 2013, 286 suggests that the bird-legged girls are tokens of an initiation rite, perhaps to be put in parallel with the bear-girls of Brauron. He suggests that Herakles could have played the part of the bogey in the rite. There is no evidence for such a rite.

⁸⁷³ Fowler 2013, 285–6; Diod. Sic. 4.13.2; Paus. 8.22.4.

time his action become bolder, as instead of driving the birds away he shot monstrous birds with his bow and arrow.⁸⁷⁴

Therefore, what danger they really constituted for the community of the Stymphalians is not certain. It has been argued, and subsequently denied, that the birds might have been a metaphor for malaria, which swarmed around the lake at the time. As J.-N. Corvisier underlined, although the Greeks were well aware of the connection between swamps and fevers, the Stymphalian birds are no mosquitoes. However, it does not seem that the Greeks were aware of the direct causality of the insects spreading of the fever, and it is therefore not impossible that the birds could have been thought to have a share of responsibility for spreading the disease.⁸⁷⁵ Nonetheless, associating the birds with malaria is a modern interpretation that does not hold for two reasons. Firstly, the lake was designated as a *limne* and not a *helos*: despite the real risk of malaria contamination pertaining to the lake, if we follow the ancient Greek definition of *limne* above, the water was not considered foul. Secondly, the danger of stagnant water is usually represented in myth under more frightening forms than birds, even large ones: monsters dwelling in marshy lands resemble snaky features, like the Hydra in the swamps of Lerna or Echidna who waded in Lake Gygaia in Lydia.⁸⁷⁶ Therefore, there does not seem to be any reason to associate the Stymphalian birds with representations of malaria.

Another interpretation for the dangerousness of the birds has been to see them as symbols of the power of the lake itself, manifesting in floods that destroyed agricultural land.⁸⁷⁷ In this interpretation, Artemis Stymphalia is seen as protecting the land from the dangers of the lake. However, again this theory is a purely modern interpretation that finds no base in our sources. In addition, the birds are real creature and not imagined symbols: hence this theory does not explain satisfactorily why the birds were considered a nuisance. On the other hand, rather than – or maybe in addition to – protecting the inhabitants from the lake and its wildlife, it would seem fitting for Artemis Stymphalia to fulfil, on the edge of the lake, her usual role of mistress of the lake protecting it and its wildlife.⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁷⁴ Peisandros Fr. 4; Hellanikos Fr. 104a-b; Pherec. Fr. 72; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.93; Diod. Sic. 4.13.2. No trace of the rattle in early art, *LIMC* s.v. Herakles n. 2241-71. Monstrous birds with arrow-feathers: Ap. Rhod. 2.1036; Hyg. *Fab.* 30.6.

⁸⁷⁵ Corvisier 1994, 319. Link between fevers and marshes: Hippocr. *Air.* 3.14-19; Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.16; Strab. 5.1.7. Only Barbarian armies cross marshes: Paus 1.32.7, Polyb. 3.78-79; the wind can carry fevers from the marshes: Arist. [*Pr.*] 1.8.21.

⁸⁷⁶ Hydra: Hekateos Fr. 24; Hellanikos Fr. 103; Hdt. Fr. 23; Pherec. Fr. 70; Hes. *Theog.* 313-18; Eratosth. [*Cat.*] 11; Diod. Sic. 4.11.5-6, 8.299-300; Verg. *Aen.* 6.576, 7.658; Eur. *HF* 1188; Eur. *Phoen.* 1135-6; Ov. *Met.* 9.69-74, 19; Paus 2.37.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 30.3; Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.575; Quint. Smyrn. 6.212-19; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.77. Echidna: Hdt 1.93, Lycoph. *Alex.* 1353; Lane Fox 2009, 306.

⁸⁷⁷ Aston 2011, 486; Borgeaud 1988, 17-9.

⁸⁷⁸ It would not be the only case where Artemis has water birds associated with her, in her cult or in iconography, see Bevan 1989, 167f. In Macedonia, she protected another form of aquatic wildlife: she could be 'of the frogs': Hatzopoulos 1987, 397-412.



Figure 40: The Styμφalian Lake. (Photo Baleriaux 2014)

A myth in the making? Dating ‘ἐφ’ ἡμῶν’

At first sight, the storyline of the myth of Artemis Styμφalia seems rather usual: following the neglect of her cult, a goddess provokes a natural catastrophe which is only resolved by a revival of interest in her worship.⁸⁷⁹ Yet, the myth of the Styμφalian Lake does not completely fit this pattern. There is no explicit causality in Pausanias between the clogging of the katavothra and the careless celebration of the ancient cult of Artemis Styμφalia, nor is there a direct link between the unclogging and the goddess: rather, it is the involuntary sacrifice of a hunter who broke the wooden plug with his own body that fixed the drainage issue. Nonetheless, the Styμφalians recognized some intervention of the goddess, since they subsequently celebrated her festival with greater zeal. It is true that hunters and deer are commonly under the protection of the goddess: the hunter’s jump would have thus fitted well with a sign from the divinity.

⁸⁷⁹ Cf. Artemis striking impious lands with famine (Tegea, Paus. 8.53.1). This is Jost 2002, 203 interpretation of the *aition* in Paus. 8.22.8-9.



Figure 41: The Stympheian katavothra. (Photo Baleriaux 2014)

However, Pausanias points out that the event occurred *in our day*, i.e. not in the usual pre-historical time of myths and heroic deeds. This is very unusual, and deserves more attention: does Pausanias refer here literally to his own time, or to ‘our own time’ as opposed to the mythical time? ἐφ’ ἡμῶν is very commonly used in Greek literature, and Pausanias makes by far the largest use of the expression.⁸⁸⁰ The other occurrences in his work suggest that he uses the expression to signal an event that is literally contemporary to his time. For instance, at 8.17.6 Nonakris is a mere ruin *in our day* (ἐφ’ ἡμῶν) as opposed to *in the old times* (τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαῖον) when it was a proper city; idem for Lousoi at 8.15.8.⁸⁸¹ Stympheios itself *in our time* was apparently located in a different place than *originally*.⁸⁸² Another very clear reference – among many – to the fact that the expression refers to very contemporary events is when the author mentions Hadrian’s works to bring the water of the Stympheian

⁸⁸⁰ The *TLG* counts 375 occurrences of the expression in Greek literature up to the fourth century CE. Out of those, 83 hits are in Pausanias, including 23 just for his eighth book.

⁸⁸¹ ‘πόλιν μὲν δὴ ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι τοὺς Λουσούς (...) τὰ δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἔτι λειπόμενα ἦν Λουσῶν.’

⁸⁸² Paraphrase of Paus. 8.22.1: ‘λέγεται δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρωθι οἰκισθῆναι τῆς χώρας καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν πόλιν’.

Lake to Corinth as taking place ἐφ' ἡμῶν.⁸⁸³ Thus, the event must have taken place very recently. From here we have two solutions: either we accept Pausanias' word as true, and the coincidental drowning of a hunter pursuing a swimming deer unclogged the katavothra.⁸⁸⁴ We would then be facing the contemporary occurrence of an event that would, were it dated from the pre-historical times, be classified as a myth. Or we could believe that Pausanias was misled by his local sources, and that the event actually occurred long before – if at all.

Curiously, a somewhat similar incident occurred in Argolis, also involving a keen hunter and Artemis near a swamp. King Saron of Troezen, in the mythical times, founded a sanctuary of Saronian Artemis near the swampy and shallow Phoibaian lagoon. But one day, carried away by enthusiasm, he followed a deer he was hunting through the lagoon to the open sea. There, exhausted, he drowned. His body was cast ashore near the grove of Artemis and was buried in the sacred precinct. From that day, *'after him they named the sea in these parts the Saronic instead of the Phoebaeian lagoon'*.⁸⁸⁵ It is therefore not unparalleled to have a hunter drown in a swampy water expanse near a temple of Artemis, who is most probably fulfilling her 'Lady of the Lakes' role. In the case of the Saronic Gulf though, the event gives an aetiological explanation for the naming of the water, but there was no material consequence to the event and although the drowned hunter king was buried in the temenos of the goddess, she was not involved any further in the story.

Thus, the connection between the drowned hunter and the cult of Artemis in the mind of the Stymphalians may have arisen from the association of the accident with an existing myth taking place in a similar setting and telling a similar event. Artemis' intervention was probably implied because it occurred on her territory. We might possibly be witnessing with that story a myth in the making, or how actual and apparently miraculous events were interpreted in the light of religion.

Conclusion: understanding drainage

This chapter has shown how a certain natural feature requiring some intervention in order to be contained, karstic water, prompted the elaboration of aetiological myths and the attribution of numinous qualities to it. However, it has also shown that the scale to which this process occurred has been somewhat overemphasised in modern scholarship.

On the one hand, in some places Herakles was credited with the construction of visible and ancient Mycenaean drainage works. They had always been there, locals saw them, and in some case they still functioned. However, the memory of their construction had been lost through the Early Iron Age. Therefore, since their imposing size led to think that only a superhuman being could achieve such works, they were attributed to Herakles. It is the case at Pheneos, where in Pausanias' time

⁸⁸³ Paus. 8.22.3. Other examples of the use of ἐφ' ἡμῶν in Pausanias' book 8: 8.23.4, 8.24.6, 8.25.3, 8.26.8, 8.27.7, 8.29.5, 8.33.1, 8.45.5, 8.47.1, 8.48.4.

⁸⁸⁴ Deer can swim, and quite well – several YouTube videos testify it. See also Strab. 14.1.29.

⁸⁸⁵ Paus. 2.30.7.

the no longer effective but still visible drainage works were explained as works of Herakles. Yet, this aspect of the personality of Herakles was minor in Arcadia, since it was only present in Pheneos. In all other cases, Herakles took part in myths pertaining to the return of the Heraklids, fights with the Hippocoontids, and his canonical Labours. Equally, his cults were almost exclusively located in southern Arcadia, and showed a very ‘mainstream’ Herakles.

At Stymphalos, the sudden unclogging of the lake was not credited to Herakles: the Mycenaean works had become invisible, and on top of that, the event that triggered the unblocking of the lake did not occur in the mythical times but in Pausanias’ time. Although it had been argued that the Stymphalian birds were a metaphor for floods, and therefore their killing by Herakles another drainage work, there is no evidence to support such a theory. The role of Artemis is also unclear: the goddess protected the lake and its ecosystem, and perhaps this protection was extended to the maintenance of the *katavothra*. Therefore, the drowning of the hunter in the lake was interpreted as a miraculous event for which the goddess was somehow responsible, since the locals resumed worshipping her afterwards. The older myth of Saron shows a similar pattern: Artemis plays virtually no role in the drowning of the protagonist, yet her cult place is an important landmark in the narrative, since it is where the myth starts – Saron dedicates the sanctuary to the goddess – and finishes – he is buried in the precinct. Therefore, we must conclude that Artemis of the Lakes herself embodied the power of stagnant water expenses: this is why, although she did not proceed to any action, she was honoured for what took place in the lake, whether good or bad.

Chapter 2: Rationalising floods, earthquakes, and cults of Poseidon Hippios

According to Diodorus, the Peloponnesians particularly revered Poseidon.⁸⁸⁶ It is not surprising that this region of Greece, surrounded by the sea and shaken by regular earthquakes, was under the patronage of the god who controls both of them. However, this statement does not apply as readily to Arcadia. The land is far away from the coast, and few earthquakes comparable to those that shook Sparta and Olympia have been recorded there. And yet, the Arcadians seem to have celebrated the god with fervour, as the evidence from various sites dedicated to Poseidon shows.⁸⁸⁷

The majority of occurrences of Poseidon in Arcadia, be it in myth or cult, refer to the god under the epithet Hippios. This particular form of Poseidon has long been the subject of scholarly attention. However, most interpretations, among which Farnell's is perhaps the most famous⁸⁸⁸, have studied Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia from a symbolic point of view, focusing on the god's relationship with Demeter and attempting to draw parallels with similar myths circulating in Boeotia. Another somewhat related interpretation, notably adopted by M. Jost, was to see in him the remains of a Mycenaean horse-shaped old divinity 'Hippos' who was later anthropomorphised and associated with Poseidon. These approaches have their limits, as this discussion will show.⁸⁸⁹

This chapter will propose a different perspective on the topic by going back to the topographical evidence for the myths and rites of Poseidon Hippios, hence grounding the research in the landscape. It is noticeable from the archaeological evidence and from the localization of the myths told in Pausanias that there were common trends in the spaces in which Poseidon, and especially Poseidon Hippios, is present in Arcadia. What seems to stand out is that these places were frequently subject to destructive floods, or were located in damp basins. Since we know that the ancient Greeks tended to understand and phrase natural phenomena through the framework of myths, the approach here will be to look more closely at the blurred line between mythical discourses aiming to explain a natural occurrence and the so-called scientific discourses aiming to describe as well as bringing a rational explanation of the same natural phenomena. Hence, after having investigated in the first chapter how the resolution, natural or manmade, of issues pertaining to the natural landscape was articulated in myth, this chapter will investigate how the causes of these drainage issues, namely karst and its symptoms, were the subject of a similar process.

⁸⁸⁶ Diod. Sic. 15.49.4.

⁸⁸⁷ Jost 1985, 280f; Mylonopoulos 2003, 98-133 and 271f.

⁸⁸⁸ Farnell 1907, 14-26.

⁸⁸⁹ Jost 1985, 283-4.

Evidence of the Cult of Poseidon: Myth and Sites

Poseidon's presence in Arcadia took two forms. On the one hand, he was the famous protagonist of myths where he either abuses the grieving Demeter, or where his early childhood in the Arcadian mountains was recounted. These myths were not all directly related to a cult of Poseidon Hippios himself. On the other hand, the god had a material presence in several Arcadian poleis either in the shape of a statue or that of a religious space with a sanctuary, a temple, and/or an altar.

Mythical evidence

The first type of myth is found in Mantinike. Rhea, after giving birth to Poseidon, placed him among a flock of lambs grazing near a spring called Arne. When Kronos appeared and demanded to eat the baby, Rhea pretended that she had given birth to a foal and gave the foal to the father instead of the child. The resemblance between this myth and the wider-spread version of Zeus' avoidance of Kronos' gluttony did not escape Pausanias (8.8.2).⁸⁹⁰ The spring Arne, whose name originated from the lambs (ἄρνες) among which baby Poseidon was hidden by his mother, was identified by G. Fougères c. 1.9km southeast of Mantinea, c. 900m east of the village of Milea where the remains of the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios and the hippodrome have been found.⁸⁹¹ The sanctuary was a few kilometres away from the so-called 'Untilled Plain' (Paus. 8.8.1), a region which used to be frequently flooded when its natural sinkholes located at the foot of the hills south of the basin near Nestani (ancient Nestane)⁸⁹² did not function well⁸⁹³, and south of the Mantinean valley, also prone to floods⁸⁹⁴. Just above the sanctuary was the Mount Alesion (now Mount Barberi): the hill itself held its name from Rhea's wanderings (ἄλη) when she was pregnant. As both places were located in the direct vicinity of the important sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, it can be inferred that this area was marked by satellite aetiological narratives linked to the landscape that may have originated thanks to the presence of the sanctuary.

⁸⁹⁰ However, the rivalry between Mantinean myth and the Hesiodic version will not be investigated further here in order to focus better on the relationship between the myth and the landscape.

⁸⁹¹ Paus. 8.10.2f; Fougères 1898, 94, 99, 104. See also p. 148.

⁸⁹² *IGP* n. 281 and n. 284.

⁸⁹³ Pritchett 1969, 54-55 fig 8.

⁸⁹⁴ Fougères 1898, 119 (place called 'champ du Pommier').

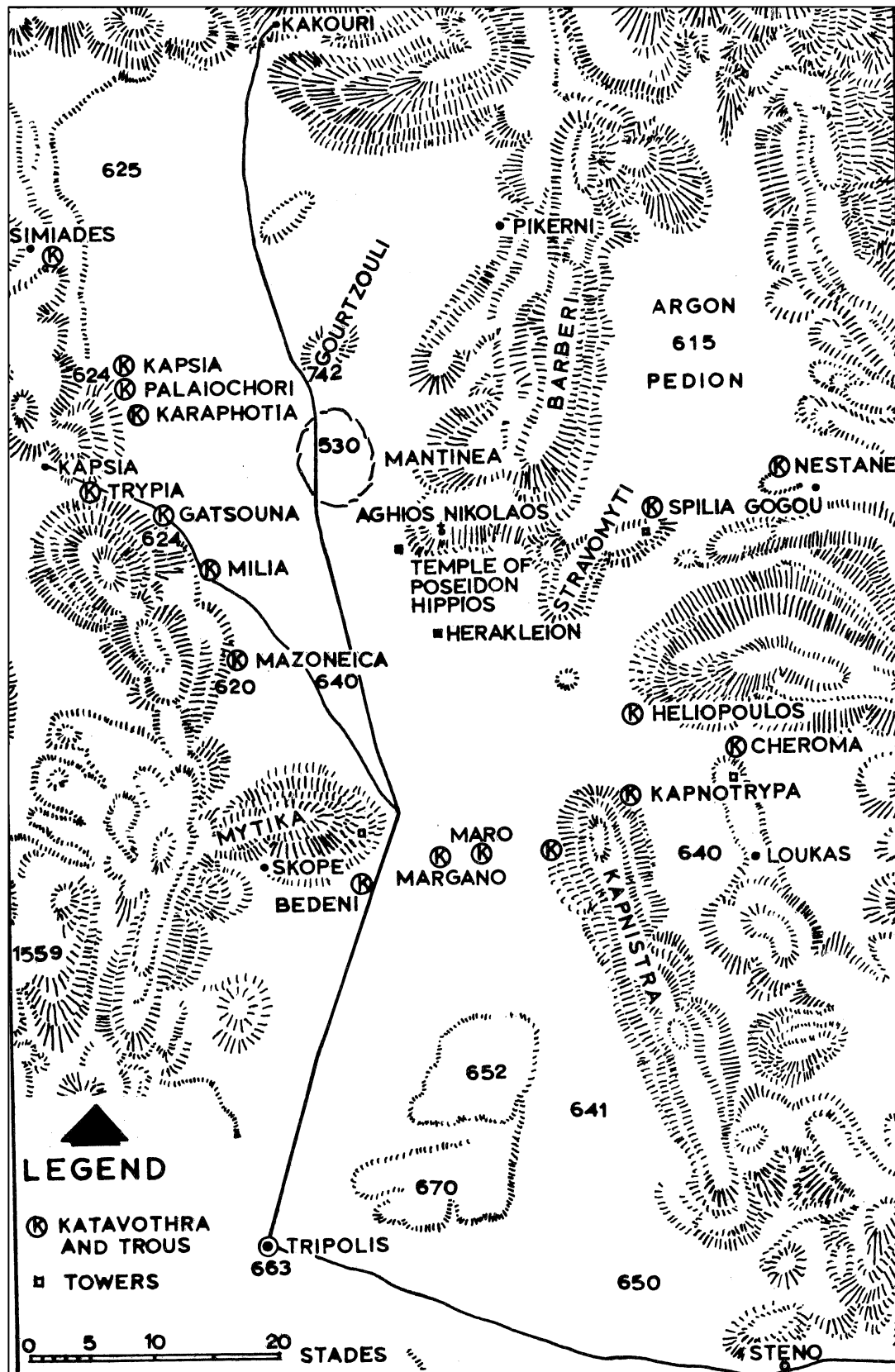


Figure 42: Map of the Mantinean country and its katavothras. (Pritchett 1965, 40 fig. 8)

The other type of myth, which spread with variations across the southwestern corner of Arcadia, tells of the violent encounter between Demeter and Poseidon Hippios. Variations on a similar narrative were told in Onkeion, near Thelpousa, Phigalia, and to some extent at Lykosoura. Onkeion and Phigalia are some 30km apart on the western fringe of Arcadia, and Lykosoura is c. 20km directly east of Phigalia. Between Onkeion and Thelpousa lied a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, which featured two wooden statues, both with Parian marble faces, hands and feet.⁸⁹⁵ Each had a different epithet: Erinys for the taller one, which also held a chest and a torch, and Lousia for the smaller one. According to the myth, when Demeter was looking after her kidnapped daughter she was followed by Poseidon, who lusted after her. Realizing this, she turned into a mare and hid within the flock of Onkios in Onkeion. Poseidon then turned into a stallion and raped the goddess. Her anger after the episode led her to be called Erinys. She then washed in the Ladon and was placated by the bath: this is why, according to Pausanias, the Onkeians also call her Lousia. From the union of Poseidon and Demeter was born a daughter, whose name was kept a secret from the uninitiated, and the horse Arion. Pausanias claims that it was because of this myth that Poseidon was called Hippios. The sanctuary of Demeter might be identified based on Pausanias' indications with the sixth to early fifth-century temple foundations found outside Onkeion.⁸⁹⁶ Almost exactly the same story was told at Phigalia, and Pausanias (8.42.1f) explicitly says that the Phigalians acknowledged that similarity. However, the consequences of Poseidon's act differ somewhat between the two places. At Phigalia, the furious goddess shut herself into a cave on Mount Elaion, which overlooked the Neda River, and dressed in black. Her apparel led her to be called Melaina. Because of her concealment, the fruits of the earth were perishing and the human race was dying. Pan accidentally found out where the goddess was, and Zeus sent the Fates to soothe her anger. This time, the product of Poseidon and Demeter's affair was, according to the Phigalians, the goddess called Despoina by the Arcadians: she might be the same daughter as the one in the Onkeian myth, as in Arcadia Despoina is the subject of a mystery cult. In this case, the myth was supposed to have explained the cult of Demeter Melaina, whose cult statue took the form of a seated woman with a horse's head. The Phigalians claimed that the cult antedated the Persian wars.⁸⁹⁷ Unfortunately, it turns out that the statue was already destroyed in Pausanias' time, and it is now impossible to locate the cave of Demeter Melaina.

Finally, the mention of Despoina as being the daughter of Poseidon-horse and Demeter-mare points to Lykosoura, where Despoina had her sanctuary.⁸⁹⁸ Her cult statue, famously crafted by Damophon, sat next to that of her mother, framed by Anytos the Titan and Artemis holding a torch. Among the altars scattered on the site and mentioned by Pausanias was one dedicated to Poseidon Hippios as her father, but no archaeological evidence of this particular altar has been found so far.

⁸⁹⁵ Paus. 8.25.4-7.

⁸⁹⁶ *IGP* n. 300; Jost 1985, 66.

⁸⁹⁷ Paus. 8.42.4-7.

⁸⁹⁸ Paus. 8.37.8-9. See p. 126-137.

Thus, there were two types of mythical evidence about Poseidon. The first in Mantinike, where Poseidon Hippios' sanctuary was located in a zone where toponyms were explained by aetiological myths about his birth. The second staged intercourse between Demeter and Poseidon in western Arcadia, where both gods turned into horses. Only at Onkeion did Demeter give birth to a horse, but in the three other places the couple also gave birth to Despoina. All of these myths were associated with religious buildings in the wider sense (monuments or statues), which they aimed to explain. Yet in none of them was Poseidon Hippios the main divinity: Demeter and Despoina had the preponderance of the cult.

Material evidence

In Pheneos, a statue of Poseidon Hippios used to stand on the acropolis. Pausanias (8.14.5) reports that a local legend attributed this statue to Odysseus, as an offering of thanks to Poseidon Hippios for having found his lost mares. The hero had also dedicated a sanctuary to Artemis Eurhippa ('Horse-finder') in the Pheneatan countryside, at the place where he had found the horses. As is often the case, no trace of the statue remains, and it is impossible at this point to attribute a date to it.

In Mantinea, Poseidon Hippios was the main divinity. His sanctuary was located by Polybius seven stades from Mantinea.⁸⁹⁹ The old sanctuary was said to have been made of oak by the famous mythical architects Agamedes and Trophonios. It was subject to a religious ban forbidding any living being to enter it, and the Arcadian king Aipyros, who disregarded the interdiction, was killed by a wave of salt water bursting from the sanctuary.⁹⁰⁰ Polybius, in his description of the battle of Mantinea in 207 BC, adds more to the picture by writing that the grounds near the sanctuary were flat and suitable for cavalry.⁹⁰¹ Later, under the Empire, the old construction was hidden by the new temple of Poseidon Hippios built under Hadrian.⁹⁰² Pausanias (10.2.3f) also records that the sanctuary was, at that time, at the edge of a thick forest called Pelagos ('the Sea') – thus implying that the landscape had changed since Polybius' account of 207 BCE. Unfortunately, due to the taboo Pausanias apparently did not visit the sanctuary, and therefore gives little information on what it used to look like. The site has been identified by G. Fougères southeast of the polis, near the present village of Milea, at the foot of Mount Barberi (ancient Alesion).⁹⁰³ He discovered at that spot two massive limestone slabs of 3.5x1x0.5m deeply embedded in the sandy ground which he identified as parts of a threshold, probably originating from the Hadrianic temple. Fougères also unearthed a column capital that he deemed to be Archaic, as also indicated by the finding of a clay

⁸⁹⁹ Polyb. 9.8, 11.14.

⁹⁰⁰ Paus. 8.10.2.

⁹⁰¹ Polyb. 11.12.

⁹⁰² See p. 165.

⁹⁰³ Fougères 1890, 80-82.

Laconic type acroterion with a Gorgoneion.⁹⁰⁴ The position has been later confirmed by M. Jost and W. K. Pritchett.⁹⁰⁵

Several inscriptions were also found on the site of the temple. An inscription with a list of names has been found in the area, dated from 425-385 BCE.⁹⁰⁶ Another pre-fourth-century BCE inscription listing Mantinean tribes – including one named *Posoidaia* – was found nearby. Hence, the evidence suggests that the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios was old, in activity at least from the eighth century BCE onwards, and important enough to justify both the attribution of the name of the god to a tribe and the reconstruction of the temple by Hadrian.⁹⁰⁷ The offerings and the proximity of the hippodrome indicate a cult of Poseidon ‘of horses’, as the god’s epithet indicates, which endured for some time.

Finally, a small temple excavated at Petrovouni, near ancient Methydrion, has been identified as the temple of Poseidon Hippios mentioned by Pausanias (8.36.2).⁹⁰⁸ An early sixth-century BCE temple was found under the foundations of a Hellenistic temple built in limestone. The earlier building was dated thanks to architectural terracottas, and the later building followed the plan of its predecessor.⁹⁰⁹ Scholars have been led to identify it with that of Poseidon Hippios due to the votive offering of a group of bronze horse-headed dancers found west of the temple⁹¹⁰, which recall those found at Mantinea and similar examples found in the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura.⁹¹¹

In addition to the instances of Poseidon Hippios mentioned above, the god was also worshipped in several Arcadian settlements.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁴ Fougères 1898, 106 and fig. 15.

⁹⁰⁵ Jost 1985, 132; Pritchett 1969, 50-51.

⁹⁰⁶ *IG* V.2 323.

⁹⁰⁷ *IG* V.2 271.

⁹⁰⁸ See p. 74-75.

⁹⁰⁹ See recent studies by Kästner 1990, 256; Voyatzis 1999, 140; Mylonopoulos 2003, 116-118.

⁹¹⁰ Voyatzis 1992, 276-78, see p. 74-75 and fig. 15.

⁹¹¹ See Jost 2003, 157-162 and 2008.

⁹¹² Other sites where cults of Poseidon are attested in Arcadia: Pallantion (Paus. 8.44.4), Megalopolis (*IG* V.2 454, second century BCE; Paus. 8.30.1), Trikolonoi (Paus. 8.35.6), and perhaps Tegea (*IG* V. 2.94 (Herm, third-century BCE); *IG* V.2 97 (third-century BCE stele); *IG* V.2 73 (triple Herm with Poseidon, Zeus, Demeter, third-century BCE); *IG* V.2 95 (Archaic inscription with Poseidon, Hermes, Herakles); *IG* V. 2.96 (inscription to Poseidon Kouretios, perhaps second-century).

Landscapes of Poseidon Hippios

This survey of evidence concerning Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia points to three general observations. Firstly, as one would expect, there was a conspicuous link between Poseidon and horses, be it in votives or aetiological myths. Secondly, perhaps more surprisingly, there was scarcely an overlap between the places where Poseidon Hippios features in a myth and his places of worship. In fact, his adventures with Demeter were meant to explain cults of the goddess or of their daughter, not of Poseidon himself; the only cultic trace of Poseidon Hippios in these districts is his altar in the sanctuary of his daughter Despoina in Lykosoura. In the case of the god's childhood on Mount Alesion in Mantinike, the myth hints at the epithet of the god in his sanctuary at the foot of the same mountain and gives an aetiological explanation of topographical features nearby. But again, there seems to have been no explicit link between the myth and the sanctuary itself. Thirdly, it appears that the topographical location of Poseidon's sacred spaces is recurrently in zones affected by water issues and, more specifically, regular and lasting drainage problems.⁹¹³ This third observation deserves more attention: in what measure was there a correlation between Poseidon Hippios' cult locations and natural drainage issues, and if this is the case, how can we explain it?

Looking back at all the sites where we have evidence of the worship of Poseidon Hippios, there are striking similarities regarding their natural environment. Arcadia πολυπῖδαξ⁹¹⁴ is known for its wet soil but some districts are more affected than others by the unfortunate consequences of living in a karst landscape. The characteristics of these unfortunate basins are that water streams into them from the mountains at the end of the winter and saturates their natural sinkholes, leading to large-scale floods.⁹¹⁵ Pheneos, Mantinea and Methydrion were the districts where such recurrent drainage problems occurred. In Pheneos, Poseidon Hippios' statue on the acropolis overlooked a basin frequently swallowed by floods. They were even so regular that their constant repetition left a permanent level mark on the mountain that struck Pausanias (8.14.1) and Eratosthenes (in Strab. 8.8.4), and that is still visible today.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹³ Pheneos was still mostly a lake in the nineteenth century, see Tausend 1999, 142-144.

⁹¹⁴ 'Rich in springs', *Hom. Hymn Pan* 19, 30.

⁹¹⁵ Higgins and Higgins 1996, 13, 70f. See p. 174f.

⁹¹⁶ Plut. *De Sera* 12.10 attributes the cause of the flood in his time to the late punishment imposed by Apollo on Pheneos for having hosted Herakles after he stole the Delphic tripod, a thousand year earlier.

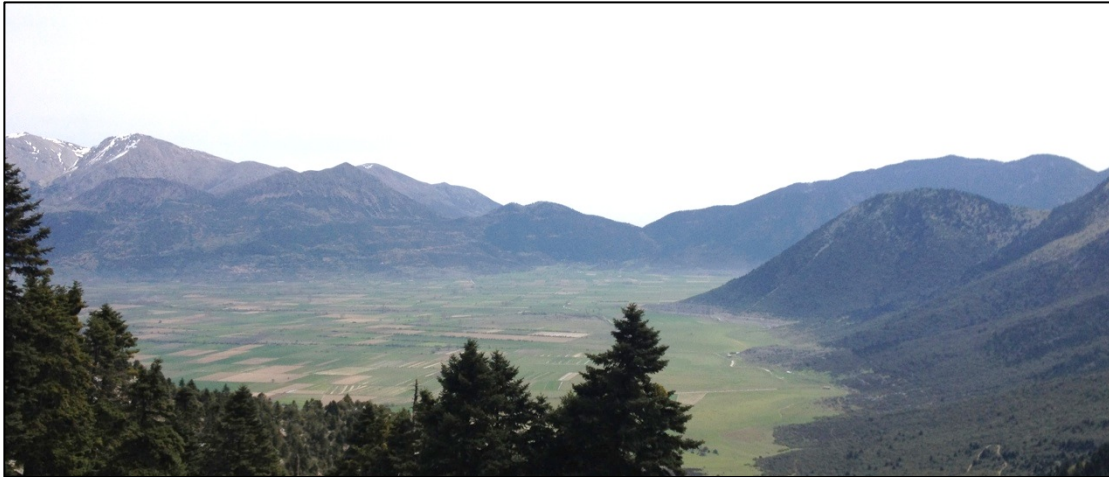


Figure 43: Pheneos basin from the North. The grey marks of an ancient lake described by Pausanias can be seen on the lower part of the mountains on the right. (Photo Baleriaux 2014).

The water that drained from that same basin resurfaced as the sources of the river Ladon on Mount Oryxis, south of the district: Strabo's and Pausanias' words on this have been confirmed by modern geological investigations.⁹¹⁷ When the katavothras of Pheneos were saturated and the plain was entirely flooded, it increased the flow of the Ladon river so much that it even affected Olympia.

In eastern Arcadia, drainage problems were also common. Mantinea was one of the districts most likely to be hit by the waters, for the katavothras at the border with Tegea were susceptible to becoming clogged and thus compromising the drainage of the basin: Thucydides (5.65.4) says that it could become a strategic device in wars between the two cities. In Mantinea, the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios was in the western plain. To the east was the Untilled Plain, so named because it was rendered useless by the rain and the vast amount of water that came from the mountains. Pausanias (8.7.1) even says that if it were not for the chasm at the foot of the mountain, the whole basin would have been a lake. The other basin west of Mount Alesion, where the god had his sanctuary, is surrounded by sinkholes.⁹¹⁸ Methydriion, in central Arcadia, was located 1000m above sea-level, and according to Pausanias was named after the fact that it was built between the waters of the Mylaon and the Maloetas rivers, which suggests that it might have been affected by flooding issues as well. It therefore appears from this survey that the Arcadian districts most consistently impacted by floods due to drainage issues, characteristic of karst landscapes, were located in the eastern half of the region. These coincide with where cults of Poseidon Hippios are reported.

On the other hand, this observation does not hold true for the three sites where the myth of Poseidon and Demeter takes place. Onkeion, Phigalia and Lykosoura were set on higher mountains in western Arcadia, and no flooding issues seem to have been reported there. The divide between places staging myths of Poseidon Hippios and places where he is worshipped thus correlates with different types of landscapes

⁹¹⁷ Higgins and Higgins 1996, 70.

⁹¹⁸ Pritchett 1969, 55 and fig. 7 and 8.

tackling a different set of natural issues. As a result, the second and third observations outlined above coincide. In fact, on the one hand there is scarcely an overlap between the places where Poseidon Hippios is worshipped and where he takes part in a myth, and on the other hand the places where he has a cult are characterized by serious drainage issues. These observations emphasize the need to try to shed light on the religious topography of Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia. As the myths of western Arcadia with Poseidon Hippios-horse have already been the object of numerous studies, the focus here will shift onto eastern Arcadia, which is a more propitious place to carry out a topography-based investigation.

‘Hippios’, Horses and Freshwater

It is not a bold claim to state that Poseidon was the patron god of horses and charioteers, as this is already made very clear by numerous instances in Homer. Arcadia was even, according to Strabo, fit for horse breeding and husbandry since it had many lush pastures. The geographer adds (8.8.1) that the Arcadian race of horses is ‘most excellent’, at a level comparable to that of the Argive and Epidaurian breeds.

On top of this, the god is also often considered the master and progenitor of famous mythical horses. For instance, the paternity of the Arcadian Arion in Onkeion is actually attributed to Poseidon not only by Pausanias, but also by Callimachus (*Ia.* fr. 11, from Steph. Byz. s.v. *Apesas*), Apollodorus (3.77), Lycophron (*Alex.* 153), a scholion to the *Iliad* 23.347 and by Quintus Smyrnaeus (4.570), among others. In Boeotia, Pausanias (9.33) says that there was a spring called Tilphossa where Poseidon became the father of the horse Arion. He also sired the first horse Skyphios while asleep on a rock or, according to another version, by striking the earth with his trident.⁹¹⁹

This brings us to Poseidon’s link with spring water. One of his attributes was that he opened springs all over Greece. On the Athenian acropolis, in Boeotia, in Argolis and in Arcadia, he would crack open rocks, allowing water to gush forth.⁹²⁰ This role may go back to the Mycenaean Poseidon: in fact, parallel to the etymological theory bringing the roots of Poseidon to the pre-Indo European *da- ‘earth’ there exists another trend of scholarship linking it to the Indo-European root *da- ‘running water’.⁹²¹

So, if at first sight it may seem strange to associate Poseidon ‘of Horses’ with water, the two realms actually seem to overlap. Indeed, according to the myths, Poseidon usually opens the springs in one of two ways: either he does it by himself, or through the mythological horses he sired. In any case, the link between Poseidon, springs and horses is very explicit in the case of his son Pegasus. Pegasus too opens springs in the rock, just like his father. For instance, by striking Mount Helicon with his hoof he opens the Hippokrene spring on the command of Poseidon.⁹²² Since

⁹¹⁹ Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246; schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 766.

⁹²⁰ Nilsson 1963, 121.

⁹²¹ Burkert 1990, 138; Milićević Bradač 2003, 380.

⁹²² Ant. Lib. *Met.* 9.

Hesiod (*Th.* 273-286), the winged horse's etymology has been linked to the Greek πηγή, meaning 'the spring'. This etymology has been challenged recently⁹²³, but the debate does not question the image of the Greek Pegasus as an opener of springs, for the Hesiodic etymology seems to have predominated in Greece through the Corinthian exploits of Pegasus and Bellerophon.⁹²⁴ In a more implicit way, the relationship between horses and springs is present in springs bearing horse-related names: not far from Hippokrene is the spring Aganippe.⁹²⁵ In Troezen, Pausanias (2.31.9) tells of another Hippokrene. There was also a source Hippê or Hippeion near Argos.⁹²⁶

However, a more problematic interpretation of the relationship between Poseidon and horses had been claimed by scholarship, and was used to interpret the myths of Poseidon Hippios and Demeter of western Arcadia. L. R. Farnell and F. Schachermeyr argued that Poseidon Hippios was actually the residual manifestation of an older horse-shaped god.⁹²⁷ This argument held that the myths where Poseidon transforms into a horse to rape Demeter-mare and where Rhea hands over a foal instead of the baby Poseidon prove that Poseidon Hippios was in fact the relic of a very ancient, primitive horse-god named Hippos. This horse-god was subsequently anthropomorphised and assimilated with Poseidon. The hypothesis was taken further by a trend of scholarship influenced by structuralist theories and the study of primitive societies in anthropology, which was particularly popular in the 1960s. The argument put forward by the supporters of the primitive Poseidon horse-god is that one can read *i-go* in Mycenaean tablets PY Fa 16 and PY Eq 59, perhaps indicating the existence of a divinity called 'Hippos'.⁹²⁸ This is problematic for several reasons. First of all, it is not clear at all whether *i-go* refers to a divinity or an animal.⁹²⁹ M. Jost, who sides with the Poseidon-horse theory, herself admits that the Mycenaean evidence is controversial and inconclusive.⁹³⁰ Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, there is no evidence to support this theory apart from this controversial mention of a horse-god in Pylian tablets, and there is even less evidence of an Arcadian horse-god. Furthermore, the attribution of an evolutionist timeline to Greek religion, suggesting that it developed from the worship of primitive animal divinities to anthropomorphic gods, has now been generally rejected. In fact, the only evidence for ancient animal-gods resides in the existence of Classical and later hybrid divinities, whose existence was in turn explained by putative ancient animal divinities. The argument is therefore circular.⁹³¹

⁹²³ Debord 2010, 241.

⁹²⁴ See Stephanus Byzantium s.v. Peg-asa.

⁹²⁵ Hes. *Theog.* 6; Doyen 2011, 298.

⁹²⁶ Callim. Fr. 66.8.

⁹²⁷ Farnell 1907, 14-26; Schachermeyr 1950, 50-60.

⁹²⁸ Gallavotti and Sacconi 1961, 124, 148; Palmer 1966, 277-278; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 259-261.

⁹²⁹ Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 120-122; Chirassi 1968, 945-991.

⁹³⁰ Jost 1985, 283-4.

⁹³¹ See Forbes Irving 1990, 38-55.

The reason why horses and water were connected in myth therefore seems to arise from the fact that both were placed under the patronage of the same god. Thus, while we surely cannot assert that Poseidon Hippios originated from a primitive horse-god, there is evidence in the literary sources and Greek topographical names that a relationship existed between horses and springs on the one hand, and between Poseidon Hippios and horses on the other.

Aetiological Discourses

In Pheneos and in the Mantinike area, there is evidence for regular natural catastrophes due to the overwhelming amount of water that came down into the basins. If the sinkholes located at the foot of the mountains did not do their job, the water level started to increase dangerously, eventually forming a lake that swallowed up crops and pastures. This phenomenon was a genuine concern for the Arcadians, both because of its effect and because of its frequency. The impact of this constant issue is visible throughout antiquity. It was discussed and alluded to in literature, and it also left archaeological traces. In fact, the reaction of the ancient Arcadians to drainage problems can be roughly grouped into two stages, which shed light on the relatively thin line between aetiological narratives and rationalising discourses.

The first stage in the aetiological explanation of natural problems comes from Homeric poetry.⁹³² There, earthquakes were attributed to the Shaker of the Earth, Poseidon. The Homeric epithet survived for centuries, and it was often to Poseidon's wrath that destructive earthquakes shaking the Peloponnese were attributed. Two examples of those were the earthquake that shook Sparta at the time of the Helots' revolt, and the one that shook Olympia in the sixth century CE.⁹³³ There was a high frequency of particularly high-impact earthquakes in the Peloponnese peninsula compared to the rest of Greece, which probably led Poseidon to become one of its most worshipped gods. Diodorus (15.49.3-4) makes this connection explicit.

The type of reasoning that explained earthquakes through myth was, between Homer and Herodotus, extended to another natural phenomenon: floods. Herodotus' description of the mouth of the Peneos river in Thessaly through the voice of Xerxes gives a good idea of the connection that was made between earthquakes and the consequent opening of outlets for water, which was again attributed to Poseidon. Indeed, Herodotus eloquently states that:

*'This is reasonable, for whoever believes that Poseidon is the shaker of the earth and that rifts made by earthquakes are the work of that god will conclude, upon seeing that passage, that it is of Poseidon's making. It was manifest to me that it must have been an earthquake which forced the mountains apart.'*⁹³⁴

(tr. Godley, 1920)

⁹³² *Hom. Hymn Pos.* 22; *Hom. Il.* 20.23, 34, 57, 67, 21.436f.

⁹³³ *Paus.* 7.25.3; Cartledge 2002, 183-4.

⁹³⁴ *Hdt.* 7.129.4.

Whether an earthquake really did cause the Peneos gorge to look like a rock torn in two matters little: what is important is that Herodotus and probably the Thessalians believed that it had been opened by Poseidon, shaker of the earth. This statement was based on observation, since earthquakes can in fact have direct effects on watercourses: they can create, modify or close down water outlets. Nearly a millennium after Herodotus Nonnus, in his *Dionysiaca* (6.371f), attributes the draining of the great flood provoked by Zeus to Poseidon, who split the Thessalian mountains and dug a channel for water to escape towards the sea at the mouth of the Peneos, thus allowing the earth to dry. The mythical narrative explaining the shape that the landscape took survived.

On the other hand, earthquakes can have the opposite effect and can clog water outlets. This phenomenon is still observable today: in Italy for instance, excavators sometimes struggle to identify sites described by ancient sources as close to a spring or stream, because the outlet has been closed and then reopened several hundred meters away in the centuries that have elapsed since their locations were first recorded.⁹³⁵ However, a clogged water outlet may result in more serious problems, such as severe drainage issues. Thus, Poseidon's anger can manifest itself in earthquakes that subsequently provoke floods. The connection between Poseidon, earthquakes and floods is asserted very clearly by Diodorus (15.49.3-5), although in this case Diodorus refers to the sea swallowing a city. He reports that, after the Achaeans refused to acknowledge the request of the ambassadors from the Panionion, Poseidon shook and flooded the land of Helike as a punishment.⁹³⁶ On the other hand, Diodorus also mentions underground caves filled with water which spill over and provoke floods when an earthquake occurs: the sea was therefore not the only cause for floods, and since Poseidon was connected to ground water and earthquakes, these ascriptions probably also led to him being assigned control over floods.

The mention of Diodorus brings us to the second stage of the elucidations of natural phenomena, which tends towards moving away from myth to provide rational explanations. Rationalizing authors of the first century BCE and the first century CE connect earthquakes, ground water and floods as a chain reaction without mentioning Poseidon. Seneca (*Q. Nat.* 3.8-9) and Strabo (9.2.16) pictured the space underground, where earthquakes originate, as pierced by deep cavities in which underground water flowed before being dispatched into rivers. The cavities could collapse, which would cause disasters on the surface such as earthquakes, followed by floods if the caves were filled with water.⁹³⁷ Diodorus (15.49.5), who does not move away altogether from involving Poseidon's anger as the cause for floods and earthquakes, points out that since rivers plunge underground near Pheneos and Stymphalos, they must be swallowed by underground caves, and that this observation therefore proves their

⁹³⁵ Personal communication with Francesca Diosono at UWTSD Lampeter about Nemi, May 2014.

⁹³⁶ See also Paus. 7.24.5-12.

⁹³⁷ See p. 206.

existence.⁹³⁸ It was also shown in the previous chapter that floods plagued these two Arcadian cities, and that the Arcadians had responded to it by building drainage works in the Mycenaean period, then by giving mythical explanations for the drainage of these stagnant waters.

Thus, there is an intricate network of aetiological narratives aiming to give an explanation as to how and why the Arcadians were cursed with floodable basins, either by appealing to mythical geography or by rationalizing discourses. It also appears that attempts to combat this unfortunate natural predisposition had been devised by the locals from the Mycenaean period onwards.⁹³⁹ Although there is no evidence directly attributing the cause of floods in Arcadia to Poseidon Hippios, the fact that the places where early drainage works were discovered overlap with places where Poseidon Hippios is worshipped suggests that there is a relationship between the two, particularly given that the god's relationship with earthquakes and water has been established.

Conclusion

This chapter proposed to look at the cults of Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia from the point of view of religious topography, namely by looking at the common trends in their natural environment and how these could indicate a preferred location to place the god. The study showed that there were two distinct trends in the localization of Poseidon Hippios. On the one hand, he was present in metamorphosis myths with Demeter in western Arcadia but was not worshipped on his own, while on the other hand he was worshipped in sanctuaries in eastern Arcadia while scarcely being featured in their myths. The only case where the two somewhat overlapped was in Mantinea, where local myths featuring Poseidon's early life provided aetiological etymologies for toponyms around the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, without however relating directly to his cult.⁹⁴⁰ Certainly, the main limit to this distinction is that, as is often the case for Arcadia, most of our evidence for local myths comes from Pausanias. He can thus only provide a snapshot of the myths that were told in the second century CE, which invariably introduces a bias in the investigation. However, by moving away from the strange myths of western Arcadia and looking at archaeological evidence for the cults in eastern Arcadia, it appears that Poseidon Hippios was worshipped outside cities but not too far from their walls, and that the earliest certain evidence for a cult is at Mantinea in the Geometric period.

The evidence is scarce and the identification of sites arduous, yet there is an overlap observable between the districts where the god was worshipped and the basins regularly plagued by floods to a more significant degree than the rest of Arcadia, as the excavated Mycenaean water management works demonstrate. Yet it is not clear why a relationship existed between the floods and Poseidon Hippios in particular. The literary evidence shows various connections between Poseidon and

⁹³⁸ See chapter 3 of this Part.

⁹³⁹ See p. 175-177.

⁹⁴⁰ As far as the current evidence shows.

horses, Poseidon and springs, horses and springs, and Poseidon, earthquakes and floods. The reason why all of these were reassembled under the patronage of Poseidon might result from a broad interpretation of the god's sphere of action.

Finally, this case study showed that there was minimal overlap between the places where cults of Poseidon Hippios existed and places where he acted in myth. The apparent preference for placing Poseidon in wet landscapes is not, as far as we know, articulated in Arcadian myth, but rather results from empirical observation.

The case of Arcadian Poseidon Hippios thus remains unsolved. However, I hope to have demonstrated that moving away from a symbolic interpretation that aims to explain similar myths in different regions, namely Arcadia and Boeotia, in order to propose a landscape-oriented approach on a regional scale, could offer a very different perspective on Greek religion and raise different issues that deserve to be considered.

Chapter 3: ‘They say the Styx flows in Arcadia’. Rivers and the world underground

In Northern Arcadia, on the dark and snowy Aroania mountain range (now Mount Helmos), there is a place that needs to be carefully avoided by shepherds. If goats get lost near the limpid, ice-cold waterfall drizzling from the 600ft-high cliff and drink from its waters, they unavoidably die. These dangerous waters, Pausanias says, are no other than those of the Styx.⁹⁴¹ It could seem strange to have an infernal river flow in the realm of mortals; yet the Styx is not the only one. The Acheron and the Kokytos for instance, although they flow in the world of the dead, are also visible in different parts of the Greek world. This apparent discrepancy does not seem to cause any problem for the Greeks, nor does the fact that, for instance, several Acherusian lakes are reported in the Greek world.

After having explored how myths explained floods and drainage, a third aspect of karst landscapes will be examined here. This chapter aims to explore the apparent inconsistency of having infernal rivers flowing in the world of the living by looking at what could have prompted close contacts between the realm of the dead, where infernal rivers were supposed to flow, and the world of the living, where they were reported flowing. I argue that the picture of Hades and Tartarus – which together composed the realm of the dead – as wet places crossed by streams of water is related to the observation of a very common natural phenomenon in Greece: karstic, or subterranean rivers. Because of this, many Greek rivers have sections of their course underground: this means that after flowing on the surface for a while, the water dives into the ground through a natural hole called a swallow-hole or sinkhole. I shall explore to what extent the observation of subterranean rivers by ancient Greeks contributed to the elaboration of a picture of the unseen world, and in particular inspired the conception of the world of the dead as a region ringed and circumscribed by waters.

Empirical observation of subterranean rivers in Greece

Subterranean rivers were a cause of wonder in ancient Greece. There are conscious attempts in ancient literature to understand the karstic phenomenon, which left us with important testimonies their existence. For instance, we have reports of experiments carried out by the Greeks interested in geology in order to test where subterranean streams would come back up. Throwing an object in the river, such as a cup or a pinecone, and looking out where the object would reappear, was one way of testing it.⁹⁴² In other cases, we have descriptions of the peculiar course of certain

⁹⁴¹ See descriptions in Hes. *Theog.* 775f; Hdt. 6.74.1, Strab. 8.8.4, Paus. 8.17.6-8, Ael. *NA* 10.40; Apul. *Met.* 6.14. For a contemporary description of the stream see Brewster 1997, 69.

⁹⁴² For instance Strab. 6.2.4 (in the Alpheios) and Paus. 2.24.6 (in the Stympalian lake outlet).

rivers. For instance, Herodotus describes how the water drained from the Stymphalian Lake through a chasm fed the Erasinios River in Argolis⁹⁴³:

*'As Cleomenes was seeking divination at Delphi, the oracle responded that he would take Argos. When he came with Spartans to the river Erasinios, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake (this lake issues into a cleft out of sight and reappears at Argos, and from that place onwards the stream is called by the Argives Erasinios) —when Cleomenes came to this river he offered sacrifices to it.'*⁹⁴⁴

(tr. Godley, 1920)

Another famous case is the Alpheios. Its extravagant course caused ancient authors to amplify its journey and make it cross the sea from Greece to the east coast of Sicily, where its waters were said to meet with the spring Arethusa. Pausanias gives a very detailed account of its wonderful journey:

*'It is known that the Alpheios differs from other rivers in exhibiting this natural peculiarity; it often disappears beneath the earth to reappear again. So flowing on from Phylake and the place called Symbola it sinks into the Tegean plain; rising at Asea, and mingling its stream with the Eurotas, it sinks again into the earth. Coming up at the place called by the Arcadians Pegai, and flowing past the land of Pisa and past Olympia, it falls into the sea above Kyllene, the port of Elis. Not even the Adriatic could check its flowing onwards, but passing through it, so large and stormy a sea, it shows in Ortygia, before Syracuse, that it is the Alpheios, and unites its water with Arethusa.'*⁹⁴⁵

(tr. Jones-Ormerod, 1918)

In fact, the extraordinarily long and complicated journey of the Alpheios was common knowledge long before Pausanias. For instance, Pindar (*Nem.* 1.1) already makes the river god Alpheios reappear at Ortygia in Syracuse. Vergil (*Aen.* 3.692-697) and Ovid (*Met.* 5. 487f, 572f) attribute the diving of the Alpheios to his lust for the Nymph Arethusa, who changes into a spring at Ortygia to escape his unwanted love. Alpheios chases her there, and their waters are mingled forever.

There are many more testimonies in our sources recording comparably wonderful journeys of rivers. Rivers could meet in chasms and spring out of the earth kilometres away while keeping their waters separate, as was said to be the case for the Alpheios and the Eurotas.⁹⁴⁶ The waters of a lake could give birth to a river far away.

⁹⁴³ See also Eratosth. 3 Fr. 140 in Strab. 8.8.4; Strab. 8.6.8; Diod. Sic. 15.49; Paus 2.22.3, 2.24 and 8.22.

⁹⁴⁴ Hdt 6.76.

⁹⁴⁵ Paus. 8.54.2-3.

⁹⁴⁶ Paus. 8.44.4. See Pritchett 1965, 122-130.

For instance, the Kephisos river in Boeotia was fed by the waters of the Kopais lake, and then flowed through a sinkhole to Lokris (Strab. 9.2.18).

Some of these connections have now been confirmed by studies in geology.⁹⁴⁷ But in other cases, the connections turned out completely fictitious. In fact, subterranean rivers were so common that they became part of Greek lore, and authors tended to see subterranean streams in places where they do not actually exist.⁹⁴⁸ For instance, Sophocles made the Inachos originate in the Pindos mountains, while the fourth-century rhetorician Zoilus claimed that the Alpheios rose in Tenedos.⁹⁴⁹ Pliny described how the spring of the Tigris River in Mesopotamia is fed underground by lake Thopitis, whereas no actual connection is attested.⁹⁵⁰ The belief that subterranean streams were ubiquitous and could hide underground for very long distances led to even more fantastical claims, which were still broadly accepted as true. For instance, King Juba II of Mauretania claimed that the Nile originated in the Mauretanian mountains, and then travelled underground for more than twenty days before reaching Upper Egypt and flowing on the surface.⁹⁵¹ This was so persuasive a statement that travellers looked for the sources of the Nile in northwestern Africa until the nineteenth century.⁹⁵²

These few examples show how ancient geographers were aware of underground rivers as a common, widespread phenomenon. Subterranean rivers with fantastically long courses were largely accepted in the ancient Mediterranean world, even if authors like Strabo (6.2) tried to rationalize these near-myths. In any case, it matters little for our purpose whether accounts of underground rivers reflect an actual natural wonder or are just pure imagination. The fact that these stories were perfectly acceptable for an ancient Greek audience – and, in fact, up to very recently – is significant in itself.

Rationalizing subterranean rivers

The commonness of subterranean rivers prompted observers to formulate different hypotheses as to *why* rivers thus disappeared into the ground to reappear further away. Two types of causality are described in ancient sources: one is divine, the other geological.

The earliest is provided chiefly by poets, and naturally involves divine intervention. Different reasons can lead divine beings to create underground watercourses. In some cases, as for the Alpheios river mentioned above, it is the

⁹⁴⁷ Erasinus originating in the Stymphalian lake: Pritchett 1965, 122-123 and 132; for a different view, see Higgins and Higgins 1996, 46 and 49. Ladon river reappearing in Olympia: Higgins and Higgins 1996, 70. See also Kroonenberg 2012, 93-107.

⁹⁴⁸ Ustinova 2009, 32.

⁹⁴⁹ Both quoted by Strab. 6.2.4.

⁹⁵⁰ Plin. *HN* 5.51-4.

⁹⁵¹ Amm. Marc. 22.15.8.

⁹⁵² Roller 2010, 190. Eratosthenes also describes in an unclear passage how water flowing in Koile Syria might originate from as far away as Arabian lakes: Eratosth. Fr. 96 (Roller).

desire of a river god that leads him to dive underground to find his loved one.⁹⁵³ In other cases, a stream buried underground bears the mark of a divine punishment. For instance, the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (3.244f) attributes the origin of the underground spring Tilphousa in Boeotia to Apollo's anger, who buried the spring to punish the trickery of its Nymph.

Yet at some point the gods' anger was not a sufficient reason anymore to explain why rivers dived into chasms. In the Roman period, authors tried to provide a 'scientific' cause for rivers to have an underground course. Diodorus (15.49.4-6) states that *'the Peloponnese has beneath its surface huge caverns and great underground accumulations of flowing water'*. Based on the same concept, Strabo argued that earthquakes shake the geological layout of the underground and thus provoke streams to flow on and under the surface:

*'But since the depths of the earth are full of caverns and holes, it has often happened that violent earthquakes have blocked up some of the passages, and also opened up others, some up to the surface of the earth and others through underground channels. The result for the waters, therefore, is that some of the streams flow through underground channels, whereas others flow on the surface of the earth, thus forming lakes and rivers.'*⁹⁵⁴

(tr. Jones, 1918)

On the other hand, Seneca invoked the condensation of underground cold air into water in those subterranean caves as the cause for subterranean rivers:

*'Others favor this explanation: they say the earth has within itself deep cavities and a great quantity of air which is of course cold because compressed by the thick darkness; then the inert and uncirculating air ceases to maintain itself and changes into water. Just as above the earth a change in the atmosphere makes rain, so beneath the earth it makes a river or a stream.'*⁹⁵⁵

(tr. Corcoran, 1971)

In fact, this model of subterranean caves accumulating and channelling streams underground between their point of entry and their point of exit was not so far from reality. As mentioned earlier⁹⁵⁶, most of Greece rests on limestone bedrock, creating a karstic terrain. Hence, Strabo, Seneca and Diodorus formed quite sensible hypotheses, based on observation, to explain rationally a common natural phenomenon.

⁹⁵³ Verg. *Aen.* 3.692-697; Ovid *Met.* 5. 487f, 572f.

⁹⁵⁴ Strab. 9.2.16.

⁹⁵⁵ Sen. *Q Nat.* 3.9.

⁹⁵⁶ p. 236-238.

Where does the water go? Imagining the Underworld

The previous section showed how subterranean rivers were acutely observed in antiquity, and how those observations found their way not only in ‘scientific’, rationalizing writings, but were also woven into myths. The mythological explanations will now be further explored, for it appears that the peculiarities of karstic terrain inspired a whole range of myths explaining *where* the water went. The observations made in karst landscapes by ancient Greek authors led to two conclusions: on the one hand, if streams dived underground, then they must have ended up somewhere. On the other hand, if streams dived underground, then the underground must be wet. As it turns out, the wet place where rivers ended up under the surface was conceived as no other than the world of the dead.

The subject of Hades, Tartarus and their topography is too broad to be fully treated here, and only two issues that are relevant to this study and consistently featured in descriptions of the Underworld will be explored further. Firstly, the different access routes to the world of the dead, and secondly, the representation of the place as wet. It will appear that the images of Hades and its surroundings may have been inspired by the widespread karst landscapes in Greece, and that the stereotype of ‘dank’ Hades results from the observation of subterranean rivers.

Access to the realm of the dead

There are two main ways by which one can reach the realm of the dead: one is by undertaking a katabasis along a damp and dark route, and the other is by sailing.

The earliest instance of a visit to the dead is in Homer, and incidentally, both of these methods are described. On the one hand, the souls of the suitors killed by Odysseus at the end of the poem descend, led by Hermes, on a dank path. They then cross Oceanus, the river encircling the earth, and reach their last dwelling, the meadow of asphodel (*Od.* 24.1-15). Another instance of a descent to the world of the dead through such a katabasis is in the *Iliad*: it seems quite clear that the dead descend into Hades, much as the departed suitors did, and the souls of the dead heroes also end up in the meadow of asphodel.⁹⁵⁷ On the other hand, there is a way to enter Hades by sailing. At *Od.* 10.503-532, Circe tells Odysseus to sail to Hades as far as the Grove of Persephone. Once there, Odysseus could communicate with the souls of the departed who would come to him in what seems to be a no-man’s land between the world of the living and the world of the dead.⁹⁵⁸ Hence, in Homer, one enters different parts of the realm of the dead depending on what means of approach one takes: by going down, or by sailing. Still, there does not seem to be a concern to draw a coherent topography of the Underworld, for it seems to be both beyond the world of the living and under it. The Hesiodic Tartarus offers the same kind of picture, as it is at the same time ‘at the end of the huge earth’ (*Th.* 730) and under it (*Th.* 767f).

⁹⁵⁷ E.g. Hom. *Il.* 8.10f, 11.13-22, 11.568-600, 14.455f.

⁹⁵⁸ Fouache and Quantin 1999, 31. This passage has been the subject of much scholarly debate; I shall not take part in it here.

Now, because of these two apparently contradictory images, the question that has been very much debated is the following: is the realm of the dead under the world of the living, or beyond it? Chr. Sourvinou-Inwood attempted to resolve this seeming paradox by claiming that it could be both, for once one sails too far westwards, one goes over the edge of the world and thus ends up under the surface.⁹⁵⁹ Another interpretation has been to say that while the normal route taken by the souls of the departed is to go downwards, Odysseus and his men, because they are not actually dead, take another route.⁹⁶⁰ It is as if they were coming into Hades by the back door. Archaic Tartarus, on the other hand, where disobedient gods and mythical characters are punished for eternity, is quite clearly situated under Hades in a dark, windless, subterranean place.⁹⁶¹ In any case, what is consistent is that the world of the dead lies somewhere outside the world of the living, and can be reached in multiple places.⁹⁶²

The katabasis through dark and damp ways very much recalls Plutoneia, entrance to the Underworld often located in caves in a landscape evoking the Underworld. We find one for instance at Eleusis, where ritual connections with the afterlife and Underworld are strong, or in Acarnania near the Acheron lake.⁹⁶³ On the other hand, the dead could also come closer to the living through similar gates. Necromancy was practiced in dark places in contact with the Underworld, called *nekuomanteia*.⁹⁶⁴ Some of these *nekuomanteia* were in caves, others in buildings where the encounter with the departed would take place in an underground chamber.⁹⁶⁵ Although it was not very common, there was a certain idea that caves were tunnels leading to the underground, and that the underground equated with the Underworld. This might result from the fact that, sometimes, a cave's end is concealed by a deceptive natural feature such as a dark pool or a tunnel too narrow to allow a human body to squeeze through.⁹⁶⁶ But caves are actually finite, a discovery that caused disappointment to Pausanias (3.25.5) when he realized that the Taenarum oracle of the dead had an end before he could reach the world below. This downwards journey suggests that the way taken by the souls of the newly-dead could also be taken for a short stretch by the living wanting to contact the dead, and the other way round by souls of the departed who were summoned by the living.⁹⁶⁷

⁹⁵⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 60.

⁹⁶⁰ Bernstein 1993, 26; Ogden 2001, 254; Garland 2001, 49f. The scholarship on the issue is diverse and numerous. See also Austin 1975, 95; Blaise 1996, 1-60.

⁹⁶¹ Hom. *Il.* 8.10-18; Hes. *Theog.* 716-726.

⁹⁶² Mackie 1999, 485.

⁹⁶³ Ogden 2001, 25-26; Ustinova 2009, 68.

⁹⁶⁴ Necromancy was not a very popular ritual, and was often practiced by evil characters: Hdt 5.92 (Periander of Corinth), Paus. 3.17.9 (Pausanias of Sparta). Fouache and Quantin 1999, 58; Ogden 2001, 251; Ustinova 2009, 68-9.

⁹⁶⁵ Necromancy could happen in caves (Ustinova 2009, 65), but not only (Ogden 2001, 18). See Ustinova 2009, 6-7 and 68-69; De Jong 2003, 214; Rosenberger 2001, 129-133; Kingsley 1995, 282; Rudhardt 1971, 78; Parke 1967, 26f.

⁹⁶⁶ Ogden 2001, 252.

⁹⁶⁷ See Hdt 5.92; Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 6; Paus. 9.30.6; Luc. 6.651-53; Sourvinou-Inwood 2009, 307-308; Ogden 2001, 25-26, 251; De Jong 2003, 165f; Ustinova 2009, 68f.

Thus, contact between the two realms happened in several places in the Greek world, whether through a nekuomanteion or at a designated spot. Curiously, the multiplicity of these places of contact with the Underworld in the world of the living did not seem to cause much trouble or confusion. Lucian makes sense of this apparent contradiction rather humorously. Menippus wants to go to the Underworld to consult Tiresias (Luc. *Men.* 22). After enduring a simulacrum of purification ritual at the hands of a Babylonian magician, Menippus enters the Underworld in Babylon by sailing, in a way that explicitly hints at Odysseus' voyage in the *Odyssey*. After having walked around the various sectors of the Underworld and met Tiresias, he is tipped off by the magician about a shortcut that will lead him directly to Greece. He thus exits on foot this time, and ends up in the temple of Trophonius at Lebadeia, where the Boeotians descend to the Underworld. Lucian's version synthesizes the different topographies of the realm of the dead by turning it into a very large space that stretched under the earth, accessible at several spots in several ways, by sailing or by walking.⁹⁶⁸

The world of the dead was never far away: there were entrances to the Underworld in several places, which were not particularly secret or hard of access.⁹⁶⁹ Taenarum, where Herakles came back from Hades with Cerberus, Hermione, Troezen, Ephyra in Thesprotia, Heracleia Pontica, Cumae and many other places were seen as places that allowed access to the world of the dead; yet this did not prevent these places from being inhabited or sanctuaries that had little to do with the realm of the dead being built nearby.⁹⁷⁰ But even if these places were not marked out by a particular cult of Hades or the dead, they still had something in common. A great proportion of them were set in landscapes marked by karstic characteristics, such as dramatic cliffs, large lakes, subterranean rivers or deep dark caves. These landscapes suit the Homeric descriptions of the world of the dead very well, so well that numerous attempts have been made to identify where Odysseus proceeds to his own necromantic episode with one of these places: Thesprotia, Cumae, or Heracleia Pontica on Pont Euxinus.⁹⁷¹ Some have argued that Homer got his inspiration from visiting one of these places: it is not impossible, but what is even more remarkable is that so many places seem to fit the description worded by Circe in *Od.* 10.503-532, specific though it is.

⁹⁶⁸ See also Philostr. *VA* 8.19.

⁹⁶⁹ S. Kroonenberg 2013, 81-107 recounts his visits to most of these places all over Europe in his book. For Greece and Italy.

⁹⁷⁰ See Gruppe 1906, 815 for a list. Ustinova 2009, 68; Ogden 2001, 17; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 75f; Vermeule 1979, 200-201, 252 n. 27. Taenarum: Plut. *Mor.* 560e-f; Thesprotia: Hdt. 5.92; Paus. 9.30.6. Heracleia Pontica: Plut. *Cim.* 6; Plut. *Mor.* 555c; Amm. Marc. 22.8.16-17; Cumae: Diod. Sic. 4.22.

⁹⁷¹ See, e.g., Dakaris 1993 and Fouache and Quantin 1999, 33f (Thesprotia); Str. 5.4.5 echoed in Bérard 1924, 311f. (Cumae); Bérard et al. 1952, 241, Kroonenberg 2013, 26-28 (Pontus Euxinus).

‘Loathsome and dank’

There are rather few detailed descriptions of the realm of the dead in ancient literature or art before the fifth century. However, in the descriptions we have, it is rather consistently presented in Greek sources as εὐρώεις, ‘dank’ or ‘moldy’, and crossed by rivers.⁹⁷² In fact, water is one of the only consistent elements of the Underworld in all of its descriptions, although streams and water expanses are not always given names.⁹⁷³

First of all, we have seen that access to Hades can be granted through water. At *Od.* 10.503-532, Circe tells Odysseus to sail to Hades until he crosses Oceanus. There, more infernal water awaits the hero: he must walk as far as the confluence of Acheron, Pyriphlegethon and Kokytos, which is a branch of the Styx (*Od.* 10.513-515).⁹⁷⁴ Circe’s directions are followed by their fulfilment at *Od.* 11.13f, when the ship reaches Oceanus and the misty, dark land of Cimmerians at the bounds of the earth, which neighbours the world of the dead – and seems to have shared its humid atmosphere. At *Od.* 24.1-15, although the way to reach Hades is different, water is still omnipresent. Hermes guides the souls of the dead suitors ‘down the dank ways’ (κατ’ εὐρώεντα κέλευθα, *Od.* 24.10), then across Oceanus until the meadow of asphodel. Wherever one enters, Homeric Hades is crossed by rivers.

Now, identifying the infernal rivers proves more difficult. If in the *Odyssey* the rivers Oceanus, Kokytos, Pyriphlegethon and Acheron are named, it is the only case in Archaic literature where such detail is given.⁹⁷⁵ In the *Iliad* and Hesiod, only Styx is named as an infernal river. However, Hesiod describes the whole of Tartarus – the Hesiodic name of the realm of dead – as a really dank place:

*‘There by the counsel of Zeus who drives the clouds the Titan gods are hidden under misty gloom, in a dank place where are the ends of the huge earth... And there, all in their order, are the sources and ends of gloomy earth and misty Tartarus and the unfruitful sea and starry heaven, loathsome and dank, which even the gods abhor.’*⁹⁷⁶

(tr. Most, 2007)

Subsequently, only vague references to the streams without any indication of where they flow appear in literature. Three Homeric Hymns name the Styx (*Cer.* 259, 423; *Apo.* 84-86; *Merc.* 519), but the other three rivers are not referred to at all. Later,

⁹⁷² Garland 2001, 51. Hom. *Od.* 24.10; Hom. *Il.* 20.65.

⁹⁷³ On the importance of a water-border with the world of the dead in epic poetry: Vernant 1991, 123-4, 132, 134; Baladié 1980, 17-24; West 1966 ad Hes. *Theog.* 778-9, 784.

⁹⁷⁴ See above.

⁹⁷⁵ Hom. *Il.* 8.369. Hom. *Od.* 10.508-15. Because the four rivers are only named once in the *Odyssey* and then remain anonymous – apart from the Styx – Merry and Riddell 1886, 437 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 61 suggest that the lines 513-515 were later additions to the text.

⁹⁷⁶ Hes. *Theog.* 729-740.

Sappho (95.13) and Alcaeus (38.2, 8) only mention the Acheron, while Pindar refers to the Acheron at *Pyth.* 11.21, *Nem.* 4.85, Fr. 143 and to the Styx in *Paean* 10.4.

Still, the wetness of the realm of the dead is constant, and seems to be a *topos* in references to death and its consequences. For instance, Aeschylus mentions the Kokytos and the banks of the Acheron in Cassandra's anticipation of death (*Ag.* 1156-1161). Aristophanes' *Frogs* offers a broader picture of the Underworld, again emphasizing its wetness. Damp, murky, dank, moldy, the realm of the dead is dark and humid, and the vast number of streams crossing it probably causes its dampness. In addition, his Hades displays a change operating in the Classical period, as the Acheron tends to become a lake (*Ar. Ran.* 183f). According to the tragedians, it is this lake that the deceased need to cross to reach their last dwelling place.⁹⁷⁷ Even in Orphic tablets, the deceased initiates arrive at a place with a spring and a lake.⁹⁷⁸ Sophocles (*El.* 137-8), too, underlines the wetness of Hades by making the chorus say that it has 'a pool which receives all men', probably referring to the Acherusian lake.⁹⁷⁹ Acherusian lakes can also be observed in the realm of the living's topography, as Thucydides (1.46) reports one in Thesprotia. Xenophon (*An.* 6.2.2) reports another in Chersonese, while still acknowledging the lake's infernal status.⁹⁸⁰

In pictorial art, too, the Underworld is wet. Polygnotos' fifth-century painting of the Underworld in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi seeks to compile all existing images of the realm of the dead. It brings together the Archaic Underworld of Homer and Hesiod, its Classical equivalent – in which Charon helps the departed cross the Acherusian Lake – and the Orphic Underworld – Orpheus and his lyre are represented on the painting.⁹⁸¹ The painting is now lost, but has been described by Pausanias:

*'There is water like a river, clearly intended for Acheron, with reeds growing in it; the forms of the fishes appear so dim that you will take them to be shadows rather than fish. On the river is a boat, with the ferryman at the oars.'*⁹⁸²

(tr. Jones, 1918)

⁹⁷⁷ Aesch. *Sept.* 856, Eur. *Alc.* 443, 900-2.

⁹⁷⁸ See the Orphic gold tablets gathered in Graf and Johnston 2013.

⁹⁷⁹ The name of the expanse of water one must cross to enter the world of the dead is not always given. De Jonge 2003, 215.

⁹⁸⁰ See Kroonenberg 2012, 74-81 for a similar inventory of occurrences of infernal rivers in literature.

⁹⁸¹ Albinus 2000, 133.

⁹⁸² Paus. 10.28f.

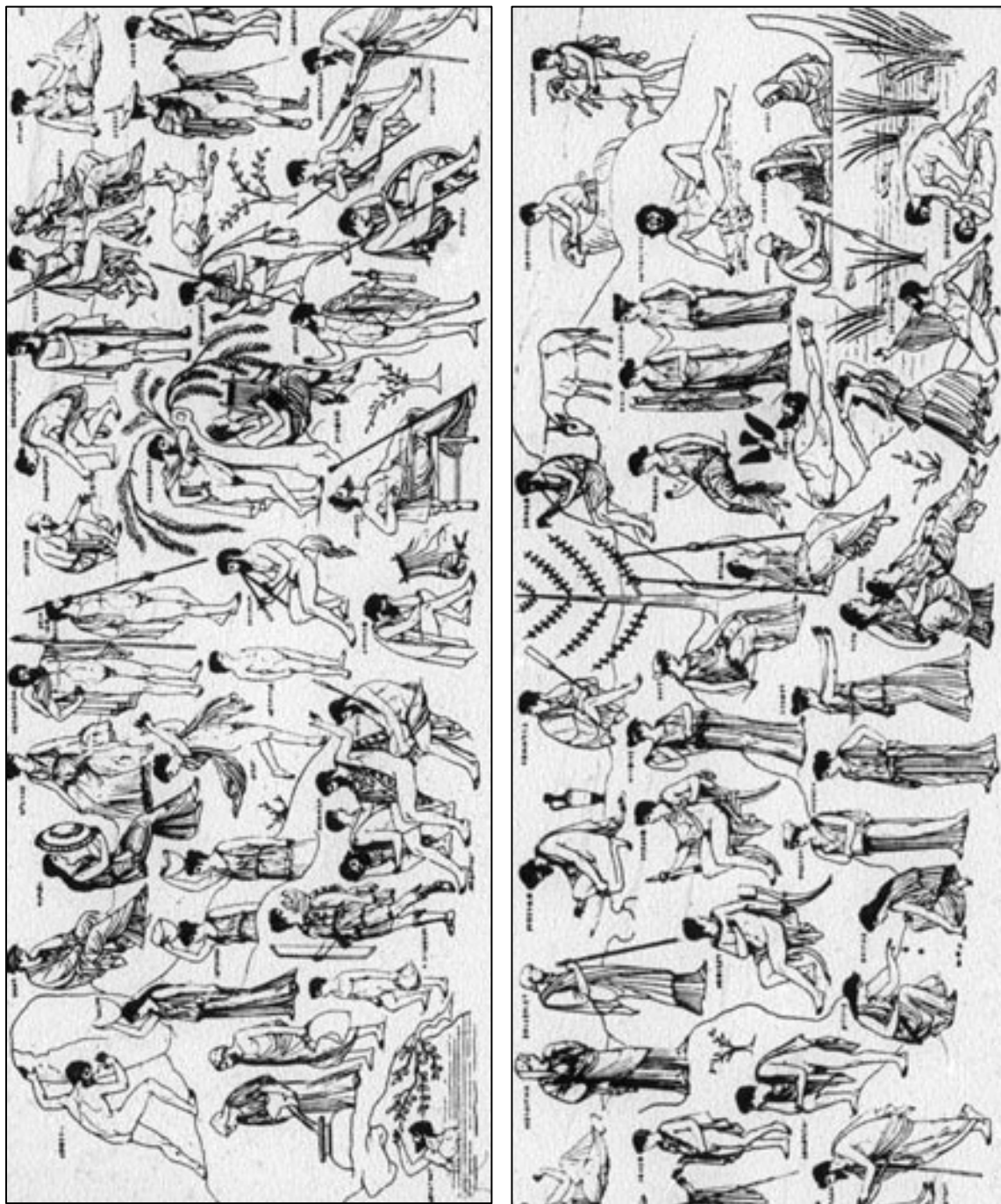


Figure 44: Water in Hades: reed, a shore and Charon's boat can be seen on the lower left corner of the picture. Reconstruction by C. Robert (1892) of Polygnotos' *Odysseus in the Underworld*. (Lesche of the Knidians, Delphi, second half of the fifth century BCE).

Apulian vases of the fifth and fourth century BCE also very clearly show that the house of Hades overlooked an expanse of water. For instance, on a fourth-century red volute crater from Canosa attributed to the Underworld Painter, one can even discern the edge of a lake with reed and ducks at the bottom of the vase, underneath scenes representing the palace of Hades and Persephone, Herakles, Cerberus, and various mythological sinners. The Lord of the dead himself is sometimes represented on votives in the company of the river-god Acheloos.⁹⁸³ His name was even given to two rivers, the Aidoneus in Marpessos and the Plouton.⁹⁸⁴



Figure 45: Water in the realm of Hades. Red volute crater attributed to the Painter of the Underworld, c. 330-310 BCE. (Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek inv. n. 3297, Munich).

Finally, Plato's *Phaedo* gives the most striking picture of wetness in the realm of the dead, and resuscitates the four Homeric rivers – including the Pyriphlegethon, which had disappeared until then. Plato's Tartarus – as he calls the world of the dead – is a giant pit from which infernal rivers pour in and out. These rivers then find their way back to the world of the living, where they create seas, marshes, rivers and springs. After their journey on the surface, they end their cycle back in Tartarus.⁹⁸⁵ According to Plato, the souls of humans who led a neutral life dwell in the Acherusian Lake. But the dead who committed great sins stay in Tartarus and are borne for a year in the stream of Kokytos or Pyriphlegethon – depending on their crimes – until the rivers carry them into the Acherusian Lake. There they beg for forgiveness from those whom they wronged, and if they are not granted grace, they go back into the rivers for

⁹⁸³ LIMC s.v. Hades (R. Lindner and S.-Chr. Dahlinger). With Acheloos, Pan, Zeus and goddesses: fourth-century votive relief from Megara, In Staatl. Mus. Berlin (SK 679).

⁹⁸⁴ Aidoneus: Paus. 10.12.3-4, otherwise unknown. Plouton: Aesch. *PV* 806.

⁹⁸⁵ Pl. *Phd.* 112a-114c.

another year or years until they are forgiven.⁹⁸⁶ From this description, it seems that the wetness of the world of the dead has reached an extreme: there is no land apart, perhaps, from where the neutral souls dwell around the Acherusian lake. Furthermore, being endlessly carried in water or lava is not the only punishment in Tartarus. Many famous endless punishments for unjust people involved water or mud. The Danaids, for instance, endlessly fill a leaky pitcher, while Tantalus floats in a pool from which he can never drink. Liars, the impure or, later, those who are not initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries are condemned to lie in a pool of mud after death.⁹⁸⁷

Subsequently, Roman authors also picked up on the tradition of a wet Underworld: Vergil's own *nekuia* in *Aeneid* 6 is the emblematic heir of the images of the Underworld conveyed by his Greek predecessors.⁹⁸⁸ Hence, the picture of the realm of the dead as a wet place in Greek literature was a consistent, widespread and long-lasting one.⁹⁸⁹

Conclusion: geographical aetia for the realm of the dead

Hence, the reason why the Underworld was so wet probably results from the empirical observation of karst landscapes.

We have seen that subterranean rivers were commonly observed and dealt with since the Bronze Age, and that Greek literature extensively reports the phenomenon of diving streams. Moreover, there was an awareness of the circuit of water diving down into and flowing out of the surface as early as in the Archaic period. In Hesiod and Homer, all fresh water on earth originates from Oceanus, the river encircling the earth. Oceanus and Tethys are parents to the three thousand rivers and three thousand springs, nourish them, and the rivers then go back to the source from where they came.⁹⁹⁰ In Plato too, the water originating from Tartarus flows on the surface before coming back to where it came from. Therefore, there seems to have been an intuitive understanding of the hydrological cycles, where water comes up on the surface, flows, then disappears into the ground to reappear again somewhere else.⁹⁹¹ This conception of a cyclical travel of water may explain why the Greeks seem to have had no problem in co-existing with infernal waters. The Styx, for

⁹⁸⁶ Pl. *Phd.* 113a f.

⁹⁸⁷ Hom. *Od.* 10.512, 23.322; Hes. *OD* 153; Soph. *Aias* 1167 *taphos eurôeis*; Ar. *Ran.* 145f, 273f; Plat. *Phd* 69c; Diog. L. 6.39; Aristid. *Or.* 22,10; Plut. *Fr.* 178; Opp. *Hal.* 1.781, 2.89. The Eleusinian mysteries might themselves be inspired by Eastern rituals of purification by mud - precisely to avoid immersion in mud after death. Attempting to put a date on when this idea of punishment in mud after death arose is difficult, but Graf 1974: 104-107 has argued that it might derive from Archaic Orphic and early Pythagorean beliefs. See also Dem. *Or.* 18.259.

⁹⁸⁸ See especially Verg. *Aen.* 6.298-304, 384-94.

⁹⁸⁹ See also Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.37; *Anth. Pal.* 5.240, 7.67-8, 7.365; Apul. *Met.* 6.18; Lucian *Dial. mort.* 20.1. Images of a damp Underworld persisted for centuries afterwards, as in Dante's *Inferno* for instance. See Kroonenberg 2012, 7-11 and 74f.

⁹⁹⁰ Hes. *Theog.* 337f; Hom. *Il.* 21.194f.

⁹⁹¹ On the subject see Burdon and Papakis 1963.

instance, flows at Nonakris in Arcadia, and there are Acherusian lakes at Cumae in Magna Graecia, in Thesprotia in Epirus, or in the Chersonese. Certainly, not all these supposedly infernal rivers do vanish underground: but their dark waters all emerge from inside the ground in the shape of a spring, or like the Kokytos in Thesprotia in Epiros, from a hole.⁹⁹²

Similarly, the multiplication of entrances and exits to the Underworld matches the behaviour of subterranean rivers, which dive at one place and reappear at another, and it does not seem to be questioned as an inconsistency. These rocky holes in which water dives underground are themselves related to the Underworld: they are called ‘barathrum’⁹⁹³ (gaping hole) or ‘chasma’ (mouth) bearing the same name as the holes by which access can be granted to the Underworld.⁹⁹⁴ Actually, most entrances to Hades were located in karst landscapes. It was also perfectly believable that caves, carved in limestone bedrock typical of karst, were preferred places of contact with the departed or would lead to the Underworld. Besides, Homeric descriptions of entrances to the Underworld suit this type of place particularly well.

Conversely, not all rivers that are held to go underground are infernal – the Alpheios and Eurotas, for instance, have nothing to do with the Underworld. Still, some rivers, in some contexts, are thought to emerge from the realm of the dead, probably because the wider landscape of the place had a characteristic appearance comparable to that described in Homer, or because of some other numinous feature.

As a result, because water conspicuously dived underground through holes, and because some particular holes were supposed to lead to the Underworld, it was perfectly logical to imagine the world below to be wet. Although the topography of the Underworld remains largely vague, it is consistently represented as dank, damp, and crossed by streams. Yet, not everything in the world of the dead is wet: the Pyriphlegethon is a river of fire, or, according to Plato, of lava. Again, its existence is inspired by empirical observation of natural phenomena. The fiery Pyriphlegethon might be an aetiological invention to explain the functioning of volcanoes, another infernal landscape.⁹⁹⁵ In Cumae, the hollow dark lakes, hot springs, caves and phlegrean emanations nicely match the descriptions of Tartarus irrigated by the flaming Pyriphlegethon.⁹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the elaborate portrait of infernal rivers in Plato can also be paralleled with the subterranean rivers of the Sicilian limestone terrain.⁹⁹⁷ Hence, it seems that the same aetiological mechanism is at play in the case of the rivers of water and of fire. The introduction of Pyriphlegethon into the mythology of a volcano-less land such as mainland Greece may result from a blending of aetiological myths aiming to explain noteworthy landscape features.

⁹⁹² Fouache and Quantin 1999, 50.

⁹⁹³ Strab. 8.8.

⁹⁹⁴ ‘Barathrum’ in Hom. *Il.* 8.14, Plat. *Phaedo* 111d-113c. The oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia is in a ‘chasma’ (see below). See Clendenon and Connors 2012, 345.

⁹⁹⁵ Buxton, forthcoming [2016].

⁹⁹⁶ Thuc. 3.116; Strab. 1.2.18, 5-4, 13.4.14; Empedocles in Procl. *In Ti.* 28.26-8; Pl. *Phd.* 111-113b; Kingsley 1995, 72-79.

⁹⁹⁷ Kingsley 1995, 82 with references to Diod. Sic. 11.89.1; Strab. 6.29; Macrob. *Sat.* 5.19.19-21, 25; Pl. *Phd.* 111c-112a.

Thus, it seems quite probable that there was a connection between the omnipresence of subterranean rivers in Greece and the image of the realm of the dead as a dark, wet and moldy place crossed by waters. This chapter has shown that the observation of a common natural phenomenon, namely the transit of streams of water in and out of the ground, may have prompted the imaginary topography of Hades and Tartarus. The fact that the localization of the world of the dead differs from one author to the next does not contradict this. In fact, it is likely that everyone had their own idea of what the afterlife would look like, based on their exposure to myths and works of art at various points in time.

CONCLUSION

Arcadia and Greece

Religious topography was not static over time: cult places were highly dependent on the historical context. Wars, political changes, creation and destruction of settlements, conquests and so on inflected the placement of sacred spaces as well as their use: a sanctuary which used to be in the middle of a city may become a century later a countryside sanctuary and yet still be visited, as was the case for the sanctuary of Gortsouli after the urban core of Mantinea was relocated in the valley, or when small poleis around Megalopolis were emptied of their inhabitants.

This thesis was based on the acknowledgement that cult places were places of gathering in which the community that visits them was deeply invested, and therefore that they had a very important place in the lives of worshippers. As a result, since sanctuaries are the most lasting piece of evidence reflecting how a certain community dealt with everyday life and interacted with other communities, it is possible to weave together a picture of how the Arcadians integrated into the wider Greek narrative.

How the Arcadians responded to social change and wide trends occurring in Greece was examined in part one. The first chapter showed that there were definite cult places in the Bronze Age, and that there were Bronze Age cult sites in Arcadia as well. At that time, populations were fluid and scattered, moving around as much as was needed to make a living. Despite this movement, a certain fixed type of places was considered appropriate to connect with the divine: mountaintops. It is highly likely that worshippers thought that high places might give a better starting point to reach the gods, once people were physically closer to where divinities resided. Homer's Mount Olympus and Ouranian gods probably rest on the early belief that gods lived above. Close to the sky, mountaintops were also thought to be good places to make requests concerning the weather, which reveals concerns about economic life – agrarian, but not only: rain also influences pastoralism. We do not know, at least for Arcadia, whether there were cult places in the period other than summits.

The Archaic period and the changes it brought in human geography was examined in chapter two. In the eighth and seventh centuries, the religious landscape changed: this was the age of formation and experiment. A distinction became visible between 'proto-poleis' areas, where sanctuaries were built near clusters of people or watched over certain selected points of the territory, and areas where population was still fluid and thinly scattered.

In Arcadia, the role of sub-ethne in building the religious landscape became visible at that point. People identifying with a certain sub-ethnos united to monumentalise their traditional places of worship with brick and wood temples. Their sense of belonging did not depend on a territory – in the sense that it was not because they lived in a certain territory that they belonged to the ethnos – but, *de facto*, each ethnos occupied a certain piece of land, even vaguely defined. We do not know if cult places could be multi-ethnic: it is quite possible that the Parrhasians went to Aghios Elias and the Mainalians to Lykaion as well as to their own sanctuaries. Similarly, it is quite possible that the Achaians went to worship Artemis Hemera and the Azanians to Ano Mazaraki-Rakita: everything was still fluid, people moved around the mountains with their flocks, and if a certain population took the responsibility for building a

temple, it does not necessarily entail that they restricted access to it. Also, we do not need to assume that there was only one ethnic sanctuary per ethnos: it may be true later that one sanctuary in particular was chosen to be the crystallizing centre of a certain (regional) ethnos in the classical period, but that does not necessarily imply that it was the case earlier and with sub-ethne. Besides, it is not unlikely that several places were monumentalised by the same ethnos to cater for different gods. Hence around the Asea valley the Mainalians may have erected the temples at Vigla and Aghios Elias, and the Parrhasians those on Mount Lykaion and at Bassai.

On the other hand, we see in clustered ‘proto-polis’ communities’ temples being built in the middle of habitation areas. At Tegea, the sanctuary and temple of Athena Alea was located in the deme of the Apheidantes, which would become the centre of the synoecised city. At Orchomenos, a temple was built on top of the acropolis and another just below it. Since the population was already living close together, cultivating land and not moving around as much as pastoralists, the central meeting point for the community was close to the settlements. This proximity, and the centrality of the new temples, contributed to the construction of nucleated settlements earlier than in western and northern Arcadia. The nucleation of settlements in eastern Arcadia corresponds to a trend observable in the cities around it, located in similar settings – arable land enclosed by mountains, such as at Argos.

However, the temples built in the eighth and seventh centuries did not show any attempt to converge towards a regional style: each locality experimented with architecture, different sizes, different models, and different influences. Visits to cult places also varied in outreach: certain cults proved very small and local, while others attracted visitors from other regions. The network around each cult place perhaps extended: important sanctuaries such as Delphi, Dodona and Delos attracted visitors from far away already in Homer: it might be that other, less important cults, including some in Arcadia, also had a ‘catchment area’ extended beyond their regional boundaries.

In the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, population increased and clustered. Poleis emerged in Arcadia, territory got defined, and people moved in a world with boundaries. In the east, the Tegeans had already built a wooden temple on stone foundations for Athena Alea in the late seventh century. In the west and the north, the strongest emerging poleis took over previously ethnic sanctuaries and magnified them with large, elaborate stone temples. We can observe a competition for the finest and biggest temple in archaeological evidence. The stylistic experimentation continued, as inspiration was drawn from other temples: Delphi, or the Argive Heraion. At the classical temple at Bassai, a bold new invention came to life: a whole new column style. The Arcadian stone temples may have appeared a bit later than elsewhere in Greece, but they were large and creatively styled.

Chapter three demonstrated that Arcadia took part in the ‘panegyric movement’. In the sixth century BCE, cities organised agonistic competitions in their poliadic sanctuaries: Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, Isthmia all set up competitions that articulated the Greek calendar. Athletes, spectators, and ambassadors travelled across Greece to announce, view, and participate in the prestigious games. Imitations quickly

followed and ‘lesser games’ were organised, including on Mount Lykaion. In the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios was extended to accommodate more athletes and visitors.

The fourth century interventions were probably promoted by the short-lived koinon. Although it only survived for approximately ten years, the koinon had an impact on the religious topography. Koina were established in Greece in the classical period, gathering people identifying in the same regional ethnos. A sanctuary was designated as federal: the Boeotians chose Athena Itonia, the Arcadians Mount Lykaion. Across Greece, there was a moment of enhanced clustering and gathering of communities around common interest, not only military goals (as opposed to the large symmachiai concluded at the time of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars), but diplomatic ones as well. In the context of general reorganisation of the Peloponnesian borders that followed Leuctra, regional ethnic identity took a prominent part in affirming and defining the newly empowered communities. The Arcadians and the Messenians exemplified this movement well, creating regional unity around new capital cities, Megalopolis and Messene. Common identity was emphasised as cement to hold communities together, drawing on earlier traditions and existing myths. Myths rooted the Arcadians as a distinct ethnos in the far remote past, and by demonstrating that they were the oldest Greeks and the only autochthonous Peloponnesians legitimized their actions in the Peloponnese. Hence we find allusions to the odd customs of the Arcadians in Athenian authors of the period, demonstrating that the construction of Arcadian identity around myth was echoed elsewhere in Greece. Arcadians had been singled out as different because they were older and autochthonous in Hesiod already, but in the fourth century BCE the tradition suddenly picked up. Aristotle became interested in the Arcadians’ primitive political organisation. Plato reported that they sacrificed and ate people. They had worshippers of Zeus Lykaios turned into wolves winning at the Olympic games. In fact, a distinct collective identity, ‘Arkas’, was shaped around Zeus Lykaios and his sanctuary, building on earlier traditions validated by the poetic authority Hesiod. There were many more myths in Arcadia showing how old and fearsome the Arcadians were, but those at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios had a particular impact on non-Arcadian authors. As a result, the image of the Arcadians as a frightening ancient people, inspiring disgust as well as fear, fared well in literature. It was probably what the Arcadians looked for at a time when they were doing well in the Peloponnese: promoting an image of scary, somewhat bestial warriors would help erase the stigma of the joke ‘*Arkadas mimesthai*’. This image lasted much longer than the Arcadians’ success: Roman authors continued to evoke the gruesome traditions on Mount Lykaion and Livy connected it with the origins of the Lupercalia.

In the third century, agonistic games multiplied all over the Greek world, organised for poliad deities. In Arcadia, games were organised for Artemis Hemera at Lousoi, but also Athena Alea at Tegea, Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea, and Kore at Kleitor. A ‘stephanitic movement’ took place, and theoroi sent by cities crossed the Greek world to request recognition of the ‘crowned’ status of their local games. Megalopolis sent requests to make the Lykaia stephanitic, although it is unclear when.

The city had taken over cults located in Parrhasia which had fallen into her control: Mount Lykaion, but also the sanctuary of Despoina, and other cults from the cities it had swallowed. The sanctuary of Despoina was expanded and embellished with costly religious monuments: its development was probably connected to the foundation of Megalopolis, much as the Andania Mysteries played an important role in the re-foundation of Messene at the same time. However, it is not clear from our sources whether the catchment area of the Mysteries of Despoina went beyond Arcadia, or even the Megalopolis area, before the Roman period.

Chapter four investigated the effects of the Roman conquest on religious topography. The Roman rule reshuffled everything, in Arcadia and in the rest of the Empire: cities were destroyed, others were created. Augustus adjusted the landscape of the provinces to create a new world with a memorial landscape that suited his imperial interests, through open reforms as well as more insidious transformations, with the implicit agreement of local elites. In Roman Greece, there was a mutually beneficial situation. The Roman-friendly elite was given the power to change the religious and inhabited landscape in the sense promoted by the Roman power, since religious offices were made accessible to everyone with enough money to hold them. Benefaction was encouraged, and the popularity of a cult would guarantee that it attracted funds to survive. Mysteries and cults associated with imperial power (such as Zeus and Antinoos) fared particularly well, while others fell into oblivion.

Another aspect of Roman rule was the return to an antiquarian interest in the glorious days of classical Greece under Augustus, then promoted by the Second Sophistic and by Hadrian. Restorations of old sanctuaries were ordered by the imperial power in the cities that could attract attention. Authors of the period were interested in the local, the old, and the particular: Pausanias' literary agenda is emblematic, and during his visit to Arcadia his interest in old Greece was satisfied beyond expectations.

While the first Part of the thesis was focused on the use of sacred places and how they contributed to the structuration of populations, the second Part investigated the numinous aspect of the religious landscape by looking at how specific phenomena were explained through myth. It has shown that the divine was thought to be omnipresent in the environment. The gods' actions were visible in certain places through uncontrollable natural phenomena that impacted on mankind, while heroes like Herakles were held responsible for artificial but no less inexplicable marks on the landscape. All three chapters examined a particularly impactful natural setting in Greece, and especially Arcadia, from three perspectives: drainage issues and water management, floods, and subterranean rivers.

The first chapter of the second Part emphasised the antiquity of the drainage problems faced by the Arcadians and described in what way they tried to remedy them from the Bronze Age onwards. It also showed that drainage issues engendered by karst landscapes and the human responses to them were not only typical of Arcadia, but also occurred notably in Boeotia and Argolis. They seem to have dealt with them in a similar fashion to the Arcadians: floods were the work of an angry Poseidon, while Mycenaean water-management works were attributed to Herakles.

Building on the observations made in the first chapter, chapter two observed an overlap between the places where Poseidon Hippios was worshipped in Arcadia and regular floods, while it also pointed to the lack of connection between regions where Poseidon Hippios appeared in myth and where he was worshipped. Thus, in Arcadia there was a mismatch between the map of myths and the map of cults: Herakles and Poseidon in Arcadia were not worshipped in the same places as where myths take place.

The third chapter opened the perspective of the investigation beyond Arcadia to examine how subterranean rivers, widespread around the Mediterranean, were explained by Greek and Roman authors. The rivers' journey underground was imagined as a sojourn in the Underworld, and they connected the two realms through a multitude of apertures. Therefore, it was not surprising to hear of infernal rivers flowing in the landscape of the mortals. The Styx had been located in Arcadia since Hesiod: perhaps it was because the Aroanian landscape evoked infernal characteristics, or it resembled Homeric descriptions of the Underworld. It was concluded that certain landscape characteristics were puzzling to everyone who saw them and gave rise to mythical aetiologies: volcanoes in Sicily were mountains enclosing the forges of the Giants, dark lakes were lairs of frightening monsters, caves led to the realm of the dead, and so on. Remarkable natural features indicated the presence of a supernatural realm and were spatial areas where the three tiers of landscape evoked in the introduction⁹⁹⁸ (the natural, the human, and the divine landscape) connected, creating a numinous location.

Throughout, the thesis attempted to navigate the challenges laid out in the introduction by remaining aware of the possible bias that could be imposed on the evidence. The image of Arcadia revealed by this study covering over a thousand years is that of a land which certainly developed in a different way from Athens and Sparta, but not as dramatically as scholarship had previously argued. The geography of Arcadia prompted parts of the population to organise in *ethne* while others gathered in nucleated settlements, which certainly is quite typical of Arcadia. Nonetheless, *poleis* and sanctuaries developed in a similar fashion to the rest of Greece, if somewhat later. Still, Arcadia was not a backward land: the fourth-century BCE and Roman Arcadians may have presented themselves as old and wild through their religion, but such a claim does not reflect the development of the region's religious topography. It was also demonstrated that, far from being isolated, Arcadia was a transit space for people and ideas. As a result, Arcadian sanctuaries were open to visitors from the outside, followed trends occurring in sanctuaries in the rest of the Greek world closely, and the Arcadians shared with the rest of the Greeks imaginary constructs and aetiological narratives that explained their environment. Finally, the previous pages have shown how extrapolations from sparse, selected evidence or from Attic-centred studies do not actually provide models accurately describing situations found elsewhere in Greece. Instead, a regional approach was adopted, allowing Arcadia to be investigated in depth through several cases hand-picked according to a method laid out in the

⁹⁹⁸ Cole 2004, 7-11; see p. 22.

introduction. Critiques of regional studies have pointed their limitation to a descriptive narrative: this thesis added another dimension by looking at how units in Arcadia interacted with one another, and provided an interpretative framework for the evidence gathered in the region.

As said in the introduction, the subject of Arcadian religious topography is much too vast to be exhaustively covered in a doctoral thesis. Pantheons and the religious experience had to be sacrificed in order to focus on sanctuaries and on myths. Of course there are more aspects of the subject to look into and more comparisons to be made: future work will undoubtedly fill the gaps left by this thesis. I hope to have widened the perspective in which Arcadia is understood, by looking at Arcadia as a region in Greece as opposed to a stand-alone case study.

Appendix: Catalogue of religious sites in Arcadia, 800-400 BCE

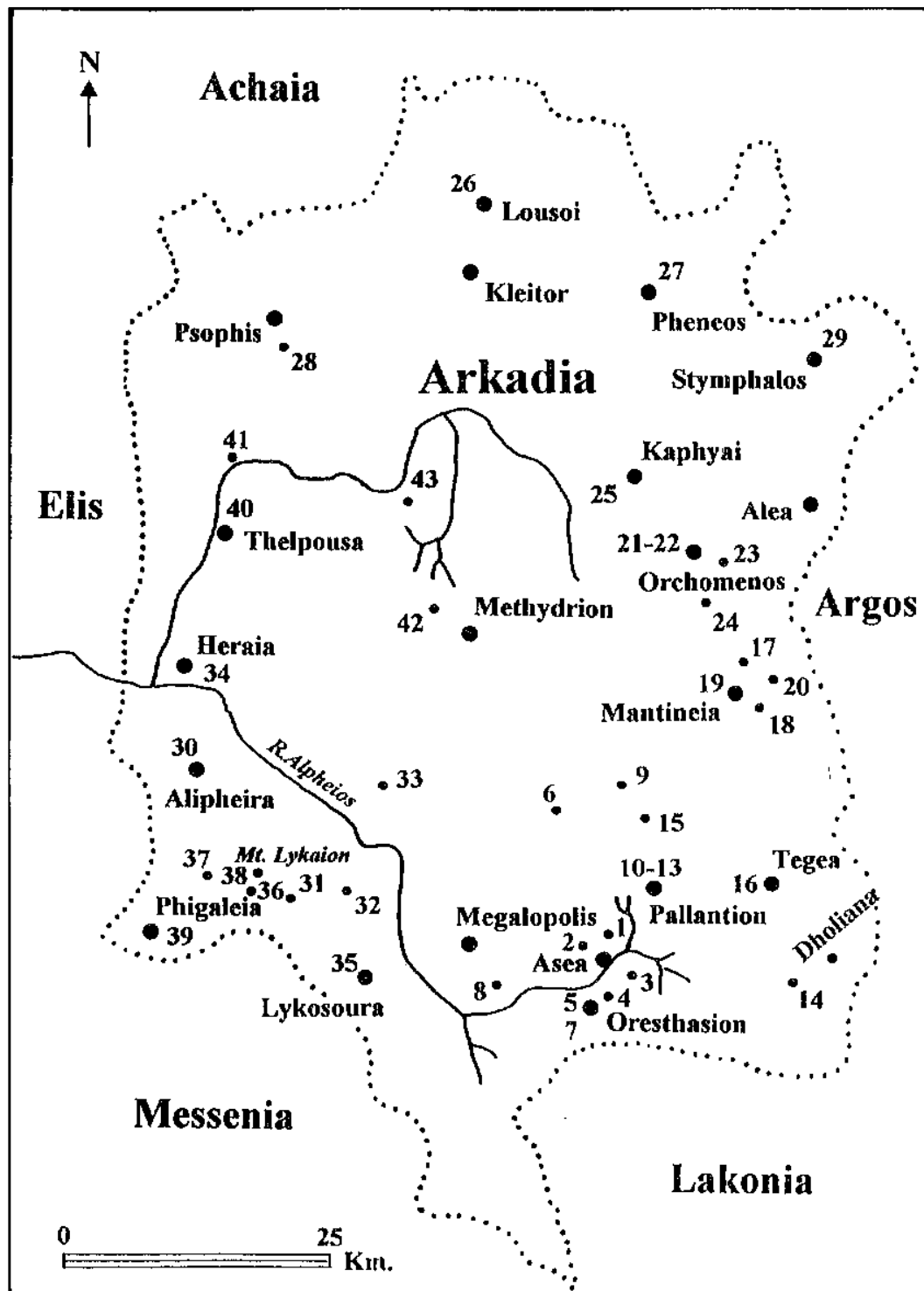


Figure 46: Distribution of Arcadian temples, 800-400 BCE. (Voyatzis 1999, 160)

Italics indicate sites where limited or no excavation has taken place, and therefore where the existence of temple is uncertain.⁹⁹⁹

A more detailed catalogue of sites with references to ancient literature is available on the digital appendix with references to the map.

Sites	On map n.	Finds	References
1) Vigla, Asea	1	- Seventh-century structure - Sixth-century Doric rebuilding (540-530 BCE)	Voyatzis 1999, 153 n. 1 Rhomaïos 1957, 114-163 Pikoulas 1988, 47-49 site n. 2 Voyatzis 1990, 33-35 Østby 1990-1991a, 348-350 Winter 1991, 193-220 Forsén and Forsén 1997, 163-176
2) Aghios Elias of Kandreva, Asea	2	- Archaic temple (architectural terracottas) - Fifth-century Doric temple (500-490 BCE)	Voyatzis 1999, 153 n. 2 Holmberg 1941 Pikoulas 1988, 59-61 sites n. 11-12 Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 169-191
3) <i>Aghios Ioannis Manaris, Asea</i>	3	- Possible Archaic temple (limestone blocks, foundation cut out of rock)	Voyatzis 1999, 153 n. 3 Pikoulas 1988, 63-64, site n. 16 Forsén and Forsén 2003, 89-90 site S46
4) <i>Marmaria-Aghios Ioannis theologos, Asea</i>	5	- Architectural remains of a possible Archaic temple	Voyatzis 1999, 153 n. 5 Pikoulas 1988, 66-68 site n. 20 Forsén and Forsén 2003, 112 site S79
5) <i>Aghios Ioannis near Anemodourion/Oresthasion, Asea</i>	4	- Possible Archaic temple and seventh-century Laconian acroteria fragments	Voyatzis 1999, 153 n. 4 Pikoulas 1988, 106-107 site n. 63-64 Forsén and Forsén 2003, 116 sites S82 and S80
6) <i>Anemodhouri,</i>	7	- Columns and blocks	Voyatzis 1999, 154 n. 7

⁹⁹⁹ Based on Voyatzis 1999, 153-159. The order of the sites respects that of Voyatzis' 1999 catalogue.

<i>Oresthasion</i>		from possible late Archaic-Classical temple	Pikoulas 1988, 102, 111, site n. 60
7) Likochia	6	- Classical-Hellenistic temple	Voyatzis 1999, 154 n. 6 Steinhauer 1973, 178-180 Steinhauer 1975, 77-79 Jost 1985, 191-192
8) <i>Aghia Marina, Perivolia</i>	8	- Few Archaic architectural fragments and Archaic Doric capital	Voyatzis 1999, 154 n. 8 Jost 1985, 92 Pikoulas 1988, 90 site n. 44
9) Mainalon/Zarakova	9	- Late Archaic-Classical foundations of temple	Voyatzis 1999, 154 n. 9 Spyropoulos 1980, 135 Syropoulos 1982, 111 Jost 1985, 201 n. 1bis
10) Pallantion	10-13	- Temple A: bouleuterion temple, 600 BCE - Temple B: early sixth century BCE - Temple C: 600-550/500 BCE (unfinished) - Temple D: 600-550/500 BCE (unfinished)	Voyatzis 1999, 154 n. 10-13 Libertini 1939-40, 225f Østby 1990-91, 53-93
11) Psili Korfi above Mavriki, Tegea	14	- Doric temple, 560-550 BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 155 n. 14 Rhomaïos 1952, 1-25 Schwander 1985, 108f Kästner 1990, 256-259 Winter 1991, 193-220 Østby 1990-1991a, 305-327
12) <i>Aghia Kyriaki, Silimna-Karteroli</i>	15	- Possible remains of a late Archaic-Classical temple	Voyatzis 1999, 155 n. 15 Howell 1970, 100 n50 Jost 1985, 201 pl. 54.4 Pikoulas 1999 appendix II (312)
13) Tegea	16	- Wattle and daub apsidal structure 720-700 BCE - 700-680: BCE rebuilt wattle and daub apsidal structure, longer - Doric marble temple 625-600 BCE - Rebuilt Doric temple in	Dugas 1921, 335-435 Dugas et al 1924 Norman 1984, 118-124 Østby 1984, 118-124 Voyatzis 1990 Winter 1991, 193-220

		marble, 350 BCE	Pakkanen 1996, 153-164 Østby 1997, 79-108 Voyatzis 1999, 155 n. 16 Østby in Hägg 2002, 139-147 Nordquist in Hägg 2002, 149-158 Voyatzis in Hägg 2002, 159-168 Kernos <i>ChronARG</i> 2004 Østby 2014
14) Aghios Sostis	N/A	- 2 votive reliefs found near Tegea with Persephone and Hecate. - deposit of terracotta figurines - activity at that place from the seventh century BCE at least down to the Hellenistic period. - Perhaps sanctuary of Demeter and Kore Karpophoroi (Paus. 8.53.7)	Leventi 1995 Karapanagiotou and Leventi in Muller and Lafli 2015, 431-436
14) Gortsouli, Mantinea	17	- Seventh-century structure - New structure, third quarter of sixth century BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 155 n. 14 Rhomaïos 1952, 1-25 Schwander 1985, 108f Kästner 1990, 256-259 Winter 1991, 193-220 Østby 1990-1991a, 305-327
15) Kalivia-Milias (Alesion), Mantinea	18	- Archaic Doric temple?	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 18 Fougères 1898, 103 Jost 1985, 132-133
16) <i>Vicinity of Mantinea</i>	19	- Acroterion fragment 525-500 BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 19 Winter 1993, 139
17) <i>Tripechi Mantinias, Mantinea</i>	20	- Terracotta disc acroterion with Gorgon's head (unpublished, in Tripolis Museum)	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 20 Winter 1993, 137 n7
18) Orchomenos	21-22	Lower city - Remains of peripteral monument	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 21-22 Blum and Plassart 1914,

		- Doric temple, 530 BCE Upper city - Doric temple, third quarter of the fourth century BCE	71-88 Østby 1990-1991a, 317- 337 Winter 1991, 193-220 esp. 213
19) <i>Mitikas Palaiopirgou, Orchomenos</i>	23	- Structure and acroterion fragment from possible temple	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 23 Spyropoulos 1982, 114- 155 Jost 1985, 121 n5bis
20) <i>Levidi, Orchomenos</i>	24	- Stone foundations of Archaic-Classical temple	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 24 Howell 1970, 84 site n7e
21) <i>Kaphyai</i>	25	- Possible Classical Doric temple	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 25 Spyropoulos 1982, 115- 166, pl. 63b Konti 1985, 118-121
22) Foothills of Chelmos, Lousoi	26	- Doric temple, c. sixth- century BCE - Rebuilt temple, c. early third century BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 156 n. 26 Reichel & Wilhelm 1901, 1-88 Mitsopoulos-Leon 1990, 163-166 Voyatzis 1990, 35-37 Kästner 1990, 256-257 Winter 1991
23) <i>Vorros, Mesino village, Pheneos</i>	27	- Possible temple	Voyatzis 1999, 157 n. 27 Tausend 1997, 2
24) Psophis	28	- Remains of a temple or tripartite building, early fifth century BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 157 n. 28 Kardara 1988
25) Acropolis of Stymphalos	29	- Early-mid-fourth- century BCE temple	Voyatzis 1999, 157 n. 29 Williams et al 1997, 23- 73
26) Acropolis of Alipheira	30	- Sixth-century temple? (Two antefixes, 550 BCE) - Peripteral Doric temple, 480 BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 157 n. 30 Orlandos 1968 Østby 1990-1991a, 364- 381 Winter 1991, 193-220
27) Berekla, Neda Valley	31	- Remains of a sixth- century temple and inscription with Pan's name	Voyatzis 1999, 157 n. 31 Kourouniotes 1902, 72- 75 Jost 1985, 187
28) Mount Lykaion	'Mo unt	- Eighth-century offerings in the ash altar	Kourouniotes 1904a (ArchEph), col. 153-214

	Lykaion	- Seventh-century offerings on the upper sanctuary - Classical offerings in the sanctuary and the ash altar	Kourouniotes 1909 (praktika), 185-200 Mylonas 1943, 122-133 Jost 1985, 179-187 Romano and Voyatzis 2014.
29) Kretea, Mount Lykaion	32	- Possible Archaic temple	Voyatzis 1999, 157 n. 32 Kourouniotes 1903a, 51-52 Kourouniotes 1910b, 29-36 Jost 1985, 185-186 Voyatzis 1990, 43-44
30) Gortys	33	- Large wall perhaps from early temple, 700 BCE - Fourth-century BCE temple	Voyatzis 1999, 158 n. 33 Martin and Metzger 1942-43, 336 Courbin 1952, 245
31) Loutra Iraitas, Heraia	34	- Possible Doric temple, late sixth-early fifth century BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 158 n. 34 Meyer 1939, 100-101 Meyer 1957, 20 n1
32) Lykosoura	35	- Megaron, fourth to second century BCE	Voyatzis 1999, 158 n. 35 Leonardos 1896, 101-115 Kourouniotes 1912, 142f Jost 1985, 172-178
33) Bassai, Phigalia	36	- Stone foundations of temple, c. 600 BCE - New building, 429 BCE Doric temple	Voyatzis 1999, 158 n. 36 Kourouniotes 1910a, 271-332 Roux 1961, 21-56 Cooper 1978 Cooper 1996 Yalouris 1979, 89-104 Voyatzis 1990, 227-277 Svopopoulos 1995 Pakkanen 1996, 140-145
34) Kotilion, Phigalia	37-38	- Two Archaic temples	Voyatzis 1999, 158-159 n. 37-38 Kourouniotes 1903b, 151-181 Cooper, 1978 Voyatzis 1990, 37-43
35) Phigalia city	39	- Doric Archaic temple - Later fourth-century	Voyatzis 159 n. 39 <i>Ergon</i> 1996, 41-47

		temple and inscription to Athena	
36) <i>Kalliani/Thelpousa</i>	40	- Possible temple, 525-490 BCE acroterion fragment	Voyatzis 1999, 159 n. 40 Meyer 1957, 12-15 Winter 1993, 139
37) Kontovazaina and Dimitra	41	- Classical-Hellenistic temple	Voyatzis 1999, 159 n. 41 Leonardos 1891b, 98-100 Leonardos 1891a, 23-25 Jost 1985, 69-70
38) Petrovouni near Methydrion	42	- Sixth-century BCE temple - Fourth-century BCE temple	Voyatzis 1999, 159 n. 42 Hiller von Gaetringen and Latterman 1911 Voyatzis 1990, 45-46 Kästner 1990, 256
39) <i>Modern Lasta, Torthyneion</i>	43	- Possible Classical temple: in-situ blocks and pottery	Voyatzis 1999, 159 n. 43 Pikoulas 1990-1991, 145 fig 4b-6

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