

**ARKADIA IN TRANSITION:
EXPLORING LATE BRONZE AGE AND EARLY IRON AGE
HUMAN LANDSCAPES**

By

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the region of Arkadia in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age using an interpretative and phenomenologically inspired approach. It is a region associated with many myths pointing to a continuing population throughout the period, yet beset with a problematic archaeological record. This has been the result of a number of factors ranging from the nature of the landscape to the history of research. However, the ability to locate sites of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age within the landscape, allows insight into a region we had little hope of enlightening using more conventional approaches to the archaeological record. This theoretical and methodological stance is illustrated through an exploration of different aspects of the human experience such as religion, death and burial and the everyday. The ways in which these aspects can and usually are interpreted are considered, followed by a number of case studies, which are employed to explore how human actions were embedded within and informed by the very physicality of the landscape, and the differences apparent throughout time.

DEDICATIONS

Ian, Leila, Gabriel and Thalia

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| LBA | Late Bronze Age |
| EIA | Early Iron Age |
| EH | Early Helladic |
| MH | Middle Helladic |
| LH | Late Helladic |
| SM | Sub Mycenaean |
| PG | Protogeometric |
| G | Geometric |
| LG | Late Geometric |
| | |
| AAA | Athens Annals of Archaeology |
| AA | Archäologischer Anzeiger |
| AM | Athenische Mitteilungen |
| Ant.W | Antike Welt |
| AR | Journal of Hellenic Studies, Archaeological Reports |
| ArchDelt | Archaeologikon Deltion |
| BCH | Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique |
| BICS | Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London |
| BSA | Annual of the British School at Athens |
| DAJ | Derbyshire Archaeological Journal |
| EchCl | Echo du Monde Classique |
| HSCP | Harvard Studies in Classical Philology |
| IG | Inscriptiones Graecae |
| JdI | Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts |
| JFA | Journal of Field Archaeology |
| JHS | Journal of Hellenic Studies |
| MAA | Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry |
| NAR | Norwegian Archaeological Review |
| OpAth | Opuscula Atheniensi |
| PCPS | Papers of the Cambridge Philological Society |

| | |
|------|---|
| RDAC | Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus |
| SEG | Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum |
| TAPA | Transactions of the American Philological Association |
| TUAS | Temple University Aegean Symposium |
| ZPE | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik |

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

People far removed from all things Greek might be forgiven for thinking that Arkadia is perhaps not a real place at all. In many people's minds, it looms large as an imaginary, idealized landscape; an invention of poets and painters. This view is not entirely wrong. Indeed, this is the Arkadia described by Virgil in the first Century BCE (Eclogues) and by Early Modern poets such as Jacopo Sannazaro (1458 – 1530) and Sir Philip Sidney (1554 - 1586) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is the Arkadia employed as the setting or theme of paintings, such as Nicolas Poussin's 'The Arcadian shepherds' of the 17th Century and is still the subject of modern novels about journeys to 'paradise' (Okri, 2002). However, Arkadia is more than this. Unlike the comparable Elysian, Arkadian 'fields' are tangible, with varying degrees of correlation to the creative or metaphorical portrayals alluded to above. It is a real place, a region of both modern and ancient Greece that can be visited in person, not just through the imagination of others.

This thesis is an investigation into the 'real' landscapes of this region as opposed to those imaginary and idealized. Hence, the starting point of the study is the physical and material landscapes of the region of Arkadia. These real landscapes are situated in the Peloponnese abutting the territories of Korinthia, the Argolid, Lakonia, Messenia, Elis and Achaea, today as they did in the past, despite fluctuations in the boundaries over time ((Nielsen 1999, p.60; Morgan 2003, p.39; Voyatzis 2005). However, the landscapes under scrutiny are those belonging to the LBA and EIA, a period of time ranging from c.1600 to c.700BCE. To claim to be investigating the 'real' landscapes belonging to a region so distant in time may seem an arrogant one, not least because it may be anachronistic to use the name Arkadia at all at this time (Roy 1968, p.20; Nielsen 1999, p.47). In addition, it is a region intertwined with beguiling myths pointing to a continuing population throughout the period, yet beset with a

problematic archaeological record. These may be reasons enough to avoid studying the area during the LBA and EIA but they are, in fact, the very impetus behind the project presented here.

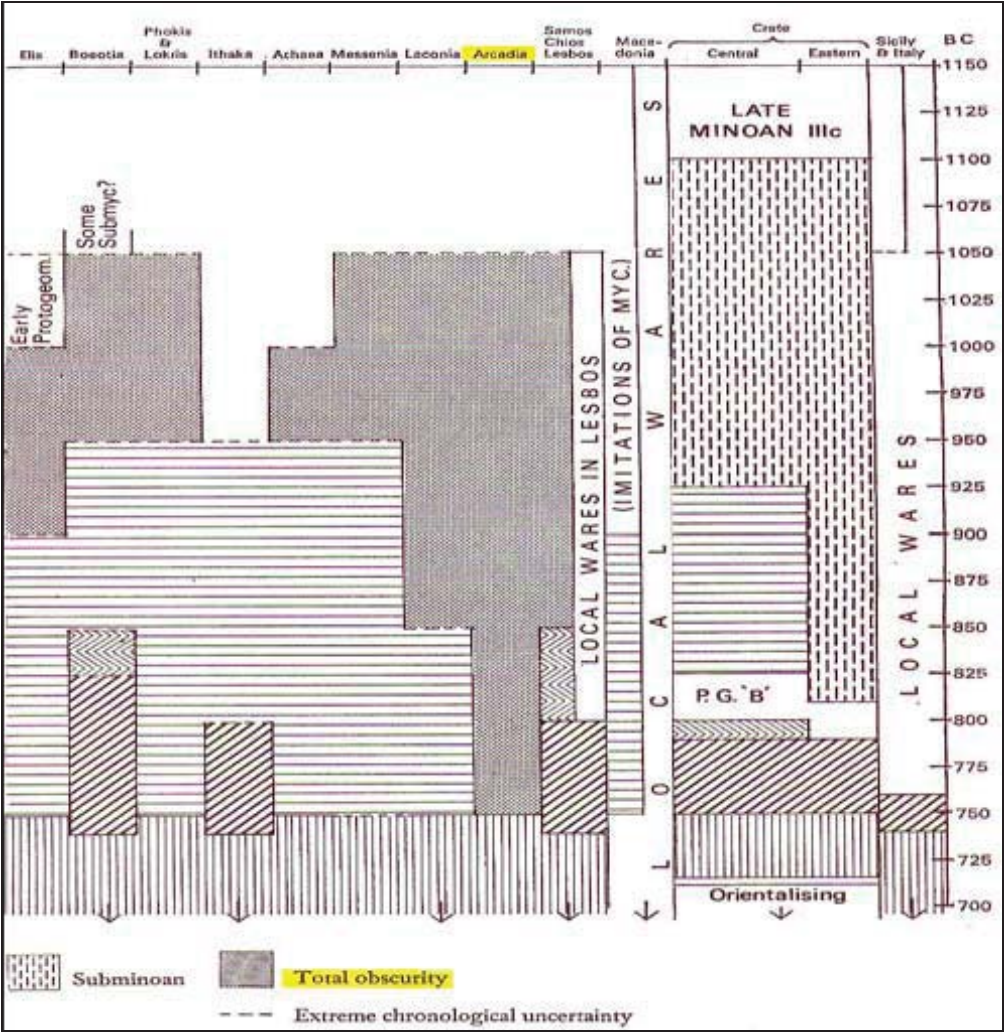


Fig.1.1: Section of table showing Arkadia in total obscurity for much of the period 1150-700BCE taken from Snodgrass, 2000, p.135)

The timeframe, whilst embracing the ‘Golden Age’ of Mycenaean Civilisation and the ‘Greek Renaissance’ of the Geometric period at either end, also incorporates the centuries which have been traditionally known as the ‘Dark Ages’. Whilst this description of the period has been

put aside for many regions of Greece due to an increasing body of archaeological evidence (e.g. Lemos 1999, p.24, Papadopoulos 2004), it remains an apt term for many scholars when dealing with Arkadia (John Bintliff pers. comm. February 1999; Birgitte Eder pers comm. September 2002). Until recently, overviews of the period in question have noted that little, if anything, happened in Arkadia at this time and a scanty amount of remains were known for the preceding Mycenaean period (e.g. John Prag pers. comm. December 1998; Osborne 1996, p.71; Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.90; Coldstream 2003, p.156; Howell 1970). Indeed, Dickinson (1994, p.3) shows a map of the regions of Greece in the BA with Arkadia omitted and in Snodgrass' seminal work of 1971 'The Greek Dark Ages', Arkadia is described as residing in 'total obscurity' between the dates of 1050 and 750BCE ([1971] 2000 p.135, see Fig.1.1). The cumulative impression has been that Arkadia was thinly inhabited in the BA, practically deserted and thus sliding into 'total obscurity' in the so-called Dark Ages, and only gaining any prominence when Sparta was spreading its wings in the seventh century BCE, which led to numerous conflicts with Tegea (e.g. Herodotus Histories 1.64; Snodgrass [1971] 2000; Osborne 1996, p.184).

A conclusion such as this does not develop by accident. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the available archaeological evidence for the period was negligible and the overriding perception of Arkadia was as an antiquated backwater. It can be argued today that the material record for the LBA and EIA in Arkadia and particularly for the middle years ranging from approximately 1100 – 800BCE remains sparse indeed. This is especially in relation to some other areas of Greece, such as Messenia with Nichoria (Coulson et al. 1983) and Euboea with Lefkandi (Popham et al. 1979, 1990, 1993, 1996) and to that from later periods i.e. Classical and Roman, both in Arkadia and beyond (e.g. Megalopolis, Gardner et al. 1892). For some scholars this has been enough to deter investigation into the region: the perceived lack of archaeological evidence means their preference is for those areas believed to offer more

results (Bintliff pers. comm.). This then becomes a circular argument: it is believed little evidence exists in Arkadia for the period in question, therefore excavations or surveys are not undertaken, therefore little evidence is unearthed and therefore little evidence exists. Much of Arkadia has not been subject to intensive, diachronic and systematic field survey. For instance, individuals (Howell 1970; Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981) have only extensively surveyed the plains around Mantinea and Orchomenos.

If this study followed a conventional route, relying on relatively full material records and artefactual analyses, then the following pages would be rather empty. In some areas it actually proves difficult to apply standard chronology so that in many cases it is not even possible to date sites of the LBA more precisely than to a general LH period (see Chapter 3 Section 3.3.2a). Although, Coulson's (1985, 1986, 1990) Dark Age chronology may be more suited to the region of Arkadia, the standard chronology has been kept in order to allow published evidence to be utilised, without re-assigning it (see Chapter 3.3.2). In addition, the aim of this project is to work with the existing material record, not to find new sites and consequently the situation regarding material evidence has not changed. The methodology (more fully explained in Chapter 3) thus concentrates on location. The most important part of this methodology was fieldwork allowing for immersion in the landscape. Sites were visited, their positions recorded using a GPS, and significant aspects of the surrounding landscape and the sites relative position within it were analysed and noted (Tilley 1994, p.73; Exon et al. p.25). Video-clips, panoramic photographs and taped conversations attempt to capture some of the impressions gained. In addition, a database was compiled, which can be accessed through the accompanying CD-ROM. At the outset, the use of a Geographical Information System in order to further analyse positions of sites within the landscape was also thoroughly considered, but based on a number of factors including time and efficacy, the technology was dismissed at this time. This consideration is set out in Appendix 1.

Such an approach based on whole landscapes, which emphasises the position of sites already known, allows insight into a region and period that had little hope of being enlightened by more conventional ways of interpreting the archaeological record. Using interpretative and phenomenologically inspired ideas enables consideration of how human actions were embedded within and informed by the very physicality of the landscape. Where detailed artefactual analyses have been possible, albeit on no more than a handful of sites (e.g. Tegea, Voyatzis 1990), or for part of the period under question (e.g. Morgan 1999), then the approach taken here can be considered complementary. Such an approach allows the period to be illuminated perhaps in a way not previously thought possible, permitting new insights as a consequence. This approach also has the added advantage of engaging with recent trends in archaeological method and theory that have been tried and tested in other places and for other times (e.g. Thomas 1991, 1997; Tilley 1994; Edmonds 1999; Exon et al 2000; Gillings 2005).

Moreover, the largely prehistoric, or at the very least proto-historic period, ranging from the LH down to and including the G has been seen, in most respects, in terms of long term processes. In a similar way, this study looks at this period in its entirety, as Desborough (1964) and Snodgrass ([1971] 2000) have done before. However, although it is an attempt to see a time span beyond the lives of individuals to investigate changes in the material record from c1600 to c700 BCE, the application of phenomenologically-derived ideas distinguishes this work by recognizing the sweep of approximately 900 years was lived and experienced by real people (Gosden 1994, p.122). Bradley (1991, p.209), drawing on structuralist traditions, states that measuring and describing time through chronologies and dates allow history to exist, but a clearer conception of time and what it means on a human level is needed to enable interpretation to take place. Therefore, it is not only viable, but also necessary to investigate more closely particular points during the longer timescale with which this study is concerned. By scrutinising the material record and its position in the landscape, it becomes possible to

think in terms of how individuals interacted with one another and the world around them, created the communities of which they formed a part and how they may have perceived their world. From these investigations, it is then possible to think out again over the long term and consider how the relationship people had with one another and the world around them was negotiated, changed, and adapted over the whole period in question. The approach applied thus allows an exploration of aspects of past peoples' experience, despite problems with the archaeology, and avoids falling into the impossible trap of attempting to prove or disprove the prevailing myths through archaeology.

This thesis is divided into three parts. Part 1 serves to introduce the region, the period, and the approach taken towards exploring the landscapes of Arkadia. The archaeological evidence for the period under question is not prolific in this region of Greece, especially in relation to those regions surrounding it such as the Argolid and Messenia. Arkadia as a quiet mountainous backwater where little ever happened is a theme found throughout ancient and modern literature. Chapter 2 considers this recurrent motif through an investigation of Arkadia in myth and the history of research into this region, questioning why there is a lack of material evidence. It is suggested that the kind of attention Arkadia received in antiquity and the region's portrayal in subsequent literary and artistic genres may be responsible for how Arkadia has been approached in archaeological studies until relatively recently. It is argued that the view of Arkadia, as described in the first paragraph, had once been enough to satisfy questions regarding lack of archaeology, whereas now questions regarding visibility and methodology are taking its place. Scholars have in fact long studied Arkadia, both as a physical entity (e.g. Nielson and Roy, 1999) and as a literary or metaphorical one (e.g. Snell 1953; Alpers 1979). However, no studies have considered the period or the area in quite the same way as is set out in this thesis, despite a seemingly similar focus on landscape that can be found in some (e.g. Howell 1970; Jost 1985; Lloyd 1991). Through looking at the

historiography on the region, the significance it has for the present study is illuminated. In this way, influences and assumptions, both explicit and implicit, are uncovered, highlighting the fissures present in our understanding and, which are addressed during the course of the thesis.

Following on from this critique, the third chapter describes the methodology used and the theory that has driven it. The chapter outlines how the region, the period, and the evidence for each have been approached in this project. Of particular concern in the first part is landscape and how, in this study, it is considered as always more than a backdrop to events or a resource to be exploited. It was (and is) interacted with: people do not walk upon it; they are enveloped within it. This is an attitude very much informed by phenomenological or existentialist viewpoints (e.g. Husserl e.g.1917 Heidegger 1962; Krell 1993; Ingold 2000; Merleau-Ponty 2002), ideas which archaeologists have employed in studies of landscape for other places and periods (e.g. Thomas 1991, 1997; Tilley 1994; Edmonds 1999; Exon et al 2000; Gillings 2005). However, whilst certainly coming from a position that is heavily influenced by post-processual and interpretive approaches, as the list of scholars above testifies, the current study does not declare allegiance to any particular 'school'. Different approaches, or at least elements of them, are allowed to collaborate.

The second part of Chapter 3 addresses the problematic of dividing human experience into discreet timeframes often dictated by pottery styles. Consequently, the difficulties caused by thinking in terms of processes and time spans that are visible beyond the level of human interaction are considered. These abstract notions of time are balanced by contemplating what living through such periods and their transitions may well have meant to people - groups and individuals - living in Arkadia at a particular time. Such an approach ultimately achieves an understanding of measured time and experienced time (Gosden 1994, p.2). It takes into

account questions regarding the timescales with which we can be viably concerned and how far the evidence, archaeological and otherwise dictates this. In order to achieve this analysis the work of the Annalists, (e.g. Braudel 1969, 1972, 1983; Le Roy Ladurie 1997), Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984) and Ingold, (2000), is consulted. Many of these scholars have worked under the influence of phenomenologists such as Heidegger (1962; Krell 1993) and Merleau-Ponty (1962), thus complementing and supporting the position adopted towards landscape and space

Part 2 is the application of the approach outlined in Part 1 and consists of three chapters, each concentrating on different aspects of life and social interaction within the landscapes of Arkadia. The somewhat arbitrary but predictable categories that form the chapters are religious and sacred space (Chapter 4), death and burial (Chapter 5) and the everyday (Chapter 6). Each chapter initially outlines the evidence from Arkadia before moving on to discuss how sites and material culture in each category have been and can be interpreted. Following this, the chapters explore aspects of a particular landscape, in which one or more sites are set, through a number of case studies. Given that not all sites have evidence for each of the major divisions of the period, specific areas of Arkadia have been chosen to encompass as much of it as possible. For instance, in Chapters 4 and 5, the Mantinean Plain and the Pheneatike are treated as wholes rather than simply Ptolis or Pheneos respectively. Through approaching the evidence in this way, it is possible to discuss change and continuity through the period in question on a number of different levels: the first halves of the chapters allow trends to be visible on large scale, whereas the case studies allow a consideration of what may have been important to individual people and communities.

The first of these chapters, Chapter 4, is concerned with religious and sacred landscapes. The evidence pertaining to sites with religious or sacred use is outlined, and assessed with

reference to similarly interpreted sites in other parts of Greece. Integral to discussion is the changing nature of sites that can be ascribed as having a religious or sacred use. It is argued that many do not simply show a continuation of such activity, and that a number only acquire a suggestion of such use in the period under study due to later, namely Archaic, and Classical, activity. The validity of assigning such interpretations in hindsight is a matter for debate. The case studies that follow this discussion, concentrating on the sites of Asea Ayios Elias, Vlakhera-Petra, and Ptolis-Gortsouli, enable an investigation into what can be seen as the changing nature of religious sites in Arkadia and how specific landscapes might have been integral to their use in this way by communities.

The fifth chapter is concerned with landscapes of death and burial. There is burial evidence from Arkadia for most of the period 1600-700BCE, thus it is possible to say something for each of the major cultural phases. From a consideration of general trends that can be seen throughout the period in question and how this has been and might be interpreted, the chapter considers how people may have approached or perceived death through an exploration of the landscape in which such sites are set. The case studies focus on Stymphalia and the Pheneatike, southeast Arkadia, the chamber tomb cemeteries of the west and Artemision-Ayios Ilias and the Mantinean Plain.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the everyday (the profane). The chapter starts with a consideration of different types of evidence for each period and of how this evidence changes over time. This is done with reference to other parts of Greece and then concentrates on Arkadia. Like the previous two chapters, the second part of the chapter is concerned with a number of case studies. Here, the Orchomenos plains, the Mantinean plain, Loukas-Ayios Yioryios and Nestani, the Stymphalian plain and the Pheneatike are explored. This is

essentially an investigation into how the physical environment could have informed the practice and affected the experiences of those who lived their everyday lives in these places.

Part 3 comprises the summary and conclusions. Chapter 7 brings together the main points raised in the body of the thesis. It is apparent throughout that many concerns in separate chapters do overlap to some extent and this chapter reiterates some of the recurring themes. It is also acknowledged that exploring and subsequently presenting the approach through the themes of religion and sacred space, death and burial and the everyday, could not possibly cover all there is to say on the period in question. Nevertheless, the conclusions reiterate and clarify issues that have been particularly prominent throughout, perhaps repeatedly. What this chapter does not do, however, is provide a definitive narrative of processes or events that occurred between 1600 and 700 BCE in Arkadia, nor does it discuss in detail economic or social systems that may have been in place. This chapter also highlights perceived problems and outlines some avenues for further research. This chapter brings to a close a thesis that, through an exploration of human landscapes in the LBA and EIA, has gone some way to provide fresh insights into a period in a region that has often been overlooked.

To complement the main text and illustrations, transcripts of taped conversations at a number of sites have been included in the chapters where appropriate. A number of Appendices have also been added to supplement the main body of the thesis. Appendix 1 discusses Geographical Information Systems and their use in archaeology, a discussion that was deemed necessary in light of the initial aims of the study and the way research progressed (see Chapter 3). Appendix 2 consists of a number of tables, which the reader may find useful for reference whilst reading the text. In addition, there is a CD-ROM on which is a PDF document of the text of the thesis and attachments of video clips, a Google Earth tour and a database of all the sites, from which the tables of Appendix 2 have been taken. The points at which these can be

accessed are indicated by a paperclip icon in the PDF document and highlighted in the hardcopy. Appendix 3 gives instructions on how to use the CDROM. It is hoped that these additions will enable an understanding of and an engagement with the landscapes of Arkadia that would otherwise not be possible. I would also like to bring to attention the fact that Dickinson's latest publication *The Aegean from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age* published in 2006 reached me too late to be included in the present study. However, this work will be fully considered and incorporated before publication.

PART 1

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the beguiling myths and problematic archaeological record brought to attention in the first chapter. It begins in Section 2.2 by considering Arkadian mythology and the claims to autochthony found in many sources. The existence of this mythology traversing the period of the LBA and EIA encouraged in part the research presented here. In reflecting upon such mythology, it is necessary to question whether there is any historical basis for such an assertion and in doing so looks at modern approaches to myth. This examination also extends to the existence of an Arkado-Cypriot dialect detectable from the seventh century onwards and connections with the Linear B script of the LBA, querying the extent to which these factors support the myth. Following this, attention focuses on the archaeological record (Section 2.3), which, as stated in the first chapter, compared to other regions and periods is relatively sparse. Examination of underlying reasons for this situation begins with outlining the way Arkadia appears in the ancient sources including a précis of the way the period has been considered (section 2.3.1). Following this Section 2.3.2 considers the effect the literary record has had on archaeological research, and in particular archaeological research into Arkadia. Subsequently, Section 2.3.3 considers recent research that has begun to change the prevailing view of Arkadia and looks at some of the recent methodologies used, particularly of the surveys undertaken over the past decade. The emphasis changes slightly in Section 2.4, when the focus is on the geology, geography and topology of Arkadia. Within this section, the view of Arkadia as barren and unyielding is questioned and recent ethnographic and archaeological research that has turned around this long-standing view is highlighted (Section 2.4.1). Section 2.4.2 considers how the geography and topography of the region has effected where archaeological research has taken place, and in Section 2.4.3, the effect of these aspects on visibility of the archaeology is illuminated. The chapter concludes in Section 2.5 where it is contended that a multitude of factors has contributed to the archaeological record as it

stands today. In addition, it is stated that even though further fieldwork is welcome, a phenomenologically inspired approach can be productive with the record as it stands.

2.2 Mythology and language

2.2.1 Arkadian Autochthony

Traditions recorded in the ancient sources claim the people of Arkadia were indigenous (e.g. Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 fr.37; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 fr.18c.6; Herodotus 8.72-73). According to the account given by Pausanias, writing in the second century CE, the land was originally called Pelasgia after Pelasgos, the very first inhabitant and king (8.1.4) and the people were named Arkadians, and the land Arkadia, after Arkas, the great-grandson of Pelasgos and son of Callisto (8.4.1). For many ancients, Pelasgos was considered to have been born from the land itself (e.g. Asios: Nielsen 1999, p.34; Apollodorus 3.8.1; Aeschylus *Suppl.* 7.99) and as the original ‘Arkadian’ linked all subsequent Arkadians firmly to a geographical entity. Furthermore, a similar tradition describes Arkadians as proselenoi or ‘people before the moon’ (Hippys of Rhegion *FGrHist* 554, fr.7:73; Aristotle fr.591 (Rose)) and a reference to Pelasgos describes him as proselenaioi (Nielsen 1999, p.35). The mythical genealogy that follows Pelasgos, describes how his sons, grandchildren and great-grandchildren had specific functions in terms of the development and advancement of Arkadia and the Arkadians. Hence, Lykaon founded the very first *polis*, Lykosoura, established the cult of Zeus Lykaioi and founded the Lykaian Games (Pausanias 8.2.1). Subsequently, his sons each established cities, for example, Pallas, Orestheus, Phigalus and Tegeates founded Pallantium, Oresthasium, Phigalia and Tegea respectively. Callisto, his only daughter, gave birth to Arkas who, in addition to giving his name to Arkadia and the Arkadians, introduced agriculture and “other things besides” (Pausanias 8.4.1). The family tree continues in a similar vein until figures emerge connected to historical events such as the Messenian Wars during the eighth century and the Battle of Plataea in 479BCE verifiable through independent

sources. This mythical genealogy and claims to autochthony are supported by traditions that maintain the Arkadians had escaped the effects of migrations and upheavals of the LBA and EIA to which much of the Greek World and beyond had been subject. For instance, Herodotus (2.170 see also 8.73) states that the Arkadians “were not driven from their homes by the invaders” and Thucydides (1.2) writes that there were frequent changes of population “in most of the Peloponnese, except Arkadia.”

There appears to have been a deep-rooted general belief in an Arkadian population having lived continuously in the same place, a belief that gains increasing significance given the apparent support from modern linguistic analyses (Wyatt 1970; Bartonek 1972; Chadwick 1975). Such analyses have shown that the Arkado-Cypriot dialect used in Arkadia and Cyprus, detected through inscriptions of the Archaic and Classical periods and described by ancient sources, is closely connected to the early form of Greek employed on the Linear B tablets of the LBA. This conviction is particularly pertinent for this study as any correlation traverses the very period under examination. It suggests that a population did indeed continue living in Arkadia throughout the Dark Ages and that the myths and genealogies surrounding the Arkadians reflect some sort of historical reality. In addition, it suggests that if people really had lived continuously in Arkadia unaffected by migrations occurring all around them at the end of the BA, then to pursue the material remains of this particular period and area should undoubtedly promise to be interesting and worthwhile. However, this is not quite the case and the picture is more complex.

2.2.2 Problems with mythology and language as basis for history

The value of myth and pseudo-historical accounts in the ancient sources for recreating history and society has been questioned by many scholars especially those working on the LBA and EIA (e.g. Snodgrass [1971]2000; Osborne 1996), because of the lack of contemporary

sources. Scholars working primarily on the subject of Greek Mythology rather than archaeology have expounded the ineffectiveness of such attempts. This applies especially to those of the structuralist school who have tended to ignore any historical elements to myth (e.g. Vernant 1980 1983; Detienne 1986; Vidal-Naquet 1986; and see Buxton 1994). Others such as Burkert (1979) have appreciated the importance of history, although in terms of the creation of myth rather than as its subject, and the significance of rites has been investigated in studies by Bremmer (1983, 1984) and Graf (1985). There are those who have questioned the category of myth and claim it to be a particularly modern notion (Detienne 1986; Calame 1990) and feminist critiques and understanding of myths have been developed (Pomeroy 1975; Loraux 1981, 1987, 1989; Cameron & Kuhrt 1983; Halperin et al. 1990). In addition, Paul Veyne has approached the question of whether the ancients actually believed in myths and how this would have affected their purpose (1988). Fuller discussions of the development of theories and approaches toward myth can be found elsewhere (e.g. Dowden 1992, ch.2). In sympathy with the research presented here, however, is the approach taken by Buxton (1994). He believes (1994, p.4) myth should be contextualized and the stories should be relocated 'within the largely peasant communities in which they were told' and the 'old historicism debate' is seen, by Dowden (1992, p.23) at least, as a particular folly of naïve prehistorians.

If this approach is applied to the Arkadian origin myths and their context is examined, we find that the genealogy as outlined above is only found in its full form in Pausanias' 'Description of Greece' written in the second century CE (8.1.4-8.6.3). There are references to various aspects in earlier writers, such as Herodotus and Thucydides as illustrated above, and in fragments of Hesiod (fr.161; fr.162 (MW)), Asios (as quoted in Pausanias 8.1.4) and Pherekydes (FGrHist 3 fr.156). However, the connection with Pelasgos as ascertained from these earlier sources may, in fact, be an outsider's rather than an insider's view - none of the

sources referring to him in the Arkadian context come from Arkadia, at least not in the sixth and fifth centuries. Moreover, later Arkadian sources although acknowledging Pelasgos, tend to refer more readily to Lykaon and Arkas, who are more likely to be Arkadian in origin because of their links with place names (Kopp 1992, cited by Nielsen 1999, p.34). In addition, other areas of the ancient Greek world also claimed Pelasgos as king and people known as Pelasgians are stated to be located in places as far apart as Crete and Thrace (e.g. Homer *Il* 2.840-843, *Od* 17.175-177; Herodotus 1.57; Thucydides 4.106; Aeschylus *Suppl.* 5.22, 10.79). Also, the word Pelasgic is used in a variety of ways in the ancient sources from Homer onwards, some of which have little or no exclusive connection to Arkadia (e.g. Homer *Il* 2.840-843, Herodotus 1.57). It seems Pelasgian may have been a generic term referring to all inhabitants of an earlier Greece, rather than specifically to early Arkadians (i.e. before Arkas).

Nielsen (1999, p.35) explains these difficulties as arising because the creation of the mythical complex explaining Arkadian origins did not actually occur until the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. This was at a time when pan-Arkadian identity was being forged largely in response to outside aggression (Morgan 1999b, p.425). In a similar manner, Scott (2004) argues that Arkadian claims to autochthony and a specifically Arkadian connection with Pelasgos became particularly politically salient in the 4th century BCE, when a new identity for the Arkadian Confederacy was being constructed. This identity was expressed monumentally in the Arkadian victory monument at Delphi and it was here that Triphylos appears for the first time, represented as one of the sons of Arkas. Thus, it seems Arkadian mythical genealogy could be manipulated when necessary on political grounds, in this case to give credence to the Triphylian's presence in the Arkadian Confederacy (Scott 2004, p.14). In addition, as stated by Roy (1968) and reiterated by Nielsen (1999, p.47), Arkadia was in the first instance a human concept not a geographical one. For this reason, although Arkadia can be connected to

a specific place detectable from Homer onwards, (Il 2.603-14), claims to autochthony may be deemed at odds with fluctuating boundaries over the centuries. The fact that it was relatively easy to incorporate and accept varying regions (e.g. Triphylia) into their geographical arena implies that the myths were indeed expedient creations.

Returning to the question of the Arkado-Cypriot dialect and its tantalising connections with Linear B, initial enthusiasm for such supporting evidence is diminished when other factors are taken into account. For instance, in order to explain the distribution of the dialects - West Greek, Aiolic, Arkado-Cypriot and Attic-Ionic - by movements and migrations of people as related in ancient texts, it is necessary to assume that the divisions were already in place by the end of the second millennium. In addition, whilst it is true that the Greek-speaking world in the Archaic and Classical periods can be divided into dialect groups based on extant inscriptions, some traditional conclusions regarding isoglosses, the linguistic features that distinguish one dialect from another, may be too simplistic and could mask an intensely complicated development and divergence (Jeffrey 1990). Moreover, an abundance of extant epigraphy in one region over another, (e.g. Attica) may skew groupings, and difficulty in dating individual inscriptions may cause linguistic features that never co-existed to be linked. Similarly, if alternative isoglosses were deemed more important than those that actually are, dialects may be categorised in other ways entirely. As Hall (1997, p.175) states, if an isogloss were drawn to distinguish dialects that preserved intervocalic *-rr-* and those which innovate to *-rs-* or between the preposition *peda* and *meda* then the Arkado-Cypriot dialect would not be related (intervocalic *-rs-* and preposition *peda* are present in Arkadian but not Cypriot). Moreover, there exists a high level of linguistic diversity within a dialect group and even within an epichoric dialect (Jeffrey 1990, p.207). For example, at Tegea, the original labiovelar is represented by *-(t)z-*, but by *-s-* at Mantinea, and infinitives end in *-en* at Tegea but *-ēn* at Lykosoura. It is also significant that the script used in Arkadia during the Archaic

and Classical periods shows close links with other areas of the Peloponnese. For example, the crooked *iota* is found in use in Arkadia, Achaea and Korinth and various inscriptions from Olympia cannot be readily identified as specifically Arkadian or Eleian (Jeffery 1990, pp.207-208; 215; Hall 1997, p.146 fig.21). These observations show that Arkadia certainly was not isolated from its neighbours. Regarding Linear B, it may have had or at least masked more variation than can be ascertained and it is difficult to regard it as indicative of how people spoke at that time: it was a script used in a limited fashion mainly for inventories, and as such could not possibly reflect how people actually spoke. Linguists heavily influenced by myths and traditions in the literary sources may be too ready to confirm a particular relationship. For example, an inscription discovered in a chamber tomb in ancient Paphos in Cyprus is often used to support the myth of the foundation of this site by Agapenor of Tegea. It is Greek written in Cypriot syllabary, with the genitive –u ending reflective of a dialect similar to that spoken in Arkadia. Hall (1997, p.136) argues that its appearance is rather an active attempt on the part of the inhabitants to forge links with the Greek mainland, than a reflection of their ethnicity.

Such contradictions to Arkadian mythology and linguistic evidence prevent taking the traditional accounts too literally. Whilst claims to autochthony may have been encouraged by a collective memory of escaping the worst of any upheavals at the end of the LBA, they make it increasingly difficult to imagine an indigenous population continuing to speak a dialect of Greek directly descended from that found on the Linear B tablets, protected by its remote and mountainous location, especially if this occurred through a period where the art of writing seems to have been lost. If, therefore, we do not necessarily expect a continuing population in the region of Arkadia at the end of the BA and beginning of the IA, perhaps the region was indeed deserted and a full archaeological record need not be expected. In this case, the project can be concluded here.

However, in spite of the fact that it proves difficult to use mythology and linguistic evidence to recreate a history of continuous occupation through the 'Dark Ages', it is contended that the archaeological record is currently problematic, not because the region was deserted and no material culture remains, but because a number of other factors have influenced opinions of the region and period and thus archaeological practice and successful recovery of evidence. These factors are examined below.

2.3 The Problematic Archaeological Record of Arkadia

2.3.1 Arkadia in the ancient literature

The starting point is the treatment of Arkadia in the ancient literature. The region generally does not hold a prominent place in the ancient literary record in historical or pseudo-historical terms, at least not in comparison to regions such as Athens and Sparta. The majority of the extant sources focus on these well-known city-states, (e.g. Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle), which are well known precisely because they were often written about. Arkadia is first mentioned in the 'Catalogue of Ships' of Homer's *Iliad*, in the guise of a list of place names: the men of Pheneos, Orchomenos, Rhipse, Stratia, Enispe, Tegea, Mantinea, Stymphalos and Parrhasia are stated to have been led to Troy by King Agamemnon in some sixty ships (Il. 2. 604-5). It is indeed enlightening to have the names of early towns, especially when these can perhaps be associated with the period of interest here. In fact, many of these places have been located. They are particularly focussed in the eastern part of the region, which has raised interesting questions as to the extent of an Arkadian 'territory' at this time. However, little else is learned other than that the area was considered landlocked (Morgan 1999b, pp.383-384).

In later sources, such as Herodotus (fifth century BCE) and indeed Pausanias (second century CE), the many struggles between Sparta and Arkadia, and Tegea in particular, are testified.

We learn that Tisamenus led the Spartans against the Tegeans, whilst on the other hand Cleomenes threatened the Spartans with Arkadian support, and the procuring of the bones of Orestes finally allowed the Spartans to gain the upper hand over Tegea (Histories 9.35; 6.74; 1.66, respectively). The people of Arkadia are also shown fighting alongside other Greeks. The region's involvement in the Trojan War has already been mentioned. Of the much later battle at Thermopylae, Herodotus (7.20) states that a total of 2120 Arkadians fought against the Persians, five hundred from Tegea, five hundred from Mantinea, one hundred and twenty from Orchomenos and one thousand from the rest of Arkadia. It is also stated that many deserted to the Persian side afterwards (8.25), although, "all the Arkadians" were apparently present to help the rest of the Greek population build a wall across the Isthmus to stop their common enemy from attacking the Peloponnese (8.72). Arkadians can also be found in Xenophon's works the *Hellenika* and particularly the *Anabasis*, where we are told that the Arkadians constituted a significant number of the 'Ten Thousand'. Not surprisingly from the contexts in which Arkadia and her inhabitants appear, Arkadians acquired a reputation for being mercenaries, with perhaps the readiness to be so, encouraged by the limitations of living in a 'marginal' mountainous area (although see Section 2.4 and Roy 1967, 1999, p.346).

Apart from these sources, other works have Arkadia as part of a wider theme and on occasion as the sole topic. Nevertheless, these are largely fragmentary. Hekataios of Miletos (*FGrHist* 1 fr 6, 9, 29a, 29b, 6a?), Pherekydes (*FrGrHist* 3, fr 5, 82a, 135a 156-161), Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 fr.37), Ariaithos of Tegea (*FGrHist* 316, fr1, 2a, 2b, 4, 5, 7) and Aristippos (*FGrHist* 317 fr 1, 2, 3) are some examples. If more of these works were extant we may have a different concept of how Arkadia appeared to the ancients, although the fragments that do exist show a concern for Arkadian mythology and genealogy of mythical ancestors, in some cases in order to prove the autochthony of Arkadians (e.g. Hellanikos *FrGrHist* 4 fr.37). Aristotle's *The Common Constitution of the Arkadians* is the only surviving work that deals

with political matters, which is rather late for the period being considered here, discussing as it does the Confederacy founded in 370BCE (Nielsen 1999, p.17).

It is perhaps with the bucolic poetry of the Roman author Virgil at the end of the first century BCE, following the genre instigated by the Hellenistic poet Theocritus, that Arkadia becomes particularly prominent in its own right, most visibly in the Eclogues. One scholar (Snell 1953, p.281) has even gone as far to say that Arkadia was discovered in the year 41 or 42 BCE. However, the region is already at this stage an instrument in the creation of the literary idealized landscape, filled with shepherds playing panpipes, a portrayal also apparent in other ancient works such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It seems Arkadia was chosen as the setting for Virgil's poetry due to a line of Polybius (4.19.13-21.12), an Arkadian himself, which stated that all people from this area were musicians. There is also the influence of the physical landscape that suited pastoralism, which was particularly highlighted, exaggerated and enhanced. The 'otherness' of Greece was used as a canvas on which Roman authors could project their ideals (Alcock 1993, p.226). Arkadia was part of a land that was physically near and sufficiently real to engage the audience, but which was far away enough, whose glory and renown (of Greece as a whole) were placed well enough in the past for the 'truth' not to matter nor threaten. Thus, an idealization was born that was to continue up until the present day, where we find 'Arkadia' still used synonymously with 'Elysian fields' 'paradise' and 'nirvana'.

2.3.2 Consequences of the literary record for archaeological research

This state of affairs has had an influence on the way archaeological research has, or has not been undertaken in Arkadia. As stated above Arkadia was not prominent in Homer and although scholars, both modern and ancient (Herodotus, Thucydides, Grote 1846, Schliemann [1875]1994; Finley 1956; Osborne 1996), have disagreed as to the amount of faith which can

be put in the narratives as told by Homer, they have still focused attention on certain regions. Fitton (1995) argues that the discovery of the BA occurred through a desire to prove or disprove the truth of the Trojan War. In fact, in the nineteenth century this emerged as a key function of the archaeological pursuits in Greece. The kings of legend such as Minos and Agamemnon and the myths that surrounded them spurred on archaeologists, most famously Schliemann, with his excavations at Hisarlik and Mycenae (e.g. Schliemann 1994; Fitton 1995). The (re)discovery of the large BA 'palatial' sites, such as Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid (Wace 1923; Mylonas 1973; Muller 1912), Pylos in Messenia (Blegen 1966), and Thebes and Orchomenos (Keramopoulos 1917; Schliemann 1880-1886) in Boeotia, fundamentally convinced those who excavated them that there was truth to be found in the stories. Testimony to this are the names given to the various buildings and finds, for instance the "Palace of Nestor", the "Menelaion", "Treasury of Atreus", "Tomb of Clytemnestra" and the death mask of Agamemnon himself upon which Schliemann gazed. Consequently, these areas were studied for their relevance to the late BA, the period of Mycenaean Civilization. Remote and/or inland areas, such as Arkadia, which possessed no evidence of 'palaces' were relatively ignored for this period.

The period following the LBA, the 'Dark Ages', is a period that until recently was generally thought of as 'dark' both in literary terms and archaeologically speaking, not to mention being a time of abject misery for those who lived through it (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.2, p.21; Nowicki 2000, p.16). Scholars in the past such as Grote (1846) and Murray (1907) believed that there were few sources, which would shed light upon these years. The primary basis for this stance is the interpretation of the ancient literary sources, which did not explicitly recognise such a period; rather, extant narratives recorded fewer events than both preceding and subsequent phases. Thus, it was doubted that archaeology would be able to rectify this situation. The common pattern then, was that at one time academia had little recognisable

evidence for the period from across all areas of Greece, and Arkadia was not alone. Recent work has of course produced a very different picture for the period in question.

A large volume of evidence pertaining to this period now exists, at least for some sites and areas. Large-scale excavations have been carried out at Lefkandi (Popham et al. 1980, 1990, 1993, Evely 2006) and Nichoria (Coulson & McDonald 1975, Rapp & Aschenbrenner 1980, Coulson, McDonald & Rosser 1983, McDonald & Wilkie 1994) and diachronic field surveys from the 1970s onwards have brought to light evidence to one extent or another covering the whole of the period. For example, in the Peloponnese, the first large-scale survey carried out was the Minnesota Messenia Expedition in the district that is home to the Mycenaean citadel at Pylos and the results of this survey were published as early as 1972 (McDonald & Rapp 1972; see Fotiadis 1995 for the importance of this survey in the history of archaeological investigation in Greece). Likewise, Jameson, Runnels, & van Andel (1994) undertook a full diachronic and systematic survey in the Southern Argolid, famous for its LH citadels at Tiryns and the eponymous Mycenae, as well as for the later city of Argos and published the results soon after it had been completed. Another large-scale diachronic survey covered Lakonia, where Sparta and the Menelaion are situated (Cavanagh et al. 1996). Regions of the wider Greek World have been subject to similar intensive archaeological investigation with Boeotia (Bintliff 1985; Bintliff & Snodgrass 1997), Melos (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982), Keos (Cherry et al. 1991) and Rhodes (Mee 1982) all having undergone systematic survey over the years, each with a published volume devoted to the recovered and analysed data.

Because these surveys were diachronic, they revealed data from all periods including the 'Dark Age' that allowed study of this period in those regions where the survey had been carried out. However, Arkadia due to limited evidence for the BA, and having little to reveal for subsequent periods presumably did not appear to be a particularly desirable place to focus

one's attention. Such fieldwork may have changed scholars' understanding of the period, even causing some to call for a rejection of the term 'Dark Age' altogether (e.g. Lemos 1999, p.24, Papadopoulos 2004) but the situation for Arkadia has remained largely the same until recently (see Section 2.4).

In addition, the majority of ancient writers concentrated their narratives on either the city-states such as Athens, Sparta, their interactions with each other and outsiders (e.g. Persian Wars – Herodotus, Peloponnesian war – Thucydides) or else the authors themselves have originated from these places (e.g. the playwrights, Aristophanes, Euripides and Aeschylus). Democratic Athens in particular has benefited from not only the literary sources, in this case especially Aristotle's *Constitution*, but also from the desire of modern liberal democratic societies to look back to its perceived predecessor as illustrated above (Hodkinson & Brock 2000, p.4). Arkadia, a mountainous and rural area with a few urban centres comparable to Athens or Sparta, could not and did not receive the same kind of attention in this climate

Fortunately, the extant book eight of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* is an exception, to the trends outlined above. It is a source of immense importance in identifying the history, mythology and indeed standing remains of Arkadia. In addition, Virgil's use of Arkadia as the setting for much of his work, especially the *Eclogues*, has ensured that the region has not been not totally ignored. Indeed poets and painters have promoted Virgil's idyllic image of Arkadia throughout the ages (e.g. Sannazaro, Sidney, and Poussin). When archaeological research did take place in the region, it was with Pausanias as guide and armed with the hope that the perceived glories of the past, particularly in terms of art and architecture, could be rediscovered. Of course, in comparison to the ideal, depicted in literature and art, the real geographic Arkadia was thought of as "humdrum" (Snell 1954, n.29).

Initial researches took place in the eighteenth century. The first, albeit ultimately unsuccessful, expedition into Arkadia was led by the Frenchman J Bocher. This was an attempt to find the temple of Apollo at Bassae. Pausanias had written that the architect who had designed the Parthenon had also designed the Temple at Bassae (8.41.7-8) and presumably, the possibility of finding a building that rivalled the Athenian temple was overwhelmingly enticing in the latter half of the 18th century. This is particularly pertinent when the expedition is set against the background of Stuart & Revett's delineation of antiquities in Greece (1762-1816) and Winckelmann's History of Ancient Art amongst the Greeks (1764). Although these works concentrated on Athens, they set the tone for other contemporary works and encouraged the view that the past of Greece, including that of Arkadia, belonged to a Golden Age. Any remains found in Arkadia could be used as other exemplars of excellence in art.

Interest in Arkadia and the temple of Bassae re-emerged in earnest in 1811 when two English architects C. R. Cockerell and John Foster along with European counterparts from Germany and Denmark set out on an expedition to finally locate the ancient temple. Like Bocher before him, Cockerell's Arkadian expedition, was especially motivated by the passage in Pausanias that referred to the architect of the Parthenon (8.41.7-8). However, by this time there was added incentive: the Elgin Marbles had arrived in Britain in 1807 and were seen as the embodiment of excellence in ancient art. It was in accordance with these sculptures from the Parthenon that other examples of ancient Greek and Roman art were judged (Jenkyns 1980, p.5). The possibility that something similar was awaiting discovery at Bassae was too much to resist, despite tales of malaria and marauding bandits. Subsequently, a frieze was discovered at the site, duly acquired and shipped back to England where it was sold to the British Museum. It now resides in a room adjoining those containing the Elgin marbles (rooms 16 and 18 respectively).

In many ways, however, the fact that the temple of Apollo at Bassae stood in ancient Arkadia was largely immaterial. The temple and art works were of importance. Seeing Cockerell's researches at Bassae in conjunction with his studies of the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina (1860), and at the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigento (1830) as well as Elgin's appropriation of the Parthenon frieze helps to acquire an understanding of the aesthetic imperative behind such expeditions. This was the desire to collect and record physical achievements of the ancient Greeks, to admire and from which to learn, rather than the beginnings of an interest in understanding a temple site let alone the region, the landscape in which it was situated and the people that might have lived there in the past.

As the ancient literary sources were the starting point of archaeological research for pioneers like Bocher and Cockerell, they provided the starting point for other investigations into the area. Consequently, the towns of Arkadia referred to in the literary sources, namely Mantinea, Megalopolis, Tegea and Stymphalos, were the first to be investigated. The 1880s saw the first foreign school in Greece, the *Ecole Française*, commence upon systematic excavations, at Mantinea in eastern Arkadia, a town well known from the literary sources (e.g. Xenophon *Hell.* 4.5.18; 5.2.1-7, Thucydides, 5.81.1 Pausanias, 8.8.5-12.9). These excavations concentrated on uncovering the theatre, agora, the temple of Hera and the town walls, as a way of illustrating the literary record. Many pieces of sculpture and relief work were also found that depicted scenes from known mythological stories. As is testified in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* of 1887-1888, these investigations took place under the impetus of Pausanias' writings in an effort to identify particular pieces of sculpture with known ancient architects and artists, such as Praxiteles ('Archaeology in Greece', JHS 1888, p.131; Pausanias 8.9.1). It was also Pausanias' descriptions of various shrines in Arkadia that underlined the purpose of excavations carried out by Leonardos in 1892, which resulted in the

discovery of temples near Vaklia and Voutsia ('Archaeology in Greece', JHS 1892; Pausanias 8.25).

The British School at Athens began its archaeological excavations in Arkadia in 1890 at Megalopolis (Gardner et al. 1892), a Roman town and the birthplace of the historian Polybius, (b. ca 200 BCE). Broadly contemporary with this the Ecole Française undertook work at Tegea another town prominent in the ancient sources, and in keeping with the nature of excavations at the end of the nineteenth century, they sought to ascertain the position of the town walls ('Archaeology in Greece' JHS 1889-90, p.214). In the early twentieth century, Prof. Orlandos carried out excavations at Stymphalos (1924-1930). The aim of archaeological investigation was still essentially the same – to uncover various structures of the site including a temple and a possible propylon and the town walls ('Archaeology in Greece' JHS 1925, p.225; 1926, p.247). Again, the site at Stymphalos was well known through literary works and the legend of Herakles (e.g. Apollodorus 2.5.6; Diodorus 4.13.2; Pausanias 8.22.4; Strabo 8.6.8).

Names of Arkadian towns mentioned in Homer's Iliad (2.603-14), as outlined above, aroused some interest in this area for the BA. For instance, the town of Enispe has been located, albeit at two different places (Howell 1970, n.45; Syriopoulos 1973) and the reference to Arkadian Orchomenos has ensured that this site is relatively well known, at least for the Classical and Hellenistic periods after excavation by a French team in the early twentieth Century (Blum & Plassart 1914, 1915; Winter 1987, 1989). The prehistoric site of Orchomenos is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. There are of course exceptions: Romaios' discovery at the turn of the century of a number of LH chamber tombs at Vourvoura-Analipsis, (AR 1989, p.34) and the discovery in the early twentieth century of a Neolithic mound at Ayioryitika between Mantinea and Tegea ('Archaeology in Greece' JHS, 1919-1920, p.261) indicate an early

interest in the prehistory of Arkadia, one unknown from any literary sources. Additionally, in the 1930s, excavations at Asea began, directed by Holmberg (1944; 'Archaeology in Greece', JHS 1936, p.145), under the auspices of the Swedish School, where a number of successive settlements dating from the Neolithic to the MH period that had not been the subject of ancient literature were unearthed.

2.3.3 Recent Research

Antiquarians and Culture-historians undertaking much of the work above, in the main concentrated their efforts on sites of which they had previous knowledge, usually gained from the literary sources. With the advent of New Archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s came diachronic, systematic field survey. As stated above, the initial surveys of this type had a tendency to be carried out in areas that already had sites of interest such as Pylos (Minnesota Messenia Expedition McDonald & Rapp 1972). However, by this time there had already been a long history of interest in the Greek landscape seen for example in early nineteenth century traveller's accounts, such as those of Dodwell (1819), Leake (1830) and Puillon de Boblaye (1835), all of whom visited Arkadia. Of course, the idealised landscapes of Arkadia had also been particularly significant in seventeenth and eighteenth century painting (Clark, 1979). The late 1960s witnessed the first regional survey in Arkadia undertaken by Roger Howell in the eastern plains (1970). Although its execution would not satisfy standards of survey today, due to the fact it was undertaken unsystematically largely by one man, once put in context, it can be appreciated as a product of its time; reminiscent of antiquarian travels but also appreciating the totality of a region, landscapes and continuity of time. The survey undertaken by Stephen Hodkinson and his wife (Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981) can also be seen in this light.

Intensive, systematic survey as extolled by processualism eventually did reach Arkadia, but the majority of these were not carried out until the 1990s with the exception of Lloyd, Owens & Roy's Megalopolis survey in the early 1980s (Lloyd et al. 1985; Roy et al. 1992; AR 1981-2, p.24; 1982-3, p.28; 1983-4, p.26). The aim of this survey was to reconstruct settlement pattern in the area and through examining 77 sq km, the survey recorded 294 sites where previously only a handful had been known (Lloyd et al. 1985, p.217 although see p.220 for site definition). This suggested that in the Archaic to Hellenistic times the pattern of settlement included nucleated settlements as well as dispersed farmsteads, a situation that could not have been gleaned from the available literary or epigraphic sources (Lloyd et al. 1985, p.217). Unfortunately very little was unearthed pertinent to the period under question here. However, sampling described as 'purposive or judgement sampling' was chosen over other strategies such as probability sampling, concentrating observation in areas where Classical settlement was thought likely (Lloyd et al. 1985, p.219-220). As acknowledged by the directors (Lloyd et al. 1985 p.220) this may well have biased the results. In addition, it seems that ground visibility was particularly poor due to large wooded areas and a decline in agricultural practice in the Megalopolitikan area in the 1980s and therefore ploughed fields.

More recently, the Swedish Institute carried out a survey in the Asea Valley beginning in 1994 (Forsen & Forsen 2003). This survey followed a methodology developed by a number of earlier projects in Greece, namely those carried out on Keos (Cherry et al. 1991) and at Berbati-Limnes (Wells et al. 1990). This meant that all accessible parts of the survey area were searched on foot for artefacts. Walkers at a distance of 10-15 metres apart covered tracts of 200x200 metres or 100x200metres using hand-held counters to record all sherds and tile, of which diagnostic samples were made. At points where artefact density, 'discreteness' and 'continuity' suggested a site, the area was further investigated through total coverage, sampling in quadrants or site grabs (Forsen & Forsen 2003, p.17). This survey has

contributed to knowledge of six sites from the period in question that were previously unknown (see database).

The Pheneos and Lousoi Survey (Tausend 1999), following a similar methodology and sampling procedure, has as a result contributed to knowledge of four sites dating to the period under study. The Partheni Topographical Survey led by Susan Petrakis and Christine Salowey, which had its first season in 1996 (AR 1997, p.34; AR 1998, p.34) unfortunately is not yet fully published and the methodology is thus not clear. However, the Tegea survey led by Knut Ødegard of Oslo University began in 1999 (AR 1999) and from preliminary reports (Cracolici 2005; Ødegard 2005) it appears this survey too followed a similar methodology to that of the Asea Valley Survey (Forsen & Forsen 2003). As a result pottery dating from the BA to the Medieval period has been recovered. Both the Partheni Topographical Survey and the survey at Tegea are using a Geographic Information System (GIS) to input, analyse and present the data, a technology that has been closely associated with processualist views of archaeology, but which has been embraced more recently by archaeologists utilising post-processual methodologies. After all, GIS in itself is not fundamentally linked with a particular perspective, but those who employ it within their methodology (see Appendix 1).

It is clear from the examples above that these surveys have brought to light a number of sites belonging to the period under question. Of course, the point at which sherd-counts actually represent sites is a controversial one (e.g. Gallant 1986; Cherry et al. 1991, Ch 3; Alcock Cherry & Davis 1994; Mattingly 2000). As Forsen (2003, p.16) states a site could only be postulated when a number of factors coincided. In the first place, a high density of artefacts compared to the immediately surrounding area was necessary and this had to have a discrete ascertainable edge. Whilst this definition would locate places of repeated or intense activity, it may not find nor deem important instances of activity of a more fleeting nature. The

Megalopolis survey on the other hand had a more encompassing definition: 'the remains of significant human activity' (Roy et al. 1985). Whilst the use of the word significant is key, Roy believed that this approach would not exclude the debris of mobile groups, transhumant shepherds or hunter-gatherers and in the first instance described all 'significant remains' as findspots rather than sites. However, as Cherry (1983, p.280) states, translating a discrete area of tiles or a 'low grade' scatter into a 'site' has implications for the ways the archaeological and historical record is appraised.

More is said about the definition of sites for this study in Chapter 3 and the implications for ascertaining settlement patterns are discussed in Chapter 6. However, such surveys have started to rectify the position of Arkadia in current archaeological thought and have begun to increase knowledge of the period in question. In addition, they begin to allow sites to be considered in their wider landscape setting, which is particularly welcome for this study. However, the projects outlined above have strong processual ties, often focussing explanations for choice of location on economic or political reasons for example, and other influences often connected to relatively recent post-processual thinking such as structuration theory (Giddens 1984) and phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Heidegger 1962) are not common. Exceptions are Cruz Cardete del Olmo's (2005) contribution to the Ancient Arkadia seminar in 2002 in Athens and Föhlander's consideration in his brief analysis of burials for the Asea Valley Survey (2003, pp. 353-358). However, Föhlander's analysis is relatively superficial. Granted this is a field survey report, not necessarily the place for systematic theoretical discussion, but it is the lack of evidence that Föhlander blames for the inability to engage in such a discussion not the limiting nature of the format in which he is writing (Föhlander 2003, p.358).

There have also been continuing excavations, a number of which have produced evidence of enormous importance for this period, such as Palaiokastros-Palaiopyrgos (Christou 1957; Demakopoulou & Crouwel 1998), Karvouni-Sfakiovouni (Spyropoulos 2000) and prehistoric Orchomenos (Spyropoulos 1982). Unfortunately, not one of these sites has been published in detail despite being excavated in the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, the potentially illuminating site of Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos is known only from notices in *Archaeological Reports* (1984-5) and a few paragraphs in *Archaeologikon Deltion* (1982). In some respects, the lack of evidence for Arkadia during the period in question may actually be a perception borne of inadequate publication of sites that have yielded material evidence rather than as a reflection of the real archaeological record.

Nonetheless, whilst this work has begun to increase knowledge of the period, there are factors relating to the physical geography of the area that affects the archaeology and which no amount of intensive field survey, excavation or publication of results will rectify. This geography has also given rise to preconceptions both of Arkadia as an idyll and of it as barren and unyielding, to which we will now turn.

2.4 Geology Geography and Topography

2.4.1 Barren Arkadia

The view of Arkadia as an antiquated backwater view follows a cliché first exploited in Classical Antiquity (e.g. Polybius, 4. 21.1; Arrian 7.9.2-3; cf Buxton 1992) where mountain dwellers in general, were understood to be backward and poor in comparison to civilized plain dwellers. Arkadia is appropriately and certainly overwhelmingly mountainous, even accounting for fluctuations in the boundaries over time and thus such a view is encouraged by the physical characteristics of much of Arkadia. The Peloponnese is predominantly limestone and it is from these accumulated marine sediments that the mountains of this region were

formed during the Alpine Orogeny – the most recent mountain-building phase of geological activity. In Greece a number of ridges and furrows were formed through this activity, and it is one of these ridges, the Gavrovo-Tripolitsa ridge overlain by an earlier furrow of the Pindos Zone that compile much of the landscape of Arkadia. The relatively rapid rate at which this limestone has subsequently weathered has provided the plains and valleys with deep Neogene flysch deposits, which are relatively impermeable and which are covered by valuable alluvial soils (Bintliff 1977, ch.1; Hodkinson 1981, p.267).

The eastern plains all stand at more than 600m above sea level, with Lousoi as one of the highest at 950m. These high altitudes mean winter weather can be severe and frost can remain for a significant amount of time during the winter months (Roy 1999, p.367 n.8 quoting Pikoulas pers com.). The combinations of altitude, terrain and climate thus have consequences for the types of vegetation that grows naturally or is cultivated. This is true for the past as it is for today. As such the olive, for example, could only be cultivated in a limited fashion. In fact, Hodkinson notes that no olives are cultivated today on the Mantinean plain because of the low temperatures (1981, p.270). The obvious presence of olive trees in parts of the region today, it is warned, should not be taken as indicative of ancient practice as they are examples of varieties developed to be more resistant to cold winters (Settas 1975, p.352).

Recent work, however, has highlighted the potential of mountainous places that has been, and is still often overlooked (Roy 1999, p.321; Morgan 2003, p.169). Studies of pre-industrial Arkadia show that a significant proportion of families (21%) lived at an altitude of 1000m or over, and over 100 years later in 1961 this proportion had decreased little (19.06%) (Frangakis-Syrett & Wagstaff, 1992 cited in Roy 1999, p.326). Thus, for generations families have felt able to subsist using what the landscape around them could offer. For instance, despite the cold winters and problems with inundation, the highland plains of Arkadia offer

much potential for agriculture, especially if floods are anticipated and managed. Literary and epigraphic sources, such as those dated to the fourth century BCE (Xenophon *Hell.* 5.2.2,4) and second century (SEG 11 1107), certainly attest to cereal production on the eastern plains (see also: IG v.2 437.6; 515Bb.13-14; 268.16-18) and a type of semidalis wheat is known to have been grown at Tegea (Roy 1999, p.329, p.369 n.42). However, barley was perhaps the most popular cereal due to it being one of the hardier varieties. In fact, barley cakes seem to have been a typical Arkadian meal (Hekataios, *FGrHist*; Jameson, Runnels & Van Andel 1994, p.265). Vines are also common in Arkadia, especially on the eastern plains: many roads across the Mantinean plain today are “wine roads”, and ancient sources refer to Arkadian wine. Aristotle attests to wine from Arkadia as being so thick it had to be scraped from the skins (*Meteorologica* 388b), and wine from Heraia was considered by Theophrastus enough to turn men mad and make women fertile (*Hist.pl.* 9.18.10).

The more undulating areas of central and western Arkadia offered resources and ways of using the land in addition to the potentially fertile plains of the east. For example, there are a number of sources, ancient and modern, which have created an image of ancient Arkadia as a region ‘rich in flocks of sheep and goats’ (e.g. *Hymn.Hom.* 4.2, 18.2; 19.30; Pindar *Ol.* 6.169; Theokritos 22.157; Homer *Il* 2.605). The landscape is certainly used for pastoralism today and has been for a number of centuries, where sheep and goats are reared for their secondary products as well as meat. Evidence that may support such a reputation in antiquity is equivocal especially for the period in question, although, faunal evidence from Stymphalos and Lousoi (albeit dating to the Classical and Hellenistic period) suggest that the most numerous species of animals were indeed sheep and goats. In addition, bronze shepherd figurines from the western uplands have been variably interpreted as sheep barons and elite initiates playing at being shepherds (Lamb 1925; Jost 1975; Hübinger 1993). That pastoralism has been used in Arkadia throughout the centuries up until and including the

present day, leads to the assumption that once such species were introduced into Greece in the seventh millennium BCE, the presence of ovicaprids was a feature of this mountain landscape. The question of whether the inhabitants practiced long-distance transhumance or sheltered their animals over the winter months is a matter still much debated for Greece in general (Alcock 1994; Forbes, 1995; Halstead 1996; Osborne 1996; Roy, 1999: 349). Nevertheless, Chang (1993) shows that in the Pindos Mountains, in modern times at least, the options of taking flocks down to lower levels in winter (transhumance) or wintering them at high altitudes are equally open to herdsmen with variation existing over relatively short periods of time. Similarly, both transhumance and the wintering of flocks take place in Arkadia today, the choice largely dictated by the size of the flock (Psichoyios & Papapetrou 1984, map16-17, pp.20-21; Koster 1976; Roy 1999, p.354). Unless the flock was few in number the cost of transporting and buying huge amounts of fodder to feed animals over winter is seen as restrictive and certainly would have been in antiquity, especially in terms of transportation. Thus, for Arkadia to have deserved a reputation for being rich in flocks, long-distance transhumance was perhaps the norm creating a situation where large flocks would have been visible moving across the landscape (Roy 1999, p.356).

However, goat and sheep were not the only domestic species evident in Arkadia. At Stymphalos and Lousoi, excavation has revealed that in addition to the significant numbers of ovicaprids there is evidence of cattle, pigs (domestic and wild boar), horse and donkey, (Williams 1996, pp.87-88, pp.96-97; Forstenpointer 1990). At Lousoi the remains of two dogs were also found, which may very well have been eaten: at least one ancient source indicates the fact that dogs were sometimes used for their meat (Hippocrates *Mul*, 41, 43, 52; Roy 1999, p.371 n.79). Non-domesticates are also known, with deer, hare, and wild boar found at both at Stymphalos and Lousoi with the addition of red fox at Stymphalos and snails at Lousoi (Williams 1996, pp.87-88, pp. 96-97; Forstenpointer 1990, p.43). In addition, it has

been documented that Pikoulas has caught fish in the Alpheios and captured and eaten land crabs (Roy 1999, p.367). There is also evidence for the production of honey, with honey combs used as offerings at temples in the Classical period as witnessed by Pausanias at Phigalia (8.42.11) and recorded in an inscription from Lykosoura (IG V.2 514). Today, apiculture is a prevalent activity and areas of the Mainalon practically buzz with the sound of bees.

Evidence from modern ethnographers, such as the work by Hamish Forbes (1996) indicates that the mountainous areas of Arkadia are also sources of timber, brushwood, fuel and resin. Although there is relatively little evidence from the ancient sources of any period, Pausanias (8.12.1) does describe cork oaks in Arkadia, the bark from which was used to make floats for nets. Thompson (1951, p.50) refers to this Arkadian resource in regards to an extant cork stopper positioned in a fifth century BCE jug that had been found in a well in the Athenian Agora. At this date Arkadia may well have been a source of such cork, used as stoppers, net floats and according to the comic poet Alexis (fl. c. 344-288BCE) as soles in the shoes of prostitutes to give them extra height (Thompson 1951, pp.50-51). Other trees and woods are also attested. Theophrastus refers to oak, fir, silver-fir, yew, willow, Phoenician cedar, elm, lime, box and pine trees (Hist.Pl. 3.1.2, 3.4.5, 3.6.4-5, 3.7.1, 3.9.4, 3.9.7-8, 3.10.2, 3.12.4, 3.13.3, 5.4.6, 16.2.3). He describes, for example, how silver firs at Pheneos could be used if treated in different ways: if barked before budding it gave wood that did not decay over winter and if damaged on its lower trunk it produce a hard black wood from which bowls were made (Hist.Pl. 3.7.1, 5.4.6). There were also various controls exercised over who had the right to exploit certain woodlands. For example, both Thisoa and Orchomenos were granted the right to cut wood as a privilege in honorific decrees (IG V.2 510; SEG 11 470.13).

The use of herbs is also known and Theophrastus (Hist.Pl.9.15.5-8) describes not only those used in cooking, but also medicinal herbs as a particular feature of Arkadia. Spurge is described as growing around Kleitor and Tegea as well as moly in the vicinity of Pheneos and Mount Kyllene. The latter is equated with the herb given to Odysseus to protect him from Circe by Hermes, a god associated with this part of Arkadia (Od.10.277-307).

Moreover, the mountains of Arkadia are a source of stone. Ancient evidence includes that from the Athenian Agora where part of the paving of the Odeion was of a black slate-like stone said to be found at Vytina in Arkadia and on Mt Taygetos (Thompson 1950, p.60). Marble from the Dholiana quarries was also well known, and used within Arkadia in the temples at Tegea and at Ayios Elias near Asea. In addition, the Temple of Apollo at Bassae was built from the local limestone. It is true, however, that Arkadia lacked certain natural resources, such as metals, which meant that contact with outside regions was necessary, at least for full participation in Classical Greek life (Roy 1999, p.321). There is also evidence for the use of metals as fundamental to ways of life during the period in question in this study. A considerable amount of the early evidence from sanctuary sites is in the form of G bronzes (Voyatzis 1990). Workshops have been found at Tegea (Voyatzis 1990; 1999, p.131; Østby 1997; Østby et al 1994) and possibly also at Lousoi, identifiable by the debris left during the creative process (Voyatzis 1990, pp.35-7, pp.133-8, pp.155-6, ch.5; Morgan 1999b, p.417). It is possible to identify style groups produced by these workshops, for instance Tegean bronzes have been found far and wide (Voyatzis 1990; Morgan 1999, p.397). This confirms contact with other regions of Greece, where metal resources may have been traded for goat and sheep for which Arkadia was well-recognized (e.g. Hymn.Hom. 4.2, 18.2; 19.30; Pindar Ol. 6.169; Theokritos 22.157; Homer Il 2.605; Roy, *ibid.*). Given this range of evidence, despite the lack of corroboration for the period in question, it is easy to imagine that the people who lived

there did not consider the mountains of Arkadia as barren and unproductive during the LBA and EIA.

2.4.2 Topography and Geography

Despite the general uniformity of origin (see section 2.4.1), Arkadia is effectively split into two zones, the east, and west. In the east of the region, subsidence in the ridges has created a number of relatively large flat plains. The west by contrast, is mountainous, and although in general lies at a much lower altitude (the descending of the ridge to a furrow), it is much more difficult to navigate. An exception is the large plain of Megalopolis, the result of the same subsidence as mentioned above. The River Alpheios and its tributaries, such as the River Ladon and River Erymanthos, punctuate the mountains and although this accounts for the complexity of terrain, the valleys are well drained as a result.

A simple distribution map suggests that settlement is much denser in the East (see map 2.1). However, it is possible that this reflects pattern of research rather than pattern of settlement itself. The eastern area has certainly been more thoroughly investigated than the west with a number of the plains having undergone some survey (Eastern Arkadia, Howell 1970; Pheneos and Lousoi, Tausend 1999; Asea Valley, Forsen & Forsen 2003; Tegea, Ødegard 2005). Again, the exception is the large plain of Megalopolis, which has also been surveyed (Lloyd 1985; Pikoulas 1988). Travelling around the region is enough to explain why this may be so. The navigable landscape in the east and that around Megalopolis, is more conducive to archaeological survey. It would take a radically innovative strategy to undertake such field surveys in the west to the same extent as has been undertaken in the east. Thus, the archaeological knowledge we have of the western region is in the main acquired through chance finds and individual site excavations. For example, the bronzes from possible graves at Andritsaina (Payne 1940, p.71 n. 3; Jacobsthal 1956, p.4, pp.7-9 no.16; Morgan 1999b,

p.409; Snodgrass [1971] 2001, p.269), the Mycenaean chamber tomb(s) at Kalliani (AR, 1959, p.10; Howell 1970, no.54; Hope Simpson 1965, p.41, p.93), the extensive site at Dhimitra (Syriopoulos 1973) are all chance discoveries. Excavations at sites such as Alipheira (Orlandos 1967-8; Voyatzis 1999, p.139; Morgan 1999b, p.413), Bassae (Cockerell 1860; Kourouniotes 1910; Cooper 1978, 1996; Yalouris 1979, pp.89-104) and Gortys (Courbin 1952, p.245) have been undertaken, and sometimes over many years. However, the surrounding landscape is less well known than that around similarly excavated sites in the east such as Mantinea, Orchomenos and Tegea (e.g. Howell 1970; Ødegard 2005).



Map 2.1: Map of ancient Arkadia showing distribution of sites from the LH – G period (source: Google Earth)

2.4.3 Topography and visibility

The nature of the landscapes particularly in the east is responsible for other difficulties with the archaeological record. These are associated with the visibility of surface archaeology. This issue has been recently highlighted by Forsen (2003, p.183, p.199) referring in particular to the Asea Valley. In addition, Morgan (2003 p.39, p174) points out that sanctuary sites such as that at Tegea, where at one time the EIA was represented by very few surface remains, now boasts relatively full material records after excavation. This is because in the east, the plains are particularly prone to flooding. The impermeable flysch layer, as a consequence of weathering, overlying a substratum of low-grade schists also impervious and the relatively flat character of the plains means inundations are inevitable (Hodkinson 1981, p.257). Drainage on these plains occurs only through katavothras or sinkholes, but these are not always sufficient to prevent flooding. Pausanias in the second century CE referred to the Plain of Nestane as the Untilled Plain due to flooding (8.8.1) and travellers in the nineteenth century referred to the inundation of plains and the management needed to render them fertile (e.g. Leake 1830, p.84). In the late 1960s, Howell experienced flooding on the lower Orchomenos plain, which prevented him from reaching the site of Vlacherna-Petra (Howell 1970, n.2). Today, inundation no longer causes as many problems, particularly in the plain of Tripolis, due to the lowering of the water table largely attributable to the demands of the population on the water supply (Ødegard pers. comm. May 2005).

Nonetheless, past deluges and the character of these upland basins means alluvial soils covering the flysch are particularly deep. Archaeologists working in the area have encountered these layers. Forsen (2003, p.54) reported that local workers cutting a ditch on the lower slopes of Asea-Palaiokastro revealed a cultural layer by chance under plough soil. The alluvium itself contained very few finds, which were largely nineteenth century, but cores showed that archaeological material lay beneath to a considerable depth (six metres). This

archaeological material included prehistoric cultural layers lying below those dating to the Archaic and Hellenistic period (sixth-second centuries BCE) separated by sterile alluvium. From these observations it has been estimated that there has also been up to two metres of alluvium in historical times and that the Archaic to Hellenistic *polis* of Asea covered twice the area as that visible on surface (Forsen & Forsen 2003 p.54.). Similarly, in the lower Orchomenos plain (plain of Kaphyae), archaeological material was observed in a ditch dug by workers to approximately two metres depth (Fig. 2.1). With this as the case, perhaps further intensive survey on the eastern plains, for example around Orchomenos and Mantinea would not and could not change the current situation.



Fig.2.1: Ditch dug on lower Orchomenos plain, October 2003 (photo: author).

There is also some debate as to how well known pottery of the period is. Forsen (2003, p.) has blamed the relative scarcity of G pottery materialising during survey on the lack of familiarity with pottery of this period, especially local coarse wares. However, this is a situation that can be rectified. For instance, Voyatzis (2005) has begun qualitative and quantitative analysis of the local G pottery from Tegea (Cracolici 2005, p.125), a process that could be extended across other regions of Arkadia.

2.5 Conclusions

Until very recently the history of archaeological research in other areas of Greece has been much fuller than that of Arkadia. Other regions and temporal/cultural periods have been the focus of greater in-depth study, and for longer. Examples are Athens and Corinth in the Classical and Roman periods, excavated from the 1930's onwards. This is true not only in the present but also in the past (e.g. Herodotus, Thucydides for histories focusing on the larger city-states; Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, for tragedians and philosophers from and living in predominantly Classical Athens). There are some exceptions to this, for example, the description of Arkadia by Pausanias (Book 8) is a full and invaluable source and other regions, such as Lokris and Elis, apparently receive even less attention in the ancient literature and subsequently modern studies (Nielsen & Roy 1999, p.8). The ancient literary record has of course played a great role in determining where scholars have focused their efforts and although Arkadia does have a significant role particularly in the bucolic poetry of Virgil's Eclogues, perhaps fame as an idealised landscape has cushioned the area from consideration as a real place to be investigated archaeologically. There is also the nature of the physical landscape itself and how this may have limited research in a practical sense or at least confirmed the ideal of a peaceful, pastoral landscape, retarded from development by its geography and therefore not worth investigating (e.g. Petronotis 1985-6, p.393).

Democratic Athens in particular has benefited from not only the literary sources, in this case especially Aristotle's Constitution, but also from the desire of modern liberal democratic societies to look back to its perceived predecessor as illustrated above (Hodkinson and Brock, 2000: 4). Arkadia, a mountainous and rural area with a few urban centres comparable to Athens or Sparta, could not and did not receive the same kind of attention in this climate. Until recently, Arkadia was thought of as a place where the *polis* was a particularly late development (Parke, 1993: 14 and Stronk, 1995: 32 34-35, 37 in Nielsen, 1999: 75 n.209), a view somewhat rectified by Nielsen's recent work (1996a,b; 1999, p.43). More fundamentally, however, is the challenge of recent years to the idea of the *polis* as the ultimate form of social and political organisation in ancient Greece with Athens as the prime example. The recognition of *ethne* as tiers of identity co-existing with *poleis* in the same region, has replaced the traditional view that they were alternative forms of state or an early stage in the development of the *polis* (e.g. Hodkinson & Brock 2000, p.21; Morgan 2003, p.168).

During the last decade, the situation for Arkadia has begun to be rectified with the publishing of the Pheneos and Lousoi Survey (Tausend & Erath, 1999) and the Asea Valley Survey (Forsen & Forsen, 2003). In addition, it is to be hoped that a number of other surveys recently completed or still underway will be published in full as soon as possible (Partheni topographical survey by Petrakis; Tegea survey by Ødegard). Because of, and in addition to these surveys, there is now a substantial body of work concerning Arkadia and this continues to be added to by scholars such as, Madeleine Jost, Catherine Morgan, Thomas Heine Nielsen, Knut Ødegard, Yanis Pikoulas, James Roy and Maria Voyatzis to name but a few. These scholars are all working on Arkadia addressing many issues. They also appear to be committed to shedding light on this area and in some cases on the period in question too, at least in part. Nonetheless, rather than satisfying the study of ancient Arkadia, these factors

inspire the idea that there is much more to be said about this region at the end of the BA and beginning of the IA than previously thought, even though the evidence in many ways is still somewhat limited in quantity and/or accessibility. The meta-narrative of Classical and Greek Archaeology has determined how the discipline and thus the study of the archaeology of Arkadia have developed. It is important that this is understood in order to reassess the evidence and say different things, not in an effort to dismiss all that has gone before but to investigate different possibilities and plausibilities (cf Soja 1996, p.1). Therefore, despite an increasingly rosy picture for the archaeology of Arkadia, there are issues to be addressed. There are still gaps; not only in the archaeological record, but also in the way this has been understood, particularly in relation to the question of understanding the relationship between people, sites and the landscape.

For the most part, evidence that which belongs to the LH period down to and sometimes including the G period, is usually catalogued, summarized and dismissed as not being of enough quantity or value to consider in any detail. However, Morgan (1999b) and Voyatzis (1999) largely consider that from the G to the Archaic period. This supposed lack of evidence seems to have deterred archaeologists from looking at Arkadia throughout the period of the Dark Ages and if there were no evidence at all, it would prove futile to do so at least in archaeological terms, except perhaps to explain the absence. However, evidence does exist from throughout the period in question from the LBA period to the G to one degree or another, albeit largely in the form of scatters. Admittedly, there is some problem with the SM period where different scholars have assigned the same pots to different periods (Spyropoulos 1982, p.113-5; Mountjoy 1999, pp.51-52, p.55; Morgan 2003), but this will be considered in more detail in Chapter 3.

Compared to other regions and/or periods this evidence is quantifiably not staggering, but nevertheless it exists and this is the pertinent point. Lack of evidence was the excuse used for continuing with the way things were going when there was a call for a 'new archaeology' in 1913 and the 1930s, as if somehow, by amassing more and more data the answers would come (Wylie 1993, p.20). This of course has not been the case. Instead it often seems the reverse has happened in that more data either seems to complicate and confuse the picture or occupy so much time in order to acquire it and then process it afterwards that it never gets published and whiles away its time in dusty storerooms or unlabelled on museum shelves. Much of the recent work on the region also tends to fall under what can be termed a processual framework. This work is valuable and as will become apparent these ideas and concepts are not dismissed throughout this thesis. However, it is also possible to consider the evidence using ideas that are commonly used by those under the post-processual umbrella in British prehistory, such as Julian Thomas (1991), Christopher Tilley (1994), John Barrett (1994), Mark Edmonds (1999) and Mark Gillings (2005), who attempt to engage with the evidence where location and landscape setting can be of paramount importance.

This then is the motivation for this study: a perceived need for assembling and reconsidering the already available evidence, using approaches and ideas from a wide variety of sources, but particularly those that pertain to the physicality of the landscape. This is a move from the general to the particular, a thorough consideration of the specific landscape settings of individual sites and a recognition and acknowledgement that these places were lived by people. The following chapter explains in detail how I have approached this geographical and temporal subject area.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

3.1: Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the theory and methodology underlying the research presented in this thesis, the application of which has been an ongoing process of development, discovery and insight. Rather than outlining the theory and then the methodology, this chapter begins by examining spatiality and then temporality, appraising both the theories applied to the study and the way in which these have informed the methodology in both spheres. Dealing with each in turn proves to be an effective way of explicating the reasons for the way the region of Arkadia in the LBA and EIA is approached in this study. The general underlying theoretical position is clarified in Section 3.1.1 following which is a consideration of the spatial aspects of the research. Section 3.2 is a deliberation upon the ways in which landscape has been and is approached in archaeology and related disciplines and how it is considered in this thesis (Sections 3.2.1-3.2.3). The landscapes of Arkadia are described in Section 3.2.4 and an explanation of the site definitions used in the study appears in Section 3.2.5, before elucidation of how the approach was applied to fieldwork (3.2.5). Secondly, in Section 3.3 the temporal aspects of the research are reflected upon. The concept of time and different approaches to it are discussed in Section 3.3.1, where the validity of looking at different timescales to understand past human behaviour and experience is assessed. Some thoughts on the chronology used within this thesis are set out in Section 3.3.2 and what this means for the Arkadian evidence is confronted in 3.3.3 before conclusions are made in Section 3.4.

3.1.1: Theoretical Underpinnings

Underlying and reinforced by the research for this thesis is the application of what could be termed an eclectic approach towards uncovering and explaining the archaeological record,

one that is open to and tolerant of ideas from different sources. This has been encouraged and called for in other, arguably relevant, disciplines and areas of study, such as sociology (e.g. Giddens 1984; Layder 1994), psychology (e.g. Norcross & Goldfried 1992), philosophy (e.g. Baggini 2004), anthropology (Ingold 2000), and Greek mythology (e.g. Buxton 1994). It appears to be the only way forward within the discipline of archaeology, and perhaps in many areas of modern life. It is hoped that throughout this study it is clear that all ‘schools’ of thought have not been amalgamated as an easy replacement for serious thought, a feature that characterizes Johnson’s reticence for such an approach (Johnson 1999, p.187), but rather that both the subject and object have been approached after carefully considering various standpoints. As Giddens points out, the objection to using ideas from different sources even if they (the sources) are in many ways fundamentally opposed to each other, is unfounded; the origins of ideas is not what matters, but how they are used and subsequently honed that gives them continued importance and allows them to become particularly enlightening (1984, p.xxii).

However, although I have a certain amount of sympathy for various ways of interpreting the archaeological record, the overall standpoint is one that considers absolute truths as unattainable. ‘Facts’ may arguably exist, but mean little without interpretation (e.g. Latour 1986; Feyerabend 1988; Kuhn 1996, p.192). What is described as ‘Truth’ and ‘Objectivity’ is based on experience, individual and collective, the ‘natural attitude’ described by Husserl (e.g. 1988) and discussed by Webster (2001a), to explain how we ‘know’ the world. This ‘natural attitude’ is socially and culturally constituted and necessarily subjective, therefore concluding the impossibility of universal truths and total objectivity. This, I accept, is tending towards a relativism that many seem to fear (e.g. Berglund 2000; Peebles 1991, p.108), which at first glance always appears to be postulating that all interpretations, ideas, and

opinions are as valid as the next. However, this is not my standpoint, nor do I believe it is possible to apply this notion as we go about our day-to-day lives.

While archaeology attempts to reconstruct the past, it is generally understood that this reconstruction exists only in the present (Hodder 1989, p.75; Johnson 1999, p.175; Pearson & Shanks 2001, p.11). Views or explanations of the past change constantly with each new 'generation'; a cycle of the avant-garde becoming the accepted view, seen for example in the change from culture-historical perspectives, processualist explanations, and then post-processualist interpretations, each taking the place of the other. Each trend can be said to be relative to time and place, as can the very discipline of archaeology (Thomas 2004). Nonetheless, taken to its extreme (or perhaps just its logical conclusion), relativism renders us incapable of going any further. A philosophy which asserts that all ideas and opinions are as valid as the next, in practice leaves us without meaning, unable to assess the merits of ideas, at a loss and feeling unable to oppose anyone else's viewpoint with any certainty. Therefore, we have and need points of reference. These points of reference are things, from which we cannot very easily escape. In fact, Heidegger states that we should not even try (Dreyfus 1991, p.3). They are contextual and differ depending on time and place, and they are part of who we are. It is these points of reference that define what is 'common sense' to us or that makes 'more sense' or is 'more likely' (Gosden 1994, p.122).

Feyerabend (1988) extols what has been termed 'democratic relativism' an idea, which upholds that all traditions are, or should be, debated and decided upon by all citizens. In other words, in an inclusive democracy, people should decide for themselves which paradigm or set of ideas better corresponds to reality based on, for example, their knowledge and experience (Fotopoulos 1997). This may be enacted formally as is suggested above, but it also happens as a result of simply being-in-the-world with other people, and is explained by aspects of the

work of philosophers and social theorists such as Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Giddens, some of which will be considered in due course.

In terms of archaeology, a material resistance exists to the number of ways archaeological data can be interpreted. Although ‘facts’ or ‘data’ may exist, they only mean something within a contextual scheme (Kluckhohn 1940, p.47 cited by Wylie 1993, p.21); they are ‘constituted in theory’ (Shanks & Tilley 1987, p.193). Indeed, an artefact can be measured and weighed in various ways by different people who will then attain the same answers, but these same people will have different understandings of the artefact in terms of both preconscious and conscious apprehensions. Because of the materiality of archaeology (and the world), there is a restriction as to what may be stated about the past, but it also means that there are a myriad of ways in which the ‘data’ can be used to create different pasts. This situation should not be seen as problematic but as liberating.

The underlying view, outlined here, has grounded the approach to landscape as set out in this thesis. It is an acceptance of the physicality of the world, recognising that there is material constraint to interpretation, both natural, in terms of ecofacts, and cultural in terms of artefacts. It is a world that is already ‘known’, and of which there is a pre-understanding. It is an investigation into how people interact and live within landscape, not only how it is used as a resource (ecofacts) and not only how these are perceived (ecoconstructs), but how people are thoroughly enmeshed within it. These points are fully considered below. Throughout the following chapters, many different ideas have been brought to bear on the evidence in order to explain its presence, but there are some fundamental concepts that have influenced the way in which work and thought has progressed. These are associated with the *Annales* tradition (e.g. Braudel 1969; Bintliff 1991a; Knapp 1992), Giddens’ Theory of Structuration (Giddens 1984), and the more phenomenologically based ideas of Heidegger (1962; Krell 1993) and

Merleau-Ponty (2002). In addition, Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1977) and Gibson's approach to perception and the environment, implemented by Ingold (Gibson 1979; Ingold 2000) are also essential to the way in which both place and time are considered.

3.2: *Spatiality*

3.2.1: *Landscape and Landscape studies*

It has long been recognised that the physical nature of the landscape - the environment - has an effect on the people living within it. From Strabo's Geography (e.g. 8.8.1) and Polybius' assertion that Arkadians were musical to protect themselves from the detrimental effects of their harsh environment (4.19.13-21.12), to Bintliff's treatise 'Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece' (1977) and more recent trends in landscape studies that involve thinking-through-the-body (e.g. Hamilakis et al. 2002), scholars have explored and continue to explore humanity's attachment to the physical world. What is of primary importance in understanding landscape in the past, however, is how we as archaeologists engage with and explain it in the present. Landscape and landscape studies have often been approached from the predominant position embedded within the modern western world that propounds culture as separate from nature, detaching humans from their environment. This is in opposition to a pre-modern view, which in general terms saw all things as the product of divine creation (e.g. Bell 1992; Thomas 1993a, 1993b, 2004). This shift in view, identified with the Enlightenment, built on philosophies such as Cartesian Dualism and purported a world governed by rules that were there to be discovered (by human beings) and that human beings were unique for possessing a mind and soul as separate from the body and the material world. This has served to position humankind as an observer, with the outside world (the landscape) as an object, not only to be studied, but also owned and consumed. The emergence of landscape art and cartography and particularly of vision as the pre-eminent

sense has been informed by this way of understanding the world and how we create the past (Thomas 1993a, p.22; Moser 2001).

This has not meant that all views on landscape have been homogenous or static within the ‘modern western world’, and as the majority of, if not all, phenomenological thinkers and post-processual archaeologists are part of this world, their views could be claimed to be as modern and as western as the rest. For instance, as part of this ‘modern’ approach to landscape, nineteenth century travellers such as Dodwell (1819) Leake (1830) Cockerell (1830) and Puillon de Boblaye (1835) who visited Arkadia, had an inspirational, romantic, and aesthetic view of landscape. It was a personal relationship with the places under exploration, but one comparable to appreciating a landscape painting. Likewise, culture-historic archaeologists often viewed the world with an uncritical eye, and indeed archaeology was considered as losing its innocence when the New Archaeology of the 1970s and 1980s insisted on rigorous scientific method (see Piggott 1976; and Bradley 2000, ch.2 commenting on Arthur Evans; Clarke 1973). These were outsiders looking in. Although still the ‘observer’, this kind of sentimentality and subjectivity was discouraged by the New Archaeology, which sought to view landscape in a more objective way (e.g. Binford 1983). Only the measurable, quantifiable aspects were of importance. These ‘things’ could be understood on the same level by everyone, the natural and the physical and what people then did to or with them. The environment or landscape as a resource, which is possible to own and consume, has been at the root of environmental determinism that has been particularly associated with New Archaeology or Processualism.

3.2.2: Objective Landscapes

Although such projects began to investigate ‘whole’ landscapes, they have been heavily influenced by processualist methodologies and positivist principles: landscapes are explained

in detached ways, as a backdrop to events and the activities of humans, as a resource to be exploited, a stage waiting to be peopled. In this model, the environment can be perceived as objective fact, a measurable space usually depicted in two-dimensional map forms, universal and unchanging over time (Gregory 1994, p.53; Exon et al 2000, p.9). That this is one way of viewing the world should not be doubted: we certainly do possess the ability to distance ourselves from our surroundings, to have an objective relationship with the world (Gibson 1968, p.200; Webster 2001a). An area can be described as being so many metres squared; flora and fauna can be classified using categories that are scientific and standard; distribution maps can be used for illustrating and explaining arguments and conclusions, and the latter is something from which this study certainly does not shy away. However, this does not make this the way of looking the 'truth' or the only 'truth' (cf Heidegger 1993, p.115). As argued above, total objectivity or universal truth is unattainable, although 'truths' can exist, in the sense that they correspond to 'someone's' reality. Explanations can hold the essence of truth, which, in the case of archaeology, is measured against material facts. We are able to see ourselves as separate from the landscape, to objectify it and for example to use measurements that others can repeat; but we see this from our place within the world, which makes it necessarily a subjective experience. The landscape is never neutral.

Explanations associated with the New Archaeology and similar processual standpoints (e.g. Brown & Rubin 1982; Sabloff 1994), have a limited, objective view of the world. The cultural miasma through which people view the world around them is not explored in any depth. They lack an understanding of the significance that may have been attached to aspects of the landscape or environmental variables, and fail to consider the experience people in the past may have had within their environment/landscape. For such environmentally deterministic explanations 'landscape as a resource' is often as far as it goes, without accepting that the Cartesian viewing of the world is as socially and culturally determined as

any other. There is nothing wrong per se with thinking that the environment in terms of economic resources affects human behaviour, which in turn affects where people choose to be for whatever activity in the landscape. This is known from our own experiences of living in the world. However, this view does not allow a full or even a rounded understanding of the world today or that which people may have experienced in the past. Different cultures across time and space have various ways of perceiving their environments, their landscapes, their worlds. Rodaway (1994) for example, analyses how three contemporary cultures (American, Japanese and Arab) view, move through, sense and experience the places in which they live and this illustrates very different notions of space. Factors such as power relations, outside threat, ritual significance attached to parts of the landscape and a multitude of other beliefs have a bearing on where people choose to interact and carry out certain activities and with whom. The economic resources and potentiality of the environment/landscape certainly play an important part in this choice, but people do not always choose to live, interact and 'be' in places that are most beneficial to them as determined by modern western academics (e.g. Bintliff 1977, p.111). In Arkadian terms, Roy (1999, pp.324-327) has illustrated that ancient and modern views relating to the harshness of mountain environments has masked the potential of such areas and the fact that families in pre-industrial Arkadia were quite able to support themselves at high altitudes (see also Frangakis-Syrett & Wagstaff 1992; Sauerwein 1994; Hempel 1996).

Processual approaches have relied on modern values and assumptions such as least cost/minimum effort to produce the familiar halo patterns around sites and Thiessen polygons superimposed on distribution maps (e.g. Bintliff 1977, p.111; 1985, p.198). However, with some of the critiques outlined above in mind, variables such as time and terrain have been added in an attempt to bring in a human dimension (e.g. Gaffney & Stančič 1991; Witcher 1999, p.15). Nonetheless, although such modifications may serve to remind that it is human

beings living in the landscapes under discussion, an inescapable fact is that in this particular instance, least cost/minimum effort is a predominantly modern value and one that is very much connected with the environment as an exploitable economic resource. This value may not have held much relevance to people living within the past landscape under scrutiny. Even if it can be shown that without exception, sites were placed near fertile soils and further away from less profitable landscape types (Bintliff 1977), this surely is not the whole picture of past populations' relationships with their physical worlds.

3.2.3: Subjective Landscapes

As a reaction to the objectification of landscape, a clarion call has gone out (e.g. Thomas 1991, 1996; Ingold 1993; Bender 1993a, 1993b; Tilley 1993, 1994) for thinking of landscape not only in terms of an analysis of the topography, geology, soil or climate, but also in terms of the social construction of space and place and the perceptions of those experiencing the landscape, both today and in the past. The result has been a plethora of studies, archaeological and anthropological, into perception and subjective, personalised views of space (see Gudeman 1986; Bird-David 1990; 1992b; Bender 1993; Tilley 1994; Thomas 2001). However, as Exon et al (2000) state, this 'backlash' to positivistic principles and environmentally deterministic views of landscape has resulted in the setting up of a binary opposition. As such, many studies have continued the dualism between nature and culture that is so characteristic of the modern western worldview. For example the geographer Smith (quoted in Gregory 1994, p.5) refers to 'material space' and 'metaphorical space', failing to take into account the bodily experience and the materiality of landscape, thus continuing a false separation of the body and the physical from the mind and cognitive processes. Ingold (2000, p.44) likewise recognises that even those trying to be sensitive towards present-day hunter-gatherer perceptions, have ended up couching 'landscape' in terms of a modern western world view that separates the cultural from the natural.

Soja (1996, p.10) characterises these two orthodox ways of viewing landscape or environment as first space (real and measurable) and second space (imagined and subjective). The former is concerned with a landscape that can be measured and mapped, i.e. the physical 'facts', whereas the latter is conceived as purely in the mind, the representation of space. The latter asserts that personal reading and subjective experience is the only way in which space can be approached (e.g. Tilley 1994). Soja (1996) goes on to suggest an alternative way – 'thirdspace'. This is an attempt to approach space that involves the real and imagined worlds of the first and second space, thus breaking down the binary oppositions. It is an attempt to encapsulate the absolute fundamentality of the spatial aspect to all human lives, that goes beyond being measured and real, and imagined and subjective (1996, p.11). Similarly, Ingold (2000), following Gibson (1968), sees the value in getting away from such oppositions. The work of Rodaway (1994), Soja (1996) and Ingold (2000) therefore allows the materiality of the world to have a central role in discussions of space, and represents an attempt to explain how this materiality or physicality impacts on human life, recognising that human beings are immersed within it, sensing it with their whole beings, learning about it through action. To varying degrees, these theories bring the agency of animals and vegetation into the equation. It has been often been stated for example that not only do trees reduce visibility in a landscape for example, but they also restrict movement and distort sounds (e.g. Cummings 2004). Different species of trees also reflect seasonality in different ways, which would in turn affect how people and communities responded to their environments, perhaps even affecting moods (Richer & Walsh 2005). This has very strong links with phenomenological approaches of being-in-the-world associated with the work of Heidegger (1962 & 1993) and Merleau-Ponty (2002).

In this view, human beings do not arrive somewhere, take in the objective facts and then interpret them in the mind; 'perception' is taking place all the time, often without conscious

awareness. A space is not entered into and then given meaning, it already has meaning (Dreyfus 1991, p.67). For Thomas (2001b), meaning permeates all aspects of our lives. This view has been criticised by Webster (2001), as imposing conscious acts of interpretation onto mundane, habitual, daily activity. However, Thomas is not positing that everything we do in the world or sense as we go about our daily lives is consciously interpreted and given explicit meaning – this would be preposterous. He unequivocally states, “We ‘get on’ with the world without having to constantly reflect on it” (Thomas 2001b). He also argues that the use of the word perception excludes a whole range of experience that people have, preferring the words ‘disclosure’ or ‘experience,’ to explain the way in which humans ‘know’ their landscape without necessarily entailing any conscious awareness on the part of the one experiencing or perceiving. Others, such as Gosden (1994, p.38,) see such habitual action as being ‘unthought’ whilst Johnson (1998, p.57) uses ‘inherent perception’ to distinguish from ‘explicit perception’ and Ingold (1998, p.39) ‘direct perception’ to explain the same phenomenon. Nonetheless, whatever term is used the meaning is the same: landscape is something that is lived day to day; it becomes familiar so not consciously apprehended. Unfortunately, this claim is very difficult to qualify, as when a person is made aware of their surroundings, perhaps by being questioned, the apprehension has been altered in that instant. This has to be equated with Webster’s (Husserl’s) ‘natural attitude’ and should not be mistaken, as perhaps Thomas has done (2001b), as meaning it to be natural and thus hard-wired biologically (Webster explicitly states he does not mean it in this way, 2001). The way we-are-in-the-world is socially and culturally constructed. That we are interpretative beings means that nothing is ‘objective’ and meaningless. Likewise, ‘natural attitude’ is neither ‘objective’ nor meaningless.

Ingold approaches landscape through his term ‘taskscape’ (1993, p.158), which encompasses both the physicality of landscape and how it is apprehended by organisms living within it

through time. This approach is an adaptation of Gibson's (1979, ch.5) 'affordances' where perception begins with the invariant optical ambient array that is directly 'picked-up' through movement of a variant (an organism), not a representation in the mind as described in conventional explanations. However, instead of picking up the invariants that are wholly present, an organism is tuned to resonate to the invariants that are significant for it, as a result of 'hands-on' training in everyday life, an "education of attention" (Gibson 1979, p.254). Other elements may be there, but a person (or animal or other organism) moving through what becomes their taskscape will not experience them all. Different aspects of landscape will afford themselves at different times, depending on whether the organism is 'fine-tuned' to pick them up. A particular feature such as a river may have different physical characteristics during the year, which will thus create, give or afford different significances to those living with them, but other features that may be 'static' will also afford different meanings at different times. Thus, a prominent geological feature may gain a particular significance at one time in the year, through practices associated with community rituals, at others it fades away, but acting as a latent reminder of the order of things that the yearly ritual underlines.

Through studies of various 'hunter-gatherer' communities (e.g. Cree of northeastern Canada, Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri Forest, Pintupi of Western Australia), Ingold (e.g. 2000, ch.3) has recognised a fundamentally different way of relating to the world. Humans are not separated from the animal or physical world, i.e. culture as opposed to nature, but are part of a whole. Animals, plants, and geology are not just imbued with, or have metaphors of humanity and personhood inscribed upon them by humans; they are-in-the-world alongside and with humans. This is best understood through a dwelling perspective, which taskscape envelops (Ingold 2000, p.57). In this perspective, landscape and environment are negotiated by an organism's practices within it and exist through our engagement and relationship with it.

‘Nature’ is a disembodied landscape. It may be analysed, viewed under a microscope, and described in detail and the mechanisms at work may be understood, but this does not disclose a whole range of other ways in which the world is engaged with, of which we are part. It is only ‘nature’ because humans have categorised it as such; human beings have determined relevant characteristics. The idea of ‘taskscape’ allows an appreciation of the way in which ‘landscape’ becomes through us. Elements of the landscape present themselves at different times, through our actions within it. Also useful for understanding landscape in a similar way is the concept of ‘lifeworld’ developed by a number of theorists (e.g. Agre & Horswill 1997; Habermas 1981; Husserl 1970). Although each definition differs from the other, they are all based on the notion that a ‘lifeworld’ is borne of bodily experience, praxis in the world. Likewise Bourdieu’s (1977) ‘habitus’ contains the notion of experience as being particularly embodied: that it is through physical action that we come to know the world, not through conceptual schemata

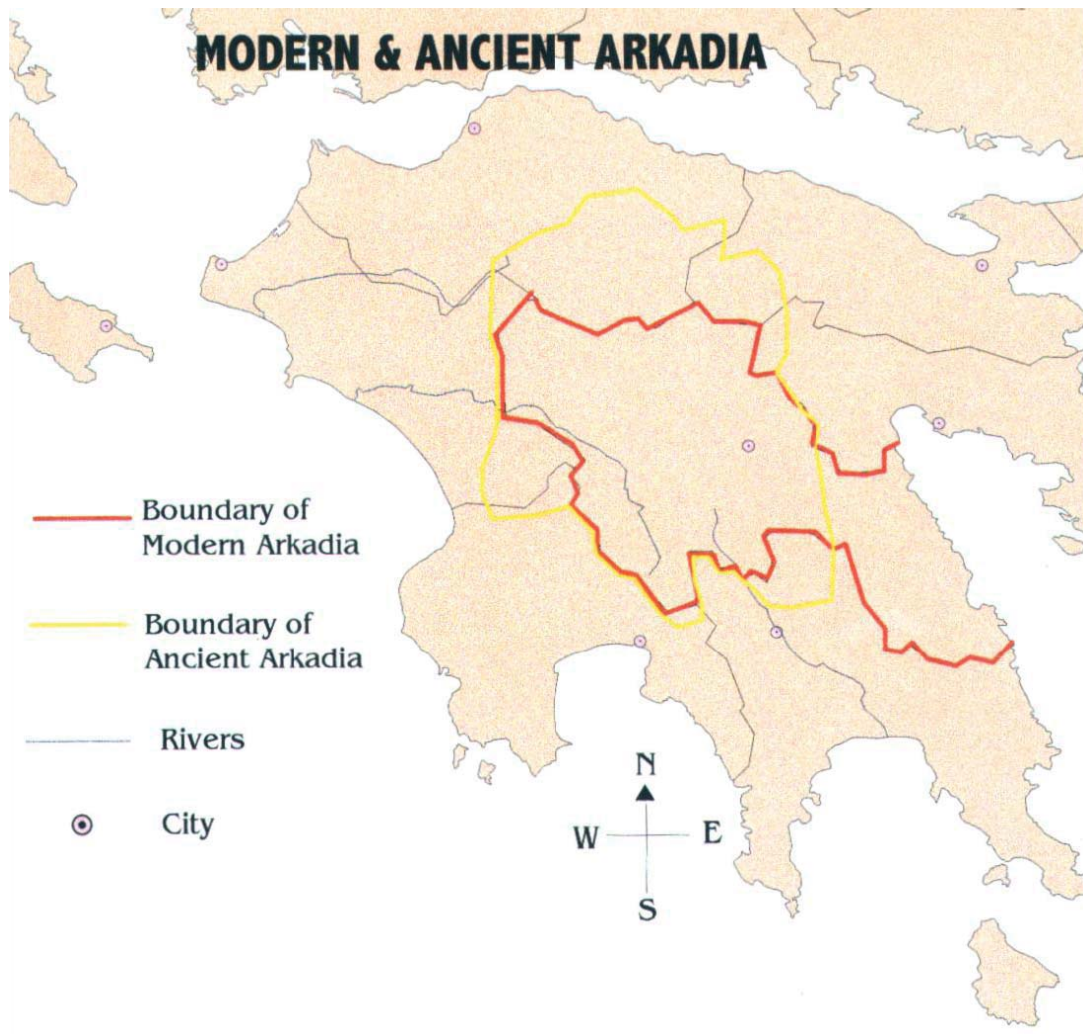
3.2.4: Arkadian Landscapes

How do these ideas relate to a study of landscape in Arkadia? As outlined above, the physicality of the landscape is crucial in applying a phenomenologically inspired approach, thus in the first instance, an area of Arkadia has to be defined in order to discuss the physical characteristics. It may seem redundant to set upon establishing the boundaries of an area existing today and which, as a consequence, has parameters already in place. However, even though Arkadia is, and always has been, situated in the central Peloponnese, attempting to delineate the exact area is not as simple as it may at first appear. In fact, where and when the name Arkadia can be applied to a coherent region is a much-debated issue in itself (e.g. Nielsen & Roy 1999). The boundaries have fluctuated numerous times, and as such, the contemporary geopolitical and administrative district of Arkadia does not correspond exactly to that described in the ancient sources. The modern region of Arkadia occupies a relatively

small, central area and reaches the coast on the Argolic Gulf. Thus, some places mentioned in the ancient sources as once belonging to Arkadia and the Arkadians are not found in the Arkadia of the present day: Stymphalia now falls under the Corinthian administrative district and Bassae lies in Messenia. And, vice versa: places that were never considered part of ancient Arkadia are included within the boundaries of the modern province, such as Astros. In the face of a seemingly insurmountable task, the only real reason for an attempt to delineate boundaries is to set out where and why fieldwork stopped where it did and in order to know which sites to include and which to exclude from this study. Such delineation also allows for discussion on the overriding physical characteristics of the region. A fluctuating boundary does not make an effective study area for research and it is self-evident that a study based on landscape cannot be undertaken before the materiality of the landscape is recognised, thus allowing it to be described.

The ancient sources are a good starting point for a consideration of the borders of Arkadia in the LBA and EIA, but the fact that they all originate from beyond the period in question complicates such an effort. On occasion, the region had a sea border as it does today: a description of ancient Arkadia comes from Book 44 of the geographical treatise of the Psuedo-Skylax, where a coastal strip on the Ionian Sea is described and thus included Triphylia as part of Arkadian territory (Ps.-Skylax, 44, GGM I 37-38; Nielsen 1999, p.49). Despite this, Arkadia of antiquity was generally regarded as occupying the highlands in the central Peloponnese with no access to the sea. Homer, writing in approximately the mid eighth century BCE, states “the Arkadians knew nothing of sea-faring” (Il.2.604-14), and the region was similarly perceived nearly a millennium later when Pausanias wrote “the Arkadians are shut off from the sea on every side and dwell in the interior” (Pausanias. 8.1.3). Other changes are slighter: Although Azania in the northern region was considered Arkadian in the Archaic period, by the Classical period it was not (Nielsen & Roy 1998, pp.36-39), and

today it is partly encompassed by Achaea. Additionally, Pausanias suggests that the territory of Tegea stretched further south in the past with the communities of Karyai and Oion originally belonging to Tegea, which contemporaneously belonged to Lakeldaimon (8.45.1).



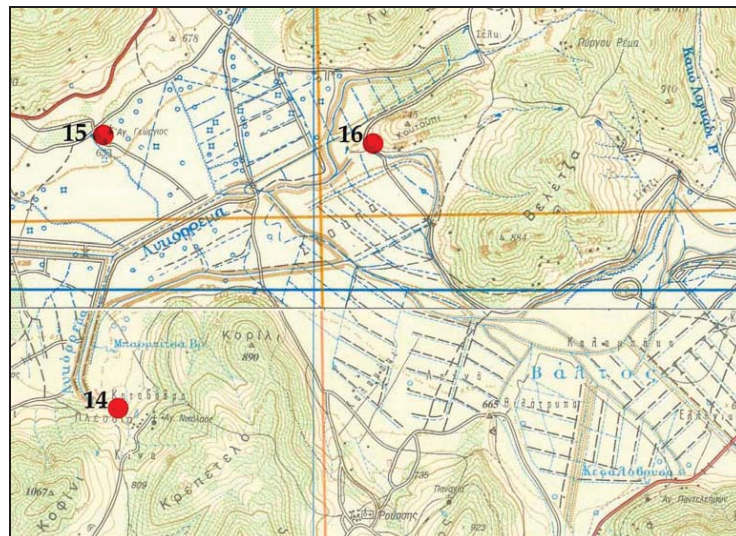
Map 3.1: map showing the boundaries of modern Arkadia and the ancient region as used in this study.

Fortunately, a number of modern studies, in particularly those carried out by Howell (1970) and Jost (1985) have defined a workable ancient Arkadia already. These are based on Homer's (eighth century BCE) and Pausanias' descriptions (second century CE), even though, or perhaps because, they stand almost a millennium apart. Subsequently, these boundaries have been primarily followed in the present study. A slight modification means that Jost's borders have been extended to the northwest to include the sites of Manesi,

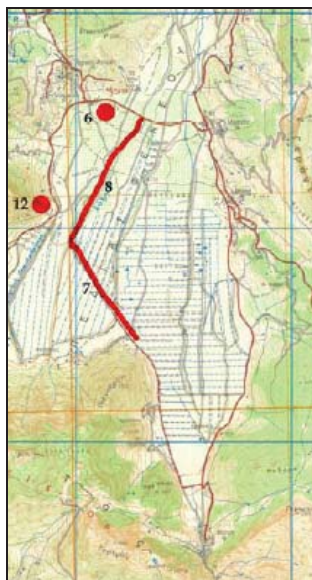
Kompegadhi and Dhrosato Vrisariou-Lakes, sites considered by Morgan in an overview of EIA Arkadia (1999, pp.419-420). In this way, the borders of ancient Arkadia adhere closely to natural features. The region is bounded by the mountain ranges of Erymanthos, Aroania, (or Khelmos) and Kyllene to the north, Artemision and the northern reaches of the Parnon range to the east, the western edge of Parnon and northern Taygetos to the south and the Ladon River and the Tetrazi mountains to the West. That it is the physicality of the landscape, defining the limits of the region, suits very well the idea of the importance of the materiality of landscape upon which much of this study is centred. In some instances, sites have been included that are slightly beyond this, thus allowing for the fluidity of peoples' lives and thus borders and, in all probability, the area was not seen as a united Arkadia at the end of the LBA and EIA, neither by the people living in this area nor from outside (Nielsen 1999, p.60; Map.3.1).

In the preceding chapter, the character of the landscape of Arkadia was considered as a reason for lack of evidence pertaining to the period in question. This rested mainly on the fact that deep alluvial layers could be covering archaeology that would enhance understanding of the LBA and EIA. Such accumulation of alluvium has also resulted in many rivers changing their course throughout the centuries. For example, it is believed that the Sarandapotamos, which today flows north and drains into katavothra to the east of Tripolis, may very well have flowed west into Lake Taka in antiquity, thus running very close to the Temple of Athena Alea (Ødegard, 2005). Recent work around Tegea has also shown that the landscape was significantly more undulating in the past than it is today, caused by build up of sedimentations through fluctuating river courses and flooding (Ødegard 2005). In addition, this work has shown that at least part of the area around the sanctuary of Athena Alea was in the past characterised by wetlands, ponds and riverine activity and therefore very unsuitable for inhabitation, another reason why finds may be limited. Today, river courses are managed

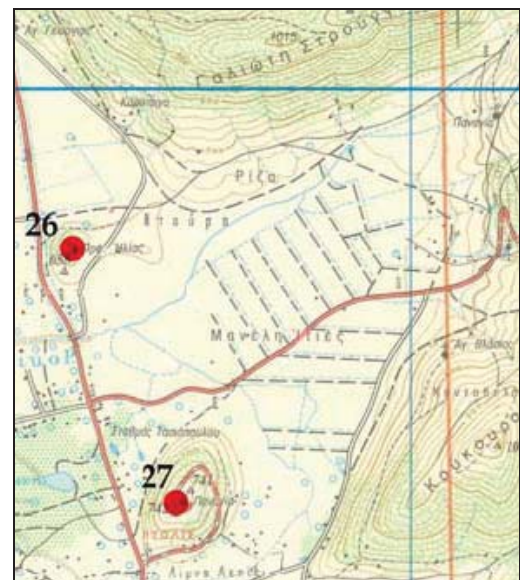
more successfully through the creation of artificial channels. Flooding is also managed by such means. In fact, a characteristic of some of the eastern plains in Arkadia is the regular pattern of crisscrossing conduits to redirect what might otherwise be floodwaters in order to provide valuable irrigation (Figs.3.2-3.4).



Map 3.2: Upper Orchomenos plain/Plain of Caphyae
(14, Vlakherna-Plessa; 15, Vlakherna-Petra; 16, Kandhila-Bikiza)



Map 3.3: Plain of Pheneos
(6 ancient Pheneos, 7 & 8 dam and dyke; 12 Tsoukka)



Map 3.4: NE Mantinean Plain
(26 Artemision-Ayios Ilias; 27 Ptolis-Gortsouli)

Despite changes in the landscape, such as the build up of alluvium in the plains and changing river courses (see Chapter 2), much of the Arkadian landscape as it is seen today is the same as that in that in Classical Antiquity, with little degradation having taken place (Rackham 1996; Roy 1999 p.320). Thus, with knowledge of how the landscape has changed in mind, the fact that I or anyone else should bring into play the evidence from our own experiences of the landscape is a legitimate approach. This in turn allows an acknowledgment and understanding of potential differences in the way people used and moved around such physically contrasting environments, the east and the west. At the same time, however, the alternative ways people in the past may have viewed their surroundings should be acknowledged. Where the commodification of time permeates nearly all aspects of modern western ways of life, convenience is a huge factor and underlies most innovations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Today, much personal and commercial travelling is done in relatively fast moving vehicles, and where such speed cannot be realised on the local roads of Arkadia the difficulty of terrain, particularly in Western Arkadia, is heightened quite markedly. In Palaiokastros, a village situated above the Alpheios, an elderly married couple encountered during fieldwork spoke of the frustration of shopping trips to the nearest supermarket in Megalopolis. If, for example, it was realised once reaching home that an 'essential' item had been forgotten, this would result in another journey of over an hour each way. This particular couple however, had spent much of their adult lives in Sydney and London, and had retired to the village from which the husband had originated. The contrast in ways of life would have been very much apparent to them. This kind of disparity would not have existed in the LBA and EIA, and as such, our perceived difficulty of access to places should not be imposed on ancient populations. Terrain did not, for example, discourage visitors to the temple at Ayios Petros located on a small plateau high in the Aphrodision Mountains. In addition, the temple of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi attracted visitors from the

LG period onwards, a site that although lying on a plain approximately 950 metres above sea level, was situated just above a major communication route (Roy 1999, p.323).

3.2.5: Site Definition

It is self-evident that humans do not live life limited to sites defined by archaeologists, but much archaeological work has and does stop at the site edge (Cherry 1984, p.119; Alcock et al. 1994, p.138). Often this is the first step in landscape studies. After sites have been defined and located, their place in the wider setting can be investigated and analysed. However, the definition of a site varies depending on the survey, the area and the nature of the evidence. Most intensive systematic field surveys have minimum sherd counts in order for there to be a site defined, the rest of the sherd count being relegated to ‘offsite’ activity, or ‘background noise’ (e.g. Bintliff 1985, pp.201ff; Cherry et al. 1991; Garton & Malone 1999, p.200). In this study, the definition of a site is a rather broad one. All instances of archaeological material have been included, even where it has been only a single sherd. It is true that in some instances, single finds and small scatters, as part of a wider survey, may be considered as general background noise but much of Arkadia has not been subjected to intensive, systematic survey. This archaeological material represents activity of some sort. However, there may be a number of post-depositional factors resulting in the present location of artefacts, and a scatter or assemblage may contain numerous artefacts with widely different life histories, and these factors must be kept in mind (e.g. Cagle 2003, ch.3). Nevertheless, to dismiss any evidence, however slight, even where its nature is unsure, would be counter productive in a study such as this. The material evidence is considered as the centre of a ‘taskscape’, to use Ingold’s term (1993, p.158; 2001), and it is from these physically located positions that the nature and experience of the landscape around can begin to be explored.

The data available for a consideration of the human landscape of Arkadia from the end of the BA and beginning of the IA is finite. The starting point was the published information, which enabled a list to be compiled of all sites in ancient Arkadia that dated approximately from 1600 to 700BCE, thus covering the LH period down to and including the G. This was accomplished through a detailed consideration of Howell's survey of Eastern Arkadia (1970), the Gazetteers of Hope Simpson (1965) and Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979), Pikoulas' publication on the Megalopolitan Chora (1988) and Syriopoulos' catalogue on prehistoric settlement (1988). These major catalogues and gazetteers were supplemented by the work of Morgan and Voyatzis, especially the chapters in *Defining in Ancient Arkadia* (1999), and relevant notices in *Archaeologikon Deltion* (AD) and *Archaeological Reports* (AR). These of course led to various other articles and publications, many of which reiterated the information already gleaned from those named above. The list compiled from these publications forms the root of the database on the accompanying CD-ROM, (see also tables in Appendix 2).

A number of maps, such as the Hellenic Military maps (1:50 000 scale) and Geological maps (1:50 000 scale), aided greatly in locating the sites and were useful for attaining information regarding the physical landscape. Whilst reviewing the published literature particular note was taken of the description of the location. Each 'site' was then located on the paper maps before searching for them on the ground. Often the description of the location of finds or structures seemed to be quite specific such as a tholos '6km from Kalpakion, 200m beyond kilometre stone 34, to left of the road to Kandhila' (Howell 1970, n.5a) and seemed straight forward enough to pencil in on the map, but on the ground problems were evident. In the case noted here, there was no sign of a kilometre stone and there was another 'mound' in the vicinity. On some occasions, if potential sites hitherto unrecorded on the site list were discovered, the literature was re-examined to see if information could be found that related to these previously unknown entities. In addition to details of site location, the nature of the

evidence was also recorded, in order for it to be classified and render it usable: Was the evidence structural, for example walls, houses or tombs; was it in the form of sherds, lithics, or metal, or a mixture of one or more of these? The quantity was also important in the classification process, as were the characteristics of each 'class', for example whether the pottery was in the form of miniatures, sherds or complete pots.

Many authors had also openly interpreted the evidence, albeit some more convincingly than others and these interpretations were particularly interesting. How and on what basis had they been made? Many of these interpretations were based on the presence of evidence from other periods, in addition to knowledge of the landscape, the setting of the sites themselves and on what could be called intuition or a subjective experience. Although the interpretations of the sites can and must be questioned, they are judged as a valid way of considering the evidence. This prompted the decision to include two site-type fields within the database: an 'objective' type based on strict definitions and a more 'interpretive' type. However, this is not to imply that the 'objective' type is without bias or essentially without meaning ascribed to it. This is not the case. It is merely an attempt to limit the level of explicit explanation. The classifications could have gone a number of different ways and a multitude of combinations could have been considered. These would have held different meanings for me and everyone else. Describing a site as a scatter or a findspot does not reduce its meaning. It may give it an alternative meaning from that if it were described as a settlement - one is clearly more comprehensible, especially to those outside archaeology, but a scatter still has meaning for the layperson even if it is a feeling of alienation, a non-understanding. Referring back to Thomas' arguments, interpretation is not just something that we do (alongside other things), it is what we are (Thomas 2001b; Heidegger 1996, p.141; also Gadamer 1975, p.235). However, by reducing explanation to something that is quantifiable, for example number of sherds, and to the barest description, for example 'findspot' or 'scatter', there is the

assumption that peers will all understand the material being described on the same level and that biases and preconceptions brought to it will be limited. The resulting categories and explanations for them are as follows:

Site Type 1:

Findspot: one or two artefacts found through reconnaissance, survey or chance discovery.

Scatter: three or more artefacts found through reconnaissance, survey or chance discovery.

Assemblage: a number of artefacts found through excavation or by chance, but deposited within the ground therefore not a scatter.

Structure: where structures, whether walls, banks, house foundations and/or built tombs are or were present.

Structure+findspot: walls, banks, building foundations and/or tombs in addition to one or two artefacts.

Structure+scatter: walls, banks, building foundations and/or tombs in addition to three or more artefacts

Structure+assemblage: walls, banks, building foundations and/or tombs in addition to a number of artefacts found through excavation or by chance, but deposited in the ground therefore not a scatter.

A scatter proved difficult to quantify. Many descriptions, especially those in the gazetteers, do not use absolute numbers but terms such as ‘a number’ (e.g. Howell 1970, n.16 Loukas-Ayios Yioryios) ‘a few’ (e.g. Howell 1970, n.14 Nestane; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, p.76 B3 Vounon) ‘several’ (e.g. Hope Simpson 1965, p.38 n.83 Pheneos) or simply ‘a scatter’ (e.g. Howell 1970, n. 17 Merkovouni-Ayioliias; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, p.82 B27).

These definitions changed throughout the research and were finally settled on to cover the range of evidence apparent for the sites in as few categories as possible.

Site type 2

activity?: a site where evidence proves difficult to interpret and simply acknowledges that some activity took place at the site

hydraulic works: refers to structures that have been interpreted as such in the main by Knauss (1986, 1988, 1989, 1990)

ritual: site that has evidence of a specifically religious nature, associated with the worship of deities

burial: evidence of burial ritual specifically.

settlement: sites that have been denoted as such in the published literature or where structure and scatters or assemblages of material may suggest long lasting inhabitation.

?activity+ritual: both unknown activity and ritual activity occurring at the same site.

?activity+burial: both unknown activity and burial occurring at the same site.

Settlement+ritual: both settlement and ritual activity occurring at the same site.

Settlement+burial+ritual: settlement, burial and ritual activity at the same site.

Ritual+burial: both religious ritual and burial at the same site

The 'interpretative' site type 2 categories are less easy to explain, but mainly come from previous descriptions of the sites. What must be understood and will be clear from the numbers is that they do not correspond to the objective categories. Thus, a site described as a 'findspot' in site type 1 may very well be interpreted as a settlement in site type 2 for one site or as unknown activity for another (see tables 3.1 & 3.2 below). However, all the sites

classified as `structure+scatter` in site type 1 have been classified as `settlement` in the site type 2.

| Site type 1 | No. of sites |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Findspot | 30 |
| Scatter | 23 |
| Assemblage | 20 |
| Structure | 43 |
| Structure+findspot | 2 |
| Structure+scatter | 4 |
| Structure+assemblage | 18 |

| Site type 2 | No. of sites |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| ?activity | 31 |
| Hydraulic works | 40 |
| Ritual | 25 |
| Burial | 18 |
| Settlement | 15 |
| ?activity+ritual | 4 |
| ?activity+burial | 3 |
| Settlement+ritual | 2 |
| Settlement+burial+ritual | 1 |
| Burial+ritual | 1 |

Table 3.1 and Table 3.2: showing site types and number of sites of each type.
The total exceeds that of the total number of sites (78) due to some sites being described as one type in more than one period (see Appendix 2 for detailed tables for each type and period).

The site details were also arranged according to sub-region (Table 3.3). This serves to provide a framework by which the sites could be ordered, thus they are numbered from one, starting in the NE corner of ancient Arkadia (Stymphalos) and more or less circle clockwise, after incorporating the Pheneatike, ending in the centre in a spiral. It also helps readers to locate the sites on their mental maps as well as the paper variety.

| Site Name | Sub-region |
|---|------------|
| Stymphalia a - Stymphalos | NE |
| Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | NE |
| Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | NE |
| Stymphalia d - Karterion, Ay. Konstantinos | NE |
| Stymphalia e - Lafka, tholos | NE |
| Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | NE |
| Pheneos b - dam | NE |
| Pheneos c - channel | NE |
| Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | NE |
| Mt Kyllene | NE |
| Lakkomata | NE |
| Tsoukka | NE |
| Vlakherna a - Petra | E |
| Vlakherna b - Plessa | E |
| Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | E |
| Kandhila - Bikiza | E |
| Orchomenos a - summit | E |
| Orchomenos b - Kalpakion church | E |
| Orchomenos c - peripteral building | E |
| Orchomenos d - tumulus | E |
| Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | E |
| Orchomenos f - drainage channel | E |
| Orchomenos g - dyke | E |
| Orchomenos h - dam | E |
| Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | E |
| Artemision - Ayios Ilias | E |
| Ptolis - Gortsouli | E |
| Milea/Mantineia | E |
| Nestane - Sangas | E |
| Nestani - Paniyiristra | E |
| Loukas - Ayios Yioryios | E |
| Merkovouni a - Ayiolias | E |
| Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | E |
| Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | SE |
| Thanas - Stoyia | SE |
| Vounon | SE |
| Lake Takka | SE |
| Manthyrea - Panayia | SE |
| Alea Palaiochori - a | SE |
| Alea - Palaiochori - b | SE |
| Psili Vrysi | SE |
| Mavriki | SE |

| Site Name | Sub-region |
|--|------------|
| Vourvoura-Analipsis a | SE |
| Vourvoura-Analipsis b | SE |
| Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | S |
| Asea-Ayios Elias | S |
| Palaiokhoraki, Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris | S |
| Ayios Athanasios of Dorizas | S |
| Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion | S |
| AVS S67 | S |
| Skortsinos - Khelmos | S |
| Kyparissi Yiannolakka | S |
| Mallota Kokkaliara | S |
| Anemodhouri | S |
| AVS S62 | S |
| Kanelaki | S |
| Andritsaina | SW |
| Alipheira | SW |
| Kreteia | SW |
| Bassae | SW |
| Figaleia | SW |
| Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | W |
| Palaiopyrgos | W |
| Dhimitra | NW |
| Vaklia - Palaiokastro | NW |
| Vrisarion-Gamenitsa | N |
| Psophis - Ayios Petros | N |
| Priolithos | N |
| Lousoi | N |
| Manesi | N |
| Kompegadi | N |
| Drosato Vrisariou - Lakes | N |
| Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | W |
| Gortys | C |
| Dimitsana | C |
| Petrovouni | C |
| Lasta - Kollinos | C |
| Karvouni - Sfakovouni | C |
| Bougrianou | C |
| Dhavia - Kastro | C |
| | |

Table 3.3: sites according to sub region

3.2.6: Site Visits

The predominant view of landscape, as being both acted on and acting upon human beings, discussed above, informed practice in respect of visiting and data collection and dictated how and what information was gathered for analysis. A phenomenologically inspired approach emerged as the most productive, especially in an area where archaeological evidence is limited. This allowed a site to become more than a name and number in a catalogue. This approach also required neither the location of new sites nor the discovery of more artefacts, and emphasised sites as places lived in and experienced by people, using evidence already available. Despite criticisms of the approach made by Fleming (1999, 2005), directed particularly at Tilley (1994), and Cummings & Whittle's (2004) application of it to the Welsh Neolithic, it was felt that a successful attempt could be made at applying it to LBA & EIA Arkadia. Confidence can be had that the existence of qualities which can be experienced by someone standing at a site today, created by the physical surroundings, are the same as those that could very well have been recognised, appreciated and used by people standing at the same place in the LBA and EIA. This is in spite of the fact that landscapes are not static. It is known that alluvial deposits have accumulated on the eastern plains, river courses have changed and erosion has occurred particularly in the north (Ødegard 2005, pers. comm.) but these can be taken into account. The mountains, the plains and the sites in question are in the same relative positions: they are fixed in space. And, as Ingold states, such an approach is valid in archaeology as well as anthropology, despite the people and communities in question being no longer alive, precisely because there is this connection to the physical landscape in the present: *We too are-in-the-world* (1993, p.152). This is why such an approach cannot be undertaken as a desktop study; the landscape needs to be experienced first-hand. It is clear that although some sites have evidence for activity throughout the period, there is a difference in location from one period to the next depending on the use of the site. From this standpoint different aspects of the same landscape can begin to be investigated, aspects that could have

been predominant in one period rather than another. This allows a consideration of how people's relationship with their surroundings may have influenced and may reflect attitudes, for example to the dead, their gods, and other people in the community; in sum their cosmological beliefs and how these may have changed over time (Garwood 2002).

Bradley, in *An Archaeology of Natural Places* (2000) uses Pausanias and his *Guide to Greece* as an example of an ethnographic study; one where the traditions were understood within living memory and sites that had been the centre of activity for centuries were still in use. In nearly every page, Pausanias illustrates how the landscape in which people lived was intimately tied into their beliefs and everyday practice, how the landscape was their taskscape.

For example, take this passage describing the route from Pheneos to Stymphalos:

“Going east from Pheneos you come to a mountain peak called Geronteium and a road by it. This mountain is the boundary between the territories of Pheneos and Stymphalos. On the left of it as you travel through the land of Pheneos are mountains of the Pheneatians called Tricrena (Three Springs), and here are three springs. In them, says the legend, Hermes was washed after birth by the nymphs of the mountain, and for this reason they are considered sacred to Hermes. Not far from Tricrena is another mountain called Sepia, where they say that Aepytus, the son of Elatus, was killed by the snake, and they also made his grave on the spot, for they could not carry the body away. These snakes are still to be found, the Arcadians say, on the mountain, even at the present day...” (Pausanias, 8.16.2).

Here is a description that has little to do with objective resources, economics, categorisations and classifications. Here is a landscape that lived and breathed with life, past, present and future, with beliefs, stories, myths and expectations. Brewster (1997, p.1), in his book *River Gods of Ancient Greece*, states that the mythology of the ancients has a ‘unique sense of intimacy as well as familiarity, not merely with nature as a whole but with the individual features of that landscape’. Arkadia is the source of most of the major rivers of the Peloponnese. It is also rich in springs, and perhaps because of these aspects of the landscape the region is rich in myth (Brewster 1997, p.58). Even if the courses of rivers cannot be followed above ground for much of their way, there were, in antiquity, strong beliefs in an

Arkadian origin, many of which have been confirmed by modern geologists. For example, the Argive Erasinós, virtually no longer existing today due to modern irrigation, was believed to have originated from Lake Stymphalia (Pausanias 8.22.3), where the waters sank underground through a single katavothra. This has been confirmed in recent times (Brewster 1997, p.62; Pritchett 1968, p.122). That the ancient Greeks were thoroughly attached to their environment, imbuing it with numerous meanings, which in turn shaped who they were, cannot be in doubt, and the Arkadians in particular had a special attachment to their land (Nielsen 1999, p.43). Much of Arkadian mythology is concerned with the origins of the people and how they came from the very land itself, even though much of it may have originated later than the period under discussion here (e.g. Hekataios of Miletos, *FGrHist* 1 frs 6, 9, 29a, 29b; Pherekydes *FGrHist* 3, frs 5, 82a, 135a 156-161; Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 fr.37; Ariaithos of Tegea *FGrHist* 316, frs 1, 2a, 2b, 4, 5, 7; Aristippos *FGrHist* 317 frs 1, 2, 3). Nonetheless, landscape and environment are inextricably connected with the lives of people.

Almost all sites in the database were visited, only those unable to be located on the ground were, understandably, not. At each site, a GPS reading was taken. Initially this was to enable accurate location of sites in a Geographical Information System (GIS). However, as research progressed, the high expectations for the use of such technology fell and a number of inhibiting factors decided against the full use of a GIS in this study. In brief, these were connected to time and resources, as well as the usefulness in a regional study such as this. These issues are discussed fully in Appendix 1, where Archaeology and GIS are considered in detail, including a discussion of what might be achieved in the future. Nonetheless, the GPS readings were kept, because they locate the sites physically in the landscape in a way that others can utilise. They also proved invaluable in positioning sites into satellite imagery software, the results of which can be found on the accompanying CD-ROM.

Given the constraints of this study, only a number of the sites were investigated thoroughly in terms of a phenomenological inspired approach and this was on sites that had been visited more than once. Such an approach requires an amount of familiarity with the landscape and given the detail and attention required for such an approach to be meaningful, it is impossible for everything to be considered in a single visit. Additional aspects came to mind on subsequent visits. In terms developed from the work of Gibson and Ingold, the landscape had different 'affordances' each time a site was visited. In order to record these experiences, tapes of conversations were made at a number of sites. In addition, panoramic photographs, and video clips help to illustrate the location and features in the landscape in a way that a GIS could not (see Appendix 1). The thought process started with a systematized description of the surroundings, which ensured as far as possible that as many aspects of the landscape could be brought to mind and not just those that were most striking at first, although of course these experiences were not ignored. In a way, this was an attempt to control the affordances of the environment by consciously trying to bring them forth. This consideration of the landscape did not stop once the field visits were over. For example daily driving around the region of Levidi, where I was based for most of the field visits, meant a particular familiarity with the area around Mantinea and Orchomenos, which is why the sites in these plains figure particularly prominently in the case studies in Part Two. It also served well to visit the area at different times of the year, which occurred more by accident than by design. Three field visits in total were undertaken, the first two of approximately six weeks duration (late April – early June, 2001; October-November 2003) and the third, twelve days (May 2005) covering the late spring, early summer, late summer and autumn. This enabled an appreciation of the variability of the weather in Arkadia even in summer, when thunderstorms are frequent. In addition, the weather and temperature can change quickly, especially at the end of summer and during the autumn. This allowed the effect of weather on visibility to be experienced at

first hand, to see the seasonal variability in vegetation and rivers and how these affected the way in which I engaged with the landscape.

It should perhaps be also noted that for the first two field trips I was approximately six-seven months pregnant with my first and then second child. For the last trip, I was not and thus the difference between how a person physically moves through the landscape, and how it can be engaged with at different life-stages was enlightening. Being pregnant, the landscape felt much more inhospitable and I, particularly vulnerable, heightening my unease travelling along Greek roads and climbing mountains. Whether this is an immutable condition of imminent motherhood, I cannot say for all time. Not pregnant, I was more at ease with my surroundings, confident at my ability to negotiate the landscape through which I moved. However, this was also the final field trip and the last of numerous trips to Greece and Arkadia.

3.3: Temporality

3.3.1: Time and timescales

The discussion of time in archaeology has often been concerned with which timescales archaeologists can be viably concerned, especially in prehistory (e.g. Bradley 1991; Bintliff, 1991a; Ingold 1993; Gosden, 1994). In order to look at both the long and short term, a number of concepts have proved useful, particularly those associated with the *Annales* ‘school’ (e.g. Braudel 1969), Giddens’ theory of Structuration (Giddens 1984), Heidegger’s thoughts on time (Heidegger 1962) and to a certain extent Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1977).

The *Annalists* elucidate a number of timescales: the *longue durée*, how society relates to the environment and natural rhythms; social time, the history of social groups persisting beyond

the life of an individual; and events that belong to day-to-day activities (e.g. Braudel 1969, 1972, 1983). Bintliff (1991, p.4) sees the *Annales* approach as providing a way of reconciling two aspects of time: that of observed time seen from the outside, the reserve of the New Archaeology; and that of experienced time from the inside, characteristic of traditional approaches and some of which post-processualism is trying to recapture. Some archaeologists (e.g. Binford 1981, Schiffer 1985) believe however that it is only the *longue durée* with which archaeology can be viably concerned, especially when looking at the prehistoric past, and that it is impossible for other scales to be reconstructed. Scholars such as Binford (1981) and Schiffer (1985) state that attempting to look at the small-scale renders us guilty of the “Pompeii premise.” This is only possible at sites like Pompeii, hence the name, where a moment in time is truly captured. As such, it has been the *longue durée* and in particular Braudel’s (e.g. 1972) work that has been used most in archaeological circles.

Despite this, there has been some concern over whether Braudel’s preference for the pre-eminence of the *longue durée* suggests an actual causal relationship in that it largely determines the lives of individuals, for example, the influence of demographics on social change during the 15th to 18th centuries in *The Structures of Everyday Life* (1983). However, other *Annales* scholars such as Le Roy Ladurie (1997) do focus upon daily routines and thus the small scale. This is perhaps the place to warn against the assumption of *Annales* as a unified school. Common ground can perhaps be found in the belief that a variety of approaches to the past is preferable to the single view that traditionally focussed on ‘great men’ and individual events. Nonetheless, the tripartite scheme of events, social life and the long term, if not deterministic, reveals a picture of different levels spinning on their own axes completely independently, unaware of the existence of the other levels and where changes in one have no effect on others (Thomas 1996, p.35). There are also problems with such a scheme in that it is difficult to see how the archaeological evidence relates to each timescale,

and Bradley (1991, p.212) suggests that to apply *Annales* notions, more refined chronologies than we have at present, are needed.

However, although the different timescales are somewhat abstract notions and an `historian's writing of periodicity` rather than `the experience of temporality` (Thomas 1996, p.35) they can provide a useful framework for thinking about the past. Other scholars, recognising that time can be seen on different levels, do mediate successfully between them. Giddens' Structuration theory (1984) also allows an investigation of different temporal levels (1984, 1991). His analysis of society, of how structure is created by individuals, which in turn affects how people act, and his idea of a double hermeneutic – the understanding of the world at societal level and an understanding on an individual level borne of experience - can be equated with the Annaliste *longue durée* and/or social time (the division between which Bradley sees as being blurred at the edges, 1991, p.210), and events which belongs to individual time. From a Heideggerian stance, this has similarities with 'private' or 'existentialist' time and 'public' or 'pragmatic' time (Thomas 1996, p.44). The connection this theory has to the *Annales* tradition is its ability to allow a systemic way of looking at things to take place, connected to the large scale, but that also allow a consideration of the small-scale events and actions.

Both Giddens and scholars associated with the *Annales* School, see human existence as operating at different levels and are concerned with the interrelationship of these levels. However, the *Annales* School although recognizes cognition, the role of agency in the creation of structure, which in turn affects how people act, as Giddens explains it, is absent. Instead, *Annales* historians, and in particular Febvre, (1928; 1942, see Bintliff, 1993, p.5) consider cognition, not on an individual basis at all, but as a *mentalité*, referring largely to the psychology of an epoch. There are aspects of this with which I agree, particularly the strong

influence the environment (in the widest possible sense) has over individual mindsets or psyches, but this is not to dismiss the idea that humans are innovative and creative, albeit within and with reference to the rest (other individuals, the groups to which they belong and so on). It is after all individuals acting together and repeatedly that create the *mentalité*. In the same way that Bintliff extols the *Annalistes*, I believe Giddens creates a link between the views of processual and post-processual theorists.

Nonetheless, there are problems with Giddens's Structuration theory that some archaeologists have been quick to notice. Mizoguchi (2000, p.15) has suggested that aspects of Giddens's work such as that concerned with large-scale macro facets or structure are not as thoroughly explained as the individual or agent, but a particular problem with this theory and other social theories has been their tendency to conflate the character and nature of pre-modern societies and make gross generalisations. For example, Giddens (1991, p.54) says that in the post-traditional order, self-identity becomes a reflexive project - an endeavour that we continuously work and reflect on. We create, maintain and revise a set of biographical narratives - the story of who we are, and how we came to be where we are now (Gauntlett 2002). The implication is that people did not do this in the past. However, from ancient sources, and with specific reference to Arkadia, the establishment of genealogies (Hekataios of Miletos FGrHist 1 fr 6, 9, 29a, 29b, 6a?; Pherekydes FrGrHist 3, fr 5, 82a, 135a 156-161; Hellanikos FGrHist 4 fr.37; Ariaithos of Tegea FGrHist 316, fr 1, 2a, 2b, 4, 5, 7; Aristippos FGrHist 317 fr 1, 2, 3), the appropriation of sites that would have had visible evidence of earlier inhabitation (e.g. Ptois-Gortsouli), in addition to evidence from the rest of Greece regarding hero cult (Antonaccio 1995) for example, all certainly suggests that groups of people were creating biographical narratives for the group, and probably also individuals within it, working out their place within the established mythology. As Barrett (2000) points out, however, this does not invalidate the ideas behind Structuration theory as a way of

approaching past societies. He believes that the ontological basis is sound in that the way structure is created by agents and in turn creates a framework in which those agents are able to act, can be used as a basis for examining the past.

A particularly captivating and illuminating way of approaching different timescales has been given by Ingold (1993: 164). He sees the rhythm of life from the largest scale to the smallest scale as being nested one within the other. Likening the passage of time to a film that is quickened, the world and life in all its forms is seen as one. The film would show geological transformations, the emergence of mountains, the ebb and flow of glaciers, the rise and fall of sea levels, rise and fall of peoples and built environments, the growth and decay of plants, the movement, life and death of animals and humans seen as a whole, as a living organism, as existence, as Being. Humans are just one element in a whole (Richer & Walsh 2005). From this standpoint, measured time can be seen as an attempt to order the rhythms experienced by humans. The important point is the relationship between experienced and measured time; that it is through habitual, experienced action that public time is created. As Gosden states, measured time, of minutes, seconds, months and years, is the product of cultural manipulation and management of natural cycles, in the same way that gender is the “cultural use made of sexual differences” (1994, p.122). Public time or measured time is not an arbitrary creation, but an attempt to solve problems that are encountered through everyday practice. The line between such timescales as public time/social time and the *longue durée* on the one hand and experienced time and daily life on the other becomes dashed. The objectivity of measured time is borne of subjective experience.

3.3.2: Chronology

The chronological parameters of this study from 1600BCE – 700BCE were dictated by and divided into four orthodox chronological and/or cultural periods based on pottery styles: Late

Helladic (LH) (=Mycenaean), Sub Mycenaean (SM), Protogeometric (PG) and Geometric (G). However, there is much to be said for using either wide-ranging absolute terms such as the 12th, 11th, 10th, 9th and 8th centuries, as Snodgrass has done ([1971] 2000, p.364) or for the description of periods as DA I, II, III as called for by Coulson (as at Nichoria, Coulson 1990; McDonald & Wilkie 1991). These alternatives prevent the confusion of pottery styles as equivalent to human culture and allow the appreciation of styles as changeable, and which are adapted and adopted in different regions, at different times and for different reasons. For example, the development of the style and classifications of the development for PG and G pottery actually means that Lakonia can be said to go from a PG style directly to a LG one. Nonetheless, despite the “critical problems of periodization that continue to plague the field” (Papadopoulos 2004), the pottery divisions have been kept in the thesis, LH, SM, PG and G. The published material for Arkadia uses these terms, and thus makes the evidence from this region workable.

| Period name | absolute dates | references |
|----------------|--|--|
| Late Helladic | c1680/1650 – 1100/1050BCE (LHI 1650/16001550; LHII 15501400; LHIII 14001100/1050) | Warren & Hankey 1989; Betancourt 1987; Manning, 1995; 2002; Dickinson, 1994:19 |
| Sub-Mycenaean | c.1100 -1050BCE | Hankey, 1988; Styrenius, 1967. |
| Protogeometric | c.1070/1050 – 900 BCE | Snodgrass, [1971]2000: 134-135; Wardle, Newton & Kuniholm 2005 |
| Geometric | c.900-700BCE | Coldstream, 2003: 435 |

Table 3.4: Absolute Chronology for the period in question with select references.

3.3.2a: Late Helladic

The period with which this thesis is concerned starts in absolute dates at approximately 1600-1650 BCE, the beginning of the LHI period. This date has been challenged over the last two decades, resulting in a reassignment of the traditional date of 1600 BCE (Warren & Hankey 1989) by Betancourt (1987) and Manning (1995, 2002) to as early as 1680BCE or even 1700BCE according to Cline (1994). However, for the purposes of this thesis the controversy of this date does not concern us at this stage. Initially it was intended that the study should begin at the LHIIIB period, at approximately the start of the 13th century BCE, which is generally considered to be the height of Mycenaean civilisation based on evidence from outside of Arkadia. For example, this was a time when settlements were at their most numerous and pottery style was largely homogeneous across all regions of the Mycenaean world and most widespread in the Aegean World and beyond (Dickinson 1994, p.251; Wardle & Wardle 1997, p.7). This was also the period prior to any destruction at many large centres c.1200BCE (e.g. Pylos, Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea). However, very few sites in Arkadia have this detailed chronology published. The evidence from many sites of the LBA period is described as simply Mycenaean or LH, proving impossible to divide into phases, even where the evidence had been photographed (e.g. Howell 1970, n.1 plate 27a.6, n.14 plate 29c.pp.10-12). In order to encompass such sites it was expedient to have an all- inclusive LH period.

3.3.2b: Sub-Mycenaean

The following period characterised by pottery described as SM is most controversial. Debate has raged between believing that the pottery represents a true chronological phase, and it being simply a pottery style found in certain areas of mainland Greece (Desborough 1964, pp.17-20; Mountjoy 1999, p.56; Rutter 1978; Snodgrass [1971] 2000, pp.28-34; Styrenius 1967, pp.127-8; Coulson 1990). Mountjoy (1999, p.56) briefly outlines the history of this debate stating that Desborough (1964), having initially disputed the existence of Sub-

Mycenaean as a cultural phase, later retracted and allowed it much greater presence over mainland Greece (1972). However, Mountjoy (1999, p.56) also states that many of the characteristics that have been assigned to a SM period other than the pottery decoration and shapes, such as long dress pins, arched fibulae, shield rings, double spiral finger rings, cist tomb cemeteries and the practice of burial in destroyed Mycenaean settlements, were actually present in the preceding LHIIIC phase. If then the SM period can only be defined by its pottery, then surely, it simply is a pottery style (see Coulson 1990). Chronological periods are not comprised of only pottery styles. Even if the style existed, as has been shown in the Argolid in levels above LHIIIC levels and therefore not contemporary with LHIIIC period, as argued by Rutter (1978), this still does not presuppose SM to have existed at all places at the same time, and this includes Arkadia.

Although a SM style of pottery can certainly be said to exist, it does not appear to exist to the exclusion of local styles derived from LHIIIC or that can be considered to be part of the late Mycenaean repertoire, except perhaps in Attica and Salamis, albeit where enough similarities exist with the previous phase as to call it 'Sub-Mycenaean'. Much of the discussion is without reference to the people who made and used pottery except in terms of skill or lack of it. The spread of style or cultural phases is seen almost in terms of catching a virus, whereby no one has a choice in whether it is acquired or not, although admittedly cultural transmission does occur. If the 'phase' is put into the context of following LHIIIB and LHIIIC pottery which became increasingly localised, then the need to ascribe 'Sub-Mycenaean' pottery to a discreet phase, expected across the old Mycenaean sphere of influence, does not make much sense. The uniformity of LHIIIB, i.e. the decorated fine ware, is explicable by strongly connected communities that not only enjoyed regular contact but also was encouraged by strength of ties between leading families to share in a similar material culture that did not just stop at pottery style. In the following period, in the aftermath of destructions, disturbances,

abandonment and movements of people, on whatever scale and over whatever time period, the resulting picture of fragmentation in the material record (LHIIIC), less uniformity and increasing local variations, is not surprising and somewhat expected. That we should find in some areas a continuing denudation of the LHIIIC repertoire into something archaeologists today have called 'Sub-Mycenaean' again is to be expected. That we then expect a style developing out of LHIIIC to be uniform across the old regions of Mycenaean Greece is not.

It is necessary to move away from thinking of pots and styles as having a life of their own and acknowledge that it is people who make decisions regarding which pots to use and which decoration to employ and copy, albeit this is done in reference to their temporal and spatial environments. Communities living in Arkadia at the time may have chosen not to adopt, for example, a wavy line within a narrow decorative band, typical of sub-Mycenaean pottery (Mountjoy 2000, p.57). The possible examples of Sub-Mycenaean found in Arkadia could be the result of very limited copying and adaptation, or a purposeful choice not to use a pottery style that their close neighbours in the Argolid were utilising?. On the other hand, a decrease in quality of LHIIIC pottery may have been classified as SM by archaeologists in order to fill a perceived gap. For a style that has a history of debate over its existence as a cultural phase, we need not imagine that there were periods with no inhabitation in a region simply because we do not have the presence of SM. It seems much more a leap of imagination to assume that the region was completely abandoned or deserted.

3.3.2c: Protogeometric and Geometric

The PG period and G period are more straightforward. The periods and the pottery have been fully analysed by Desborough (1952) and Coldstream (1968, 2003) respectively. PG is generally dated from 1050 BCE to 900BCE (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, pp.134-135; table 3.3) and Geometric from c.900BCE to c. 700BCE (Coldstream 2003, p.435; table 3.3) based

primarily on Attic sequences. These chronological divisions however do vary depending on the region to which one is referring and there are regions of the Aegean where for example there is no discernable PG pottery style (Papadopolous 2004). As stated above, in Lakonia a PG style can be seen to develop relatively late in c.850 and continue in use until c.750 BCE when a style that can be described as LG appears (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.135). For this reason, I have also included sites in the inventory that have the presence of Proto-Korinthian pottery considering that the beginning of this style has been dated before the end of the eighth century c.720BCE thus overlapping 'conventional Geometric' (Coldstream 2003, p.435).

3.3.3: Arkadian time

The phases which have been outlined above have been subdivided again and again to create very tight chronologies, in some case lasting a few decades, or less than a generation (e.g. LHIIIA2, IIIB1, IIIB2 covering approximately a century, Dickinson 1994 p.19; LGIa, Ib, Ila and Iib covering approximately 10-15 years each, Coldstream 2003, p.435). However, the material from Arkadia cannot be fitted into this scheme with much success: as stated above the reason for having an all-inclusive LH period was to ensure evidence was not excluded. This is why in many ways there has been a lack of interpretation surrounding the archaeology of this and the subsequent periods. It was through a realisation that the material as it stood could not be approached in 'standard' ways, through detailed stylistic and chronological analysis, that the approach concentrates on landscape as perceived and lived by the people who made and used the material record. One thing certainly known about the material evidence is its position in space.

Nonetheless, the chronological phase for which sites had been assigned was of the utmost importance. For each site, it was necessary to know whether evidence pertained to a single phase or many, and a separate record in the database was made for each general phase of a

site. Basic information regarding evidence of other periods was also recorded both prior to and later than those under study, as this proved to be particularly pertinent in the interpretation of the evidence pertaining to the LBA/EIA transition. The sites considered in the case studies often have evidence for more than one period. This evidence was not always of a similar nature and in most cases engaged a different explanation and thus different use for the site. Thus in this way it becomes possible to see how change occurred over the whole period.

The chapters in Part Two of this thesis look at the *longue durée* and the small scale. Discussion of the evidence and changes in it over time allows a certain understanding of the material evidence and the case studies enable an alternative understanding to emerge. Actions on a small scale are not simply determined by general trends seen over time, although they are certainly not unrelated. However, all action is determined in relation to the landscape in which such praxis is situated.

3.4: Conclusions

The above is the basis on which the rest of the thesis lies. I do not wish to subscribe to any particular ‘school’ and find that different approaches or at least elements of them are not necessarily contradictory as has sometimes been postulated. Often such ‘schools’ are depicted more as caricatures of themselves, built up as straw men rather than being accurate representations of ideas associated with such ‘schools’ (Holtoff & Karlsson 2000, p.5). Many scholars appreciate that the either/or attitude that is encouraged by such oppositions is neither helpful nor desirable and that a both/and approach is the way forward (Soja 1996, p.61; Exon et al, 2000, p.11; Hodder 1999, p.39). Of particular concern in this study, however, is the intention to supplement the almost standard ‘processual’ accounts with an in-depth look at how landscape is more than a backdrop to events or a resource to be exploited. It was (and is)

interacted with, people are 'in-the-world', an attitude very much in line with phenomenological or existentialist viewpoints (e.g. Heidegger 1978; Merleau-Ponty 2002). The problematic of dividing human experience into discreet timeframes often dictated by pottery styles, thinking in terms of processes and long time spans that are visible beyond the level of human interaction, is of course pertinent, as well as what living through such periods and their transitions might have meant to various individuals living in Arkadia. It is believed that we can go some way to achieving this with the available evidence and thus approach various timescales. This study is not attempting to recreate daily events but does think in terms of how the landscape figured in people's daily and seasonal lives. Measured, abstracted time is used and accepted in this study: it allows archaeologists today to manage time, and to obtain a sense of the period as a whole. But also embraced is human, experienced time, a consideration of how people in the past marked time and submitted themselves to the passage of time (Bradley 1991, p.209). Bourdieu (1977) sees time as dependent upon the observer. Those looking back on a period can move backwards and forwards throughout time, observing things that those living through it cannot, whilst the 'insider' experiences something of the time that those observing cannot. This does posit a potential problem for this study whereby any attempt by the author to capture something of the times that were lived is impossible. However, this is acceptable. What merits the enterprise are the very long term geological processes, that have not yet altered the landscape of Arkadia significantly from what would have been observable in the LBA and EIA. It is this general 'permanence' of the physical landscape, the bodily experience we have of it today, that is the starting point. I make no claim to discovering the truth, but it is a truth, as much my engagement with the material culture of the time and the places in which it was found; archaeology can be nothing else even when objectivity is the aim (Pearson & Shanks 2001, p.11). As Ingold (1993, p.152) states in a discussion on his 'dwelling perspective', it is possible to use such an approach in archaeology, where the people are no longer living, because "the practice of

archaeology is itself a form of dwelling”. Subsequently, I hope to present something of a ‘real’ world that is ‘familiar and compatible with our experience of it’ (Bintliff 1991b, p.4). Gregory explains two ways of approaching space and landscape as ‘mapping’ and ‘travelling’, which goes some way to summarising what is presented here. This is also an analogy that can be applied to time, where ‘mapping’ refers to the measured chronologies and ‘travelling’ is an attempt to scrutinise and understand a particular point on the way.

PART 2

CHAPTER 4: LANDSCAPES OF RELIGION AND SACRED SPACE

4.1: Introduction

This chapter concentrates on evidence for religious and sacred places in Arkadia in the LBA and EIA. Section 4.2 presents an initial survey and description of the evidence for sacred or religious activity for each of the main periods in general followed by that for Arkadia in particular. Subsequently, section 4.3 discusses how this evidence has and can be used in gaining an understanding of ancient religious practice. After a consideration of recent interpretations, which although important and valid often leave out much that can be said regarding particular sites and their settings, section 4.4 illustrates, through a number of case studies how people may have regarded and negotiated the landscape in which they lived and how that landscape may have influenced and informed their religious and ritual practice. The chapter concludes with section 4.5.

4.2: Overview

4.2.1: Late Helladic religious and sacred sites in Greece

Mycenaean religion has been a subject of study for well over a century (e.g. Evans 1901; Nilsson 1927, 1932; Persson 1942; Yavis 1949; Mylonas 1977; Murray 1980; Palmer 1981 1983; Goodison 1989; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996; Hägg and Laffineur 2001). Structures associated with religious activity have been found on mainland Greece at Mycenae (Mylonas 1981), Tiryns (Kilian 1981), and Asine (Hägg 1981). Together with similar ‘shrines’ at Ayia Irini on Keos (Caskey 1971; 1972) and Phylakopi on Melos (Renfrew 1985) in the Cyclades, they share a number of similarities. Architectural additions, such as benches and platforms on which religious idols may have been placed, are common, features which have caused Hägg (1992, p.212) to classify them as ‘bench shrines’. In addition, hearths, daises or tripod tables of offerings are also frequently found in the centres of the major cult rooms. Moreover, many of the structures follow a basic tripartite or megaroid

ground plan, in particular the House of the Idols and House of the Frescoes at Mycenae and the LHIIIC cult building and cult room BB at Ayia Irini, and to a lesser extent the cult room at Tiryns and the West Shrine at Phylakopi (see Albers 1994, p.123). However, there is no strict canonical form comparable to temples of the late Archaic and Classical periods (Albers 1994, p.121). It may be that religious activity also took place at open-air shrines, as is suggested at Asea-Ayios Elias in Arkadia. Alternatively, in cases where activity has a long and largely unbroken history, later religious buildings could have destroyed earlier LH structures.

Mycenaean religion is recognised archaeologically not only by architecture but also by the assemblage of artefacts found. The types of artefacts associated with Mycenaean ritual and religion are figurines, rhyta, gemstones, sealstones and rings. The latter often depict scenes interpreted as religiously significant, such as the example from Tiryns where demons bearing jugs approach a 'goddess'. The figurines, however, are of many types, only some of which appear to be specifically devoted to religious activity. The large figurines from Ayia Irini on Keos (Caskey, 1986) and those found at the cult centre at Mycenae (Moore & Taylour 1999) are examples. Other figurines, such as the psi, phi and tau types, are ubiquitous and are found in many contexts. These figurine types are found in religious contexts, perhaps used in worship, and are found in other ritually significant places such as in burials and at transitional places (e.g. doorways), but they are also found discarded 'unceremoniously' in rubbish dumps and reused as stoppers and temper in mud bricks (Tzounou-Herbst 2002). Thus, by themselves they are not indicative of a place of worship, temple or shrine, religious practice or even indicative of religious sentiment.

There are a number of models that outline criteria by which religious function may be inferred, such as Renfrew's (1985) classifications, and Pilafidis-Williams (1998) adaptation of them, some of which will be explored more fully in section 4.4. Suffice to say, it is often a

number of factors found together that encourages the identification of a religious site (Renfrew 1985, p.19). For instance, it is the concentration of figurines in association with frescoes and architectural additions such as stone benches, as at Mycenae and Asine mentioned above, that is so persuasive (Dickinson 1994, p.293; Renfrew 1985, p.19 no.2, 6, 8, 11). In some cases the interpretation of such items as religious, with or without association to architectural additions, are further supported by the presence of a later Archaic and/or Classical temple on the same site, which has confidently been interpreted as a place of worship. This is particularly the case where LBA activity is represented by such artefacts as figurines, rhyta and so on (e.g. Temple of Apollo at Delphi; the Telesterion at Eleusis; throne of Apollo at Amyklaion; Taylour 1983, p.64; Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, Pilafidis-Williams 1998). However, in addition, part of the repertoire associated with sacred space in the LH period are objects often described as ‘domestic’ in nature, such as spindle whorls, domestic wares and stone tools (Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, p.7). When such material is found on sites of later sacred activity, it is also often posited as the result of religious activity, albeit tentatively (e.g. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.308-309; Forsen et al 1999, p.179; and see below). As Renfrew (1994, p.47) states, identification is not easy when artefacts used in a religious context have other, secular uses.

4.2.2: Late Helladic religious and sacred sites in Arkadia

The points raised above regarding recognising Mycenaean religious and ritual activity are pertinent to the evidence from Arkadia. Of 57 sites that have evidence from the LH period, only eight can be considered to have any evidence that could be considered religious in nature, and these are listed below in Table 4.1. It must be made clear that there remains a great deal of uncertainty on this issue. In most cases, interpretations are based on comparative analysis, but otherwise remain highly speculative: four of these sites are considered religious in nature largely because later indisputable religious activity took place at the site although

artefactual evidence also suggests it. These sites are Pheneos Kalyvia-Pyrgos (6), Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25), the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (34) and Asea-Ayios Elias (46). The remaining sites are considered to have religious significance for various reasons, some more compelling than others, and have been included here to account for all possibilities.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|---|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia-Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | scatter | settlement+ritual |
| 13 | Vlakherna a - Petra | scatter | ritual |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | settlement+ritual |
| 31 | Loukas - Ayios Yioryios | scatter | ?activity+ritual |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | assemblage | ritual |
| 36 | Vounon | scatter | ?activity+ritual |
| 45 | Kato Asea-Palaiokastro | structure+assemblage | settlement+burial+ritual |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | assemblage | ritual |

Table 4.1: LH sites of religious/sacred activity.

The sites will be dealt with in the order they appear in Table 4.1 above. Beginning at Pheneos (6), in the north east of Arkadia on the southern hill, a Hellenistic temple of Asklepeius was excavated by Protonotariou-Dheilaki (1961-2, pp.158-9; Fig.4.1) and beneath this were found Middle Helladic and Mycenaean levels. Mycenaean sherds were found across much of the hill of ancient Pheneos but it is not clear from the limited publications whether the Mycenaean finds from under the Asklepeion could be indicative of specifically religious ritual activity or general habitation.

South from Pheneos and on the other side of Mount Oryxis, Vlakherna a-Petra (13) is a site that has neither later indisputable evidence for religious activity, nor particularly indicative Mycenaean evidence. However, the physical nature of the site and its position on the Lower Orchomenos plain (plain of Kandhila), in conjunction with Pausanias' description of two temples of Artemis in the area (8.23.4), has encouraged interest in this site as possessing religious significance in the past (e.g. Hiller von Gaetringen 1911, p.21; Papandreou 1920). This site will be considered in more detail below (case study B).



Fig.4.1: view of Asklepeion at the site of ancient Pheneos (photo: author)

The site of Orchomenos–Palaiopyrgos (25), in the neighbouring Upper Orchomenos plain (Plain of Levidi), is not published in any detail and the location of any later shrine and temple has proved elusive. It is therefore difficult to talk about this site in terms of its position in the landscape or to assess the nature or accuracy of claims to religious activity. A report by Spyropoulos (1982) states that a Mycenaean settlement dating to LHIIIA-B was discovered that stretched down the hill to the left of the road to Palaiopyrgos and continued into the valley (see Chapter 6). An archaic shrine with temple structure and altar has also been reported and there is reference to finds that include votives and faunal remains (Spyropoulos 1982 pp.113-5; AR 1991-2, p.26). In addition, Spyropoulos (1982 p.114) upholds that clay idols discovered at the shrine indicates that worship stretched back to LHIIIB-C. The reports also indicate that an ancient sanctuary (different to the shrine already mentioned) was built on a Mycenaean settlement and the public sign at the site itself says as much, but it has proved difficult to ascertain the exact position of the shrine with the LH evidence. The report in Archaeological Reports (1991-2: 26) states that the settlement and thus ancient sanctuary is on Mytikas (the slopes) but that the shrine is on Palaiopyrgos, where there is also evidence of Mycenaean occupation.

Although it is unclear where the exact location is, on the summit of Pyrgos (on the slopes of which the settlement was situated) discernable remains of a structure were located to the south of a later, possibly Frankish, building (Fig.4.2-4.4; Pritchett 1969, p.123). The upper slopes saw some activity in the past due to the presence of one probable Neolithic sherd (Fig.4.5) and a number of undiagnostic sherds. As stated above, until the excavation reports are published and finds can be analysed, it is difficult to say much more about the site.



Fig.4.2: view of 'structure' to E (photo: author).



Fig.4.3: line of S wall to W (photo: author).



Fig.4.4: line of N wall to W (photo: author).



Fig.4.5: probable Neolithic sherd (photo: author).

Nonetheless, perhaps it is to be understood that sometime during the LH IIIB period there was a marked change in use of the site, from one of general settlement to one that is more narrowly religious in nature, albeit slightly removed from the centre of habitation, whether on Pyrgos or further to the East. This would surely prove to be an excellent site in any such discussion of landscapes of religion in Arkadia if only the excavation reports were fully published. As it stands, there is little clarification of the nature of any material, especially from the early periods. This includes any 'SM', PG and G, if it exists. Nor are the contexts in which any of it was found made clear. Whether or not there is any continuity of use on the site of the archaic shrine is irresolute. If not, however, then it is interesting that an Archaic temple and associated votives were located in the same place as possible earlier LHIIB ritual activity. Whether past activity was visible and/or whether memory of previous activity flourished within a community from generation to generation, or was appropriated, are questions considered in due course with reference to other sites.

Loukas-Ayios Yioryios (31), situated on a ridge protruding into a small plain to the east of the Mantinean plain, like Vlakhera-Petra is a site with dubious evidence. Although there is no published evidence of a temple at this location, a public sign at the foot of the hill states that it is the site of a 'temple of ancient Dimitra'. However, it is difficult to ascertain to what this is referring exactly. Pausanias (8.8.1) refers to a sanctuary of Demeter after discussing Nestane, but this is not in context of the plain of Loukas, to which he refers a few lines later. However, a small animal figurine from the LH period along with sherds including *kylix* stems and cooking pot legs and a stone celt, were recovered by Howell (Howell 1970, n.16). As outlined above, all these artefacts may be found in religious contexts but are not necessarily indicative of sacred activity. In view of this, the site is considered in terms of its location in the landscape in Chapter 6 regarding landscapes of the everyday rather than here (Chapter 6: case study A).

A site that has indisputable evidence of later religious activity is that of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (34). At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, excavations revealed evidence of activity at the site dating from the LBA onwards (e.g. Michelhöfer 1880; Mendel 1901; Dugas 1921; Voyatzis 1999, p.131). Most of the BA evidence came from a bothros, or pit, underneath an eighth century metal working area, discovered during excavations in the 1990s and mixed with material of the PG and G periods (Voyatzis 1990, 1999; Østby, 1994). However, the bottom of the pit was not reached (Voyatzis 1997, p.350). The evidence consists of EH, MH and LH sherds and LH figurines, in addition to a bronze pin (Voyatzis 1994, p.120; Norwegian Institute). There was also a phi figurine discovered in the level of the earlier G temple and another exists from a previous excavation but has no known provenance (Voyatzis 1994, p.117). As it is clear that figurines were used in many contexts, it is far from certain that this evidence indicates ritual activity at this time, and the fact that LBA material has been found in later levels, or without provenance, does not preclude the possibility of curation and deposition at a later date. This site continues to interest many scholars (Voyatzis 1990, 1999; Østby 1994, 1997; Ødegard forthcoming). It is considered below in relation to other sites mentioned in the case studies.

Vounon (36) and Kato Asea-Palaiokastro (45) are included in table 4.1 in order to take account of all possibilities, although the evidence is vague at best. Vounon, a site with dubious religious significance, is situated on a hill where the modern village is located. This hill has been identified with Mt Kresion by Meyer (1954) on top of which, Pausanias (8.44.7) relates, was the Sanctuary of Aphneios. Here MH, LHIIIA and LHIIIB sherds have been found along with a stone celt and a talc button (Howell 1970, n.27), although nothing from any later periods has been noted. Similarly, Kato Asea-Palaiokastro could be tenuously considered to have significance for religious activity in the LH period. During the Asea Valley Survey transect S69/35-36 produced a concentration of finds of religious type

belonging to the Archaic and Classical periods which has subsequently been interpreted as the site of a 'cult place'. This transect also produced a couple of LH sherds (Forsen 2003). Given the paucity of evidence from these two sites, it is difficult to include them in any discussion of religious practice in Arkadia; here their existence is noted only as possibilities. Finally, the site of Asea-Ayios Elias is investigated in detail below (case study A).

4.2.3: Sub Mycenaean and Protogeometric religious and sacred sites in Greece

SM and PG activity are linked together in this chapter as it is often these periods that are covered when discussing 'Dark Age' ritual practice (e.g. Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, p.1, p.13 n.1). Sourvinou-Inwood (1993, p.6) claims that 'Dark Age' shrines are not as rare as once thought (e.g. Morris 1987, p.189). On the Greek mainland, examples have been found at Amyklaion in Lakonia (Demakopoulou 1982), Isthmia in the Korinthia (Morgan 1999a), Asine, Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid (Wells 1983, pp.28-9; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, pp.6-7), Olympia in Elis (Gardiner 1925), Nichoria in Messene (Coulson et al. 1993), Mounichia in Attica (Palaiochrassi, p.1989, pp.13-14; 1991, p.90), and Poseidi on the Chalkidiki peninsula (see Fig.4.6; Vokotopoulou, 1994). The evidence in the cases listed is in the main equivocal, although most have an altar-type construction or area, a focal point where sacrifices were made. This is seen by Coldstream (2003, p.231) to be the forerunner of all Greek temples. Examples are the circular stone platform at Nichoria and Asine and burnt deposits/ash altars at Asine, Olympia, Poseidi and Isthmia (albeit at the latter redeposited in terraces; Morgan 1996, p.46; 1999a). Sometimes these are associated with a building for example at Poseidi, (Fig.4.6), and Nichoria, which, however, often prove difficult to identify as a dedicated temple, rather than the house of a leader or chief. As Mazarakis Ainian suggests, there is much to indicate that the two types of edifice and the functions they had overlapped in many ways. For example, a large central hearth in a structure identified as a

leader's house may very well have served religious ceremonial purposes as well as domestic (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.290).



Fig.4.6: PG apsidal 'temple' at Poseidi (source: <http://alexander.macedonia.culture.gr/2/21/211/21116/00/1k162021.jpg>)

Ceramic evidence from such sites is commonplace, often associated with dining, and has been interpreted as indicating that a significant part of the religious 'ceremony' entailed ritual feasting of some kind. In the earlier PG, such feasting paraphernalia can be unaccompanied, but as the period progresses, these finds are more often associated with those generally classified as offerings or votives, albeit in limited quantities. For example, at Isthmia, evidence from the EPG period consists of open vessels which, alongside the possibility that some of the undated animal bones are from this period, suggests ritual feasting. These ceramic types continue into the LPG where they begin to be accompanied by offerings of figurines and jewellery, as well as vessels not related to feasting activities (Morgan 1998, p.77 & p.78). At Olympia however, small metal objects and figurines may be offerings and may be best dated to the earlier PG. (Morgan 1990; pers. comm.)

4.2.4: Sub Mycenaean and Protogeometric religious and sacred sites in Arkadia.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | findspot | ritual |

Table 4.2: Sub-Mycenaean sites of religious/sacred activity.

Only two sites in Arkadia, Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25) and the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (34), have finds interpreted as SM. However, for Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (Fig.4.7) this is not explicit in the limited reports to date, merely that worship at the shrine goes back to the LH IIIB-C period (Spyropoulos 1982, pp.113-5; AR 1984-5, p.24). In light of the fact that Spyropoulos has interpreted pottery from the cemetery site at Palaiopyrgos-Palaiokastro as SM (see Chapter 5: case study C), he may well have classed sherds from this site in a similar manner. However, the dating of the cemetery material is disputable and has been classed as LHIIIC by Mountjoy (1999, p.55). At Tegea, SM sherds have been reported from early excavations by Dugas (1921, p.403) and have been restudied by Voyatzis (1990, pp.269-271), but whether they are indicative of religious activity is not ascertainable.



Fig.4.7: site of Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (photo: author).

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | assemblage | ritual |
| 56 | Alipheira | findspot | ritual |

Table 4.3: PG sites of religious/sacred activity.

The PG period at Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25) (Fig.4.7) is, like the SM, a possibility only through inference, whereas at Asea-Ayios Elias (46) (considered in more detail below as case study A) and the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (34) ceramic evidence of this period has been found. At Tegea the period is largely represented by pottery found in the bothros under the eighth century metal workshop along with sherds of the LBA and EG period, as well as from the later temple area. Some of these sherds are from open shapes, suggestive of ritual feasting mentioned above in section 4.2.3 in context of general Dark Age religious activity (Voyatzis 1994, p.126) but other than this, and the fact these artefacts are found on a site of later religious activity, there is little else to support ritual use in this period.

At the last of these sites, Alipheira (56), there has been only a single find dating to the PG – a bronze pin found at the site of the later temple of Athena, along with bronzes of a G date (Orlandos 1967-8; Voyatzis 1999, p.139; Morgan 1999, p.413). This may be an early votive object or could well have been curated and deposited at a later date.

4.2.5: Geometric religious and sacred sites in Greece

The G and in particular the LG (eighth century BCE) is seen as a time of renewed vigour at some religious sites and the foundation of many new. In Arkadia alone, anywhere from none to four sites of religious ritual existed in the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE (see above), whereas by 700BCE the possibilities number well over ten (Table 4.1 & 4.4; see also

Coldstream 2003, p.317). Religious activity is represented by pottery, where open shapes, often associated with drinking and dining are usually interpreted as evidence of ritual feasting, as in the previous period, and closed shapes and miniatures are frequently interpreted as offerings. There is also an abundance of votives of many kinds, such as terracotta figurines, but particularly those of bronze. The increase in offerings at sanctuaries during this period, especially artefacts in bronze, far exceed the number of similar artefacts in settlements and burials. Morgan (1996; 1998), referring to the Korinthia in particular, sees this as highly significant evidence of changing attitudes to life and death, and where it was appropriate to deposit and/or display wealth. Great importance could have been attached to an individual or group's ability to make conspicuous and visible dedications to the gods, and as bronze was increasingly equated with religious observance, it became inappropriate to use in everyday circumstances or even for dead relatives.

Some sites also have evidence for a building at this time, usually interpreted as a temple. The construction and development of temples has been seen as a feature of the eighth century, although there are examples from the preceding period (see above; Coldstream 2003, p.317 and see discussion below). Commonly, temples of the eighth century take the form of an apsidal structure, sometimes with a porch or ante room. However, as apsidal structures were a popular house style when these early temples were being built, the designation of a building as having religious significance rather than a dwelling, albeit probably of a chief or leader is fraught with difficulties and controversy (Sourvinou-Inwood 1993; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, ch. 4). Often associated with such structures was a *bothros* or sacrificial pit, which may point to a specifically religious function, although these have also been found in association with so-called leader's houses also (e.g. Zagora and Emporio, Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.287). However, in most cases, a corresponding altar aids identification. Many of these could have originated in the earlier PG period (see above; Coldstream 2003, p.321).

A number of clay models found in sanctuaries, such as those from the Temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora, have been interpreted as miniature representation of temples. At Perachora, this identification rested largely on similarities between the architecture of the model and the remains of the temple in which they were found (Schattner 1990, p.208). These can aid reconstructions of apsidal temples, which like domestic structures were often built of mud brick on a stone foundation. There are other temple forms, such as those consisting of a square or rectangular room, but these appear in the main on Crete and in the Cyclades, for example at the Heraion at Delos (Coldstream 2003, p.321). In some cases a peristyle is also present as at Ano Mazaraki in Achaia, although Mazarakis Ainian has shown how peristyles were not confined to religious architecture until the end of the G period (1997, p.279).

4.2.6: Geometric religious and sacred sites in Arkadia

In Arkadia, there are nineteen sites, which have possible evidence of religious activity in the G period. In the majority of cases, this consists of possible votive deposits in the form of metal items and/or miniature vessels. At least two have vessels that may suggest religious activity in the form of ritual drinking and dining, and two have evidence of a structure – Gortys (71), and the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (34). Four have evidence of earlier activity, whether this is considered religious in nature or not (Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25), Ptolis-Gortsouli (27), Asea-Ayios Elias (46) and the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, and all, except Nestane-Sangas (Portes) (29), have evidence of later religious activity. Ptolis–Gortsouli, Asea-Ayios Elias and Psophis-Ayios Petros (64) will be considered fully in their individual case studies. The rest are outlined briefly below.

Firstly, on Mount Kyllene, between the plains of Pheneos and Stymphalos, is a cave that has produced proto-Korinthian pottery (and later Korinthian wares), believed to be a Sanctuary of Hermes (Tausend 1999, p.243). Hermes was a god particularly associated with this mountain

and caves are often sites of religious significance, in many times and places, as is discussed below (see Carmichael et al. 1994, p.1).

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 10 | Mt Kyllene | assemblage | ritual |
| 18 | Orchomenos b - Kalpakion church | assemblage | ritual |
| 19 | Orchomenos c - peripteral building | assemblage | ritual |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | assemblage | ritual |
| 29 | Nestane - Sangas | scatter | ritual |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiokhori - b | findspot | ?activity+ritual |
| 42 | Mavriki | assemblage | ritual |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | findspot | ?activity+ritual |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | assemblage | ritual+burial |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | assemblage | ritual |
| 56 | Alipheira | assemblage | ritual |
| 57 | Kreteia | assemblage | ritual |
| 58 | Bassae | assemblage | ritual |
| 64 | Psophis - Ayios Petros | assemblage | ritual |
| 66 | Lousoi | assemblage | ritual |
| 71 | Gortys | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 73 | Petrovouni | assemblage | ritual |

Table 4.4: G sites of religious/sacred activity.

To the south, evidence is more common, although in parts it is, nonetheless, quite dubious. Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos, mentioned above in connection with LH and ‘Dark Age’ evidence, has nothing definite from the G period, but again is insinuated by the statement that there is evidence of worship from the LHIIIB period at an otherwise Archaic shrine (Spyropoulos 1982, p.114). At Orchomenos itself there are two possible sites of a sacred nature, one consisting of a deposit of G (and later Korinthian) aryballoi and archaic terracotta figurines found besides a peripteral building tentatively described as a temple by Morgan (1999, p.392; Blum & Plassart 1914, p.81; Voyatzis 1990, p.32, p.89; 1999, p.135). The other, to the west of the modern church of Kalpakion, consists of possible bronze votives datable to the LG period found within the remains of a fifth century temple that was perhaps

dedicated to Aphrodite or Poseidon (Fig.4.8; Voyatzis 1990, p.33; Morgan 1999, p.392; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.326).



Fig.4.8: site of Temple of Poseidon or Aphrodite (?) west of the church of Kalpakion (anc.Orchomenos) looking to East (photo: author).

On the plain of Mantinea south of Orchomenos, Ptolis-Gortsouli is a site with significant evidence and will be considered below in case study B. Close by, a site exists at Nestane-Sangas, at a dramatic point on the boundary between the Argolid and Arkadia. Here miniature vessels of a G date were found beside a robbed-out pit (Howell 1970, p.87; Pikoulas 1990-1991; Morgan 1999, p.390). This evidence is taken by Howell to be suggestive of a small shrine to Hermes situated on the ancient pass from the Argolid into Arkadia (cf. Pritchett 1980 who describes this as the Prinos pass). The cutting in the rock here is visible from quite a distance on the Argolid side of the hills and may be why such a feature was actually created (Fig.4.9 & 4.10): the point at which the track travels today is not particularly prominent in the undulating ridge. The intention may have been to control passage over the ridge, directing travellers past the 'shrine' as well as a 'sign-post' for those approaching. However, Pritchett (1980, p.36) believes the 'cutting' to be a natural feature - a

collapsed cavern. Nevertheless, even if it is this is the case, it could still have afforded the same quality as if it were a man made formation.



Fig.4.9: view of the cutting at Portes from Argolid travelling into Arkadia (photo: author).



Fig.4.10: view of the cutting at Portes looking E into the Argolid (photo: author).

To the southeast, on the southern plain of Tripolis is the well known Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea for which the LBA and PG evidence has been outlined above. For the G period, there is substantial evidence of religious activity with possibly three successive apsidal temples built at this site in the eighth century BCE (Østby 1997; Voyatzis 1999, p.131 Fig.4.11). These have been dated by the many LG bronze artefacts and pottery found in levels associated with them. A metal workshop was also in existence at this time, which was used to create bronze votives for deposition in the temple at this site and others, such as Mavriki (Voyatzis 1990; Morgan 1999, p.397). EG and MG material was located in the bothros or sacrificial pit uncovered beneath the LG metal workshop in which much of the earlier LH and PG material was found (see above) (Voyatzis 1997, p.349-350). An altar was excavated by Greek and French archaeologists at the turn of the century by the road directly in front of the present village church, but was covered up again. This, however, is believed to be too far from the insubstantial G temple structures to be the site of an earlier altar, which was expected to have been located where the metal workshop was unearthed and has so far eluded discovery (Østby 1994, p.39, p.60).

The evidence from Alea Palaiokhori five kilometres south of Tegea comprises limited G material found in the fill of a tholos tomb. As this material is not associated with a burial of the same period it has been included in a general 'ritual' category and has been suggested as possible evidence of hero or ancestor cult (Antonaccio 1995, p.869). At this point it is appropriate to mention, out of turn, the G evidence that was located in the fill of the large tholos at Vourvoura-Analipsis, which has been included as a site of hero cult by Coldstream (1976, p.12; see also Antonaccio 1995, p.68; Deoudi 1999, p.102). Although these sites may represent a form of religious or sacred behaviour, they will be considered in Chapter 5.

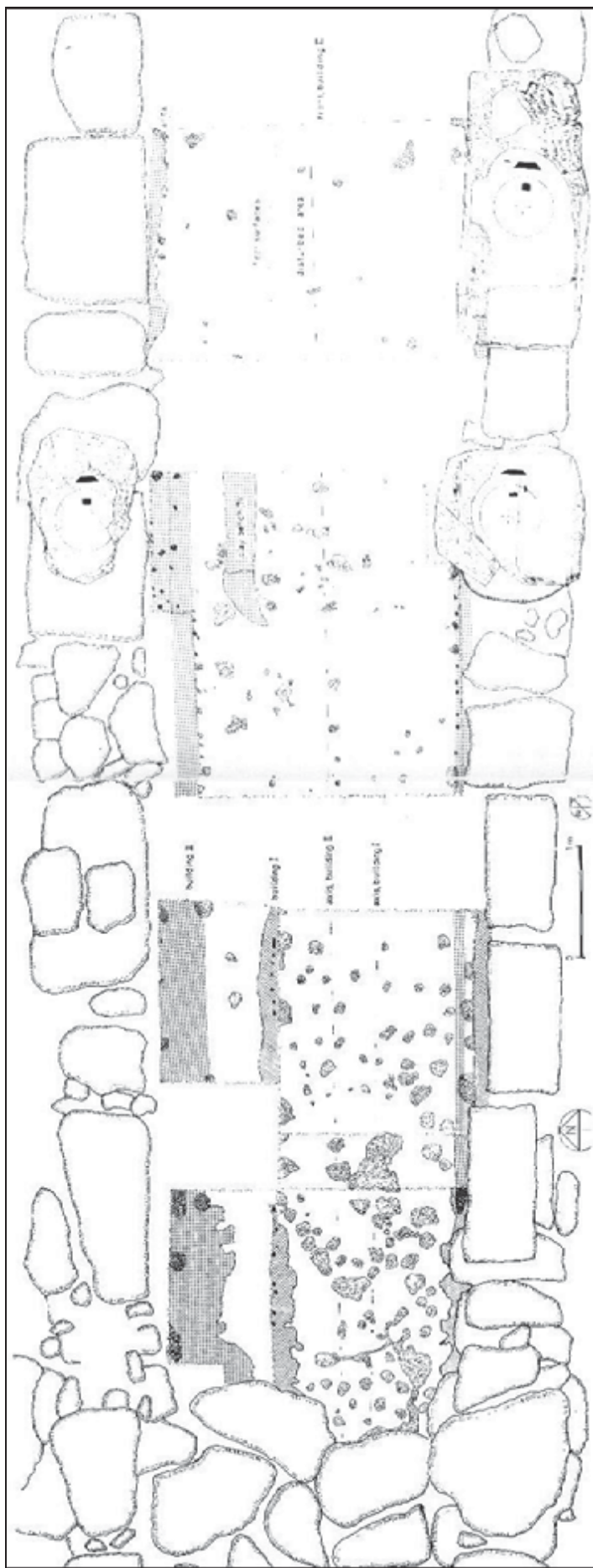


Fig.4.11: plan of the early structures found within the later temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (source: Østby, 1994: 56-57).



Fig.4.12: view to the north from the site of the temple of Artemis Knakeatis(?) near Mavriki (photo: author).

Another prominent site within the territory of the later Tegea is the site of Mavriki, situated close to the summit of Psili Korfi (Fig.4.12). Excavated by Romaios (1952), finds of a late eighth century BCE date were found at the site of the earliest all marble temple in Arkadia (560-550 BCE), situated close to the Dholiana marble quarries and possibly to be equated with Artemis Knakeatis mentioned by Pausanias (8.53.11). The finds here show many similarities to those from Tegea as well as some affinities with Laconia, with the majority of the bronze votives being made at the workshops at the Temple of Athena Alea mentioned above.

In southern Arkadia, Kato Asea–Palaiokastro (45) has G evidence suggestive of religious or sacred activity, but at a point different to that where possible evidence of LH religious or sacred activity was found. On the akropolis itself (Fig.4.13), bronzes of the LG along with pots and sherds have been interpreted as evidence of a possible shrine or burials on the plateau (Forsen 2003, p.199; Morgan 1999, p.400). Unfortunately, despite Holmberg's excavations in the 1930's (Holmberg 1944), the akropolis has not been excavated fully to help clear up this issue. Also in the Asea Valley, Asea-Ayios Elias (46) has evidence of G activity. This site will be considered in more detail in case study A below.

In the south west of Arkadia, there are three sites of religious significance. At Kretea (57), on Mount Lykaion, sherds of Lakonian type found alongside bronzes indicate that a cult, possibly of Apollo Parrhasios (Pausanias. 8.38.2), began in the LG period at a site where a later Archaic shrine is situated (Kourouniotes 1903, 1910; Jost 1985, p.185-6; Voyatzis 1990, p.43-44; 1999, p.138-9; Morgan 1999, p.408). At the temple of Apollo at Bassae (58), a small amount of bronze votives with Lakonian influence have been dated to the LG by Voyatzis (1999, p.137; see also Kourouniotes 1910; Cooper 1996, pp.66-73). Finally, there are the LG votives found at the site of the Temple of Athena at Alipheira (56) (Fig.4.14),

along with possible earlier G bronze spirals and repoussée bands, but again limited excavation at the site may be hiding much more early material. Morgan (1999, p.413) suggests further excavation may be enlightening.

To the north, in the region known as Azania in antiquity, numerous votives were found at the site of Psophis-Ayios Petros (64) (Fig.4.15; Voyatzis 1999, p.136), high in the Aphrodisiac Mountains. The later temple is believed to be an extra-urban shrine of Erykine Aphrodite belonging to the *polis* of Psophis (Kardara 1988, pp.111-182), although Jost argues there is insufficient evidence to suggest to which deity the temple may have been dedicated (Jost 1985, p.58). Its position too does not clearly point in the direction of Psophis, although as the *polis* of Psophis developed and accrued territory, a monumental temple situated here would have been the first impressive indication to people that they had crossed the boundary. Situated on a small plateau by a spring, that may have been the focus of early sacred activity, on a route through the mountains, it would also have served as a convenient resting place and continued as such, a function this site has today, observed during fieldwork.

Also in Azania is the site of the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi (66) situated in the foothills of Mt Khelmos. Here a large number of small bronzes were found with a similar range to types found at Tegea, although probably made locally (Mitsopoulos-Leon & Ladstatter 1996, Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1997). Pottery and terracotta figurines have also been recovered to the north east of the later temple. In addition, there may be an 'altar' or focal point for sacrifices indicated by an area of burning west of the later Bouleuterion (AR 1987-88, p.24; Mitsopoulos-Leon & Ladstatter 1996, pp.44-46; Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1997).



Fig.4.13: site of Asea Palaiokastro looking to the East (photo: author).

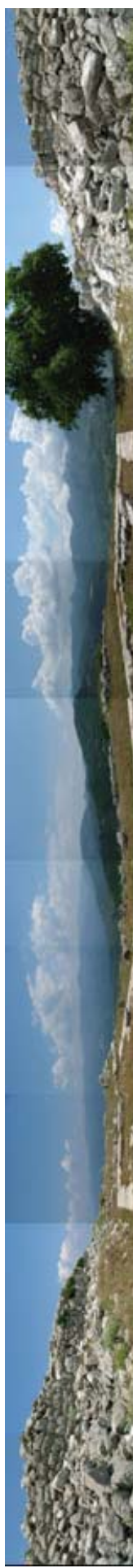


Fig.4.14: panoramic view from the Temple of Athena at Alipheira (photo: author).



Fig.4.15: panoramic view from the temple at Psophis-Ayios Petros with E in the centre (photo: author).

In the central region of Arkadia, there are two sites of a religious nature, albeit providing limited evidence. The evidence from Gortys consists of Korinthian G (or possibly sub-Geometric) cups, found beside a large wall in the eastern half of the fourth century cella of the Asklepeion. This belonged to a structure of comparable date (eighth century) whether a temple or temenos wall (Courbin 1952; Jost 1985, p.203; Voyatzis 1990, p.46; 1999, p.158; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.327; Morgan 1999, p.415). This forms the earliest evidence at the site, including that from the akropolis high up to the southwest. The site itself is a natural plateau above the gorge, but at a lower altitude than that of the akropolis, close to the river Lousios. The later temple is associated with Asklepeius, and part of the complex at this site is the thermal baths, which, along with the god, is significant in healing. The G evidence at this point, close to the waters and in such a dramatic landscape where the Lousios flows all year round (Fig.4.16), perhaps indicates that the healing properties of water were appreciated and connected with Asklepeius from the first instance.



Fig.4.16: view from the Lower Asklepeion at Gortys to SW along Lousios.

Finally, northeast of Gortys is Petrovouni (Fig.4.19), approximately three kilometres west of ancient Methydrion. Evidence for the period is characterised by only one find of LG date - a group of four bronze masked figures, interpreted as horse masks by Voyatzis and thus associated with rituals performed in honour of Poseidon Hippios (Pausanias 8.36.2; Hiller von Gaertringen & Latterman 1911, pp.24-32; Jost 1985, pp.215-216; Morgan 1999, p.415; Voyatzis 1990, p.118).



Fig.4.18: Temple of Poseidon Hippias (?) at Petrovouni (photo: author).

4.3: Interpretation of Religious sites

Greek religion and its origins has been the subject of scholarly interest for centuries. Through the study of ancient literature and mythology further supported by the decipherment of Linear B, it has long been accepted that many aspects of Classical Greek religion are the result of the survival, transmission and adaptation of cults, traditions, rites, festivals and gods throughout the LBA and EIA (e.g. Nilsson 1932; Dietrich 1974). Archaeological investigations have

supported this notion with many sanctuary and temple sites producing evidence of continuity of use from the BA onwards. As has been mentioned at various points in the outline of sites above, sometimes these have been interpreted as having a sacred nature throughout the site's history (e.g. Snodgrass [1971]2000, p.394). However, on many of these sites, the focus of attention is on the monumental buildings of the Archaic and Classical periods, interest often being sparked off by passages in the ancient sources, most notably Pausanias. In addition, an art historical approach has often been a more apparent motive for excavation than an understanding of how they functioned throughout time. The familiar architecture of the Greek temple and the treasures it may hold capture the imagination and no doubt the time of those working on them, more so than other periods, although this has been addressed more recently (Morgan 1990; Shanks 1996, p.50).

Much of the evidence pertinent to Arkadia during the period in question has been considered in light of Renfrew's (1985) classifications regarding cult and Pilafidis-Williams' (1998) adaptation of them. However, such classifications assume that if all the boxes are ticked there exists an undisputable sacred place and the less that are ticked the more equivocal is the identification. Although much of the Arkadian evidence corresponds with the categories, even where there is limited material evidence, this in no way formulates certain identifications, only that there are possibilities to assess. For example, factors such as attention focussing devices, special aspects of the liminal zone, the presence of a focal point indicating the transcendent, elements of participation and expressive behaviour through such actions as offerings can be found at sites such as Vlakhera-Petra and Asea-Ayios Elias in the LBA. These are sites which many archaeologists would not confidently interpret based on artefactual evidence. This highlights the usefulness of Renfrew's classification for the purposes of this study – it allows is a full consideration of the landscape in which a site is set, that can be explored within all factors outlined above, aspects of the landscape, which may

have been employed during religious ritual. Even where evidence of offerings is scanty or questionable (most of the LH sites), this does not have to rule out elements of participation or expressive behaviour.

Many of the sanctuaries in Arkadia have undergone some excavation, but it is in a limited number of cases that excavation has gone on to uncover levels and evidence pertaining to earlier activity at the site. The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea is one of these exceptions, where renewed interest throughout the 1990's has enabled a substantial amount of the earlier evidence to be unearthed, and tentatively understood (Østby 1997). Asea-Ayios Elias is promising also (Forsen et al. 1999), as are the long running excavations at Lousoi (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1997). Excavations at Alipheira, on the other hand, have stopped short of discovering earlier levels, even when finds point towards the probable positive outcome of further exploration (Morgan 1999, p.413).

Nonetheless, where evidence for the LBA and EIA has been forthcoming, the interpretation of this evidence has not been straightforward, whether it dates to the LH, PG, and/or G periods. A particular problem is that associated with the assumption of continuity of function(s) highlighted by Mazarakis Ainian (1997) when much of the earlier evidence is scanty. In some cases outside of Arkadia for example at Dodona, Mazarakis Ainian (1997, pp.308-309) has reinterpreted evidence from temple sites of the Archaic and Classical period, previously taken as indicative of religious activity, as evidence of settlement. Similar situations exist in Arkadia. The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea is a site where all periods appear to be represented and thus continuity of function is a tempting albeit tentative proposition (Østby 1997; Voyatzis 1999, p.131). In addition, there is a well-established tradition of the cult at this site as preserved in Pausanias (8.45.4-47.4; Preztler 1999). However, a situation where early evidence is firmly interpreted as habitation rather than anything specifically religious is

the BA evidence at the site of Ptolis-Gortsouli, despite the fact that this is the site of an Archaic and Classical sanctuary. This identification is aided by remains of a fortification wall as well as the definite break in the material record between the LBA and G material, except for one possible PG sherd (Howell 1970, n.11), preventing the inference of continuity of function. At Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos the 'ancient sanctuary' is situated over a BA habitation site and although the reports state that the Archaic shrine site has evidence of a religious nature dating from the LHIIIB (Spyropoulos 1982, pp.113-5; AR 1991-2, p.26) this may well be following a similar pattern to that at Ptolis-Gortsouli outlined above rather than indicative of continuity of religious practice. On the other hand, the evidence from this particular site may better fit the picture outlined by Mazarakis Ainian, where the division between domestic and sacred space within settlements is not sharply defined before the first half of the eighth century BCE (Mazarakis Ainian, 1997).

An often-important indication of a site of religious significance is the presence of a structure identified as a 'temple', such as the apsidal buildings at Tegea (see no.2 in Renfrew's list of correlates, 1985, p.19). Traditionally the view has been that temples were not built until the G period (Morris, 1987; Whitley, 1993; Coldstream 2003, p.317), or at least until this time, sacred space was not strictly delineated. This has led to many early structures not being identified as having sacred significance when they may well have had (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.393). Sourvinou-Inwood (1993, p.2) has challenged the traditional claim regarding the definition of religious space and believes that many Dark Age sacred places have been thus misinterpreted. The criteria Mazarakis Ainian (1997, ch. 2) gives for designating a building that of a chieftain very much coincides with what might be expected from a sacred building, such as great size or position, including proximity to open air sanctuaries. Even bronze artefacts such as tripods can be seen as either votive offerings thus indicating a temple, or prizes belonging to the owner of the house and therefore signifying a chieftain's dwelling

(Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.274). Similarly, possible hearths could be altars thus having either a domestic or religious function or even both concomitantly. Additionally, items with a domestic nature - cooking pots, storage vessels, spindle whorls, loom weights – are items long associated with sacred places from the LBA (Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, p.7). The structure in Nichoria (Unit IV-1) and the question of whether it is best interpreted as a chief's house, a temple, or both shows the difficulty in ascribing such identifications (Coulson 1975, pp.85-92; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, p.6).

Such uncertainty is likely to be more problematic in situations where there is no subsequent indisputable evidence such as an Archaic or Classical temple that may suggest continuity of use. In addition, there is an expectation of a distinction between roles of leadership and those of a religious nature that was not only 'real' in the past but also ascertainable from the material remains. If this expectation were erroneous, then sacred buildings and spaces would not necessarily have been defined in a way recognisable to archaeologists today, although they may have been so for people in the past: both artefacts and structures encountered in everyday life can become the focus of an intense awareness, thus very clearly defined, during religious ritual (Thomas, 2004b). This scenario has been suggested for the megaron complexes at the Mycenaean citadels where they could have served as both places of residence for the elite or ruler/chief and places of religious significance. The community depending upon the context or occasion would have apprehended the megaron in different ways. This does not go against Sourvinou-Inwood's (1993) argument for the strong demarcation of sacred space in the Dark Ages, and also takes into account Mazarakis' (1997, p.393) conclusions. Sacred space could still be well defined and communal (as opposed to indeterminate and domestic) even if part of the dwelling of the leader of a community.

Apart from physical structures, much of the interpretation of a site as having religious significance is based on items being explicable as votive objects (no. 11 & 12 on Renfrew's list of correlates 1985, p.19). From anthropological as well as archaeological investigations (Carmichael et al. 1994), the idea of offerings has been shown to be universal in time and space. Studies show tremendous uniformity in the types of artefacts used in sacred activity, for example, miniatures, figurines/dolls, highly portable objects and also the use of bronze and copper, which lend weight to the interpretation of such artefacts in the LBA and EIA as 'ritual' in nature and their classification as votive objects. The anthropological and ethnographic evidence for using bronze or copper votive items illuminate further the more or less universal practice of dedicating artefacts in this metal in sanctuaries from the LPG onwards, for example at Isthmia (Morgan 1999a). Although this practice may have something to do with changing economic circumstances and the changing role of bronze within society where iron was becoming the utilitarian metal (Snodgrass 2000, p.221; cf Kayafa 2006;), there are many testimonies throughout modern and ancient societies that hold a belief in the magical properties of bronze, copper and even tin (Sheridan, 2003). These factors may have contributed to the ubiquity of such items, alongside the physical properties that rendered bronze easier to decorate (Snodgrass, 2000: 237).

Turning briefly to the literary record, it has often been used to elucidate the archaeological record and, although there are no contemporary literary sources, the later record has still proved thought provoking in many instances. In Arkadia, Pausanias in particular has been used repeatedly in support of identifying religious sites of the LBA, EIA and later, with varying degrees of success. His work has been used to identify sites as having religious importance when other evidence is very sparse indeed such as at Vlakhera-Petra (8.23.4-8), Vounon (8.44.7) and perhaps Loukas, (8.8.1) and more successfully in the case of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. Here, Pausanias, testifies to a tradition of an early sanctuary at the

site, retelling the myth of its foundation by King Aleos, the grandson of Arcas (8.4.8), before any temple building. This supports the interpretation of early evidence being indicative of religious activity rather than any other, but of course does not actually prove it. The ambiguity of the LH evidence with figurines and sherds being found in many contexts, and the failure to locate an EIA altar do nothing to secure identification of a cult that was founded in the LBA and continued in the same place. However the structures most probably to be interpreted as sacred buildings, the votive finds and evidence ranging in date from the BA to LG (and beyond) all found underneath the site of the later Archaic and Classical temples sited on a natural high point more noticeable in antiquity, allows such an interpretation to stand.

It has also been pointed out on a number of occasions (e.g. Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, p.1- 2; 1995, pp.27-30) that continuity does not mean unchanging. Even where there seems to be continuity in gods worshipped, for example Poseidon who figures on Linear B tablets, it cannot be expected that his traits or personality as known in the Classical period had remained the same for centuries. Morgan (1996, p.44) points out that ritual, in this case religious ritual, has commonly meant ‘time-defying’ or ‘traditional’, the assumed opposite of innovative. Yet change is normal in all social, political, and cultural behaviour. Ritual can preserve the message and prevent information from being challenged, but it does happen (Bloch 1974). Thomas (2004b) states that although ritual action may be prescribed and agreed upon, the content is less so: ritual is not simply a way of communicating a particular message unambiguously, it is a ‘prescribed expression’ open to interpretation from all concerned. Perhaps this occurs even more so than with other forms of ‘communication’ because the prearranged manner in which ritual must be performed does not allow for clarification, for someone to stop and question whether they have grasped the correct meaning or not. Thus, separate individuals partaking in the same ritual at any one time may have very different ideas about the meaning of their actions, or they may simply not know. Ritual is more about doing

the right things and performing them in the right order rather than about beliefs and ideas. Archaeologists are fortunate in that ritual is a physical act in a physical and material world and therefore has material expression and as thus can be studied. Unfortunately, it also means that to be clear about what this physical expression reveals about beliefs is an almost insurmountable challenge. Thus, even when there is strong evidence indicating that religious activity has taken place at a site throughout the period in question, it is difficult to understand what this activity meant or symbolised to the participants at any one time. In addition, the process is complicated by the knowledge that the beliefs being expressed may have changed over time.

However, this does not, and should not prevent an attempt to understand the physical manifestations of religious behaviour. The various developments at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea illustrate how the cult altered over time and, as argued by Voyatzis (1999, p.143), represents the various developments of the community at Tegea. Voyatzis suggests that the eighth century structures may show a desire for the community to (re)assert its identity after a period of 'strong' Lakonian influence suggested by the pottery of the ninth century BCE. The following synoecism of Tegea (seventh century BCE?) and formulation of the political community both needed and led to the erection of the first monumental stone temple to further differentiate itself, not only from Lakonia but also from the Argolid and emerging political communities within Arkadia itself (Voyatzis 1999, p.144). The literary sources also indicate that the sanctuary and temple figured heavily in 'quarrels' with Lakonia and was a physical manifestation of Tegean identity. Many of the items that were displayed within and on the temple walls referred back to the myth-history of Tegea, for example the fetters of the Spartans, the tusks and hide of Kalydonian boar, the shield of Marpessa, and the local version of the Kalydonian boar-hunt depicted on the walls (Pausanias, 8.47.2; Pretzler 1999, p.107).

There has been much anthropological and ethnographic work undertaken on the position of sacred places, with evidence from across the world showing broad similarities. Archaeological evidence also indicates that types of places chosen as sacred sites incline towards particular locations, suggesting that such decisions are neither historically nor culturally significant but indicative of a general human inclination (Carmichael et al. 1994, p.1). These are sites of natural features and include mountain peaks, springs, rivers, woods, and caves, all features significant in many sites of religious significance in Arkadia. For example, Asea-Ayios Elias is situated on a mountain peak (Forsen 1999), the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea is located by a spring (Østby 1994, p.46), Psophis-Ayios Petros is located in a high place and close to a spring (Karadara 1988), and the possible shrine of Hermes on Mount Kyllene is situated in a cave (Tausend 1999). It is largely due to these factors that it was felt worthwhile to investigate further sites such as Vlacherna-Petra (case study B).

This is not to say that all sacred places belong in such locations. The necessity of proximity to population for religious places means that not all sacred places are located according to natural features. Modern experience shows that this is not the case, although the gross urbanisation so characteristic of modern society, both West and East, is peculiar to our times, masking the 'natural' landscapes. However, although there are undoubtedly aspects of the settings of modern religious buildings/spaces that are peculiarly modern, it is also true that urbanisation and concentration of populations in one place in ancient contexts would have increased the need for intra-urban sanctuaries, located for reasons other than natural features. Nonetheless, the setting would still inform religious practice and sentiment as people used and moved throughout the space. It has also been suggested that those settlements, which did not develop an intra-urban temple, were short-lived (Snodgrass 1977; Mazarakis Ainian 1997). On the other hand, many modern societies also have religious buildings located on sites of

prominent natural features, sometimes indeed where there is evidence of earlier religious activity, for example the multitude of Greek churches positioned on mountaintops today, some of which stand beside the foundations of Classical temples (e.g. Asea-Ayios Elias, Psophis-Ayios Petros).

In a particularly ancient Greek context, there has been research undertaken on the location of religious sites, including those in Arkadia. However, much of this has been general in nature, explicable in functional terms or predominantly descriptive. For example, Jost has highlighted how the locations of sanctuaries were associated with the ‘appropriate’ deities:

“This is especially clearly marked in the case of plains liable to flooding...In these areas Artemis, the goddess associated with dampness, and Poseidon, the master of underground waters, are particularly often found. Other parts of the plains and valleys are home to the cult of Demeter, goddess associated with the fertility of the soil and vegetation... In the mountains, the deities to whom pastoralists address themselves are Artemis, the goddess of border areas and of hunting, Hermes, honoured on Mt Kyllene as the rustic god of shepherds, and Pan, the divine goatherd and hunter.” (Jost 1994, p.220).

Jost (1985, p.83) has also stressed the importance of rural shrines in physically highly fragmented landscapes for unifying territories, such as the role played by the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. The evidence at this site in southwestern Arkadia is situated on a small plateau in an area, which today could be described as isolated and difficult to reach if it were not for the modern road. In ancient times however, it seems the temple was not the only structure situated here. Archaeological Reports (1959, p.10) informs of traces of iron working (cf Temple of Athena at Tegea), but furthermore, Petronotis (1985-6) asks in his article if Bassae, was merely a place name or the name of an ancient settlement, suggesting that the way we view the temple today as isolated was neither a perception of nor a reality for the

ancients, at least not for those who may well have resided there. Another example of studies on location in Arkadia is the position of the temple near Mavriki, which has been used to illuminate the development of the *polis* of Tegea. This sanctuary of Artemis is situated on a major route from Tegea to Sparta and the early activity, although showing strong affinities with Tegea also has Lakonian elements, indicating that it was not particularly controlled by either place. However, from the time of the synoecism it became more closely connected to Tegea being situated in the deme of the Phylakeans, one of the nine ancient demes (Voyatzis 1999, p.138, p.145). The temple on the sacred site en route from Lakonia to Tegea, now a visible monument, would have been seen by those passing by. The views from the top of the mountain on which the temple at Mavriki was situated are far-reaching, focussing upon the whole of the territory of Tegea, watching over, situated on the outskirts, and defining the boundaries. Its position would have promoted its role as a frontier sanctuary, as well as being physical expression of the synoecised Tegea to which it belonged (Morgan 1999, p.397).

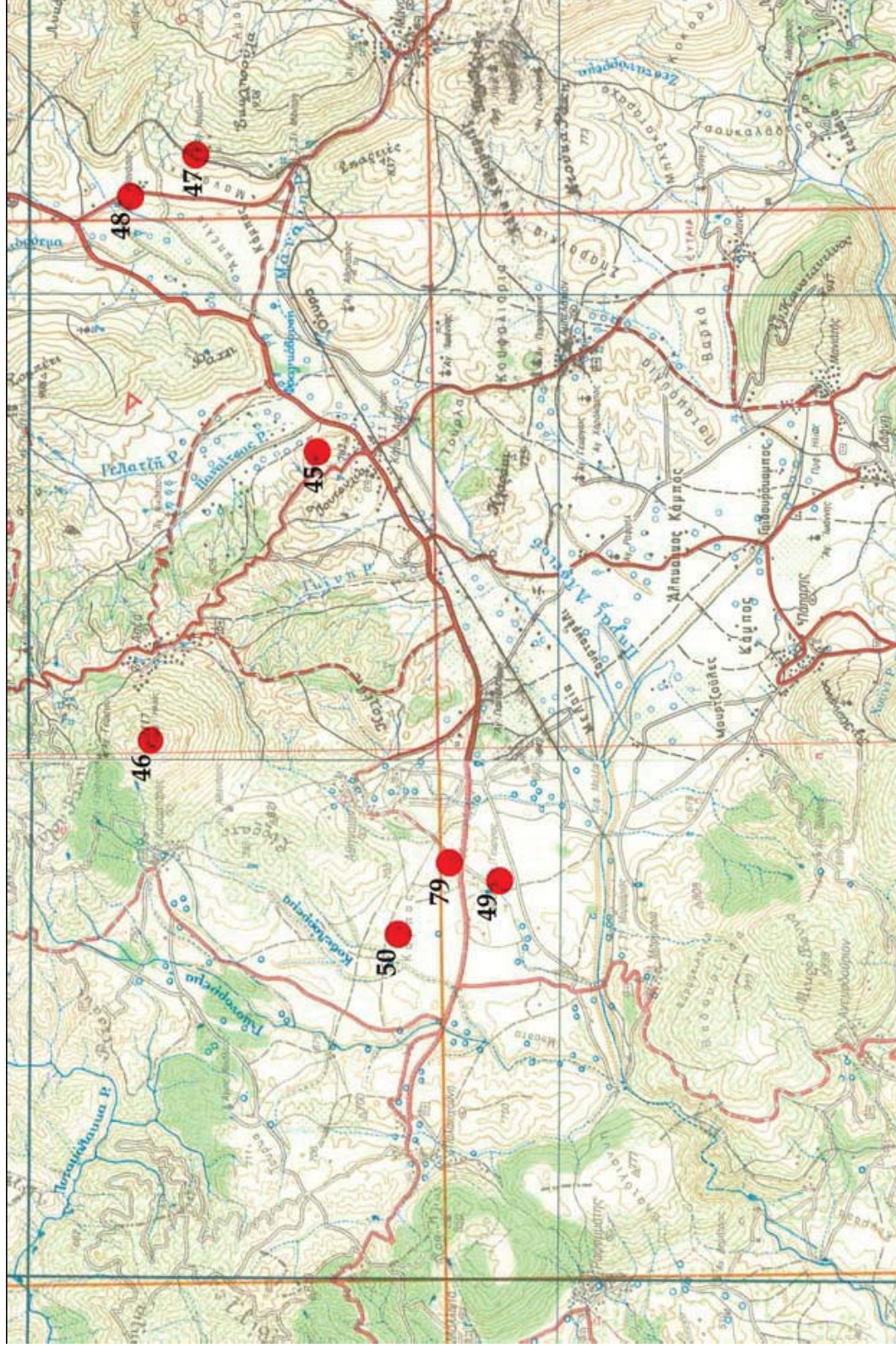
Out of eighty sites that make up this study, twenty-three are pertinent to the question of religion and cult. All of these sites, except that at Portes (Nestane-Sangas), have multi-period evidence that has been interpreted as ritual in nature to one degree or another. In addition, most possess evidence of a sanctuary and/or temple of the Archaic and Classical periods. Understandably, in most cases, the earlier evidence has been tentatively interpreted, often only described then dismissed as being of too little import to explain anything other than possible early evidence of the cult of later periods, with little discussion as to why and what this might mean. When unstratified evidence has been found this has made the task even more difficult (Forsen 1999, p.179). However, what is assured about this early evidence is that the position in the landscape is known and from this point, it is possible to begin to explore and expand upon the available data in a number of case studies.

4.4: Case Studies

4.4.1: Case Study A: Asea-Ayios Elias (46)(Map 4.1)

In the Asea Valley looking out across the Kampos plain from the site of Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris, situated on the slopes of the ancient Boreion Oros, eyes become focused on a mountain directly opposite, the peak of which stands proud above the Tambouria hill. This peak is prominent on the skyline framed by the mountains of the Menalaion range to the north and the Tsemborou range to the southwest (Fig.4.19; Forsen 2003, p.87). From Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion, another site to the west, a site with considerable evidence dating from the Neolithic until the early modern period in different forms, has a clear view of the very same hill (Fig.4.20; Forsen 2003, pp.107-109) and further to the west from site AVS 67 the same peak is evident again (Fig.4.21; Forsen 2003, p.104).

This hill is known as Ayios Elias and it has yielded evidence from the LH, PG, G, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods that can arguably be interpreted as indicative of religious ritual. Today it is still a site of religious significance with the modern church of Ayios Elias standing close by the ancient remains. From the Archaic period, a temple existed to the east of a large ash altar, which may have been the focus of ritual activity from the LBA. Although the temple remains visible today are Late Archaic in date, there is the strong possibility that at least one earlier temple stood on the same site. Architectural fragments reused in the Late Archaic temple and a wall found running below it attest to an earlier structure: the wall must have been built sometime after the mid seventh century, dated by a coin found underneath it. Evidence of roof tiles, Lakonian and Argive, of different dates, has led Forsen (1999, p.178) to conclude that there could have been two consecutive cult buildings predating the Late Archaic one. Nevertheless, of interest here is the activity that preceded these buildings.



Map 4.1: sites in the Asea Valley with evidence ranging from LH – G period (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000, Tripolis & Megalopolis sheets).
 45: Asea Palaioakastro; 46: Asea-Ayios Elias; 47: Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris; 48: Ayios Athenaios of Dorizas; 49: Ayios Yioryios of Athenaios; 50: AVS 67; 79: AVS 62.

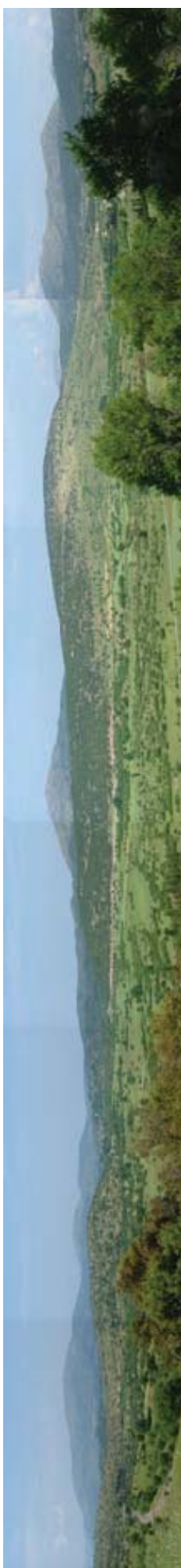


Fig.4.19: view from Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris, the peak of Ayios Elias in the centre distance (photo: author).

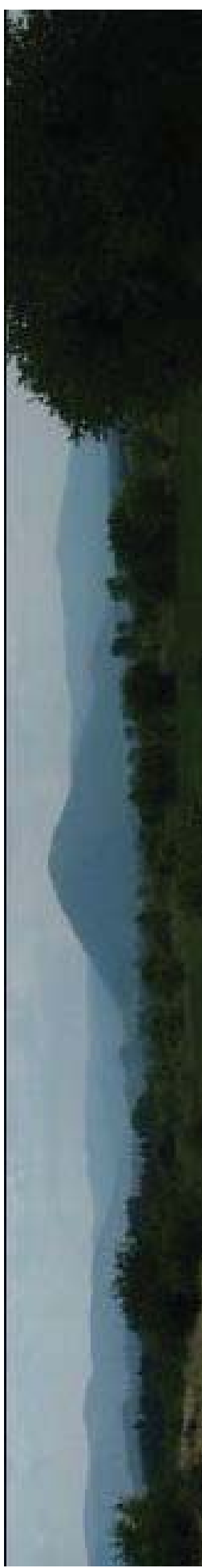


Fig.4.20: view to NE from Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion (photo: author).

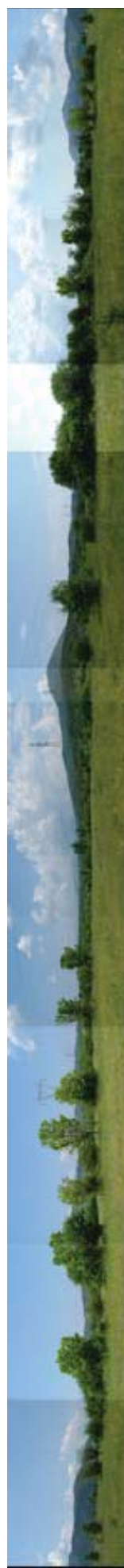


Fig.4.21: panoramic view with Ayios Elias to E from site AVS 67 (photo: author)

Abundant finds of the eighth-seventh centuries BCE in the form of pottery and metal votives, are centred on and around the ash altar mentioned above. This continued in use after the temple had been built suggesting that the site had been home to similar, albeit open-air, cult activity before the monumental structures were built. From the ash altar came Lakonian PG or 'Dark Age' sherds, such as a skyphos rim, and large amounts of LG and Archaic votive offerings in a wide range of material, including bronze, lead, iron, bone, glass, and terracotta, gold and possibly ivory. There has also been a handful of unstratified Mycenaean and PG artefacts, including what has been described as a beautiful LHIII conical conulus of steatite and probable LHIIIC sherds of a large closed vessel, a jar or amphora (Forsen 1999, p.179). Altars and bonfires are a feature at many ancient Greek sacred places, particularly at Minoan peak sanctuaries (Peatfield 1983). These may have had links with animal sacrifices, but may just as well have been the focus of dumping refuse after a sacral meal. It has been pointed out that bonfires would not be particularly well suited to conducting animal sacrifices, as participants would not be able to get closer than five metres to carry out such proceedings (Peatfield 1983, p.30). The remains at Asea-Ayios Elias may be the remains of small controlled fires, outdoor hearths where people could conceivably gather. The altar as we see it today may be the result of hundreds of such episodes. There will be more information when the excavation reports are published. However, it appears that many votives were thrown into the fires; whether these were 'new' votives is unsure. Such objects may have been thrown in as part of a purification rite, which entailed a cleaning out of the sanctuary. Votives that had been given on previous occasions were perhaps 're-dedicated' in a 'festival of renewal' (Bergquist 1988, pp.49-50).

The mountain on which the sanctuary stands is approximately 1090m above sea level. There is evidence of habitation in the medieval period (see Fig.4.22) but none from before this date. If the evidence of the LBA and PG periods is accepted as sacred in nature then this hill has

had a specific and significant role in the religious and sacred life of communities who lived around for a very long period of time. It was (and is) a feature of the landscape, which would have been part of the lives of the people who resided and moved around the valley, taken for granted perhaps most of the time but at others becoming highly significant. At particular times, it would become the centre of a taskscape, (Ingold 1993, p.14), with a certain set of affordances in terms of how the hill was apprehended as the setting for the worship of a god or gods. When it was not the central focus of activities, then visibility would have ensured it was still part of the lives who lived in the plain, on the edge of everyday taskscapes, a latent reminder of the order of things, and the truth of them, where the domain of the god/s was elevated and overseeing (cf Garwood 2002).

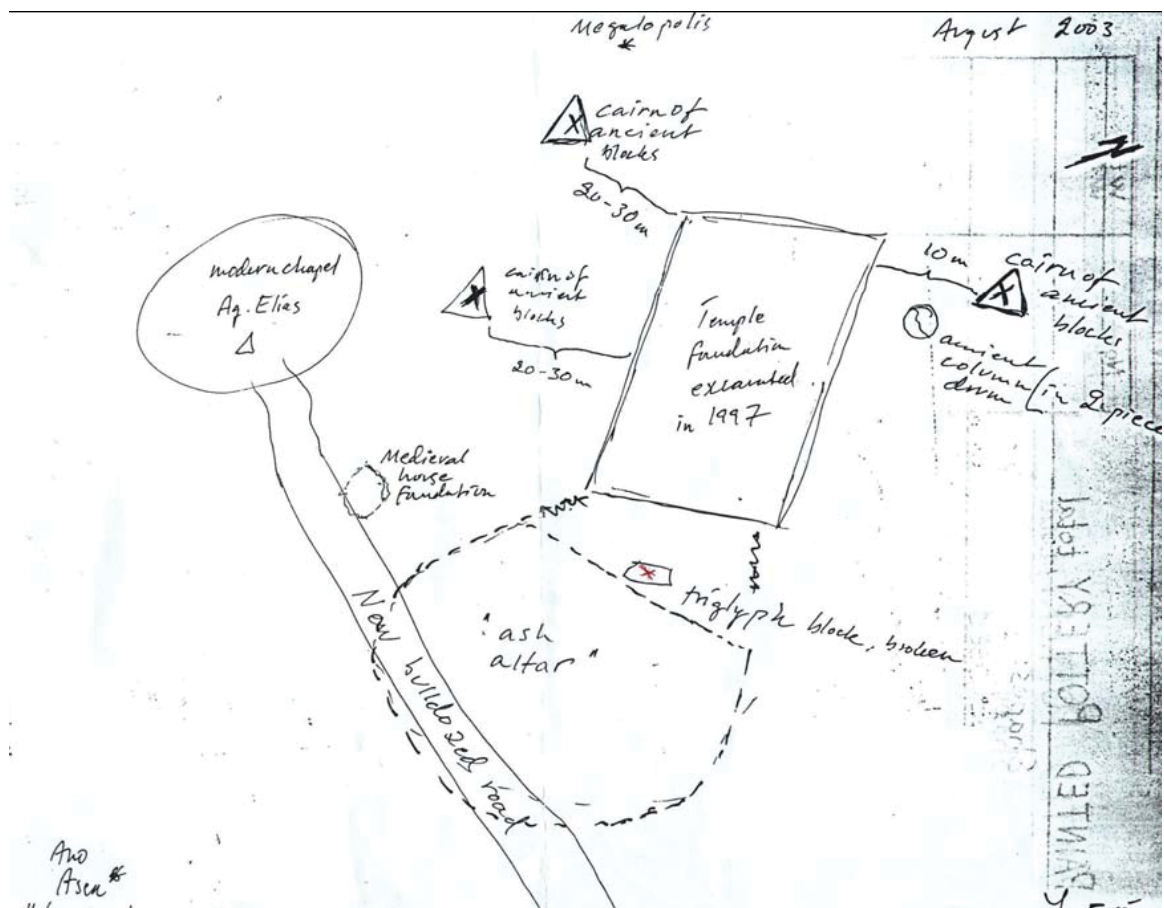


Fig.4.22: sketch plan of Asea-Ayios Elias by Bjorn Forsen, courtesy of Museum of Tegea.

The surrounding valley stands at approximately 650m above sea level and thus the climb to the peak is a noteworthy one, not particularly difficult and one in which most could participate, but a journey that needed some planning nonetheless. Sacred sites in high places is a feature in many periods and places (Carmichael 1994): many divinities are thought of as residing in the 'heavens' or on top of imaginary high places for example, Mount Olympus in an ancient Greek context. It seems that height indicated closeness to the divinity (or divinities) being worshipped. It also separated places of worship from the places of everyday.

The aspect of the journey is significant when considering the artefacts used and deposited on the summit. Most offerings and votives were miniatures, and therefore highly portable. A person could quite easily transport the conulus of steatite found, for example, that belongs to the LHIIB period. Unfortunately this particular piece was found unstratified (Forsen 1999, p.179), presumably being relocated when the road was bulldozed through the edge of the ash altar (Fig.4.22 & 4.23). It could have been curated and deposited at a later date, perhaps passed on for a number of generations and given as an offering at an event of particular significance for the person to whom it belonged. There is an instance in Arkadia, at Pallantion, where a LBA head was dedicated c.500-475 BCE dated by an inscription on it, indicating that such behaviour did occur (Jeffrey 1990, p.449, Arkadia no.11; Iozzo & Pagano 1995, cat. 196; Morgan 1999, pp.397-8). Of course, the conulus could also have been either lost, in the LH period or later, without ever having particular religious meaning attached to it.

The ash altar (Fig.4.23) is positioned on the eastern side of the hill, to the west of the remains of the stone temple. Before the first temple was built this area presumably was an open space, an area in which the participants of the rites being practised stood, watched, took part, and performed, although such rituals could also have been performed on the very summit, where the modern chapel of Ayios Elias is situated. One reason that the ash altar may have been

positioned in the place it was, may have been dictated in part or wholly by practical reasons such as local winds. Participants would not want to be disabled by choking smoke and so the eastern side may have made sure that smoke was blown free of the 'performance area'

This would have had consequences, intended and/or unintended, both for those taking part on the summit and those in the valleys and plains around, who could or could not see the results of burning. As has been recognised at peak sanctuaries in Crete (Peatfield 1983, p.276), fires that may have been burnt on top of Ayios Elias may well have been intended as beacons, lit in order to be seen. The first sign of smoke wafting from the peak of Ayios Elias would have been visible to many in the Asea Valley but also to those beyond in the eastern valleys and the plain of Tripolis, which can easily be seen from the top when the weather is clear. Because it would be visible from a long distance, particularly at certain times of the year, it was perhaps used by communities from quite far afield. The beacon and smoke 'signal' could have been a call at certain times for people to begin a journey from the eastern plains to that of Asea and the mountain of Ayios Elias. The length of journey may have dictated whether people began at all: if activities had ceased on arrival, presumably they would not return the next year or would have negotiated a lengthening of rites over a number of days. Travellers may have been welcomed and encouraged to come repeatedly, or limited to only certain times of the year, or perhaps they were rejected from the outset. Subsequent sightings of fire and smoke would have been a message to others that they were outside and beyond the acts and the landscapes in which they were taking place.

However, the fire and smoke from burning sacrifices, or partaking in sacred feasting seen to the east, would not have been so visible from the west, towards the plain of Megalopolis. If the 'altar' was lit as a beacon and was meant to be seen then the fact it was obscured from the west may very well have been quite deliberate (cf Peatfield 1983, p.276). This would have

affected relations between participants on Ayios Elias and those who lived on the edge of, or on, the Megalopolis plain, although at present there is no evidence from the plain itself and very little from the edge datable to the period in question (Roy et al. 1992). In part, these people may not have been aware of any activity if it was not seen and thus not affected, as those to the east would have been had they seen and been refused access. On the other hand, those to the west may have heard from others, thus aware of their exclusion, not knowing through any visible means when such activity was taking place, maybe only hearing after the event. This may have been an unintended consequence of positioning the altar where it was, but one that was real and would have affected the lives of those living to the west of the hill and those living in the valley and using the hill. Once on the hill, the group of participants performing rituals, although they would have their view of the east obscured by smoke and the altar would have been facing in this direction with their attention on the sacrifices, their backs turned physically towards the west (Fig.4.24 & 4.25).

Of course, these are things about which we can only conjecture, although the existence of Lakonian PG may suggest that people from over the Tsemborou range, could have joined in with activities. This inclusion or exclusion could have changed quite frequently, depending on relations that were sustained or broken with groups in contact with one another from neighbouring valleys or further afield. Forsen (1999, p.186) argues that this site, from the beginning, was the focal point of several communities in the southern Mainalon district of Arkadia and continued as such when poleis in the region were developing. This is in contrast to an earlier suggestion that the sanctuary was extra-urban in nature, delimiting the territory of the *polis* of Asea or according to Jost (1985, p.200) the territory of Peraitheis to the north (Fig.4.26).



Fig.4.23: the ash altar cut through by bulldozed road. The scale of 50cm is highlighted in yellow (photo: author).



Fig.4.24: panoramic view from the position of the ash altar, with the view to the east in the centre (photo: author)



Fig.4.25: view to the west from the ruins of the classical temple (photo: author).



Fig.4.26: view from Ayios Elias to the N and towards Peraitheis (photo: author).

Although pre-*polis* evidence of religious activity at a site does not prevent it being appropriated by a *polis*, such as Asea, as it became established, Forsen (1999, p.185) argues against such an idea, believing that the site remained a so-called ethnos sanctuary throughout the Archaic and Classical period due to the huge resources required to build the monumental temple. This may have been felt particularly in terms of manpower needed to transport stone from the Dholiana marble quarries which were located ten kilometres south of Tegea, although networks of obligation of various degrees could have existed between one *polis* and another. These may have gone beyond political territories and could have provided the labour needed, even if the site was in the possession of one community (Morgan 1999, p.445 n.301; 2003 ch.4). However, Morgan's (1998) analysis of the early sanctuary at Olympia concludes that this sanctuary at least was situated on neutral ground, a place where the aristocracy or petty chiefs could meet without the site being controlled by one particular authority. A similar situation could also have existed at Asea-Ayios Elias. To know when to meet could

have been dictated by seasons and seasonal events, after harvest for example, or indicated to those who could see the burning of sacrifices and how long a journey would take to reach the source.

4.4.2: Case Study B: Vlacherna Petra (13) (Map 4.2)



Fig.4.27: view of Vlacherna-Petra looking to the East (photo: author).

Vlacherna-Petra is the name given to a very distinctive and isolated rock situated in the southwest corner of the plain of Kandhila in Eastern Arkadia (Fig.4.27). It is situated four kilometres southeast of Khotoussa where the remains of Hellenistic and Roman Kaphyae are situated. The rock has a flat area on top (c.35x20m) surrounded by polygonal walling and some remains of buildings. Obsidian, possible LN, EH, possible LH and Classical sherds and tiles have been recorded by Hope Simpson (1965, n.86; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, B26). Archaeologically speaking, there has been no official excavation or survey of the site and there is little information on the type of sherds found other than that those, which are possibly LH in date, are coarse ware. If the dating of the various sherds is correct, then it suggests that people have at least visited this spot at various times over a very long period. It is unfortunate that the obsidian from this site has not been dated, and the form it took and

from where it came, is unknown: as far as I am aware, there are no illustrations of the obsidian noted by Hope Simpson.

A number of travellers and antiquarians have attempted to associate this site with places of religious significance noted by Pausanias: he describes two temples of Artemis in the territory of Kaphyae (8.23.4) one to Artemis Knakalos and the other Artemis Kondyleatis. Artemis was a goddess of obvious importance to Kaphyae where her image is found on Roman coins (Jost 1985, p.110). Papandreou (1920) identified the site with Artemis Kondyleatis but the distance from Kaphyae exceeds that given by Pausanias, as it is clearly more than one stade away (8.23.4). Hope Simpson (1965, n.86 p.39) however, believes that Vlakherna-Petra could be the hill of Knakalos, and therefore the sanctuary of Artemis Knakalos (1965, n.86, 39). On the other hand, Hiller von Gaertringen (1911) has identified this closer to Limni (Khotoussa–Ayios Yioryios?), even though Mount Kastania, with which this cult was associated, has been identified to the west close to where Vlakherna-Petra is situated (Bursian 1868; Papandreou 1920). The fact that Artemis is associated with this region in later periods is perhaps significant in supporting the idea of early religious activity at the site and in the area. She is recognised as a very ancient divinity: Artemis has been identified on Linear B tablets (Chadwick, 1958, 124; Dietrich 1974, 65, 157) and Pausanias refers to her ancientness in the guise of Hymnia (8.5.11).

To support identification of this rock with a religious site, Hiller von Gaertringen (1911) reported votive niches in the south face, but unfortunately, he recorded no further details or illustrations. However, a number of natural fissures on the southern side could have been used as such (Fig.4.28 and 4.29 below). If these niches were used to deposit offerings then this would certainly add to the notion that this site was of religious importance, in addition to the distinctive form of the rock. The plain in which Vlakherna-Petra is situated is the western

part of the lower plain of Orchomenos (plain of Kandhila) and is prone to flooding, now as much as in antiquity if it is not controlled. This is largely due to its lesser altitude compared to the Upper Orchomenos plain (plain of Levidi), and that of Vlacherna from where waters drain to one katavothra (Pritchett 1969, p.123; Howell 1970, p.2; Knauss 1989). The situation is not helped by the location of many springs in and around the vicinity of the plain – many more than the three described by Pritchett (1969 p.123). Contemporaneous sites in the area, although few, are located to the edge and above the plain floor such as the Vlacherna-Plessa (14) to the south and east of Vlacherna-Petra, Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios and Kandhila-Bikiza, both to the northeast. Vlacherna-Petra can be seen from each of these although it is not particularly visible in all cases (Fig.4.30 and 4.31). However, those residing or moving through the area on regular basis would have been aware of its existence and the knowledge of this particular permanence rather than the visibility from a distance may have been enough for it to have remained significant.

Video Clip 1: Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios

As has been argued, the location of sacred sites is highly important and Vlacherna- Petra, intuitively, invites sacred significance. The fact that the rock is situated in a plain that floods, as it did when Howell (1970 n.2), was visiting the area, may have highlighted the steadfastness of its nature in an ever-changing environment. In the terminology of Gibson (1979), it afforded this quality. This factor may have instilled a sense of the divine in the people who lived in this locale. It would have stood proud above the floodwaters and its inaccessible nature may have bestowed it with esoteric and enigmatic status. Close by to the south is the katavothra, or sink hole, whose ‘performance’, would have dictated whether the plain flooded, whether crops were destroyed or whether a bountiful harvest was to be had. The rising mass of Petra may have been seen in direct opposition to the chasm, the absence of rock that was and is the katavothra, which determined the fertility of the plain. Water itself

was seen to be sacred, certainly in later periods: rain came from Zeus himself; springs were nymphs that came from Earth (Guettel Cole 1983). In addition, Artemis had associations with water, and had temples dedicated in marshes, near rivers, lakes and streams (Nilsson 1967, p492; Jost 1994, p.220).



Fig.4.28: possible votive niche in S face of rock (photo: author).

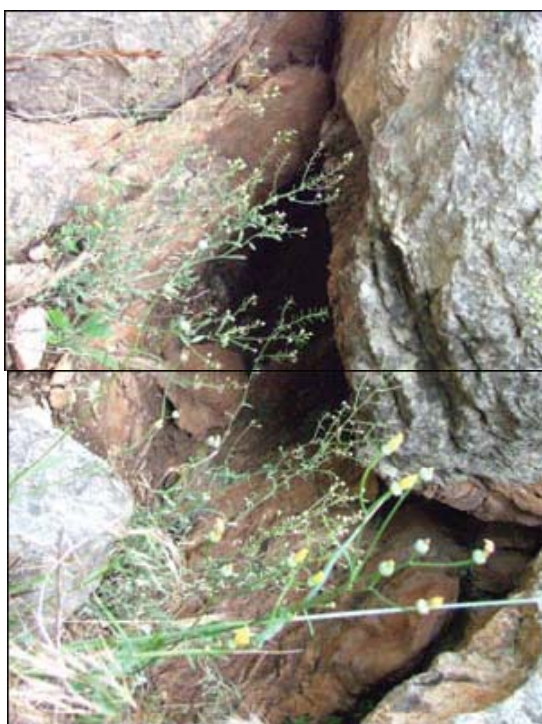
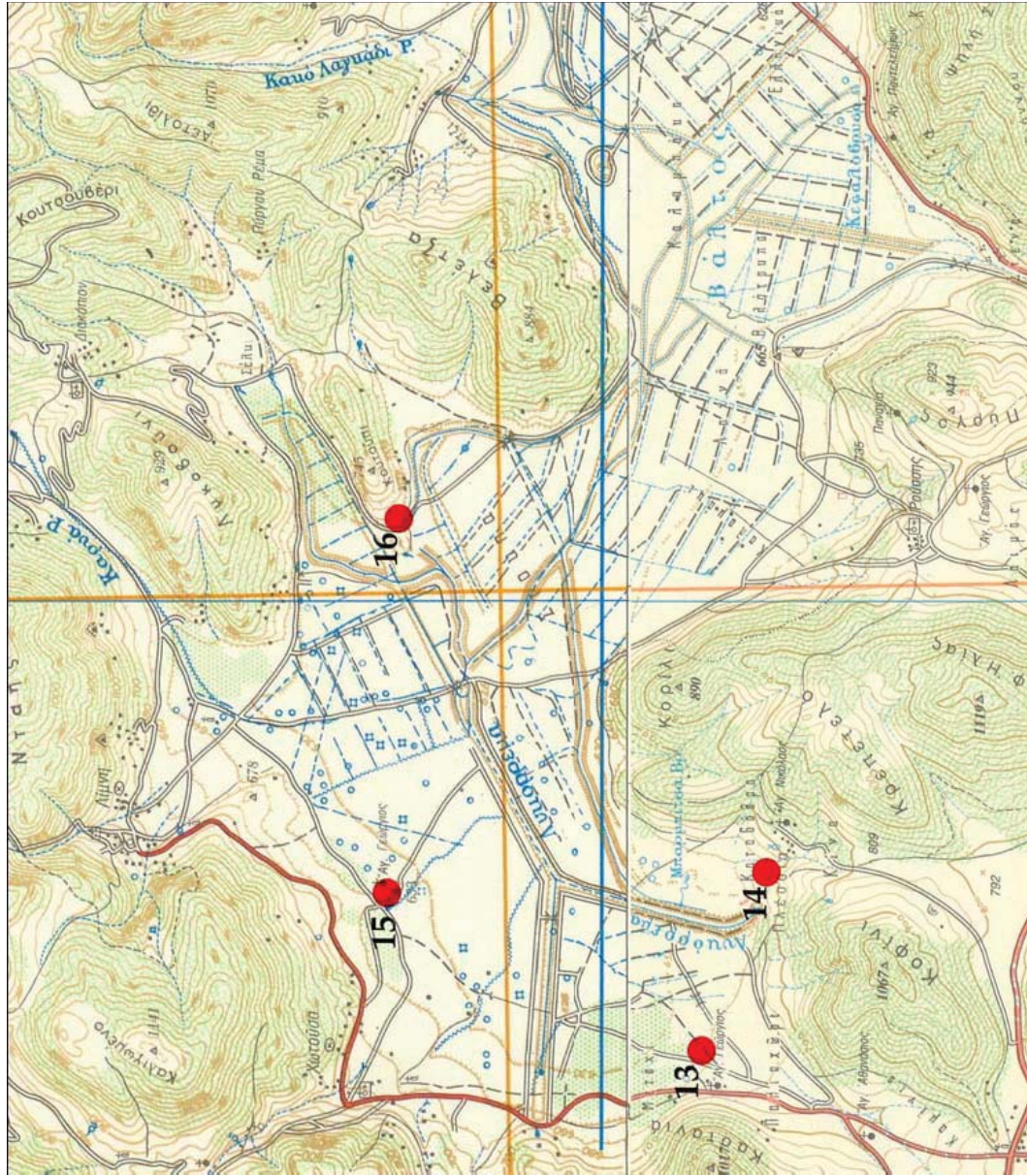


Fig.4.29: possible votive niche in S face of rock (photo: author).



Map 4.2: showing sites in proximity to Vlacherna-Petra (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000, Tripolis and Kandhila sheets).
 13: Vlacherna-Petra; 14: Vlacherna-Plessa; 15: Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios; 16: Kandhila-Bikiza.



Fig.4.30: view from the site of Vlacherna Plessa towards the NW, Vlacherna-Petra visible to the left (photo: author).



Fig.4.31: panoramic view from Khotoussa Ayios Yioryios with Vlacherna-Petra situated to the right (SW) (photo: author).

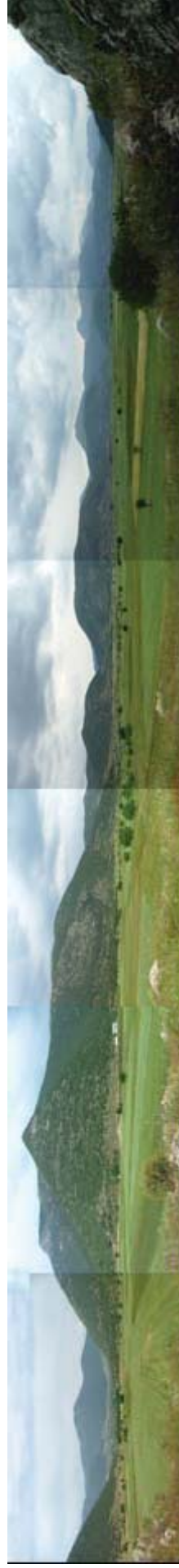


Fig.4.32: view from platform on Vlacherna-Petra looking SW to NE. Centre of photo towards ancient Kaphyae and modern Khotoussa to the NW (photo: author).

Rites on Vlacherna-Petra may have been related to the draining of the plain, particularly before hydraulic works were built to contain and control the waters, possibly in the LBA (Knauss 1989), and again after, if the dam and dyke had not been maintained. These rites would have been performed on the small flat area on Vlacherna-Petra, a space that appears as a natural platform with the protruding highest part of the rock posing as a backdrop – the background to the stage, or even the focal point of ritual, especially if the rock itself was the object of veneration. The ‘platform’ would provide a ready made, if relatively limited area for performance of rites, attended and seen by only a few. People may have stood around the bottom of Petra, but would not have had a clear view of any proceedings above. Perhaps this is why uses were found around the exterior: ‘ordinary’ members of the community for example, could place offerings in the votive niches on the southern side. The view from this platform focussed on the western-northern-eastern sweep, which may have played a particularly significant part in proceedings, with backs turned towards the katavothra, the view obscured by the rock. Particularly prominent is the conical peak of ancient Mount Kastania on the west, but most striking of all is the expanse of plain (Fig.4.32).

Video clip 2: Vlacherna-Petra

Other locales of religious significance in Arkadia, such as the hill of Ayios Elias near Asea, although visible from many sites within the area, may have seemed one of many mountains as people went about their daily business. In contrast to this, the distinctiveness of Vlacherna-Petra would have ensured that its uniqueness would be remembered, reflected upon, perhaps only fleetingly, but whenever people glanced upon it. The rock, although people would have passed it on a daily basis, may never have lost its exceptional status.

4.4.3: Case Study C: Ptolis-Gortsouli (27)



Fig.4.33: view of Ptolis from Artemision-Ayios Elias looking to the S (photo: author)

The site of Ptolis (27) is located on the hill of Gortsouli towards the northern end of the plain of Tripolis north of Mantinea (Fig.4.33). This site has evidence of habitation ranging from the Neolithic to the LBA (see Chapter 6), after which there is a break in activity until the eighth century except for one piece of possible PG ware discovered by Howell (1970, n.11). Archaeological Reports (1993-4, p.17) states that the hill appears to have been reserved for cult until Early Imperial times, although Voyatzis (1999, p.146) makes it clear that it fell out of use after the fifth century, when the city of Mantinea had been established on the plain to the north (Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981, p.239). Even if this is not the case, activity at the site diminished, as reflected in the quantity and range of artefacts (although this trend is seen across Arkadia and beyond, Voyatzis 1990), and its status probably deferred to the temple of Poseidon Hippios established to the south of the synoecised city (Morgan 1999, p.391).



Fig.4.34: view from the eastern slopes of Artemision-Ayios Yioryios towards the small adjoining hill (photo: author).

It has been suggested that the shrine is dedicated to Artemis as described by Pausanias, but although he mentions Ptolis as Old Mantinea, he says nothing of a sanctuary or temple there (8.12.7). The sanctuary of Artemis is described a few lines earlier as being next to the stadium of Ladas and near the grave of Penelope (8.12.5), which some have suggested is the hill of Artemision-Ayios Ilias (Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981, p.252), although Pausanias could have been referring to the low adjoining hill to the east (Fig.4.34). It is only after describing these places that Pausanias states there is a mountain called Ptolis. Whichever deity was worshipped at this site, there is no doubt that from the seventh century BCE a stone temple was erected, succeeded by another in late sixth century BCE (Karayiorya

Stathakopoulou 1989; 1992-3; Voyatzis 1999, p.133). Deposits of G or sub-Geometric material at the same site are votive in nature. There is some debate over the position of this evidence and whether deposits of the late eighth/early seventh century evidence were found at two separate temple sites on the hill, as suggested by Mazarakis Ainian (1997, p.336), in addition to indicating habitation. However, both Morgan (1999, p.390) and Voyatzis (1999, p.133) believe that there was indeed one sanctuary that dated back to the end of the eighth century with the hill having a specifically sacred function from this time onwards.

That a sacred site has been located on a hill that was a settlement in the LH period raises the question as to why this place? In accordance with other authors (e.g. Gadolou, 2002), this would certainly have been significant and particularly pertinent if, as evidence so far suggests, the area saw little activity in the years following the end of the BA. The single sherd of PG pottery noted by Howell (1970, no.11) does not go far in changing this picture although it may indicate that the locale was not entirely deserted. Choosing this place to dedicate offerings to a divinity, a group was (re)stating its connections with the area and legitimising its claim - a return of the same people whether perceived or actual. Although the worship may have been to a particular divinity from the outset, there may also have been a sense of ancestor worship, again almost irrelevant whether real or appropriated. If there were a few inhabitants around, such acts may have convinced them of the truth others were espousing or a growing population may have needed an increasingly common site for religious activity. Such a placing may support the idea of memory and tradition kept alive, that a group moving away had always meant to come back. Perhaps they could see remains that either convinced them they had come to right place or that inspired such tales



Fig.4.35: view to the south, west and north from west of the church on the summit of Gortsouli, the site of ancient Ptolis (photo: author)

However, Ptolis was also an elevated place. Perhaps not a high place in terms of a peak sanctuary or of the same 'stature' as Asea-Ayios Yioryios, but if as yet undiscovered settlements were dotted around the plain for the G and following periods (until the foundation of Mantinea) as Morgan (1999, p.390) believes, then its location meant the sanctuary was distanced from the everyday. This is comparable to the way the dead was buried on the neighbouring hill to the north (Artemision-Ayios Ilias (26) Map 4.3 & see Chapter 5), in both cases in a very physical way. The height also means there are incredible views across the whole of the Mantinean plain, especially from the summit (Fig.4.36 and video clip 3). However, from the site of the temple, views to the south are somewhat obscured by a rise in the natural level, so that views around are limited to the west and northern sections of the surrounding landscape (video clip 4). If, as has been suggested (e.g. Voyatzis 1999, p.146), the sanctuary was abandoned when the city of Mantinea was formed in plain at the end of the Archaic or early Classical period, the positioning of the temple may have been significant.

If it could not be seen from the city site in the plain it may have fallen out of the new community's consciousness, especially when concerned with developing new sanctuaries within the city limits. This is not to say that religious life became circumscribed within the physical boundaries of the city, indeed a new sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios was constructed to south of the city walls (Jost 1985, pp.132-134; 1999, p.226). However, the site of Ptolis may have been outside the physical taskscape or temporal landscape of those living in its proximity. As Voyatzis (1999, p.146) points out, Ptolis, although considered to be ancient Mantinea was not included within the new city's walls built in the 4th century. This was significant. Perhaps the old site had too many links with the past and a particular community, group or family. It may have acquired negative values, which prohibited future activity, or which had contributed to a decline (Chapman 2000, p.188). If it was too politically charged and a neutral ground including neutral sanctuaries were called for, onto which new political

and power arrangements could be mapped, it was physically excluded from the newly founded city. Indeed, the change in focus from Artemis on Ptolis to Poseidon south of Mantinea may have reflected the overwhelmingly patriarchal nature of the *polis*. However, even in cases where there is continuity in cult, it would need to be reinterpreted ‘within the new world of the Greek city’ (Bruit Zaidman & Schmitt Pantel 2002, p.6). Here, religious authority belonged to the people or the citizen body as a whole (*demos*) and performed by a number of personnel on their behalf. Their role would have involved collaboration with other city officials such as organising great festivals (Bruit Zaidman & Schmitt Pantel 2002, p 47). The old order and previous mechanisms of control would not fit in with the new organisation.

Video clip 3: from summit of Ptolis-Gortsouli.

Video clip 4: from temple site on Ptolis-Gortsouli

4.5: Conclusions

In the LH period, eight sites have possible associations with ritual activity as have been outlined above. A number of these are associated with settlements: ancient Pheneos (6), Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25) and Kato Asea-Palaiokastro (45). Two others that have proved difficult to interpret (?activity+ritual) are Loukas-Ayios Yioryios (31) and Vounon (36). These sites are known through limited reconnaissance (Loring 1895, p.34; Meyer 1954, p.667; Howell 1970, no.16, no.27) and further exploration may prove enlightening. The positions of the latter two sites certainly suggest favourable locations for settlement or, as has been argued at least typical of the locations of Mycenaean settlements (e.g. Salavoura 2005 and see Chapter 6). The sites of Vlacherna-Petra (13), Temple of Athena Alea (34) and Asea-Ayios Elias (46) appear to have had no association with a settlement, despite difficulties in interpretation as discussed in section 4.3.

The majority of G religious sites are located in places different to those of the LH period. Only one site has evidence pertaining to the whole period in question and that is the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (34), although excavations at the site of Asea-Ayios Elias (46) have revealed evidence from all except the SM period. The G ritual sites in all cases show religious evidence un-associated with habitation, as far as can be ascertained, although in two cases activity is related to earlier BA burials (Alea-Palaiokhori (40) and Vourvoura Analipsis (44)). Although the SM and PG evidence is limited, and in the case of Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos very doubtful, the sites show perhaps the beginning of a trend away from religious sites that are incorporated into or have associated settlements. What is tentatively suggested from the above overviews of the various periods (4.2) and highlighted especially in the case study of Ptolis-Gortsouli, is the change in organisation of the landscape in which people lived and thus the relationship they had with it. As has been argued by Mazarakis Ainian (1997, p.290), in the LH period religious activity was located close to habitation, often sharing in space the chieftain or leader's dwelling, and for this reason it may very well have had much more integration into everyday life. Although, religious ritual activity by its very definition consists of atypical behaviour that is removed from the everyday (Garwood 2002) the landscape in which activity took place would have been familiar, albeit affording different characteristics depending on the circumstances. Aspects of the landscape that may have been passed over in the course of everyday activity would become the focus of intense awareness during religious ritual (Thomas 2004b, p.175),

In contrast, although there is limited evidence of settlement in the PG and the following G period (see Chapter 6), sites, based on current evidence, have the sole purpose of being locations of religious activity and worship. The physical separation of these sites would have been apparent. Aspects of the landscape that would not have been apprehended through mundane everyday activity, or at least not at close quarters, would thus physically and

metaphorically remove deities away from the realm of human beings. Most of the G evidence also belongs to sites that have continuity of evidence into the Archaic and Classical periods, and have recognisable deities attached to them, belonging to an increasingly pan-Hellenic pantheon, such as the Temples of Athena Alea at Tegea (34), and Alipheira (56), and the Temple of Poseidon Hippios (?) at Petrovouni (73). The change from specific local deities perhaps reflected in the epithets of gods and goddesses, for example, Alea at Tegea, may be a reflection of the desire of communities to assimilate themselves and their religion into an ever-more integrated far-reaching society that shared in a similar material culture, reflected in an increasingly similar style of pottery. New elites emerging through innovative ways of organising communities may have realised this was a way in which power could be legitimated and authority validated, by being tied into a wider network of relations that would be harder to refute or to undermine. Thinking in terms of Giddens' work (e.g. 1984, *passim*), the wider structure of 'society' was continually being formed and reproduced by the actions of individuals whilst also restraining the possibilities of action.

However despite the general trends that can be seen, the case studies that have concentrated on Asea-Ayios Elias and Vlacherna-Petra, show that generalisations naturally miss the particular, so that when these are focussed upon a different picture of religious activity in the LBA emerges. Both these sites have evidence, albeit not definite, of religious ritual in very particular, visible, and isolated positions. They can be seen from a number of sites in the vicinity and thus could very well have provided focal points for a number of communities that lived around, as Forsen has suggested for Asea-Ayios Elias (1999, p.182). Both the lower Orchomenos plain and the Asea Valley have afforded evidence of LBA sites in the vicinity (sites 14, 15, 16, 17 around Vlacherna-Petra; sites 45, 47, 48, 49, 50 and 79 in the Asea Valley). However the individual nature of each location, should warn against uniting the two together as the same type of site. Vlacherna-Petra is strikingly unique and as such would

have had a unique affect on the consciousness of those who lived in the vicinity. As suggested above, this particular site may have had particular association with the katavothra to the south, an association that was alien and incomparable to other sites of religious importance. On the other hand, the hill of Ayios Elias is a mountain in the vicinity of other mountains, and the scale is significantly larger than that at Vlakhera. It is this balance of the general and particular that should be constantly addressed. Not only would such different situations have different affects on the consciousness of those experiencing them, these locales would have had influenced the nature of rituals practised there, in terms of numbers, frequency and visibility.

CHAPTER 5: LANDSCAPES OF DEATH AND BURIAL

5.1 Introduction

In the region of Arkadia, burial evidence exists for most of the period with which this study is concerned. In this chapter, this evidence is explored. Section 5.2 is an overview and notes the typical burial forms for each period in the Greek world in general, before naming and giving a brief description of the sites that are found in Arkadia. Section 5.3 offers a critical analysis of disciplinary approaches to burial and outlines the ways burial evidence has been used to understand the past, which has usually involved discussion as to how and to what extent burial evidence reflects the situation of the living. Following on from this Section 5.4 draws on four landscape ‘areas’ as case studies: the northeast (plains of Stymphalos and Pheneos (5, 5.4.1); the south east (Vourvoura Analipsis (44) and Alea Palaiokhori (40), 5.4.2); the west (Palaiokastro (61) and Kalliani–Ayios Yioryios (70) 5.4.3); and the east (Milea (28) and Artemision – Ayios Ilias (26) 5.4.4). These are explored using the approach to landscape as clarified in Chapter 3 in an effort to enable further understandings of how living people and communities dealt with death and the dead.

5.2 Overview

5.2.1 Late Helladic burial evidence in Greece

Late Helladic or Mycenaean burials have been categorized as either monumental tombs or simple graves (Lewartowski 2000, p.1). The monumental tombs category includes tholoi, chamber tombs and any variations on these types (Dickinson 1994, p.225). These have been the subject of most studies on Mycenaean burial customs (e.g. Pelon 1976; Muller 1989; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995; Branigan 1998; Cavanagh & Mee 1998). Simple graves have received less attention in the literature, despite the fact that there are over 2000 examples (Lewartowski 2000, p.1). This type includes pit and cist graves, shaft graves, pithos burials,

urn-burials (in-urned cremations), pit caves, pit shafts and burials in wells and caves. In general terms, monumental tombs were intended for multiple burials over a period of time, whereas simple forms were intended for a single burial at one moment in time. However, the division between ‘monumental’ and ‘simple’ graves is somewhat arbitrary: simple burial types have been found within the multiple tomb types, such as pit graves or urn burials (in-urned cremations) within chamber tombs; and in a few cases more than one burial has been found in simple grave types (Lewartowski 1995, p.104). In addition, it is not unusual for cist graves and pithos burials to be found grouped with multiple types.

Due to the focus of most studies of Mycenaean burial practices and despite the range of types, this period is often connected solely with large monumental tombs and multiple burials, and whilst it may be true that the chamber tomb and tholos tomb are the most common tomb types in regions within the Mycenaean koine, regional differences are readily apparent. For instance, Messenia is often cited as the centre of development for the tholos tomb with one of the earliest examples of a tholos located at Koryphasion near Pylos (Korres 1981-82, p.378-81; Lolos 1989) and the region is home to most of the known examples (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.171; Dickinson 1994, p.225). However, chamber tombs are rare. In contrast, there are, as of yet, no known examples of tholoi at Thebes in Boeotia. In addition, the use of pit and cist graves persisted throughout the period in Messenia, a practice that in other regions, such as the Argolid, became less common in LH III (Voutsaki 1995). Achaea also had a tradition of using cist and pit graves, but here they were employed throughout the Mycenaean period and beyond, and were often grouped together either by a surrounding enclosure or under tumuli, and existed alongside large chamber tomb cemeteries (see case study C below; Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.170- 171). Although the above examples do not present a comprehensive list, these few instances serve to illustrate some of the variations that existed between regions during the Mycenaean period.

As for rite, most burials of the LBA are inhumations and are found in all regions of Greece that fall within the sphere of Mycenaean influence. In some communal tombs, inhumations are obviously secondary: once devoid of flesh, bones were moved to another part of the tomb to make way for other interments, a process that could have required a further ritual involving fires. Cases are numerous (Gallou 2005, p.113 n.1244), but examples exist at Mycenae (Wace 1932; Gallou 2005, p.114), Prosymna (Blegen 1937; Gallou 2005, p.114) and particularly with regard to the use of fires, in the Mesara tholoi (Branigan 1987, p.44ff; 1993, p.124ff; 1998, p.25-26; Gallou 2005, p.112). Bones could also have been brought to the tomb after having been subject to excarnation elsewhere, which again perhaps involved a secondary ritual (Dickinson 1994, p.209; Lewartowski 2000, p.54). It has been suggested that excarnation may be one of the reasons why numbers of the dead, where detectable, are low, compared with what might be expected (Dickinson 1994, p.208). Cremations are not unknown but, as Dickinson (1994, p.209) states, they are so rare as to “invite special explanation” (see also Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.189). Isolated examples are known in areas of the Peloponnese such as Elis (Agrapidokhori) Achaea (Kallithea) and Messenia (Tragana) where they were found in chamber tombs (c.f. Palaiokastro (61 in Arkadia below) and a number of urn cremations have been discovered under a tumulus at Khania near Mycenae (AR 1984-5, p.21). In LHIIIC, the rite of cremation becomes more common, particularly in the eastern regions of Greece such as the Argolid, Boeotia, Attica (e.g. Perati), the Aegean Islands (e.g. Kos and Rhodes), and various sites on Crete (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.189; Dickinson 1994, p.231).

The presence of grave goods is typical, at least in adult burials. Ornaments, sealstones, various metal items, including weapons, are common, and in the LHIII period, figurines are often found (Dickinson 1994, p.228). Gold items accompany bodies in the richest tombs such as pieces of jewellery or seal rings (e.g. Dendra, Mycenae) and in some cases richly decorated

weapons are present (e.g. shaft graves at Mycenae). Ceramic vessels are usually found even in the poorest graves, which often have one or two pots but little else to accompany the body (Dickinson 1994, p.228). It is, of course, from tombs that most of the complete examples of Mycenaean pottery have come. In richer tombs, pottery vessels were more numerous and those made from precious metals are also found (e.g. Vapheio).

5.2.2: Late Helladic burial evidence in Arkadia

Mycenaean tombs in Arkadia number over one hundred and nineteen and include both monumental types (tholos and chamber tomb) and simple types (the cist grave and pit grave in particular). Details of these are highlighted in Table 5.1 below. In some cases, ‘simple’ graves are found inside communal tombs. For example, at least one cremation in a large hydria (in-urned cremation) was located in a chamber tomb at Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (tombs (61) (photo in Tripolis museum; AR 1996-7, p.33) and pit graves were found in a tholos at Vourvoura-Analipsis (44).

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 | burial type | burial rite/s | burial quantity |
|---------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 5 | Stymphalia e - Lafka, tholos | structure | burial | tholos | ? | 1 |
| 20 | Orchomenos d - tumulus | structure | burial | tumulus | ? | 1 |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiokhorib | structure+assemblage | burial | tholos | inhumation? | 1+ |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | structure+assemblage | burial | tholos | inhumation? | 10 |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | structure+assemblage | settlement+burial+ritual | cist | inhumation? | 1 |
| 61 | Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (tombs) | structure+assemblage | burial | chamber/cist/pit/urn | inhumation&cremation | 100+ |
| 70 | Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | structure+assemblage | burial | chamber tomb | ? | 3+? |
| 78 | Vrisarion-Gamenitsa | structure+assemblage | burial | chamber tomb | inhumation? | 2+ |

Table 5.1: LH burials, showing type, rite where known and number of tombs/burials not of bodies, which is unknown.

As can be seen from Table 5.1, most Mycenaean burials in Arkadia are found at Palaioikastro-Palaiopyrgos (tombs) (61) in the west of the region, where over 100 examples have been excavated. These consist of chamber tombs in the main, but also cist and pit graves and at least one urn-burial from a chamber tomb (Tripolis museum; AR 1996-7, p.33; Demakopoulou & Crouwel 1998, p.272). In addition to these, at least two examples of chamber tombs have been uncovered at Kalliani-Ayios Yioryios (70), also in the west of Arkadia (Howell 1970, n.54), where a local man revealed an example that had been completely robbed out. The last two sites will be considered in more detail below (case study C). There are also a number of chamber tombs near Vrisarion-Gamenitsa (78) on the border with modern Achaea, two of which were excavated in 1954 by Yalouris (JHS 1954, p.157; BCH 1961, p.682).

As for tholos tombs, there is a relatively large example at Vourvoura-Analipsis (44) (Fig.5.3) accompanied by nine smaller tholoi (Hope Simpson 1965, p.50, n.135; Howell 1970, n.36; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, p.123, c58). Further occurrences of the smaller tombs were found at the site of Alea-Palaiokhori (40), although only one has been excavated. The total number of tombs here is unknown. What may be another tholos of diminutive size is located close to Lafka (5) at the western edge of the plain of Stymphalia (Hector Williams pers. com.; Michopoulou 2004, p.41). These are all sites that will be closely considered below (case study A & case study B).

A cist grave has been located at Vourvoura-Analipsis (44), although later dated to the Middle Helladic by Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, p.123, c58; see also Romaios in Howell 1970, n.36) and at least one has been found at Kato Asea-Palaiokastro (45 (Holmberg 1944, p.22-26; Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.182). There is a possible Mycenaean tumulus (20), quite obviously excavated on the lower Orchomenos plain (plain of Kandhila), but no discernible

report has yet been published. However, a similar tumulus on the upper Orchomenos plain (Plain of Levidi) also excavated, has been reported as being of an Early Helladic date and therefore outside the scope of this study (AR 1996-7, p.33). The proximity and similarity of the two tumuli perhaps indicates that the unreported one is of a similar date.

5.2.3: Sub-Mycenaean burial evidence in Greece

It is difficult to describe the typical sub-Mycenaean burial largely due to the controversy over whether sub-Mycenaean is a distinct cultural phase in its own right or not. The most information we have regarding any kind of 'sub-Mycenaean' burials comes from Attica, in particular the Kerameikos in Athens and the island of Salamis, so much so that sub-Mycenaean was at first considered to be a wholly Attic phenomenon (e.g. Desborough 1964, p.17-20; Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.31). Since these tombs were first excavated in the 1930's, further examples of the same style of pottery have been found in many other areas of Greece (e.g. the Argolid). This has been understood by some scholars to mean that sub-Mycenaean is a specific cultural phase rather than simply the preferred style of pottery in some areas (e.g. Desborough 1972; Mountjoy 2000, p.56. However, as stated in chapter three, positing the existence of a specific sub-Mycenaean phase seems to oversimplify what is perhaps a much more complicated picture. Moreover, assuming the existence of such a phase presupposes a chronological gap in any area where the style is absent. With these points in mind, it is difficult to describe any typical sub-Mycenaean burials in Greece as a whole. However, a trend, largely contemporary with Attic sub-Mycenaean and a phase before the appearance of a distinct Protogeometric pottery (whether this is considered to be sub-Mycenaean or the last phases of LHIIIC), shows an increasing use of single burial, (e.g. Argos, Mycenae, Corinth, Ancient Elis, Lefkandi, Chalkis; Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.152; Mountjoy 1999, p.55). It is also the case in some areas, however, that pottery with sub-Mycenaean decorative elements can be found in existing chamber tombs (e.g. Asine, Tiryns, Epidauros, Limera, Pellana,

Thebes; see Mountjoy 1999, p.55). This is perhaps indicative of continuity of use by an enduring population rather than re-use after an interruption in habitation of the area.

5.2.4: Sub-Mycenaean burial evidence in Arkadia

Spyropoulos dated the use of some of the tombs at the Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (61) site to this 'period' (AR 1996-7, p.33-4). However, Mountjoy (2000) has (re)classified as LHIIIC, all the pots considered by Spyropoulos as sub-Mycenaean, without exception. In this case, the use of the term sub-Mycenaean may reflect a desire to fill an assumed chronological gap, which may very well be nonexistent, only created by the belief that a sub-Mycenaean phase ought to exist in all regions. It appears to be a matter of terminology, depending on a preference for the use of sub-Mycenaean as a classification term rather than LHIIIC to describe the same pots.

5.2.5: Protogeometric and Geometric burial evidence in Greece

PG and G burials are considered together because traits identifiable in the PG period continue into the following G period, particularly in the case of the adoption of single burials in much of Greece. Single burials were placed in cists/boulder-cists, slab-covered pits and pithoi and are found in most regions of the Greek world. There are, as always, regional variations and exceptions. For example, in Thessaly tholoi continued to be built and although cists do occur here they seem to be used exclusively for children, at least initially, and often within the settlement as is observed at Athens for much of the earlier G (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.154 - 155; Coldstream 2003, p.122). Similarly, Elateia also used chamber tombs without break from the Mycenaean period to the PG (Dakoronia et al. 2000-2001) and in modern Achaia, the substantial chamber tomb cemeteries, favoured at the end of the Bronze Age may well have continued in use until the tenth century (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.170). Also in modern Achaia and adding to a picture of unusual traits, vaulted chambers under tumuli near

Chalandritsa and tholoi from Bartolomio have been allocated to the Geometric period (Snodgrass [1971]2000, p.171). These are located in an area that in ancient times was part of Azania, and was therefore Arkadian. This fact is particularly interesting in light of the LH chamber tomb cemeteries at Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (61), Kalliani-Ayios Yioryios (70) and Vrissarion-Gamenitsa (78) in the west and northwest of modern Arkadia, although there is no material of this late date found in any tomb so far discovered at any of these three sites. These sites and the relevance to sites in modern Achaea will be discussed in more detail in case study C below. Other variations can be found in the Argolid and Messenia, where boulder-cists are used alongside pithos burials, and grouped under tumuli or by an enclosure (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.171). Also in Messenia, new small tholoi were constructed at Kato Englianos and Karpophora, alongside the boulder-cists. In addition, a Mycenaean tholos was reused for a PG burial at Tragana (Kourouniotes 1914, p.100-101 in Antonaccio 1995, p.79 n.292).

In terms of rite, cremation has been cited as a feature of the EIA and has been used as evidence of incoming Dorians in the assumption that change in rite signifies change in population (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.146 and see below). However, cremation is only commonplace in Athens, the Cyclades, Phokis and Vranesi Kopaidos in Boeotia, the last an exception to other Boeotian sites where all burials were inhumations down to the 7th century BCE, with one exception: at Thebes there is one Late Helladic IIIC cremation in tomb 16 of the Kolonaki chamber tomb cemetery (see above and Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.178, p.160). Moreover, as the period progressed inhumation becomes common again and in Athens this custom supersedes cremation by the LG (Coldstream 2003, p.119).

5.2.6: Protogeometric and Geometric burial evidence in Arkadia

The evidence for both the PG and G period is disappointing in Arkadia, due mostly to the fact that finds and their locations have not yet been adequately published. This leaves us somewhat ignorant as to the details of the burials/graves and makes it impossible to ascertain GPS readings for their exact positions. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 below note the available data regarding these periods.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 | burial type | burial rite/s | burial quantity |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | assemblage | ?activity+burial | ? | ? | ? |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | structure+findspot | ?activity+burial | cist | inhumation | 1 |
| 65 | Priolithos | findspot | burial | Pithos burial | inhumation | 1 |

Table 5.2: PG burials, showing type, rite and number of graves/burials where know, not number of bodies which is unknown.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 | burial type | burial rite/s | burial quantity |
|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | structure+assemblage | burial | cist/pithos | inhumation | +1 |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | assemblage | ?activity+burial | pithos? | ? | ? |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | assemblage | ritual+burial | ? | ? | ? |
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | assemblage | burial | pithos | inhumation | 1 |
| 55 | Andritsaina | findspot | burial | ? | ? | 1? |
| 65 | Priolithos | findspot | burial | pithos | inhumation | 1 |
| 67 | Manesi | findspot | burial | ? | ? | 1 |
| 68 | Kompegadhi | findspot | burial | ? | ? | 1 |
| 76 | Bougrianou | structure+assemblage | burial | ? | ? | 1+ |

Table 5.3: G burials, showing type, rite and number of graves/burials where know, not number of bodies which is unknown.

The actual number of PG burials is unknown, but they exist at Priolithos (65) near Kalavryta (Arch.Delt. 1967, 22b: p.217 pl156) and possibly in the region of Milea (28) near Mantineia (Tripolis museum, Morgan 1999, p.390 & p.443 n.41). There is also the possibility that one of the cist graves from the acropolis at Kato Asea-Palaiokastro (45) belongs to this period (Holmberg 1944, p.26-27). G burials are known from nine possible sites although again, the

actual number of graves is unknown. Most of these seem to have been pithos burials (Artemision-Ayios Ilias (26), Priolithos (65) and Kyparissa Yiannolakka (52)) although cist graves are known from Artemision-Ayios Ilias (26) (see table 5.3). The types of G burials located at Bougrianou (76) near Kamenitsa (Spyropoulos 1987-88, p.5-6; Morgan 1999, p.424) and Kompegadhi (68) (JHS 1954, p.157; Morgan 1999, p.419) are, as of yet, unknown. Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) also noted some pithos burials on the Mantinean plain, which were uncovered during a road construction in 1980. Other than noting them here I can say no more regarding their date and nothing is known now of their whereabouts (Steven Hodkinson pers. comm. 26th September 2003).

5.3: Interpreting burial evidence

The archaeology of death can almost be considered a sub-discipline in itself and a wealth of literature has been published in the last three decades both within the world of Greek archaeology and beyond (e.g. Morris 1987; Whitley 1991; Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Parker Pearson 1999; Tarlow 1999). Burial evidence is considered indispensable in a quest to understand past societies, in a large part due to the prominence of tombs and graves in the archaeological record. If they have escaped the attention of robbers both ancient and modern, then they exist as a sealed deposit and are the remains of a single act, or at least represent use over a short period of time. In contrast, settlements can often be continuously occupied, covering and/or destroying evidence of earlier periods, leaving an often intensely complicated set of remains with which to contend.

Despite their obvious value however, burials represent one of the most difficult aspects of the material record to interpret. A burial that an archaeologist comes to excavate is the result of a number of certain acts, namely the physical remains of funerary and mortuary ritual. Archaeologists and sociologists alike have long discussed the purposes of the funeral, how it

ties to the living society and how the material record reflects this. Van Gennep (1960) describes the funeral process as a rite of passage composed of a tripartite structure: the *rite of separation*; the *rite de marge*; and the *rite of aggregation* (see also Morris 1987, p.31-32). This tripartite structure is involved in other life changes, such as coming of age and marriage, not just death. This is a particularly functional way of viewing the funeral and describes it as a way of playing out, clarifying and reaffirming the ideal norms of the group. In a similar way, Bloch (in Morris, 1987 p.33) sees the funeral as a way of legitimising the position of certain groups within society, especially in traditional types of society where authority is seen to derive from a divinity or from nature. Following on from this, Bloch ascertains that in egalitarian societies, or in those where authority comes from outside the group, the need for such ritual is negated. This reasoning has been disputed by some (e.g. Van Gennep 1960, 193), and it is argued that the negation of such ritual applies only to modern western societies where the tripartite ritual structure can be seen to have declined.

Ideas relating to funerary rites as a way of legitimising social groups, reaffirming hierarchies and restating ideal norms, such as those above, have underlined the idea of tombs as indicators of the social status and wealth of the individuals buried within them. They have also supported the idea that the material remains of funerary ritual can be considered as an expression of the predominant economic system of the group to which the dead individual once belonged. In relation to LBA Greece for example, Voutsaki (1992 cited in Sjöberg 2004, p.83) considers the increasing use of the chamber tomb in the Late Helladic IIIB period, but with smaller and poorer types, as reflecting an increasingly hierarchical society, where more wealth was channelled into palaces and less into burial. This is somewhat different, though not necessarily mutually exclusive, to the conclusions of Cavanagh & Mee (1998, p.126, p.234) who propose that the same phenomenon was due to legislation made against ostentatious aristocratic burial by rulers who felt threatened. Alternatively Sjöberg (2004,

p.84, p.88) follows Alden (1981, 218; 322-324; Sjöberg 2004, 82) in suggesting that the increase in number of chamber tombs in LHIIIA2 Argolid was the result of better-organised agriculture imposed upon society by the palaces.

In a similar manner, it may be suggested that 'simple' tomb types, such as the cist grave, are indicative of the lower social status and wealth of a group in a hierarchical society, because they would perhaps need less skill to build. However, Lewartowski (1995, p.104) states that the construction of 'simple' graves such as cist tombs requires a great investment of time and energy in comparison to the reopening and reusing of an already built chamber or tholos tomb. If low social status was to be equated with simple tomb types, then it seems skill or lack of resources would not be the defining factor, but rather whether permission to reopen existing monumental tombs had been granted to certain sectors of society. Moreover, there is reason to suppose that tomb type did not strictly correspond to the status or wealth of the person buried as assumed, or at least not in the same way that grave goods could, although this is discussed below. This is something that cannot be assumed for the whole of the Greek world in the LBA. Dickinson (1994, p.228) concludes that although tholoi may have had particular connections with the elite at some places, choice of tomb may have more to do with regional or family tradition and preferences than purely wealth or status. He uses examples of cist graves at Athens and Iolkos that are as richly endowed as some chamber and tholos tombs.

There is, however, a problem with directly relating wealth in a grave to wealth of the living person. Voutsaki (1995) in her analysis of grave goods accepts that there is risk in ascribing value to objects based on modern concepts of wealth. The argument that objects not made of high value metals are therefore not of great worth ignores how value may have been assigned in the past (1995, p.56). In addition, designating value on basis of quality is strongly tied to

the idea of labour cost in modern societies, which may or may not have been relevant to other societies, including LBA and EIA Greece. It is because of the difficulty in using such characteristics that Voutsaki (1995) uses the diversity of objects in tombs to reconstruct socio-political change. There is also much to be said for the importance and significance of how the living wished to remember the deceased person or how they wanted that person to be remembered by others, not to forget any instructions issued by the deceased before they died. Discussions based on how burial evidence reflects the wealth and status of the buried individual or the society from where he/she came, are certainly of value and interest, but can and usually do take place with little mention of the people behind the material culture and their attitudes and motives. Communities and the individuals within them are portrayed as being at the disposal of wider, often economic, processes. In addition, types of explanations such as those few presented above centre on processes where only “those features which are positively and repeatedly apparent” (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.177) are significant. This practically silences people in the past whose choices about how they lived their lives, treated and felt about their dead, created and used material culture, perhaps show up more in the noticeable idiosyncrasies. For example, in Bloch’s divisions between types of society and funerary ritual, the Modern West is linked with the Nuer of Sudan as societies that only emphasise the rite of separation at funerals. Whilst this may be true when looked at from this angle, such a statement also dismisses observances that Nuer funerary behaviour is very different from that of Europe and North America. General processes are highlighted at the expense of the particular. Individual differences that may help our understanding of how human agency comes into play and of how and why people make the decisions they do as part of their community, are played down. In an area like Arkadia in the LBA and EIA, where evidence is limited, assigning norms and generalities becomes a particular problem, so much so that in many general accounts of the period, scholars decide that nothing much can be said

about the area at this time or exclude it altogether (e.g. Snodgrass [1971]2000, p.90; Dickinson 1994, p.3; Osborne 1996, p.71; Coldstream 2003, p.156).

Variations in tomb type in Greece during the period in question warn against making gross generalisations too lightly. The chamber tomb and tholos may be the most prevalent types of tomb in the Mycenaean period, with a general shift towards single burial in the LH IIIC and PG periods, but this should not obscure the variations that do exist. In some circumstances, statements made about attitude to death are actually based on specific, local examples, which have then been applied to the whole Greek world. For example, it has often been taken for granted that Mycenaean elite or 'royalty' were exclusively buried in tholoi in all regions. However, this conclusion only fits the evidence from the Argolid, Thessaly and the Dodecanese in LHIIIB (Voutsaki 1995, p.56) and overlooks specific evidence such as the fact that tholos tombs do not exist at Thebes (Dickinson 1994, p.227).

The importance of the particular can also be illustrated by the way burial rite has been and can be interpreted. The change in rite from inhumation to cremation has in the past been taken as a highly significant factor in reconstructing past societies, indicative of a new population or racial group or a reflection of new religious beliefs. Attica is a prime example of the wholesale conversion from inhumation in the LBA to cremation in the EIA. However, Snodgrass ([1971] 2000, p.144) has shown quite clearly that the evidence here does not support a theory of a new population nor a fundamental change in religious belief: rite can change without it being a reflection of such fundamental upheavals. Although indicators of belief, such as material culture, grave goods and evidence of grave cult, do change, they do not do so at the same time as the change in rite and instead of indicating a new population at this time, the evidence largely suggests continuity. Nonetheless, although this is the case in Athens, we should not presuppose that such changes in rite could never be an indication of

change in population or belief in other times and places. Looking at the evidence in context, both in the strict archaeological sense and wider cultural meaning, is of fundamental importance, i.e. not applying the same interpretation to the same or similar material culture in all instances (e.g. Hodder 1986, ch. 2).

Of particular interest to this study is the position of burials, tombs and burial sites in the landscape. There has been some work undertaken on the location of burials in Greece especially for the LBA (Persson 1942 p.152-3; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p.30 & p.34-36; Madsen & Jensen 1982, p.83; Wells 1990; Schallin 1996 p.171), but this has generally failed to take into account specific landscapes and how people move through and within them. Most of the focus has been on grave goods, the pottery, the metalwork and their classifications and what they might mean in terms of connections, trade and otherwise, between one area and another (e.g. Coldstream 2003), or how they may be used to reconstruct social organisation, and social and political change (e.g. Voutsaki 1995, p.55). There are, arguably, long standing discussions in terms of placement, for example whether graves or cemeteries are intra or extra mural (such as in the case of Athens and the Kerameikos e.g. Lewartowski 2000 p.22), the orientation of cemeteries (e.g. predominantly to the west at Athens and Argos), how positions of tombs may indicate territory (e.g. Wells 1990, p.128), and the use of water as a separator of dead from living (e.g. Pikoulas 1988, p.188-191). However, such discussions are usually general and not specific to the landscape around specific tombs or cemeteries. Deliberations of this sort are more frequently employed in a consideration of archaeology of other places (e.g. Richards 1996 and the British Neolithic; Parker Pearson 1999, ch. 6). Arguments utilised for the Greek evidence could be referring as much to burials lining the roads leading to Rome in the Imperial period as they could about Athens in the ninth century BCE.

Therefore, an understanding of the relationship between sites and their setting is needed so that evidence of particular landscapes can be brought to enhance understanding of the past. This can, I believe, be achieved most successfully through a phenomenological-based approach that emphasises the bodily experience of a place, as has been argued by Fähländer (2003, p.355) with particular regard to burial in Greece. It is with this call for an intuitive approach to landscape as argued fully in Chapter 3, that the Arkadian evidence for ‘landscapes of death’ can be approached specifically and closely. As argued in previous chapters, LBA and EIA Arkadia is most suited to such an approach because, although there is burial evidence throughout much of the period, it is relatively slight for some phases. Where it is abundant, it is generally poorly published: one only has to mention the site of Palaiokastros-Palaioopyrgos (tombs) (61) in the west of Arkadia (see below case study C). So, whilst it proves difficult to talk in detail about rite, number and types of grave goods and sex ratios, because this information rarely exists to hand, the fact that the physical location of these sites is certain (with few exceptions) means it is possible to contemplate how the position of graves and tombs in the landscape reflects attitudes to death and burial.

5.4: Case Studies

5.4.1: Case Study A: Stymphalia, the Pheneatike and the Lafka tholos (5).

The plain of Stymphalos is one of the few plains of ancient Arkadia that still has a lake all year round (Fig.5.1, 5.2 & 5.3). Many other Arkadian plains had lakes, but modern irrigation and consumption of water has lowered the water table considerably, particularly on the plain of Tripolis (Knut Ødegard pers. comm.) so that they have all but disappeared except in the wettest months. However, the Stymphalian plain has only one sinkhole or katavothra, whereas most other plains in Arkadia have two or more through which water drains, which is reason enough for a lake to remain. Similarly, the plain of Kandhila (ancient plain of

Kaphyae or lower Orchomenos plain) has a single katavothra, which has contributed to floods in recent times (Howell 1970, p.82, n.2).

Today, on the Stymphalian plain, the presence of the lake all year round attracts wildlife and particularly wildfowl. Around the site of ancient Stymphalos – of the fourth century BCE - there are tracks to walk along and places to sit and picnic, and at intervals around the plain and overlooking the lake are spots for watching the wildlife. There is also the conspicuous sound of birdcall. On a day when the weather is humid and close, and storm clouds are gathering, darkening the surrounding landscape, knowing that this is the location of the myth of Heracles and the man-eating Stymphalian birds becomes wholly appreciated.



Fig.5.1: view from the site of ancient Stymphalos across the lake to South (photo: Yioryios Rigopoulos).



Fig.5.2 views from the site of ancient Stymphalos across the lake to East (photo: author).

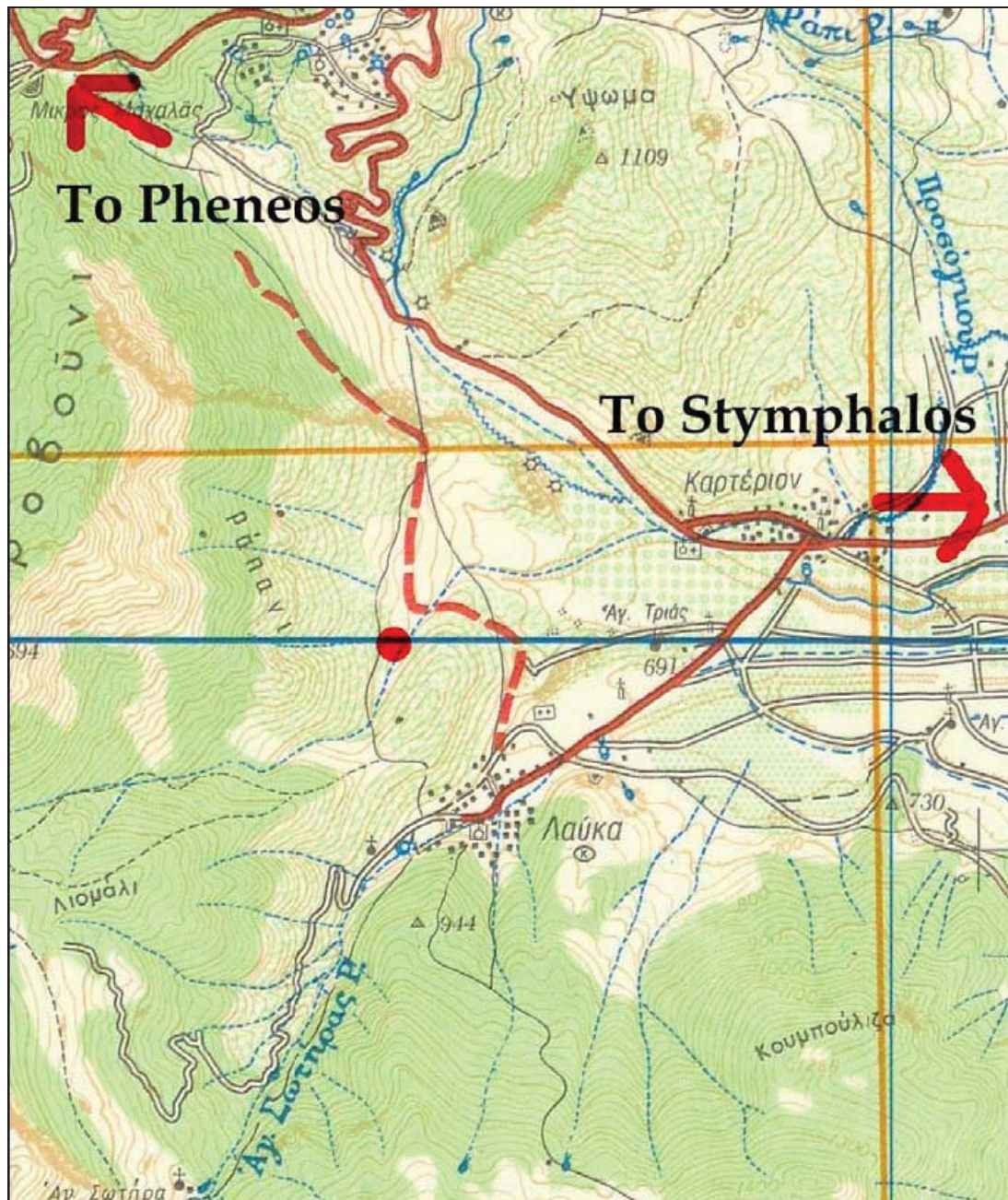


Fig.5.3: views from the site of ancient Stymphalos across the lake to West (photos: author).

This myth has obvious connotations with death and, by association, so does the plain of Stymphalos. What is interesting here though is not just that in the myth the birds killed men and beasts (and presumably women as well), but that they also devoured the flesh of their victims. One way this happens in reality is through the burial rite of excarnation, where an exposed body would be picked at by birds and other creatures. The practise of this rite has been suggested by Dickinson (1994, p.208) as one reason why the numbers of burials for the LBA are lower than what might be expected. It is also possible that some of the secondary burials in chamber tombs and tholos tombs could have been placed after being exposed (Cavanagh 1978). It could be that this burial rite was embodied and recalled in the Herakleian myth. At one time, it may have been the case that the plain of Stymphalos had a particular connection and involvement with death and dealing with the dead.

Approximately 1 km to the north east of Lafka, a village at the western end of the plain of Stymphalia, is a gulley and in it is a built structure (Map 5.1, Fig. 5.4 & 5.5 (5)). There are two possibilities as to what it could be; a 19th century kiln or, most likely, a Bronze Age tholos tomb (Hector Williams, pers. comm.; Michopoulou 2004, p.41). If it is a tholos tomb then its setting must be highly significant, chosen precisely because of the characteristics of the landscape in which it is set, seemingly hidden away and difficult to find without local

informants who had been there before showing the way. During the winter months, it is virtually inaccessible when the gulley is a channel for water flowing from Mavrovouni, a hill that links the ranges of Olygyrtos to the South and Kyllene to the north and physically separates the plain of Stympalia from the plain of Pheneos to the west. Presumably, it would have been this way in the past also – a gulley such as this is formed over millennia by flowing water.



Map 5.1: position of Lafka tholos in immediate landscape (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50,000 Kandhila sheet).



Fig.5.4: possible tholos near the modern village of Lafka (photo: author).



Fig.5.5: the gulley with possible tholos in centre on right bank (photo: author).

However, during the summer months this same gulley is not a hindrance to access, but a pathway leading straight to the tomb. In the Bronze Age, it may well have guided those who wanted to or who had permission to visit the tholos, enabling them to reach it with relative ease, although a neophyte may have needed a human guide as is required today. It would be unlikely to be happened upon by an 'outsider'. Although it is not yet known how long this probable tomb was in use, perhaps visiting happened repeatedly, conceivably every year, when a procession took place in active remembrance of a dead ancestor and their past life. The water that flowed by during winter months could very well be connected to the journey often associated with what happens to the soul after death.

Not far from this region, to the west of Pheneos near Nonakris on Mount Khelmos (ancient Mount Aroanis) is the river Styx, which had clear connections with death and the underworld from the time of Homer (Il 8.369; 14.271; 15.57; Od 5.185; 10.514). However, the Styx at this place is not much more than a stream "spouting down the cliff" (Pausanias 8.17.6) from where it descends into the river Krathis. This river is clearly non-navigable. Charon, as the ferryman transporting the dead across the river was a later elaboration found, for example, in works by the 5th century BCE tragedian Aeschylus and the comic poet Aristophanes. Interestingly, though a LHIIIB larnax (no.47) from Tanagra in Boeotia has a depiction of a boat hedging into the rushes that evokes an image of a funeral barque in the underworld (Cavanagh & Mee 1995, p.50). Many rivers could, at one time, have carried the idea of a journey by water to the underworld - the otherworld - where the spirit or soul resided after death. Whether this was by boat or not, this was a journey in which the living could not partake, except for those few in mythological accounts such as Odysseus and Heracles (Od 11.620-625). Therefore, when the water flowed by the Lafka tomb, it was a place of 'otherworldliness' and only when the waters stopped could the living revisit, not just metaphorically but also physically.

In addition, the suggestion of returning to the site repeatedly has some resonance with an idea of regeneration, posited by Vermeule (cited by Cavanagh & Mee 1995, p.47) as a belief held in LBA Greece. The resurgence of a river each winter and the return of people each summer could be part of a performance that ensured the regeneration of the soul or spirit of the deceased each year. Such a performance does not necessarily have to be connected with a cult of the dead that required a reopening of the tomb or leaving of offerings, which has been largely disputed for the LBA (e.g. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, p.22 but see below and Gallou 2005), so much as with a revisiting, implied by the nature of the landscape.

Further support for the idea that the plain of Stymphalos had a particular link with death and the dead is that there is very little evidence to suggest habitation. The neighbouring plain of Pheneos, in comparison, has a much fuller record for the period under study and especially for the Bronze Age, with much of it interpretable as settlement (e.g. ancient Pheneos (6) and Tsouka (12) Map 5.2). These sites will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. However, the plain of Stymphalos has not been subject to the same level of survey as has the plain of Pheneos and it may be that evidence for habitation in the Bronze Age may yet be discovered. This argument cannot be taken much further given the problems associated with arguing from absence of evidence, but it is still worthwhile moving away from ideas associated with territoriality that suggest each plain or discreet geographical area was controlled by one settlement or group of people. If this is not assumed, then there is nothing to prevent the plain of Stymphalos from being used for a specific purpose by a community or communities living on the plain of Pheneos or indeed from any other area around. It may not be the case that Stymphalos did have associations with death in the way proposed here, but the fact that the tholos is situated at the edge of the plain of Stymphalos does not mean we should necessarily be looking on the plain of Stymphalos for the group that built and used it.



Map 5.2: Plains of Stymphalos and Pheneos, (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000 Kandhila sheet).
 1. ancient Stymphalos; 2. line of ancient dam; 3. line of ancient dam; 4. Karterion-Ayios Konstantinos; 5. Lafka tholos; 6.ancient Pheneos; 7. line of ancient dam; 8. line of ancient channel; 9. Ayios Kharalambos; 11. Lakkomata; 12. Tsoukka.

Also relevant to the premise that the plain of Stymphalos was associated with death are discussions relating to the myth of the labours of Heracles and their association with waterworks. In this specific case, Salowey (1994) suggests that the myth of Heracles and the Stymphalian birds corresponds to a community gaining control over the plain and the lake, enabling the plain to be cultivated, and which is made manifest in the physical construction of hydraulic works (Knauss 1990). Furthermore, Pausanias (8.14.2-3) states that in Pheneos,

tradition had it that Heracles created the katavothra there and built a channel. These suggestions are not at odds with ideas outlined above: the association with death and excarnation could belong to the time prior to the construction of hydraulic works (perhaps LBA, Knauss 1990), which when they were built fundamentally changed the nature of the plain and any associations it may have had. These associations, however, lived on in the myth, created by generations that no longer practised excarnation, which illustrated a horror of being eaten by birds and the ending of such a rite as a triumph, closely connected to control over the area and its seasonal flooding.

5.4.2: Case Study B: SE Arkadia (*Vourvoura-Analipsis* (44) and *Alea-Palaiokhori* (40))

Transcript 1: Vourvoura-Analipsis.

We have parked the car at the church and I'm walking up the hill, which is not too daunting. To the right of me - this will be to the north, pretty much - the hill falls away down to the Sarandapotamos River. I'm standing on top of Vourvoura-Analipsis A. at the place near to where the trig point is. From up here you can see the whole of the Sarandapotamos gorge coming down to the north, coming past at the bottom. Again what you can see from these places must have been important and affected the way people thought about the place and used it. Over to the north east somewhere beyond the mountains there, is where Mavriki is located. To the south is the plain, an upland plain. Cannot see to the north and towards Tegea or Alea-Palaiokhori, but focus on this small plain is to the south and towards Laconia. This site was included in Waterhouse and Hope Simpson's Prehistoric Laconia study.

Walking down to the lower hill, walking round towards the west, to the lower hill. Here we are at Vourvoura-Analipsis B, and sat by the large tholos, which is impressive, a lot remains. Cannot see the bottom. The river is dry at the moment. There is a feeling that water must have been important in light of the other Late Bronze Age tombs in Arkadia (Lafka, Alea-Palaiokhori) If this was the case, what did it mean then if the river was this big dry expanse as it is now? Would this have created seasonal burial rituals? If you died in the summer it would be one way, in the winter another? This whole place is quite contained. A hill for settlement one for burial, a small fertile plain, a river, and a spring not too far to the north if I remember correctly from the map, hills for grazing...

In the southeastern part of Arkadia, there are other monuments to the dead. At Vourvoura-Analipsis (44) there is a settlement and associated cemetery (see Transcript 1). On a low prominence to the west of the hill on which a substantial Classical settlement was excavated in 1954 by Romaios, one large tholos and nine smaller tholoi were unearthed (Kalogeropoulos 1998). The large tholos (Figs. 5.6 and 5.8) was dated to the LHI-IIA/B period, although a LHIIIB *kylix* foot was also reported (Howell 1970, n.36; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, p.123 C58). On the floor of this tholos two pit graves had been dug, one for the burial of an

adult, the other a child, and in the centre a number of bones from more than one individual had been placed (Howell 1970, p.114; Romaios 1956, p.185; 1957, p.111).

The smaller tholoi (Fig.5.7) were distributed around the hill, although one was positioned on the bank of the Sarandapotamos fifty metres below. These were dated to LHI-IIIB, thus overlapping the large tholos in use, dated by grave goods that included bronze swords, steatite spindle whorls, terracotta figurines and a sealstone of jasper engraved with a running bull. In the fill of the large tholos were found Geometric sherds, which will be discussed in due course. On this hill a cist grave with the burial of a child was also excavated, described as Mycenaean by Howell (1970, n.36), but later ascribed a Middle Helladic date by Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, p.123 c.58). This may suggest the site was used for a long period as a place of burial, although continuity cannot be claimed with any certainty from such scant remains. Groups may have returned or new groups reused a site, and depending on how visible existing graves were, it may have been unknowingly. Neolithic sherds suggest an even longer period of use, although Howell (1970, n.36) suggests that its use changed from habitation to burial.

The people, who built the tholoi on this low hill above the Sarandapotamos, may very well have been aware of the long history of the site, even with interruptions in use. Perhaps individuals came across discarded artefacts, the odd stone tool and broken pottery. It remains a mystery how these were explained; perhaps the stone tools were explained as natural phenomenon or the result of work of non-human creatures as they were in the 18th century in parts of Europe – thunderbolts or elf shots. More likely, however, they recognised such tools as part of a repertoire of material artefacts that they themselves made and used – stone arrowheads were found alongside ones made of bronze in the large tholos (Howell 1970, p.115).

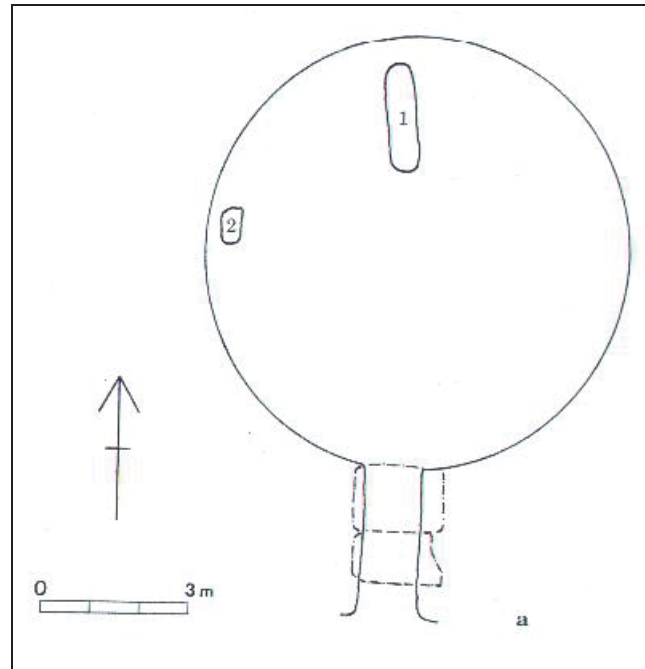


Fig.5.6: plan of large tholos (source: Kalogeropoulos 1998, tafel 4).

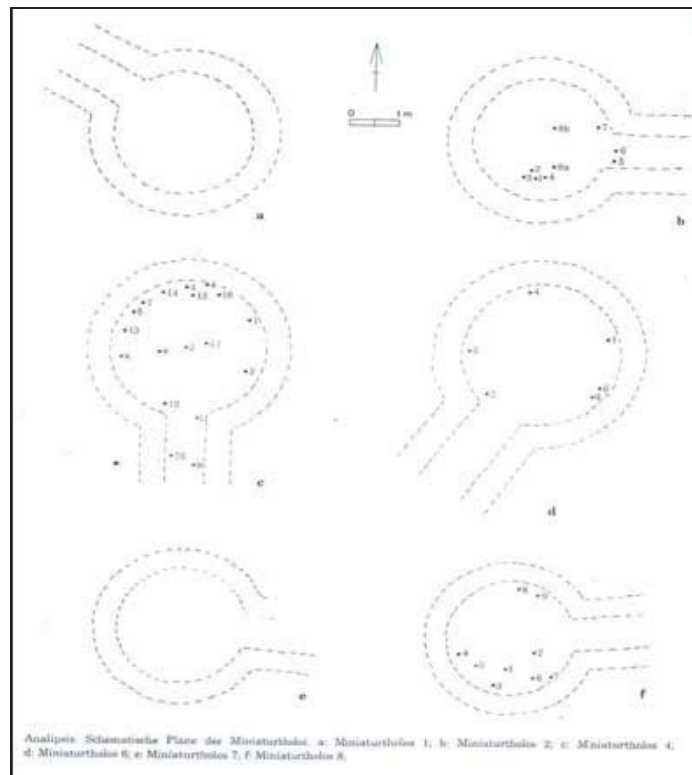


Fig.5.7: plans of small tholoi (source: Kalogeropoulos 1998, tafel 5).



Fig.5.8: the large tholos at Vourvoura-Analipsis (photo: author).

The objects that the community placed with their dead are known and have been recently studied by Kalogeropoulos (1998) and they fix these people securely within an established chronology and firmly within the Mycenaean koine. They were connected to the rest of the Mycenaean Greek World. Fragments of a boars tusk helmet, an ivory comb, fragments of silver objects – a disc and a vessel - gold leaf fragments, electrum beads and a number of Palatial style amphora all from the large tholos, and a jasper sealstone with the image of a running bull, bronze daggers, spindle whorls of steatite, and terracotta figurines from one of the smaller tholoi (Howell 1970, p.115; Kalogeropoulos 1998, Ch. 2; Romaios 1954, p.283-284, Fig. 14, 15, 16) attest to the connection with trade from outside of Greece, as well as sharing in the material culture of other sites in the Mycenaean world. This shows that ideas were shared, especially as this material culture was being used in a similar way, at least in the last instance. Such a list of objects can be expected from many tholoi and chamber tombs from Greece as a whole (e.g. Dendra, Åström & Verdelis, 1977; 1983).

Fortunately, at Vourvoura–Analipsis, robbers, who visited the site sometime in the past, have not destroyed everything in the large tholos and the smaller tholoi seemed to escape their notice. This fact, in addition to the recently published results of Romaios' excavations (Kalogeropoulos 1998), allows speculation on the nature of deposition, of why certain goods were chosen and by whom - an exception for burials in Arkadia. Was it simply a matter of being tied to a particular way of doing things that was shared throughout the Greek/Mycenaean world? Even if the repertoire was already part of the world in which the individual and community operated, choices about what, how and when were surely dictated by issues more personal, more focussed on the community's or individual's experience, the positions people held, traditions that were observed (Lewartowski 2000, p.53). In this way perhaps, different members of the family brought different items to a grave. Small children may have brought small portable objects such the steatite spindle whorls, the jasper sealstone

or the comb. Maybe it was the older children who were trusted to carry things that may break if they were dropped – the figurines, the vessels. The adults and the elders carried the more precious elements, the silver items and gold. Some of the items could have belonged to the deceased in life, perhaps the boars tusk helmet was brought by a friend who had fought alongside him (?). Of course, it may never have been used, brought by a close companion who knew it would have pleased him (?) to have it buried alongside. It could have been an heirloom that had been in the group for a while. The spindle whorls were perhaps items that some children had treasured, as could be the jasper sealstone, again possibly an heirloom and the comb. These may never have been the possessions of the deceased, but items that the living wanted to give, to part with, mimicking the loss. Such objects placed in a grave do not necessarily presuppose that the dead could make use of them in an afterworld (Chapman 2000).

Unfortunately, from the textual and pictorial evidence that exists it is not possible to confirm that children took part in funerary processions in the LBA. It is often diminutive figures that are interpreted as children, although characters may be small due to artistic reasons, for reasons of space or to denote some other trait of the person being depicted (Cavanagh & Mee 1995). Scenes from the Tanagran larnakes, of comparable date, do not depict figures readily identifiable as children in any ‘processional’ scenes and when they are identified, they are always laid out as the corpse (Cavanagh & Mee 1995, p.46). LG Attic iconography is also unclear as to the role children could have played, although children and especially girls are prominent in prothesis scenes on later Black-figure ware (Lewis 2002 p.22). When children do become prominent in funerary iconography (Red-figure ware, white ground lekythoi, choes) it is more often than not on vessels that have been deposited in child graves, thus depicting them in life or as a figure crossing to the underworld (Lewis 2002, p.19).

However, the idea of children being barred from events surrounding the death of others is tied up with modern notions, where euphemisms abound. Ariés (1974 & 1981 quoted in Morris 1987, p.35) described this way of dealing with death as the twentieth century Western ‘Invisible Death’, where death is sanitised in hospitals and funeral parlours, not mentioned in polite company and hidden from children. In contrast, Ariés describes the attitude to death up until the eleventh century CE as the ‘Tame Death’ where death is familiar, accepted and not feared, and dealt with through a rite of passage, such as that described by Bloch (in Morris, 1987 p.33). It should not be assumed, therefore, that children were sheltered or kept away from death as they are today, simply because they are not obviously depicted in funerary iconography. The lack of children in funerary scenes of the LBA and EIA may have more to do with the difficulty artists had in depicting children. As Lewis (2002 p.19) states, it was not until the emergence of Red-figure ware that the range of scenes in which children were depicted widened. Until this time children are distinguished by, and shown with, their toys and pets, motifs which were perhaps not considered suitable for funerary scenes.

Nonetheless, scenes depicted on the larnakes from Tanagra, belong to the same period as the smaller tholoi (LH IIIA-B) and show what has been widely interpreted as the funeral procession (Cavanagh 1995 p.46). Figures with outstretched arms have been interpreted as women in mourning, whereas the male figures with one hand aloft appear to be gesturing ‘farewell’ in a much more controlled manner. As a group processed, maybe separated by gender and assigned certain roles and ways of behaving, as indicated by such scenes, they may have been aware of the landscape around them to a greater or lesser extent. This may have been dependent upon the relationship they had with the deceased. Subsequently, the landscape may have had different affordances according to varied associations and/or the intensity of emotional attachment an individual had to the departed. The Sarandapotamos River that furnished the community with water for most of the year perhaps was assigned, or

took on a different role and afforded extraordinary qualities, similar to that discussed with the Lafka tholos in case study A above; the river could have become a conduit for transporting the spirit of the deceased. Of course, the funeral may have taken place when the river was dry. Perhaps further rituals had to ensure that the soul of the deceased was maintained until the waters surged. Instead, the body may have been excarnated, the choice of burial rite influenced by the seasons. Maybe the tomb was returned to and the body interred when the waters flowed again.



Fig.5.9: View to SW and Sarandapotamos river from Vourvoura-Analipsis (photo: author).

In contrast to the river in the Lafka gulley, the river at Vourvoura-Analipsis is not in such close proximity, not less prominent, for it is very visible, but less encroaching and less

immediate. At Vourvoura-Analipsis, one looks down on the river from the hill (Fig.5.9). There is a sense of control, of a more benign force, especially as it was lived with all year round – the settlement has been assumed to be on the adjacent hill at Vourvoura-Analipsis a (43). At Lafka, there is no evidence of settlement close by. When people approached the tomb at Lafka, once the gulley was dry, it would have been unfamiliar and the idea of the latent force of the river that would have washed by the bottom of the tholos at other times of the year would have given another dimension, a feeling of the unknown. There is no sense of this kind of mysteriousness at Vourvoura-Analipsis.

At Alea-Palaiokhori b (40), similar small tholoi to those at Vourvoura-Analipsis (44) were found, mentioned by Fimmen (1924), with one excavated by Romaios (1952). Four Mycenaean vases were recovered from this tomb and until 1990, it was believed that a PG vase also belonged with the group. However, Voyatzis (1990, p.15) has shown, through a close inspection of excavation notes, that this particular vase actually came from the Temple of Athena at Tegea. Very little else is known about these tombs, and they proved difficult to locate during fieldwalking. However, they are placed close to a proposed settlement site, which, although unexcavated, produced sherds predominantly from the Mycenaean period (Howell 1970, n.32). The settlement site is situated in a hollow high above the Sarandapotamos and above the site of the tombs, which are approximately five hundred metres to the south west on the bank of the river. These would have been accessible from the site via a route that, although steep, is not difficult. The positioning of the tombs on the banks of a river must have been of significance. This particular spot, although accessible from the settlement site above, is surrounded by the relatively steep sides of the gorge (Fig. 5.10). It is possible in the summer months to walk up the riverbed (Fig. 5.11) and, as proposed for the Lafka tholos it could have been used as a processional way at this time of year.



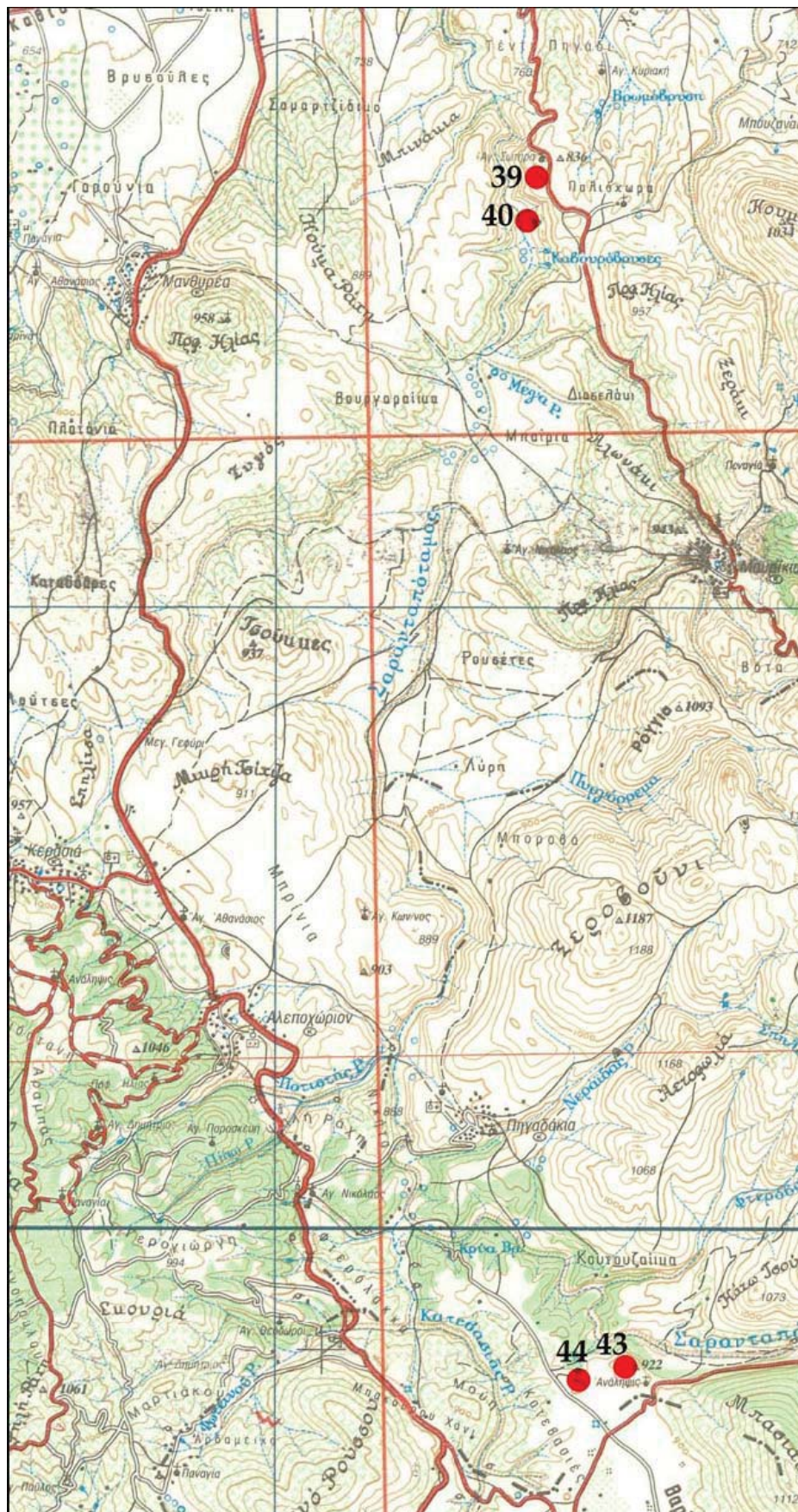
Fig.5.10: View to N with Sarandapotamos river bed to the L and settlement site to R & above off view (photo: author).



Fig.5.11: View to south along dry bed of the Sarandapotamos (photo: author).

There is further weight here for the importance of rivers in dealing with the dead, in terms of the movement of water and the journey of the soul. The river at Alea-Palaiokhori is not particularly visible from the settlement above, although when in full flow may have been audible (unfortunately, I only visited during the summer months when the river was dry). When in the gorge itself the sides are steep and domineering, suggesting a power greater than that of mere mortals. The place for settlement may not have been chosen with this thought in mind, but during funerary rituals it may have been prevalent in the minds of those taking part that the body of the deceased was being laid to rest down below. The body was given over to the river and the gorge through which it flowed, giving a sense of otherworldliness, one that was dark and forbidding. After completing funerary rituals, the walk back up the steep slope may have felt very much like coming back from the otherworld, returning into the light and land of everyday.

The Vourvoura-Analipsis and Alea-Palaiokhori 'cemeteries' lie in relatively close proximity to each other, approximately 10 km distance (Map 5.3). Not only do they have similar types of tholos tombs, diminutive in size, but they also lie on the route of the same river, the Sarandapotamos. In both cases, there is evidence of habitation in close proximity, which suggests that these tombs form an organised cemetery for the nearby settlement. However, despite similarities in many aspects of their respective landscapes, there are very real differences. Such differences were lived by the communities that used the tombs and formed part of a peoples' pre-consciousness. The environment would be pre-objective and apparent in how they lived their lives (e.g. Ingold 1998; 2000, p.169; Merleau Ponty 1962, p.153). At each site, the differences in the nature of the immediate landscape would have brought different essences to rituals that were undertaken.

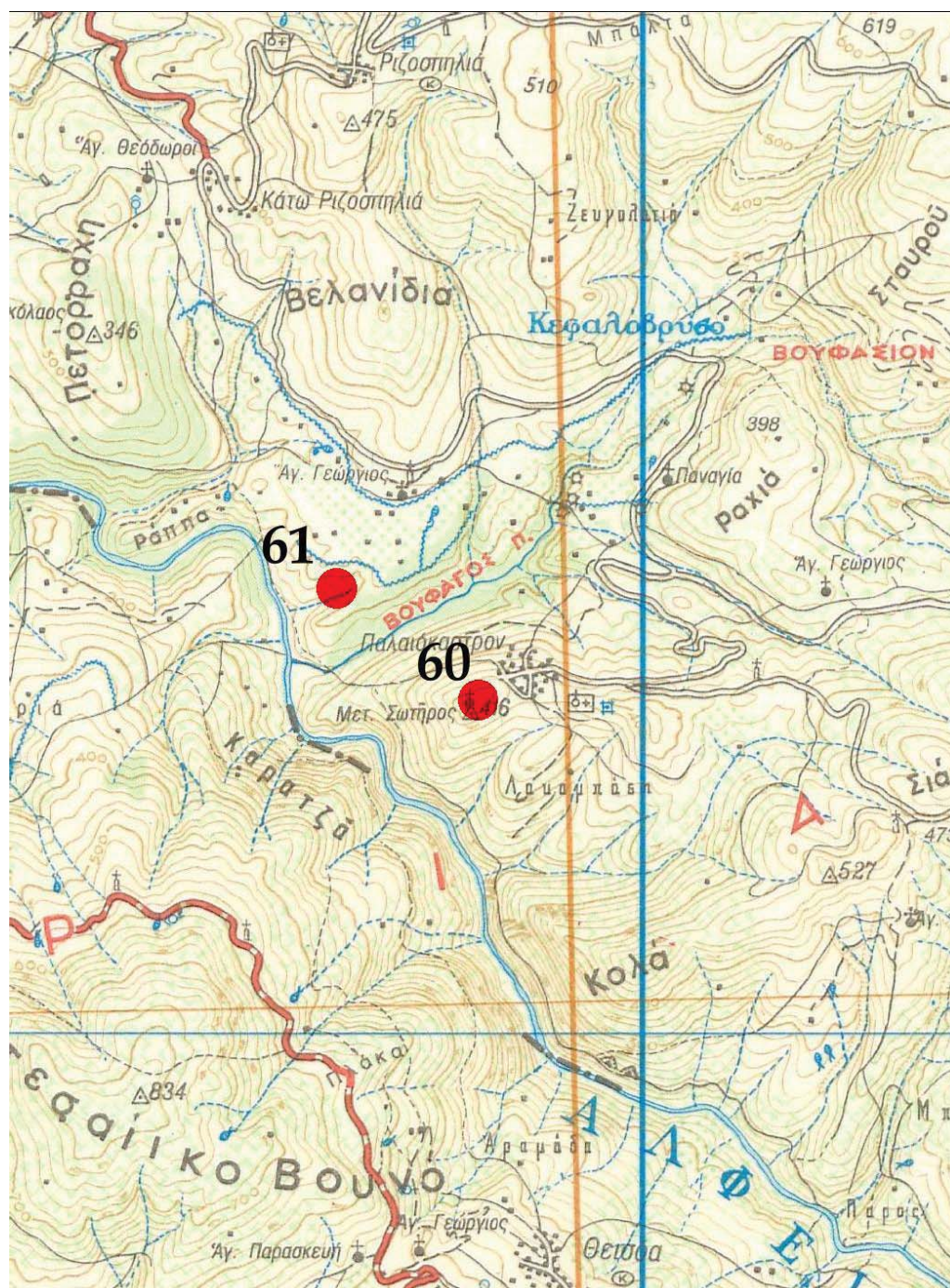


Map 5.3: SE Arkadia (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50,000 Kollinai sheet).
 39: Alea-Palaiokhori a (settlement); 40: Alea-Palaiokhori b (tombs); 43: Vourvoura-Analipsis a (settlement); 44:
 Vourvoura-Analipsis b (tombs).

At times the landscape would be consciously apprehended and would become part of the communities' awareness, an idea that can be equated with the 'availableness' and 'occurrentness' of Heidegger's phenomenology (Heidegger in Ingold 2000, p.168), or indeed the affordances of Gibson (1979). In keeping with this philosophical underpinning, the emphasis lies in the activity in which people are engaged and how this determines perception of their surroundings or landscape. During specific occasions, such as funerals, people perceive certain aspects of what the landscape has to offer, aspects that would not be apparent at other times. If we assume differences in levels of this 'awareness', depending on the person and roles they may have been assigned, in this case during funerary ritual, the experience of living and taking part in funerary rites at Vourvoura-Analipsis would have been very different from that at Alea-Palaiokhori, because of the difference in the surroundings.

5.4.3: Case Study C: Chamber Tomb cemeteries of the West

Palaiokastro–Palaiopyrgos (tombs) (61) (Map 5.4, Fig. 5.12) in the west of Arkadia is a particularly important site for LBA Arkadia. To date, one hundred chamber tombs have been excavated, ranging in date from the LHIIB period up to and including the LHIIC/sub Mycenaean period, (the question of the sub-Mycenaean period is discussed elsewhere). The cemetery is associated with a settlement on the heights above and approximately half an hour's walk to the east, which has been usually identified as ancient Bouphagion and considered to be at a strategic position on the Alpheios en route from Arkadia to Elis (Demakopoulou & Crowell, 1998, p.269). The tombs are, in the main, rock cut chamber tombs interspersed with pit and cists graves, some arranged in clusters and others in rows. They are cut into the slopes that descend down to the Alpheios to the southwest and a ravine to the southeast known as Mikro Potamaki or ancient Bouphagos Potamos (Map 5.4)



Map 5.4: Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000, Tropaia sheet).
 60: Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (settlement); 61: Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (tombs)



Fig.5.12: view of chamber tomb cemetery at Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (tombs), from Palaiokastro – Palaiopyrgos (settlement) (photo: author).



Fig.5.13: view of excavated tombs from behind looking to the south west (photo: author).

Here, as in the case studies above, we have a situation in which a river plays a significant part in the surrounding landscape. The tombs overlook the Alpheios to the southwest and the small ravine to the southeast. As we have seen above, this connection with water is apparent at other Mycenaean burial grounds. Here, however, unlike the previous examples, the river is perennial. The route from the probable contemporary settlement would have been long and circuitous, maybe similar to the route today from the small village of Palaiokastro, caused by the very nature of the waterways in the vicinity. As the tombs were situated on the slopes that faced the river, approaching them by land would have entailed coming upon them from behind. Although it is difficult to be certain in their present state after excavation and lack of published material, it is probable that they would not be visible until almost standing upon them (Fig. 5.13). Chamber tombs like simple graves were not conspicuous and Lewartowski (2000, p.51) points out that they could not serve as topographical markers easily visible from a distance. Therefore, as rock cut tombs, dug into the hillside, their visibility to others, especially those outside of the community, was not of utmost importance.

One particular interesting aspect of this cemetery is the presence of what has been described as a Necromanteion (Fig.5.14) – a chamber tomb that later(?) had an opening cut into the roof thus allowing libations to be poured into a semicircular rock-cut basin below. Parallel walls were also built inside onto a semicircular bench. This appears to be impressive evidence of a return to already used tombs and, as a result, supports the idea of a cult to the dead that has been largely disputed for the Mycenaean period (e.g. Kurtz & Boardman, 1971, p.22). However, such seemingly convincing evidence does not necessarily have to have this implication. The use of this term –cult of the dead- largely depends on whether the people who modified the tomb knew, or believed they knew, who was buried there; visiting the resting place of dead relatives, especially if they were within living memory, does not necessarily make a cult of the dead, and likewise the absence of a cult of the dead does not

mean that the living could not revisit the tomb of their dead relatives and ancestors. Such visits are related more to the preservation of the memory of the dead as they were alive rather than any worship of the dead in their deceased form, although a cult to the dead in general or even to a specific relative may have begun with such visits. Nevertheless, it is not known how much time passed between the original cutting of the tomb, its use and its subsequent modification.



Fig.5.14: Inside the so-named Necromanteion (source: <http://www.culture.gr/2/21/211/21105a/e211ea05.html>).

The argument for the lack of a Mycenaean cult of the dead is supported by the notion apparent in Homer that once dead a person became devoid of sense and not the kind of entity to which offerings could be made. There is some evidence for secondary burial customs at Mycenaean chamber tombs and tholoi. However, it may be that many of these rituals were entirely associated with the burial of another body in an already occupied tomb. Bones were sometimes re-deposited in a different place, sometimes in a pit and sometimes in the dromos, although most often in an anonymous pile (Cavanagh 1978). The conclusion often reached is

that once devoid of flesh, the remains were impotent, likewise their 'souls' (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, p.91). On the other hand, it may be that at this site, at this tomb, there was a cult of the dead. This could have been a cult specifically for the person who lay there, focussed on a specific individual relative or 'relatives' in a generic sense, as a focal point for offerings for the whole of the cemetery; it is not clear if any burials were found here at all (AR 1996-7: 33-4). Sourvinou-Inwood's (1995, p.83) interpretation of Homer provides some evidence that an old belief existed which held that the dead could only be contacted after drinking a blood offering, a belief not current in the poet's own time. Before such an offering was made, the dead were the 'witless shades' referred to above, and as such would be ineffectual oracles (see e.g. *Odyssey* Book 11). An opening and libation basin, such as that in the Necromanteion could have been used for such blood libations and would thus accord with this early belief. Interestingly, Gallou (2005) has recently published a volume arguing in favour of a Mycenaean cult of the dead. However, if the evidence at Palaiokastros-Palaiopyrgos (tombs) is to be interpreted as such, it need not apply to the rest of the Mycenaean world

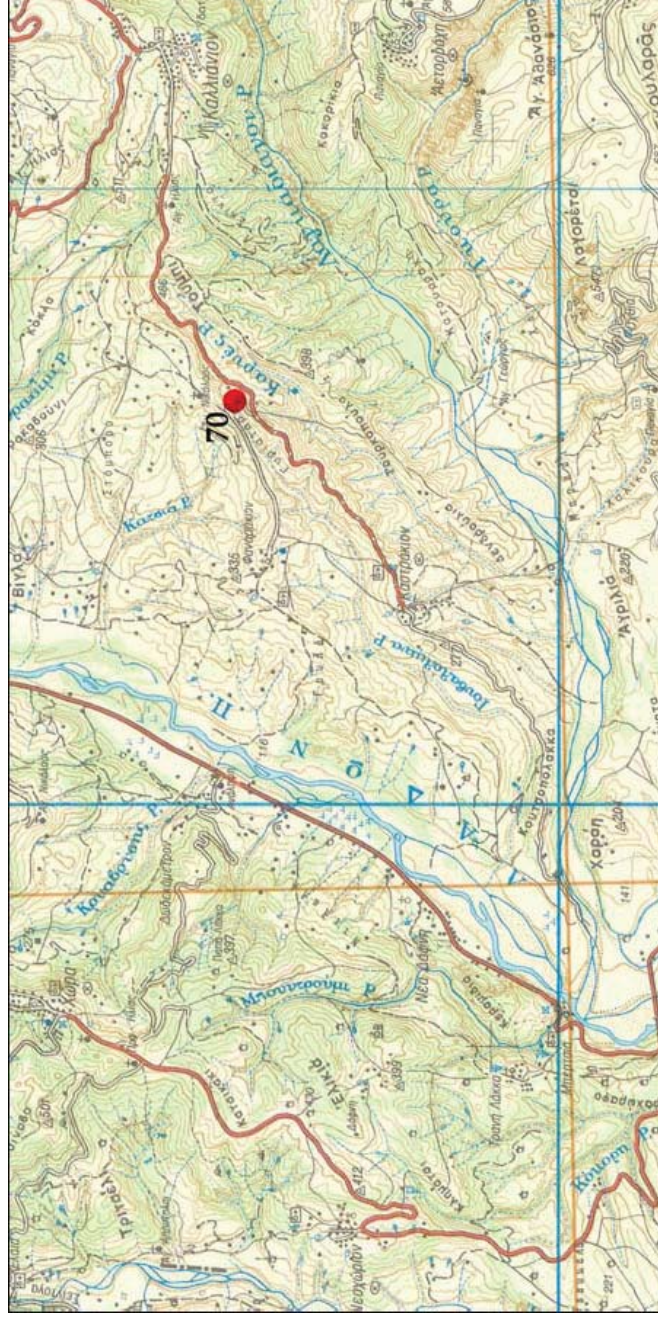
This site has been described by more than one scholar (Desborough 1964 p.92; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, p.381 b75; Demakopoulou & Crouwel 1998, p.283) as the cemetery of a refuge site, to where people fled as a result of troubles at the end of the 13th century BC. However, although there may have been a vast increase in evidence datable to the end of the LHIIIC, we need not envisage a mass panic as people escaped marauding invaders, as is suggested by the term 'refuge'; evidence suggests the tombs were in use from the LHIIB period (AR 1996-7, p.33). Movement certainly happened and new people probably would have settled here. They could have been welcomed to settle, perhaps coming from communities already known and with who they were in contact, people who had begun to struggle in their old settlements due to events beyond their control.

However, this site is not on its own in the western part of Arkadia. When placed in its wider geographical context, there are in fact two more sites that from initial investigations appear to be of a similar nature. These are at Kalliani–Ayios Yioryios (70) and Vrisarion-Gamenitsa (78) on the border with Achaea.



Fig.5.15: robbed tomb at Kalliani-Ayios Yioryios (70) with 0.5m scale (photo: author).

Kalliani-Ayios Yioryios (70) (Map5.5) is a site with extreme potential but the only original published reference to it is from a newspaper of 1958 (*Ethnikos Kiryx* 1958, 1st December). Both Howell (1970, n.54) and *Archaeological Reports* (1959, p.10) state, in reference to this publication, that ‘tombs’ (in the plural) were found. On the other hand, Hope Simpson (1964) states ‘tomb’ (in the singular). However, after visiting the site with the official guide and talking to local villagers it is clear that whatever the initial discovery, the site has many tombs. I was shown an example that had been robbed in the last few years (Fig. 5.15) and was also informed that levelling of a hillock in the vicinity to enable cultivation had revealed and destroyed further evidence. I was also shown a substantial area that was believed to be the site of many more tombs of the LBA (Fig. 5.16). In addition, much of the surface pottery was Mycenaean in character (personal observation and Michalis Kotroumanos pers. comm.).



Map 5.5: site of Kalliani-Ayios Yioryios (70) – possible chamber tomb cemetery (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50,000, section from Tropaia sheet)



Fig.5.16: view of area believed to be the possible site of a chamber tomb cemetery, made up of three hillocks, to left, left of centre and right in picture (photo: author).

Besides being a potentially large chamber tomb cemetery, there are other similarities between this site and that at Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos. The site at Kalliani also overlooks a perennial river, in this case the Ladon, again suggesting a connection between burial and water that has been apparent in all case studies relating to the LBA. In addition, that the site at Vrisarion-Gamenitsa is situated near a river is not surprising and suggests a similar connection. However, as we have seen, the landscape in all cases affords different qualities, and at Kalliani the river, although more distant than in other situations, is the most predominant feature in the landscape.

Chamber tomb cemeteries are also not uncommon in modern Achaea (see above) and were in use from the LBA. In this area, it is not uncommon for such cemeteries to continue in use until the tenth century (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.170). Artefacts found in the Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos tombs suggest links with this region, for example, a four-handled jar found in Tomb 2 is characteristic of LHIIIC Achaea. In addition, this type of vessel, along with the direction towards which the sites of are focussed, shows strong links with Elis (Demakopoulou & Crouwel 1998, p.277; AR 1996-7, p.33). Communities may have chosen these sites with practical reasons in mind and with little regard for the surrounding landscape rather than to strengthen and forge links with people in regions that are now defined as Elis and Achaea. However, even if this was the case, the physicality of the landscape that channelled their view towards these parts of the Peloponnese, would mean quite literally their outlook was in this direction. This then begins to explain the number of similarities that is found in these western regions of the Peloponnese. Boundaries between Arkadia, Elis and Achaea would not have been rigid (see chapter 3). Indeed, the site at Vrisarion-Gamenitsa is in modern day Achaea.

Of course, the sites reviewed above are not the only places in the Mycenaean world that have chamber tomb cemeteries: the chamber tomb was the most prevalent type of tomb in the Mycenaean world. A striking example is the Kalkani chamber tomb cemetery at Mycenae, which, interestingly, is positioned on the banks of a river, and in particular, where it separates into two, highlighting the recurrent theme of the importance of water (Dickinson 1994, p.226 Fig. 6.9). However, despite the prevalence of this tomb type in the Mycenaean World in general, they are, in fact, peculiar to this part of the Peloponnese and in particular to the west of Arkadia; no such rock cut chamber tombs are found in other parts of the region. The similarities suggest that particular connections existed between the communities in this specific area, that they were in contact, perhaps on a regular basis, and in other areas of life, all reflected in the material remains of death. Those living in this part of Arkadia would have considered the communities in modern day Elis and Achaea to be in their wider 'taskscape' rather than those living in other regions of Arkadia. This is perhaps a fitting reminder of the fact that Arkadia as a discreet entity may have been unknown, unrecognised and virtually non-existent at this time. But it also reminds us that even if people did consider themselves as Arkadian, boundaries were fluid and permeable: if the physical landscape encouraged communication and contact more readily in one direction rather than in another, ideas about territoriality would not prevent it – not in the LBA at least. In addition, these communities also belonged to a wider network of connections and communications, which conveyed ideas about attitudes to the dead and how to dispose of them. However, such ideas and attitudes were not imposed: people were able to make choices and these choices in turn influenced customs practiced by others and contributed to such a koine. The region we now know of as Arkadia was fully part of this exchange and interaction.

5.4.4: Case Study D: Artemision-Ayios Ilias (26) and Milea/Milia (28)

Artemision–Ayios Ilias (26) is a small rounded hill to the north of the plain of Mantinea, the northern section of the modern plain of Tripolis (Map 5.6, Fig.5.17). The plain in this area is essentially flat, unlike the southern section, the plain of Tegea, which is more undulating today and certainly was in the past (Knut Ødegard pers. com). From the summit nothing can be seen of the surrounding landscape due to the Aleppo pines which, like similar trees planted on Nestani-Paniyiristra (30), are a relatively recent addition, but the hill may very well have been wooded in the past (Fig. 5.18). It was on this hill that a small cemetery was located, which consisted of cist graves and pithos burials that housed single interments. These graves have been dated to the Late Geometric period by pottery sherds, as well as by a number of vessels that were once considered as Mycenaean by Fougeres (1898, p.118) but which were later identified as Geometric (Howell 1970 n.10; Morgan 1999, p.390). In addition, the burial types are characteristic of this period and found in many parts of Greece.



Fig.5.17: view of Artemision-Ayios Ilias (centre) from Ptolis looking N (photo: author).



Map 5.6: position of sites of period in question on the Mantinean Plain (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000, Tripolis sheet).

26: Artemision-Ayios Ilias; 27: Ptolis-Gortsouli; 28: Milea/Mantineia; 29: Nestani/Sangas; 30: Nestani-Panayiristra; 31: Loukas-Ayios Yioryios.



Fig.5.18: view of pines at the site of Artemision-Ayios Ilias (photo: author).

Artemision-Ayios Ilias, a site set aside for burial, is a visible physical entity in the landscape, ‘rivalled’ by Ptolis to the south, which is arguably a site with a specific ritual function at this time (see Chapter 4). For people to have buried their dead at this place, they must have consciously decided to do so and the site must have been considered suitable in some way. The fact that it is a raised feature, against a backdrop of high mountains, but protruding in an otherwise flat plain, at the very least suggests that the living community thought that the dead were important in some way, and important enough to separate physically from where it might be assumed people lived everyday lives.

However, there are numerous other places that the dead could have been buried if separation was the most important factor. In the cases of the LBA tombs at Lafka (5) and Alea-Palaiokhori (40) their position is one of separation from the spheres of everyday life, but not only this; they are also hidden. On the Mantinean plain, the Anchisia hills could have been a

suitable place, unless access was inhibited by those living in the Kapsia valley (Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981, p.245-6; Pikoulas 1990, p.479) or the Artemision range could have provided further options. Nevertheless, it was the hill of Artemision-Ayios Ilias on which burials were sited. This hill separated the dead from the living, but it also afforded a setting that was highly visible from the surrounding plain. Whether the hill was wooded or not may have been of no consequence, it did not matter if the living could not see the plain around from the summit as they would only be there at certain special times, but it perhaps mattered greatly if the hill could be seen from below. The hill is also at a point where the plain begins to narrow at the north where a path runs between the Anchisia hills and Artemision range, but which can be seen neither from Artemision-Ayios Ilias nor from Ptolis (Chapter 4); it appears as if the plain is completely bounded and enclosed. The hill that signified the end of life may have been equated with the hill at the end of the living space – not necessarily that people were forbidden from going any further, but that it signified the end of a community's territory. Connected to this is the fact running close to the hill would have been the probable route from the upper Orchomenos plain (plain of Levidi) to the Mantinean plain, as it is today. Having a cemetery of dead ancestors close by would convey a message to visitors and travellers about the community's connections to this landscape. Even if this particular function or purpose of positioning of a cemetery on this hill was not foremost in the minds of those who buried their dead here, it would have been a consequence, intended or unintended. The place, direction and orientation of the hill would have acquired (further) significance and importance, reaffirmed as people moved through the landscape and lived as part of it.

In addition to the burials on Artemision-Ayios Ilias, there is ambiguous burial evidence from around Mantinea (Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981, p.239) and Milea (28), a sprawling modern-day hamlet. Burials found at Milea in the main appear to belong to Classical and Roman periods (or from Classical up until and including Roman periods?) and have been interpreted

as the cemetery of Mantinea (see Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981; Arch.Delt. 1982, p.118). However, references to earlier material (Morgan 1999, p.390; AR 1984-5, p.23-4) and artefacts in the Tripolis museum suggest that some of the material from the area belongs to the Late Geometric period. In addition to this, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture states that the town of Mantinea was in fact founded in the Geometric period. The burials of Milea that date from the Classical period onwards were dotted around the plain to the southeast, north and northeast of the later town, and it may be that some of the LG material originated from scattered burial plots also. Moreover, if pithos burials from close to Nestani to the east reported by Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981, p.292), belong to the Geometric period (pithos burials are known throughout many periods of ancient Greece especially in the Peloponnese: Kurtz & Boardman 1973, p.189-90; Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981, p.294), then it reinforces an idea that burials were also located on the plain at this time. The scattered locations of such burials could then be indicative of dispersed villages and their associated burial plots (Hodkinson, 1981: 294), thus supporting Morgan's (1999, p.390) suggestion of yet undiscovered scattered settlements existing on the plain.

However, the pithoi found near Nestani might have been part of a larger burial ground to be associated with the site at Nestani-Paniyiristra, especially if they are in fact to be dated to the Classical or later periods. On the other hand, these burials are positioned on relatively high ground, at the point at which the plain of Nestane joins the Mantinean plain, and was perhaps chosen because of the problem of flooding particularly associated with the plain of Nestane (Pausanias 8.7.1), rather than due to proximity to a presumed settlement. In addition, the ground at this point is pebbly colluvium and thus less fertile, suggesting that the area was chosen for burial because of the qualities of the immediate landscape above other considerations (Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981, p.294).

Burials and cemeteries of the Geometric period could be located in two different types of places: in elevated positions as at Artemision-Ayios Ilias; or on the level as around Milea and the area close to Nestani. This situation is not peculiar to Arkadia but is typical of southern Greece as a whole. In all places, the different locations of burials would have invoked different experiences of death and the dead. Burials on a plain close to proposed settlements indicate a physical closeness with the dead that would not have been experienced at the LBA sites examined above, nor with those buried at Artemision-Ayios Ilias. However, although we can see differences between the burial landscapes of the LBA and the LG periods, it has been suggested that similarities existed between funerary rituals of both ages, as seen in the depiction of ritual funerary behaviour on the Tanagran larnakes, on sherds from Ayia Triadha in Elis and on Geometric pithoi (Cavanagh & Mee, 1995). This may be the case, but such pictorial evidence comes from relatively isolated examples – the LBA larnakes from Tanagra in Boeotia, scenes from seven pottery sherds from the LBA chamber tomb 5 at Ayia Triadha and Geometric vases of the eighth century from Athens. Nonetheless, lamentation with arms outstretched, touching heads, the suggestion of procession in the lines of figures and the laid out body, as well as assigned roles to men and women during the funerary rites, has been used to indicate continuity in, and of, ritualised behaviour. In addition, evidence from the later Classical period regarding ritual mourning of kinswomen, has indicated to many scholars that the ritual lamenting, particularly by female mourners (cf figures on Athenian geometric vases) during a funeral procession, was an old and widely observed custom (Dickinson 1994, p.229; Cavanagh and Mee, 1995; Kurtz and Boardman, 1973).

If funeral processions were the means used to bury those on the hill of Artemision-Ayios Ilias, then such a procession would have been widely seen, a public spectacle even, more so than any processions that may have taken place at Lafka (5), Alea-Palaiokhori (40) and even Vourvoura (44). The nature of the landscape, of the wide-open plain, would have enabled

people who were not directly involved to watch from a distance. Those organising and taking part in proceedings probably had very little control about who could do this and perhaps had very little desire to exert any either. In addition, although there is a stream relatively close to the site, it is not prominent, and the association with water is not apparent, as it had been in the LBA. Again, the openness of the landscape may have facilitated the importance of the sky, its expanse very evident as one moves from place to place on the plain. Rather than water as the transporter of the soul, it may have been the air, enhancing the ethereal quality of the spirit of the deceased (cf. Goodison 1989, p.179).

The only contemporary literary evidence that we have for attitudes towards their dead of those living in the 8th century is Homer. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, p.116), after full consideration of the context in which the Homeric stories were transmitted and told, argues that at this period there is an apparent belief in the dead as retaining reason and wisdom as opposed to the earlier belief in the witless dead. The change from multiple to single burials may go some way to support this. If the spirit retained its sense, it would not be wise to interfere with its remains with which it may have kept a connection. Multiple burials by their very nature were revisited to deposit more remains, often with the earlier burials being disturbed as at many LBA chamber and tholos tombs. There is no evidence of multiple burials in the graves of this site, despite the fact that there are cases of two or more in 'simple' grave types of the Mycenaean period (Lewartowski 1995, p.104). However, even if the burials possessed single interments, revisiting the graves was not prohibited. Presumably, they were also marked out in some way, perhaps by a small mound of stones or earth: the pithoi reported by Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981, p.148) had evidence of a covering of stones as grave markers.

Whatever the grave marker, the fact that the dead were buried in a specific place meant that they still had a material presence and occupied a location in space. When that space was

approached or looked upon during the course of everyday living, the memory of the dead would have come to the fore. When on the hill and observing individual grave markers, the memory of that particular individual would be brought to mind. When on the plain, the whole hill may have served to recall the memory of past members of the community collectively, as the marker over a multiple tombs of the late Bronze Age may have done. The extent to which this occurred for individuals would have been dependent on numerous factors, i.e. whether one had recently buried a relative or prominent member of the community, the age of the person remembering, and the knowledge of the person doing the experiencing. Perhaps in situations where prominent members were buried, the whole hill, for a time at least, could be synonymous with that certain individual.

5.5: Conclusions

Death and burial were, and are, aspects of existence that people, as part of communities and on an individual level, have to confront. The case studies above have allowed an exploration of how people did this at various times and in various places through the period in question. In all cases, it has been possible to glimpse something of how landscapes might have been manipulated by people responding to the physicality of place in which they moved, in an effort to confront such an inevitable task.

Generalisations can always be made from the available evidence, but the variety of landscapes in which tombs were set should allow an appreciation of the differences people living in such places would have experienced. At Lafka (5) and Alea Palaiokhori (40), access may have been limited and experience removed from the everyday. At Vourvoura-Analipsis (44), despite the hill on which the tholoi were located being separate from that which had settlement evidence, it was visibly and physically much more accessible than the other examples. Surely this would have created a different relationship with the dead even within

the same period and same region. The importance of controlling passage and procession, limiting the numbers of people who could approach and dictating who they might be, could have been of vital importance for the tomb in the Lafka gully. The seasonality of rivers in all these cases may have been seen to be in the control of certain groups, those whose ancestors were believed to be buried in tombs of certain types and in certain places. In this way, cosmological beliefs were reinforced by actual experience as people encountered the landscape everyday as well as through specialised rituals. The tombs, for example at Alea Palaiokhori (40), could have been part of rituals that were not funerary in nature but which invoked, created and reinforced ideas of the social and cosmological order, by using tombs of ancestors, the past, the way things were and had always been. During everyday activities, people would have been conscious and aware of the location of these tombs, to some extent at least, a latent reminder of the order of things (cf Darvill 1997, p.197; Garwood 2002). In this way we appreciate not only the importance of agency of people, but also how non-human ‘objects’, the landscape and material culture, act back with an agency of their own, informing and influencing people as life is lived. For the PG and G period, we have limited evidence and much has not been located precisely enough for a detailed assessment. However, an investigation into Artemision-Ayios Ilias and the surrounding area has allowed an exploration into the effect death and dying may have had on those living in this landscape, where the sky and the air may have been the important element in transporting the soul.

At the LBA tombs of Vourvoura Analipsis and Alea-Palaiokhori there is evidence of visitors to the tombs some four centuries later. Although this evidence is scanty and limited to a few sherds, they have been interpreted as evidence of hero-cult/ancestor worship by more than one scholar (e.g. Antonaccio 1995, p.68; Deoudi 1999, p.102; Coldstream 2003, p.346). This practice is seen as a feature of the eighth century and one that insinuates a belief in the power of the deceased. As touched upon in the above case studies, the belief in such power is in

contrast to that posited for the Mycenaean period. For this period evidence from Homer (e.g. *Odyssey*, Book 11) and the treatment of bones after death in some Bronze Age tombs, testify to the dead as being senseless (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, p.92). In the eighth century, however, it has been argued by Sourvinou-Inwood (1995 p.117) that belief was in the importance of an individual, an individual that had potency after death, even retained within the bones themselves: the power and importance that the bones of Orestes held for Tegea and Sparta is particularly striking example (Herodotus, 1.67-68; Pausanias 3.3.6, 3.11.10; 8.54.4). Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, p.117 *cf* Calligas 1988, p.229) sees one of the first manifestations of this change in belief in the heroon at Lefkandi, where the grave of an individual was marked out and their social persona symbolised (in this case, but not always, so monumentally), and the widespread practice of hero cult and ancestor worship in the eighth century was a continuation of the same idea, albeit with different articulation. Also valid in this respect are ideas that have explained the appearance of hero cult in the eighth century in terms of legitimising claims to land, whether by a new emerging, incoming elite or a desperate indigenous community trying to retain control over their land (Calligas 1988, p.232; Antonaccio 1995).

However, in Arkadia there is very limited evidence for hero cult as it is recognised for other areas of Greece, and the arguments used to explain its occurrence in these other places give food for thought regarding the Arkadian situation. Hero cult has been interpreted largely as either a new elite legitimising their position, or an existing population that needed to cement ties to the lands on which they already lived in the face of new uncertainties (Calligas 1988, p.232; Antonaccio 1995). Both could have been influenced by the circulation of Homeric epic at this time, posited by Coldstream (2003, p.346) as being a highly significant factor in the emergence of this tradition. He concludes that in places such as Argolid and Laconia the difference in tholoi and contemporary burial practice in the 8th century meant that people

were awestruck when such structures were chanced upon. Likewise, in Attica, where there was a wholly different burial practice in the Geometric period to that in the Mycenaean alongside a strong sense of ‘always-having-been-present’, there are very strong indications of hero-cult; an existing population, inspired by Homeric poems, rooting themselves firmly in the land. On the other hand, in areas that had continued burying in tholoi such as Thessaly, such tombs were commonplace and ‘hero-cult’ did not have the opportunity to flourish; the circulation of epic tales was not inspirational in the same way.

In terms of Arkadia, the sites where hero-cult has tentatively been suggested are in the borderlands with Laconia, precisely a place where it is widespread (Coldstream 2003, p.346). The chamber tombs at Palaioikastro-Palaiopyrgos (tombs) in the west, on the other hand, show no such tendencies. Similarly, chamber tombs in modern Achaea (but in the same geographical area as the western chamber tombs of Arkadia) have very little evidence of hero-cult. If we remember that this is an area, which, like Thessaly, continued using monumental tombs for centuries after the Mycenaean period ended, then the lack of such cult comes as no surprise given Coldstream’s conclusions. Perhaps such tombs were lost to site and memory, or the same uncertainties did not arise in these areas negating the need for an existing population to ‘re-root’ themselves with their ancestors. As the evidence shows, the tombs at Palaioikastro-Palaiopyrgos were in use from the heyday of Mycenaean civilisation in the 13th century BCE (LHIIIB) to the LHIIIC period in the 12th century and perhaps beyond. Although there is evidence of an increase in population at this particular site, in central areas the geographical position of Arkadia may have prevented such fluidity of movement as was probable in other areas. If there were no newcomers trying to stake their claim, there would be no need for any group to legitimise their position or for existing populations to reinforce theirs. However, in connection with the evidence at a number of religious sites (Chapter 4),

any reinforcing of roots or appropriating memories and ancestors may have been expressed through the deliberate location of sacred sites on top of earlier settlements.

In addition, during the period in question, there is a change in the predominant burial type, from multiple to single. Changes in belief, from a senseless soul to a sentient spirit, is one way of understanding the changes, but as well as giving insight into how the living related to the dead they can perhaps also highlight how the living related to the living. In the Late Bronze Age, the most important relationships in which an individual participated seems to have been kin and family, and it was these relationships, which were emphasised in multiple tombs. Single graves, on the other hand, suggest the importance of the individual, and when placed in a communal cemetery, which is what the Artemision-Ayios Ilias site may be optimistically called, imply the importance of more community based, ‘political’ alliances that emphasised the participation of individual members. These ties to the wider group were more important than that of family or kinship and power and prestige, the status of an individual was achieved, not ascribed. These changes perhaps reflect and can be associated with the emergence of the *polis*, where participation in public life was valued.

Such interpretations of the evidence allow generalisations to be made and enable an understanding of how the Arkadian evidence can fit in with trends seen throughout the Greek world during this period. However, a consideration of the particular, of the specific landscape contexts in which changes in belief and practice were taking place, gives a renewed and deeper understanding of this period in this place - Arkadia.

CHAPTER 6: LANDSCAPES OF EVERYDAY LIVES

6.1: Introduction

This chapter concentrates on aspects of the landscape that are associated with everyday living, and considers sites that have neither an overt, nor specific, ritual function, whether in terms of religion and the sacred, or death and burial; aspects that have been covered in previous chapters. In other words, evidence originates from sites that are usually interpreted as settlements or as having a utilitarian function, such as hydraulic works and roads. However, structures such as hydraulic works, which undoubtedly did have a utilitarian function, could also have great sacred significance. Moreover, landscapes apprehended in everyday circumstances cannot be separated from the religious, cosmological and mythological beliefs of the communities and individuals who dwell within them without causing artificial boundaries. With these points in mind, Section 6.2 begins with a consideration of the general evidence we have for settlement and utilitarian works in Greece as whole and outlines the sites in Arkadia for each of the periods in question. After a discussion in Section 6.3 of how this evidence can be, and often is, interpreted in terms of changing settlement patterns, demographics, economy, and social structure, Section 6.4 investigates, through a number of case studies, how people may have lived, used and been affected by aspects of the landscape which were part of their everyday lives. The case studies concentrate on Orchomenos (Case Study A), the Mantinean Plain (Case Study B), Loukas-Ayios Yioryios and Nestani-Paniyiristra (Case Study C) and the plains of Stymphalos and Pheneos (Case Study D).

6.2: Overview

6.2.1: Late Helladic evidence of the everyday in Greece

The typical picture of Mycenaean settlement is of a citadel or palace often with surrounding ‘town’, presiding over a territory in which small farmsteads or villages were situated (Wardle

1997, p.15). This general pattern can be seen in areas such as Messenia (centred on Pylos), the Argolid (centred on Mycenae), and Boeotia (centred on Thebes), and it is one that is clarified by Linear B tablets discovered at these centres. However, as Dickinson (1994, p.52) states, from the very beginning of the Bronze Age there is much variation within and between regions, and even this 'typical' picture may not have been a reality in most places. In the Argolid for example, Tiryns has often been cited as being subservient to Mycenae, largely due to it lying in close proximity, and its presence has usually been explained in terms of defence of a harbour. It is certainly true that in the LBA, Tiryns lay close to the coast and it may have come under the authority of Mycenae for at least part of the LBA, but not necessarily for the totality of its existence. Thus, other explanations may need to be sought to explain the situation (Dickinson 1994, p.78 & p.86). Likewise, in Boeotia, sites that lie within areas where the 'typical' pattern has been posited e.g. Orchomenos, Gla, and Thebes, and the relationship between them, are far from clear. In areas such as Achaia, Elis and Arkadia, there is even less evidence for the 'typical' pattern and less organised principalities may well have been the norm.

Most areas saw the greatest number of settlements in the LHIIIA and LHIIIB period, particularly in terms of rural sites (e.g. Cavanagh 2005). The end of this phase (LHIIIB/LHIIIC transition) is characterised by a destruction horizon at a number of the large centres. This horizon is found at Mycenae, Tiryns and Berbati in the Argolid (Wace 1949; Åkerström 1987; Kilian 1990), Zygouries in Korinthia (Blegen 1928), the Menelaion in Lakonia (Catling 1976-77), Pylos and Nichoria in Messenia (Blegen 1966; McDonald 1991), and Thebes and Gla in Boeotia (Kienast 1987; Keramopoulos 1917). In addition, smaller settlements all but disappear from the record (MacDonald and Rapp 1972; Dickinson 1994, p.86; Jameson, Runnels and van Andel 1994; Cavanagh 2005). However, despite destruction at a number of centres and a general reduction in size and number of settlements, organised

society continued. In some areas, there actually seems to have been an increase in population, a scenario suggested for Achaea based on the cemetery evidence (Papadopoulos 1978-79). In addition, in the Argolid, Tiryns was rebuilt and grew to its greatest size, and perhaps became the most prominent site at this time (Killian 1988, p.135). Moreover, a number of other significant sites existed in this period, such as Lefkandi, which covered large areas (up to six ha) and which incorporated substantial two-storey buildings (Popham & Sackett, 1968; Dickinson 1994, p.86).

Within the palaces and settlements, buildings consisted largely of square and rectangular rooms. A particular arrangement of rooms known as the *megaron* was a particular feature of the palaces, with the largest room often interpreted as the throne room (e.g. at Pylos and Mycenae). Unsurprisingly, the quality of architecture in the palaces was generally of very high quality but average houses seem to be especially poor (Dickinson 1994, p.80, p.153-157). Exceptions can be found in buildings of the 'corridor house' class (Hiesel 1990, pp.111-115), and although the Panayia house of this class at Mycenae seems to have been purely residential, others may have been storehouses and offices.

Fortifications can be found at a number of LH sites, although they are rare before the end of the LHIIIB phase. Those at Mycenae, Tiryns and Gla, are constructed in Cyclopean' masonry and, where they incorporated water supplies and wide open spaces that could act as refuges for the local population, a specific defensive purpose may be postulated with some certainty. However, there is no doubt that such structures also served as an expression of power to those who observed them. Such fortifications have supported theories of invaders entering mainland Greece, often identified with the Sea peoples and/or Dorians, which caused the collapse of Mycenaean Civilisation (e.g. Taylour 1964, p.160-1). Whilst it cannot be denied that the evidence suggests unrest at the end of the LHIIIB, fortifications were never built at

this time at major sites such as Orchomenos in Boeotia and Pylos in Messenia, although an earlier wall made of relatively small blocks built in LHI period could have still existed at the latter (Blegen 1966).

Hydraulic works and roads are among the archaeological remains of a profane nature in the LBA. Research carried out by Kilian at Gla (1988, p.133), has enabled hydraulic works to be dated to the LBA, a time when the Kopais basin was drained in order to provide land for cultivation. A similar type of construction exists at Tiryns but, although there is little certain dating evidence for these structures, they share a comparable building style. Likewise, a road system centring on Mycenae that includes bridges and culverts is built using similar construction techniques. In addition, Dickinson (1994, p.162) argues that hydraulic works and roads must date to the LBA as they focus on sites of the period such as Gla, Tiryns and Mycenae. Similarly, hydraulic works in Arkadia are dated to the LBA because not only is their construction comparable to other BA hydraulic works, they are also found in areas that have evidence of settlement and which would otherwise be uninhabitable due to flooding (see below). Furthermore, aqueducts at Pylos and Thebes and drains associated with houses at Mycenae and Tiryns attest to the existence of practical engineering skills needed to control water (Blegen 1966, p.332-6; Iakovides 1983, p.15-17, p.67-8; Symeonoglou 1985, p.50-2).

6.2.2: Late Helladic evidence of the everyday in Arkadia

Some of the points raised above are pertinent to Arkadia, although there is no evidence of the typical settlement pattern focussed on palaces. In fact, regions such as Arkadia attest to the variation found throughout the Mycenaean koine. However, evidence for settlement and other sites that have no obvious religious or burial associations is minimal. The details can be found in Table 6.1. Of 45 sites 16 are little more than scatters and 11 are findspots. The

remaining eighteen sites have structural evidence, but in ten cases, this is interpreted as hydraulic works of varying types.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|---|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Stymphalia a - Stymphalos | findspot | ?activity |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | structure | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | structure | hydraulic works |
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia-Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | scatter | settlement+ritual |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | findspot | ?activity |
| 11 | Lakkomata | scatter | ?activity |
| 12 | Tsoukka | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 14 | Vlakherna b - Plessa | findspot | ?activity |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | findspot | ?activity |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | scatter | ?activity |
| 17 | Orchomenos a - summit | findspot | ?activity |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | structure | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | structure | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 25 | Orchomenos - PalaioPyrgos | structure+assemblage | settlement+ritual |
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | findspot | ?activity |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 30 | Nestani - Paniyiristra | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 31 | Loukas - Ayios Yioryios | scatter | ?activity+ritual |
| 32 | Merkovouni a - Ayiolias | scatter | settlement |
| 33 | Merkovouni b - hydraulic works | structure | hydraulic works |
| 35 | Thanas - Stoyia | scatter | ?activity |
| 36 | Vounon | scatter | ?activity+ritual |
| 37 | Lake Takka | structure | hydraulic works |
| 38 | Manthyrea - Panayia | scatter | ?activity |
| 39 | Alea Palaiochori - a | scatter | settlement |
| 41 | Psili Vrysi | scatter | ?activity |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | scatter | settlement |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastros | structure+assemblage | settlement+burial+ritual |
| 47 | Palaiochoraki, Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris | findspot | ?activity |
| 48 | Ayios Athanasios of Dorizas | findspot | ?activity |
| 49 | Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion | scatter | settlement |
| 50 | AVS S67 | findspot | ?activity |
| 51 | Skortsinos - Khelmos | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | assemblage | ?activity |
| 59 | Figaleia | findspot | ?activity |
| 60 | Palaiokastros - Ay. Sotira | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 62 | Dhimitra | scatter | settlement |
| 72 | Dimitsana | structure+findspot | settlement |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | findspot | settlement |
| 75 | Karvouni - Sfakovouni | structure+assemblage | settlement |
| 77 | Dhavia - Kastro | scatter | settlement |
| 79 | AVS S62 | scatter | ?activity |
| 80 | Kanelaki | scatter | ?activity |

Table 6.1: LH sites of the everyday.

The sites described as scatter and findspot (site types differentiated by the number of sherds located and how they have been described by earlier scholars, as discussed below in Chapter 3 Section 3.2.5) in many cases have not been interpreted as settlements as the evidence is too slight. However, the position of some of these sites compels such an interpretation, for example in the case of Merkovouni-Ayioliass in the Mantinean Plain (see Case Study C below). Sites with a scatter or findspot interpreted as unknown activity (?activity) are included because evidence to suggest a special ritual function, e.g. association with worship of divine beings or the disposal of the dead, is not forthcoming. The assumption is that, until more evidence is revealed through excavation or survey, the extant record is the result of as of yet unspecified 'everyday' activity however fleeting. It should also be remembered, that the position of the evidence might also be the result of post-depositional factors. The sites will be described briefly by sub region.

The eastern regions of Arkadia hold most evidence for settlement, having received most attention from archaeologists and being the most accessible both today and in the past. It is for this reason that the case studies in the second half of this chapter will concentrate on sites in and around this area. Four sites are indicated by findspots: Vlakhera-Plessa (14; Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios (15); Orchomenos-summit (17); and Artemision-Ayios Ilias (26); which can perhaps suggest little other than activity of a fleeting nature. Artemision-Ayios Ilias is, for the most part, a cemetery site of the G period (see Chapter 5), whereas Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios and Orchomenos-summit have more substantial evidence for settlement in later periods. The sites around Orchomenos, including the significant LBA settlement at Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25), will be investigated in more detail below (Case Study A). Likewise, the evidence on the Mantinean plain will be considered in Case Study B, and Nestani-Panayiristra (30) and Loukas-Ayios Yioryios (31), although in later antiquity were considered part of the Mantinike, are considered together in a separate case study (Case Study

C). The eight sites in the northeastern region namely those found on and around the plains of Stymphalos and Pheneos will be considered in Case Study D.

In central Arkadia, there is a range of evidence for settlement of the LBA. Lasta-Kollinos (74) and Davio-Kastro (77) have very limited evidence for the LBA, but considerable evidence exists for later settlement on the same sites. In addition, both are on significant mountain/hill tops that in the Hellenistic period, at least, had fortifications (Howell 1970, n.46; n.49). The only sites with structural remains, however, are Dimitsana (72) and Karvouni-Sfakovouni (75). Pikoulas (1986, p.113) analysed remains of ancient walls at Dimitsana, but only assigns one to the Mycenaean period. The others he dates to the late sixth and fourth centuries BCE. The possible Mycenaean example may well correspond to that described as Cyclopean by Ellingham et al. (2000, p.228). However, the site at Karvouni-Sfakovouni is undoubtedly a settlement and is composed of a conglomeration of structures interpreted as houses. This particular site has evidence of inhabitation from the Neolithic until the Mycenaean period (Spyropoulos 2000, p.8 and see Fig.6.1 below).

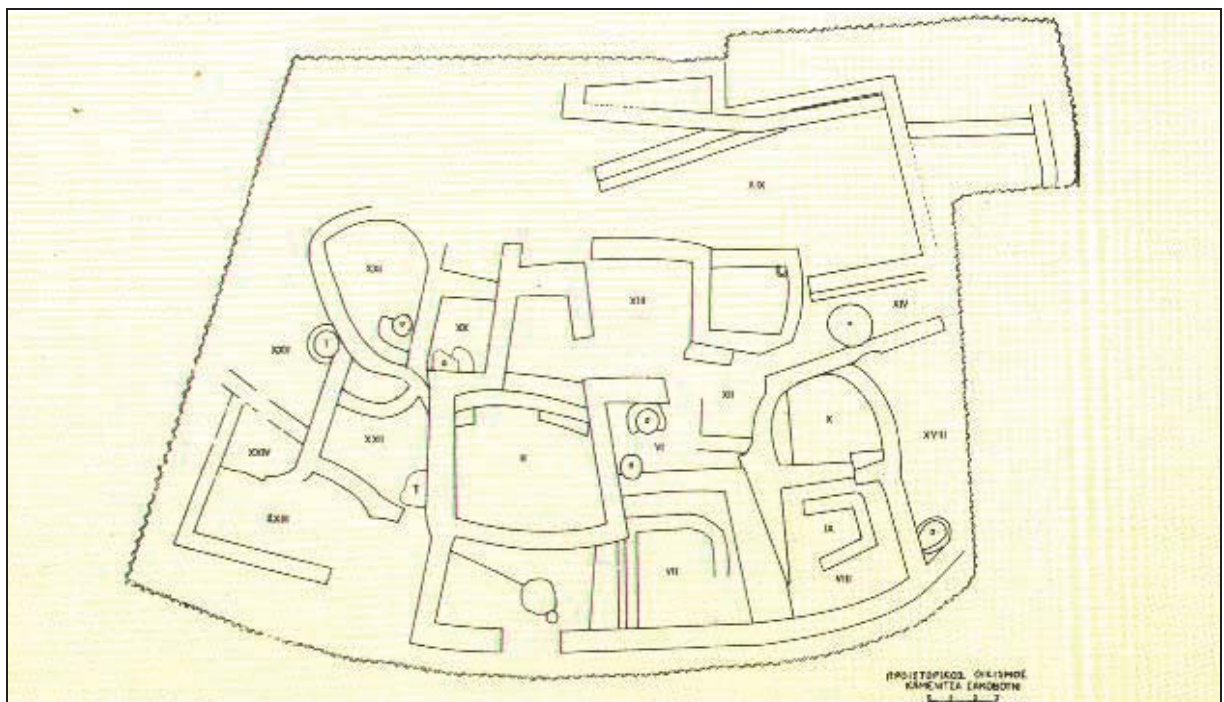


Fig.6.1: plan of Karvouni-Sfakovouni (source: Spyropoulos 2000, p.8).

In the south east of Arkadia, the sites at Alea-Palaiokhori a (39) and Vourvoura-Analipsis a (43) have been interpreted as settlements (Howell 1970, n.32; Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1961, p.130). However, evidence at these places is confined to a handful of sherds datable to the Mycenaean period and lithics. The interpretation of such evidence as representing settlement in this period has much to do with the close proximity of cemeteries: the assumption is that a living community resided close to where they buried their dead (see Chapter 5). At Vourvoura Analipsis, the later Classical settlement situated on the same site (Romaïos 1950; 1952) adds weight to this explanation. Further to the north, in the area of Lake Takka (37), hydraulic works have been located and dated to the LBA (Knauss 1989a). Unfortunately, these no longer exist due to ongoing irrigation works (Zoë Roumelioti of Tegea Museum, November 2003, pers. comm.). Another four sites in the region are scatters of material with little else to indicate the nature of activity (Thanas-Stoyia (35), Vounon (36), Manthyrea-Panayia (38) and Psili Vrysi (41)).

In the south of Arkadia, Kato Asea-Palaiokastro (45) in the Asea Valley has produced LHI-II and LHIIB sherds on a site that has more prolific evidence from the Neolithic, Early Helladic and Middle Helladic periods (PG, G sherds were also found at this site, see below). Also in the Asea Valley, five sites were located during a recent survey (Forsen 2003). All, except the substantial scatter at Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion (49), and the scatter at AV62 (79), were findspots of LH material, although these were found in association with more substantial material from later periods. Still, in the south of the region and close to the borders of Laconia, LHIIB-A sherds were found on the slopes of Skortsinos-Khelmos (51) and although Hope-Simpson (1965, p.50) describes this site as a settlement, Howell (1970, n.53) is less optimistic. Fortifications built around the summit have been variously dated over the years: Loring (1895) stated he was of the opinion they were Classical, whereas Waterhouse & Hope Simpson (1961, p.125) believed them to be Medieval. However, Pikoulas, like

Dörpfeld before him (1988, p.116 no.70), argues for a Mycenaean date, thus strongly supporting the idea that this site was indeed a settlement in the LBA and a substantial one at that.

In the western regions of Arkadia, there are only three sites with evidence pertaining to settlement. From Figaleia (59) there is only one item and this has no clear provenance. This is a rock crystal sealstone dated as Mycenaean by Ridgeway (1896), which has been in the Rousopoulos collection in Athens since 1875 (Howell 1970, no.57). Further north on the banks of the Alpheios, Palaiokastro-Ayia Sotira (60), the hill above the cemetery site of Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos (61), has been interpreted as a settlement. LH sherds were found here and although the visible walls are predominantly Classical (Demakopoulou & Crouwel 1998) traces of earlier structures have been dated to the Mycenaean period by Howell (1970, no.55) and Hope-Simpson (1983). Finally, near the village of Dhimitra (62) in the north western region of Arkadia, a substantial settlement dating from the Neolithic to the LBA was discovered when the current road was built (Syriopoulos 1973).

6.2.3: Sub Mycenaean evidence of the everyday in Greece

Most SM evidence is actually in the form of burials and their contents and consequently there is very little that can be discussed in terms of settlement and everyday activity. However, material datable to the SM period has been found in a closed context above levels of a LHIIC Late date at Mycenae and Tiryns (Mountjoy 1999, p.56) and three deposits from the Agora in Athens have produced 'SM' material that is recognised as the result of everyday living (Smithson 1977). This material is described by Smithson (1977, p.79) as being "chronologically intermediate between the earliest Protogeometric wells and the latest LHIIC deposits in Athens", but the author then goes on to say that the term 'sub-Mycenaean' may actually prove to be superfluous. In addition, depending on the area in question and the

opinion of the excavator, SM and PG can appear to be roughly contemporaneous and it can prove incredibly difficult to divide the two periods. For this reason some scholars (e.g. Snodgrass [1971]2000, p.364), have classified SM and PG evidence, along with the last remnants of the LHIIIC (in some areas), all under the umbrella of the eleventh century (see also Coulson's DAI II & III chronology: Coulson et al. 1983; Chapter 3). Snodgrass ([1971]2000, p.364) cites a total number of forty eleventh century sites, although this includes cemetery and sanctuary evidence. This is contrasted with a total of one hundred and thirty sites that existed in the preceding twelfth century.

6.2.4: *Sub Mycenaean evidence of the everyday in Arkadia*

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | structure | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | structure | hydraulic works |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | structure | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | structure | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 33 | Merkovouni b - hydraulic works | structure | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | structure | hydraulic works |
| 60 | Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | findspot | ?activity |

Table 6.2: SM sites of the everyday.

Only a single site in Arkadia has produced evidence of the everyday described as SM. A sherd found at Palaiokastro-Ayia Sotira (60) in the west of Arkadia, situated in close proximity to the cemetery site at Palaiopyrgos (61) was reported by Khristou (1956) and cited by Howell (1970, n.55). However, Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1983, p.83) make no mention of SM material in their more recent review of the evidence. The other sites included in the table above are those described as hydraulic works, for which there is no artefactual dating evidence. If they were constructed in the LBA (e.g. Knauss 1989a), then how long they remained in use is uncertain, but it may very well be that they continued in use into the

eleventh century BCE. However, general consensus, supported by comparison to hydraulic works at Gla, asserts that they went out of use sometime at the end of the LHIIIB period or in the LHIIC period (e.g. Knauss 1988; 1999; 1990; Knauss et al. 1986; Dickinson 1994, p.163-4; Iakovidis 2003).

6.2.5: Protogeometric evidence of the everyday in Greece

Evidence that can be dated to the PG period is slightly more plentiful than that designated as SM. In the Peloponnese there are examples of houses at Nichoria (Coulson et al. 1983), Argos (Caskey 1971), and Asine (Wells 1983). Snodgrass ([1971]2000, p.58) also suggests that habitation continued at Isthmia and Old Korinth. Unfortunately, it is not clear on what evidence this view is based, although at Korinth a SM/EPG house was excavated in 1959 (Weinberg 1960). Nichoria is a particularly important site and this period sees the construction of the 'chieftains' large apsidal dwelling (Unit IV-I; Coulson et al. 1983) and, outside of the Peloponnese, at Lefkandi, evidence exists for resettlement of Xeropolis later in the period (Popham 1979, p.3). At Dimini, a PG settlement (Iolkos) stood beside the Mycenaean palace (Volos-Palia) (Adrimi-Sismani, 1992, 1994, 2000, 2002) where houses, unusually for mainland Greece, were stone built and rectangular, similar to those at sites on Crete (e.g. Karfi) and at Grotta on Naxos, where the LHIIC settlement was rebuilt (Desborough 1964, p.149; Snodgrass 2000, p.363).

6.2.6: Protogeometric evidence of the everyday in Arkadia

PG sites in Arkadia are few in number and those that do exist have produced very little evidence. At Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios (15) in the lower Orchomenos plain and Ptolis-Gortsouli (27) in the Mantinean plain, evidence is limited to one or two sherds (Howell 1970, n.1 & n.11) which can indicate very little other than these areas were not entirely deserted at this time. Both these areas will be considered in more detail in Case Study A and B.

Similarly, at Kato Asea–Palaiokastro (45), only one sherd has been found, but there was also an unusual cist burial dated by Holmberg to the PG period, due to its similarity with another in Asine (Holmberg 1944, Chapter 5). The hydraulic works cited above may well have continued in use for a while into the LHIIC period and into the PG, although again there is no artefactual evidence for the dating of any hydraulic works in Arkadia or for how long they remained in use.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | structure | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | structure | hydraulic works |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | findspot | ?activity |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | structure | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | structure | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | findspot | ?activity |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | assemblage | ?activity+burial |
| 33 | Merkovouni b - hydraulic works | structure | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | structure | hydraulic works |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | structure+findspot | ?activity+burial |

Table 6.3: PG evidence of the everyday.

6.2.7: Geometric evidence of the everyday in Greece

Although most G evidence originates from graves and sanctuary sites, there is a general increase in number of settlements and, within settlements, there is an increase in the number, size and quality of domestic buildings (Snodgrass [1971] 2000, p.408). At sites such as Nichoria (Coulson et al. 1983) and Lefkandi (Popham et al. 1979), evidence of substantial structures begins in the preceding PG period (see above). This is reasonably plentiful, but in places where important Archaic and Classical cities grew, such as Korinth and Athens, settlement evidence of this period is more usually confined to dumps in wells (Weinberg,

1949; Brann 1961). In fact, most evidence of settlement in this period presents itself in the form of scatters found in later contexts (Coldstream 2003, p.303).

It has been argued (Mazarakis Ainian, 1997) that where structures do exist, particularly on the mainland and early in the period (EG, ninth century BCE), they may be, in some cases, the first post BA examples of temples (see Chapter 4). For instance, Building ST at Mende Poseidi certainly suggests sacred significance rather than domestic use (Moschonissioti 1998, p.265-7; Hall, 2006, p.86). Alternatively, such structures may have served more than one function, being both a 'chieftain's' house and a sacred building, such as has been suggested for the PG chieftain's house at Nichoria (Coulson et al. 1983). The hypothesis is that these early structures were built more substantially than the dwellings of ordinary people, because of the high status they held within the community, and as such, they have survived in the archaeological record.

The plan of most buildings on mainland Greece, especially in the earlier G, whether domestic or sacred, is generally apsidal, following the trend seen in the preceding PG period. Examples have been found at Argos and Nichoria, as well as an isolated oval house of the 9th century in the Agora at Athens. As stated in Chapter 4, although both domestic and sacred buildings appear to have a similar form in the late PG and early G, as the period progressed, the two types developed distinctive architecture. Temple buildings developed the peristyle and became increasingly isolated and imposing, such as that at Ano Mazaraki-Rakita in Achaia dated to the later eighth century (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p.279; Hall 2006, p.86). Domestic buildings on the other hand become gradually clustered and, in some cases, increasingly rectangular. Some scholars have interpreted this as resulting from an increase in population and as indicating a degree of planning (Snodgrass [1971]2000, p.413). Whilst both clustering and the change from apsidal to rectangular may very well be responses to population increase,

there are problems with this. It is apparent elsewhere that evidence of such forms existed early in the period when populations are thought to be still small (e.g. Emborio on Chios, Zagora on Andros; Coldstream 2003, p.306). There is also no reason why rectangular buildings should have the monopoly on forethought and planning. Houses in Smyrna were largely apsidal until the seventh century BCE, but the walls of the ninth century show that the Smyrnians were quite capable of planning and construction on a grand scale at an early date. In addition, on Crete, stone-built rectangular structures were the common form throughout the G, visible from the preceding sub-Minoan and PG period onwards (e.g. Karfi, Pendlebury et al. 1937/8). The choice in type of domestic building may have had more connection with regional trends and available building material than on increasing organisation and foresight.

6.2.8: Geometric evidence of the everyday in Arkadia

Like much of the evidence for the G period in the wider Greek world, most of that from Arkadia comes from sanctuary and temple sites. However, there are a number of findspots and scatters discovered on sites that have later, substantial evidence of settlement. Although this evidence is scanty, it could be suggestive of early settlement where unsubstantial buildings have been destroyed by later structures. At the very least, nothing suggests that such scatters are the result of activity that was particularly religious or ritual in nature.

From the northern region of Arkadia, the only evidence for settlement of this period comes from a site at Drosato Vrisariou-Lakes (69). Here, substantial surface material ranging in date from the eighth to the first century BCE was discovered (Arch.Delt. 42 B 1982, p.164-5; Morgan 1999, p.420). Close by, settlement evidence in the northeast has been found in and around the plains of Pheneos and Stymphalos, evidence that is considered in Case Study D below. In the east, settlement evidence has been found at three places. Kandhila-Bikiza (16), and Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios (15) are considered with the Orchomenos plains in Case Study

A and that from Milea/Mantineia (28) is considered in Case Study B in association with other evidence from the Mantinean plain.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|---|-------------|------------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | structure | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | structure | hydraulic works |
| 4 | Stymphalia d - Karterion, Ay. Konstantinos | findspot | ?activity |
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | scatter | ?activity |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | findspot | ?activity |
| 11 | Lakkomata | scatter | ?activity |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | findspot | ?activity |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | scatter | ?activity |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | structure | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | structure | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | assemblage | ?activity+burial |
| 33 | Merkovouni b - hydraulic works | structure | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | structure | hydraulic works |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiochori - b | findspot | ?activity+ritual |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | assemblage | ?activity |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | findspot | ?activity+ritual |
| 53 | Mallota Kokkaliara | scatter | ?activity |
| 54 | Anemodhour | findspot | ?activity |
| 63 | Vaklia - Palaiokastros | findspot | ?activity |
| 69 | Drosato Vrisariou - Lakes | scatter | settlement |
| 72 | Dimitsana | findspot | ?activity |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | findspot | ?activity |

Table 6.4: G evidence of the everyday.

To the southeast, the only evidence comes from the sites of Vourvoura Analipsis a and b (43 & 44). G sherds were found in excavations carried out by Romaïos of what was otherwise a Classical settlement at Vourvoura-Analipsis a (Howell 1970, n.36) whilst from the cemetery site b a single sherd was found in the fill of the large LH tholos. What kind of activity this sherd represents is unclear. It may have been the result of 8th century ancestor/hero worship at an earlier tomb as suggested by Coldstream (1976, p.12) and Antonaccio (1995, p.68-69

and see Chapter 5), although it could have fallen in after the tomb collapsed, a remnant of everyday activity on the surface. In the southern region, the evidence does not become any more substantial. Possible G sherds have been found at Anemodhouri (ancient Oresthasion) (54) (Pikoulas 1988, n.50; Morgan 1999, p.403), and to the northwest of this site, possible G sherds have been recovered at Mallota-Kokkaliara (53) by the Tripolis to Megalopolis road (Pikoulas 1988, n. 42; Morgan 1999, p.403).

In the northwest of Arkadia, at Vaklia-Palaiokastro (63) overlooking the Ladon valley, a Late G bronze statuette of a bull was discovered on an otherwise Classical site. A few sherds of Korinthian pottery were also found (Howell 1970 p.98, p.117 no.42; Morgan 1999 p.417). Whether the statuette should be seen as an early votive offering from the later temple is not clear.



Fig.6.2: view of the Ladon gorge from the site of Vaklia-Palaiokastro looking west (photo: author).

In the central region of Arkadia, G material has been located at Dimitsana (72) and Lasta-Kollinos (74). Dimitsana is a site associated with ancient Teuthis (Howell 1970, n.47), situated high above the Lusios valley. Both Howell (1970, n.47) and Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, p.83) state that the sherds are only possibly of G date. The evidence at Lasta-Kollinos is equally uncertain, although Howell (1970, n.46) suggests pithos fragments are of G date. Both sites however have substantial evidence for settlement for later periods and some, albeit slight, evidence for earlier LBA settlement.

6.3: Interpreting the evidence



Fig.6.3: Remains of ancient road above the village of Sangas at Portes looking N (photo: author).

There are a number of issues relating to the evidence as outlined above. Little has been said regarding roads in Arkadia. However, at such an early date, there is no evidence for routes of communication in Arkadia itself. Tausend has greatly enhanced knowledge of many routes such as those for Lousoi and Pheneos (Tausend, 1994, 1995, 1998), as has Yanis Pikoulas (e.g.1999), having traced wagon roads in numerous places, but these are difficult to date and the majority of them are argued to be no earlier than the seventh century BCE (Pikoulas 1995, pp.349-355; Pikoulas 1999, p.306). However, although some of these roads apparently connect settlements that only existed in the historical period, which is the main criteria for

dating - at least for similar roads in the Argolid, and Laconia (Pikoulas, 1999, p.306-7) - many may have followed similar routes as those during the period in question. In Arkadia, the routes located by Pikoulas and Tausend certainly connect the main areas of Arkadia in the Classical period, but, in addition, all of these areas have earlier evidence, such as the pass above Sangas at Portes (Stavros Boulouyoursis, pers comm. October 2003) (Fig 6.3). Moreover, Pikoulas' (1999), work is limited to routes used by wheeled vehicle; many tracks and passes would have been used by foot or by pack animal, but these have left few traces (Map 6.; Forsen & Forsen, 2003, p.198).



Map 6.1: Map of the Arkadian road-network (source: Pikoulas, 1999: Map 3).

Whilst the issue regarding the lack of direct evidence for routes within Arkadia during the period in question is interesting, more pertinent perhaps are the issues surrounding the

evidence that does exist for other ‘mundane’ activities. For instance, most evidence for the everyday is discovered through survey and exists as scatters. What such surface evidence means in terms of past human activity is far from clear for all periods and places. As has been illustrated a number of times already (e.g. Alcock et al. 1994, p.138; Mattingly 2000, p.6), although field survey is an important and widespread method of investigating a landscape, it is a method which is by no means executed in a standard way, neither throughout the world nor within Greece. Each survey utilises or has utilised differing methodologies and each archaeologist remains confident in their own process of site-definition, which is after all an interpretative act (for a thorough consideration of the surveys undertaken in Arkadia see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). Of course, it is understood that these definitions are directly relevant to the way the evidence has then been used to discuss settlement patterns, hierarchy and economy.

As pointed out in Chapter 2 Section 2.3.3 and Chapter 3 Section 3.2.5, there has been much discussion over the significance of scatters, in particular regarding the point at which sherd-counts actually represent sites and in turn, what kind of activity a site signifies (e.g. Gallant 1986; Cherry et al. 1991, Ch 3; Alcock Cherry & Davis 1994; Mattingly 2000). In Greece, past estimates have held that approximately 30 -50 sherds per 100 sq m are needed to constitute a site (Bintliff 1985). This is particularly pertinent to Arkadia because the vast majority of sites are little more than findspots or scatters and if found as part of an intensive survey, depending on the area and period in question, would amount to no more than background noise, (Gallant 1986; Alcock Cherry & Davis 1994 p.138). Whilst this may seem worrying for Arkadia at first glance, the majority of sites in Arkadia have not been located during intensive surveys but have come to the attention of those undertaking extensive and unsystematic reconnaissance. A key example is Howell’s survey of the Eastern Plains (1970 and see Chapter 2). More to the point, survey methodology increasingly allows for

identification and definition to be made in the field depending on local circumstances and in some cases the description 'site' is avoided completely. M. G. Parker Pearson (pers. comm. 14 November 2007) states that during fieldwork in the Hebrides a site was deemed to exist wherever pottery was found, whereas in Madagascar five or more sherds were needed before such a definition was applied. Clearly, in these cases not all sites could possibly be evidence of settlement. Field survey is often employed as a way of looking at the distribution of activity and different practices across a landscape, within which activity areas or 'Places of Special Interest' can be defined that may then be deemed suitable for excavation (e.g. the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project, Given et al. 2001; Julian Thomas pers. comm. 13 November 2007). In the present study, site is meant in this way, as a place of activity, however transitory, and it is evident that not all 'sites' are indicators of settlement. In fact many of the findspots and scatters (site-type 1) in Arkadia have avoided association with settlement (site type 2) and have been given the non-judgemental title of '?activity' (site type 2 unknown activity see Chapter 3 Section 3.2.5 for further clarification). Of course, where material has been identified through intensive survey, such as the Asea Valley Survey, the definition of site=settlement/farmstead has already been applied (e.g. AVS67, Forsen 2003).

Despite inherent problems in site definition, it is true that the number of known sites or activity areas drastically reduces from the LBA onwards. The Nemea Valley Survey, for example, observed PG and G artefacts at only one of 25 sites also assigned to the preceding LH period (Cherry et al. 2000), and areas like Messenia and the Berbati-Limnes region in the Argolid, which have also been systematically surveyed, have produced little if any archaeology of post-LHIIIB date (Wells 1996; Wright 1990, p.645). In Arkadia, the total number of sites for the LH period is fifty-seven, whereas for the PG it is nineteen, increasing again in the G period to fifty. The crux of the matter, of course, is what these numbers represent. The relative scarcity of 'Dark Age'(SM & PG) sites could be the result of a

reduction in number of settlements and therefore population, a theory that has found prominence in the past (e.g. Snodgrass [1971]2000, p.364; Dickinson 1994, p.87). However, when the equation of site=settlement is uncertain, as is the case in many Arkadian instances, the record may rather be reflecting change in use and behaviour across a landscape. Of course, it may be that farmsteads and villages are undetectable in the record due to a change in construction: as stated above many of the structures of the PG and G periods are built of mud-brick, but this would not explain the absence or lack of pottery and other material distribution. Forsen (2003, p.183) referring to the Asea Valley Survey, has suggested that pottery of the PG and G period is as of yet unrecognisable in the record, because the fabric of such pottery is hard to see during fieldwalking (cf Gaffney, Bintliff & Slapsak 1991; Terrenato 2000). If much of the local PG and G pottery, not just of Arkadia but also of other regions, is not decorated as finely or uniformly as that of the LH period, or even the PG and G pottery in some places, then such material is likely to be missed, or simply counted but not dated. A more sensitive methodology where all sherds are picked up (e.g. Gaffney, Bintliff & Slapsak 1991; Fentress 2000) and where ceramic analysis concentrates on fabric as a diagnostic category rather than relying on decoration or even form, alongside further study into local ceramics, may help solve some of these problems (cf Leveau 1984 quoted in Mattingly 2000, p.9). Understanding post-depositional processes may also need to be prioritised (Taylour 2000, p16). In Arkadia, for example, deep alluvial layers, up to 2 metres thick, are known to be covering archaeological layers in some areas (see Chapter 2 Section 2.4).

The depopulation theory is also undermined, even where many of the sites located through survey have been associated with settlement. One of the most pertinent questions relating to settlement in the period under study is concerned with the demise of the Mycenaean Civilisation. In the archaeological record of mainland Greece, various levels of destruction at

the citadels have been found. There is copious evidence of burning, collapsed walls, floors and ceilings, and broken artefacts, which have been identified within the same or closely connected archaeological contexts at centres such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and Thebes (see section 6.2.1). The depopulation theory holds that with the demise of these centres, people either migrated or perished. However, Lin Foxhall (1995), looking at sites mainly in terms of continuity in agricultural practice, concludes that outlying sites fared differently depending on their proximity to or involvement in their local palatial economy and although sites and possibly population did decrease in some areas, it is without doubt not the case in all.

The area of Berbati-Limnes, very close to Mycenae, certainly did not fare very well (Wells and Runnels 1996). During the LH period, survey evidence indicates that this region was quite densely populated by a number of individual farmsteads. After the LHIIIB period, however, there is a gap in the record until the LG period. A possible explanation is that farmsteads, which perhaps relied heavily on the palace for survival or existed solely to serve the palace economy, could not survive without it and the population may indeed have moved on. However, regions that show a different pattern can be found on the Methana peninsula (Mee & Forbes 1997) and at Lefkandi (Popham et al., 1979), both places that were not involved in a local palatial economy, based on current evidence. In these places, the archaeological record shows an increase of activity after the demise of Mycenaean Civilisation. While it appears that the defining factor for depopulation may be the presence or absence of a major site in close proximity, evidence from Nichoria complicates the picture. This site in Messenia, relatively near and most likely subject to the palace at Pylos during the LH period, seems to have prospered as a substantial site in its own right after LHIIIB (McDonald 1991). Differentiation in burials and houses suggest that Nichoria had its own elite, and floral and faunal evidence indicates that agriculture and animal husbandry continued in much the same way that it had when subject to Pylos (Coulson et al. 1983). Foxhall (1995)

argues that Nichoria's prosperity resulted directly from the removal of impositions put in place by palace authorities, and perhaps as a town did not rely on the palace for its fundamental existence, or at least not in the same way as the farmsteads close to Mycenae did.

However, despite variations in numbers of sites, some general trends in the material record are recognisable, especially on the mainland. Changes in burial have been outlined in Chapter 5 and other, possible concomitant changes in material culture included a change in the metal used for practical, cutting implements from bronze to iron, pottery styles become more regionalised, a departure from the preceding widespread and uniform Mycenaean style, and on present evidence, it also appears that monumental architecture largely ceases. Exceptions exist in the heroon at Lefkandi dated to c.1000BCE, a similar building at Halos in southern Thessaly (Malakasioti & Mousioni 2004) and Megaron B at Thermon (Papapostolou 2006). However, these examples are associated with burials, as are the monumental tombs that continue to be built and used in some regions (e.g. Central Greece – Elateia, Thessaly, as well as Kefallonia; see Chapter 5), and not settlement or everyday living. In any case, there is no suggestion that changes in burial rite, metal, pottery style and architecture happened simultaneously in all areas that had once been under the sphere of Mycenaean influence. Instead, it appears that a wide variety of events, negotiations, relations and actions had intended and unintended consequences, which contributed to the creation of the material record, as it is found today.

Any attempts to make sense of this record are not helped by problems inherent in survey. Those pertaining to site definition have been outlined above, but in addition, survey is generally not a mode by which particularly well refined chronologies can be developed. Alcock (2000, p.2) states, perhaps we should be wary of expecting too much from the data. This is particularly true of Arkadia. As stated in Chapter 3 Section 3.3.2, chronological

divisions in the present study are particularly wide due to this very fact. The redeeming feature however, is that even where artefacts are few in number and not closely dated, such as those in Arkadia, it is still possible to locate them in space. The assumption is that an individual or group acted within, moved through and viewed the landscape at a particular point, just as it can be acted within, moved through and viewed today. Of course, acknowledgement of post-depositional processes must be made and considered, processes that can shift material some distance (English Heritage 2000, p.3). However, this would not generally detract from the ability to visit an area in which scatters were found. In many cases, the locations have not been particularly accurately recorded anyway and any post-depositional shift that may have taken place is therefore not particularly worrying. In addition, taking the context of each site into consideration, allows investigation into possible post-depositional events. Especially where the sites are multi-period sites, these assumptions is a starting point.

To some extent, sites of the period, and sometimes the area in question, have been considered in terms of their setting in the landscape. However, until recently, studies into settlements have largely been concerned with population numbers and production capabilities (Dickinson 1994, p.51) and the focus has been their economic function (Bintliff 1977). For example, the location of a site on good, fertile soil has been taken as indicative of a farm, even where the evidence is slight, or the establishment of new settlements is seen from an economic standpoint, where a desire to exploit more land is considered to be of paramount importance. Where sites have been found on poor land, the possibility that they may be ritual sites, guard posts, seasonal or temporary camps of hunters, woodcutters, craft specialists or herders camps has been entertained (McDonald and Rapp, 1972, p.182 re Messenian LH sites), and this approach certainly goes some way in elucidating aspects of the material record. Surely a deeper understanding of the way people engaged with their environment can be reached. Even in situations where choice of site was overwhelmingly dictated by economic concerns,

the distinct physicality of the landscape would have influenced choice. How people approached a particular place, how the mythology of that specific place had developed, how it had been encountered in the past or how so-called place-images of the decision makers had evolved, may have been important factors (Chapman 2000). Such considerations of landscape have found their place in studies of the Neolithic in the British Isles (e.g. Thomas, 1991; Edmonds, 1999; Cooney, 2000; Exon et al, 2000), where specifics of place are contemplated and it is this type of consideration that is set out in the case studies below.

6.4: Case Studies

6.4.1: Case Study A: Orchomenos

On the slopes of Mytikas, overlooking the lower Orchomenos plain, lie the remains of a Mycenaean settlement known as Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25) (Map 6.1 & Fig.6.4 below). In its heyday, this settlement spread down onto the plain, in a setting somewhat different to the 'typical' Mycenaean pattern, which focussed on an elevated citadel or palace. Unfortunately, publication of the relatively extensive excavations is in short supply, but the reports that do exist inform us that this settlement was extensive. Spyropoulos (1982, p.114) suggests it is here that we should be looking for the Homeric Orchomenos (Il 2.603-14). The focus of this community was towards the Levidi plain, a plain that did not suffer from flooding like so many in eastern Arkadia (Fig.6.5). Water drained from these plains to the lower Orchomenos plain to the north. It may have been for this very reason that such a settlement grew up on the slopes of Mytikas, directed towards a plain that was naturally beneficial for arable farming, where a community could reside without the worry, as the seasons changed, as to whether this year the rains would overwhelm the ever-changing river courses and flood the whole plain. This would have been a real concern for those who lived on and around the lower Orchomenos plain.



Fig.6.4: LH foundations at Orchomenos-Palaipyrgos (photo author).

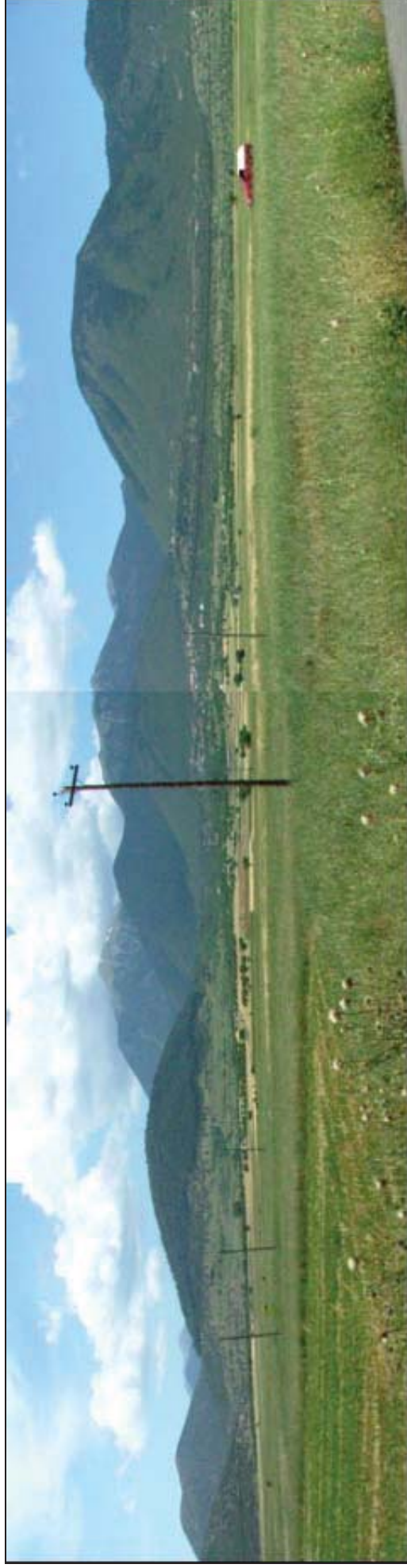


Fig.6.5: view to the S from the site of Orchomenos-Palaipyrgos (25) with Mt Mainalon touched by cloud in the distance (photo: author).



Fig.6.6: view of the hill of Classical Orchomenos from Pyrgos (photo: author).

The later, Classical Orchomenos (17) (Map 6.2 & Fig.6.6) is situated on a hill in the midst of the lower and upper Orchomenos plains (of Kandhila and Levidi respectively). From this site, there has been only one find to attest to LBA activity and this is the foot of a LHIII B *kylix* - disappointing in view of the position of the hill straddling two plains. The site of Orchomenos–Palaiopyrgos is almost tucked away around the corner in comparison. However, at the foot of the Classical Orchomenos hill, we find the remains of hydraulic works (map 6.1) that have been dated to the LBA by Knauss (1989) (Fig.6.7). In the gully a ‘canal’ (21) (Fig.6.8) channelled water to a possible mill (22) (Fig.6.9) then on into the lower plains where it was further controlled by a dyke to the east (23) and a dam to the west (24). The water was then led off to the katavothra below Plessa (14). These works have been dated largely on circumstantial evidence. A number of sites dating to the LBA exist around the plains and, bearing in mind the problems with identifying some of the scatters and findspots with settlement per se, it has been assumed that if people were using the land in the vicinity then it needed to be free from regular inundations (Knauss 1989, p.114). This is a point which is expanded below. The construction techniques used in these structures are also

comparable with other hydraulic works of a similar date, such as those found at Tiryns and Mycenae (Dickinson 1994, p.162). The possibility that these were constructed by the population living at Orchomenos–Palaiopyrgos and those living around the plains is certainly an enticing one.

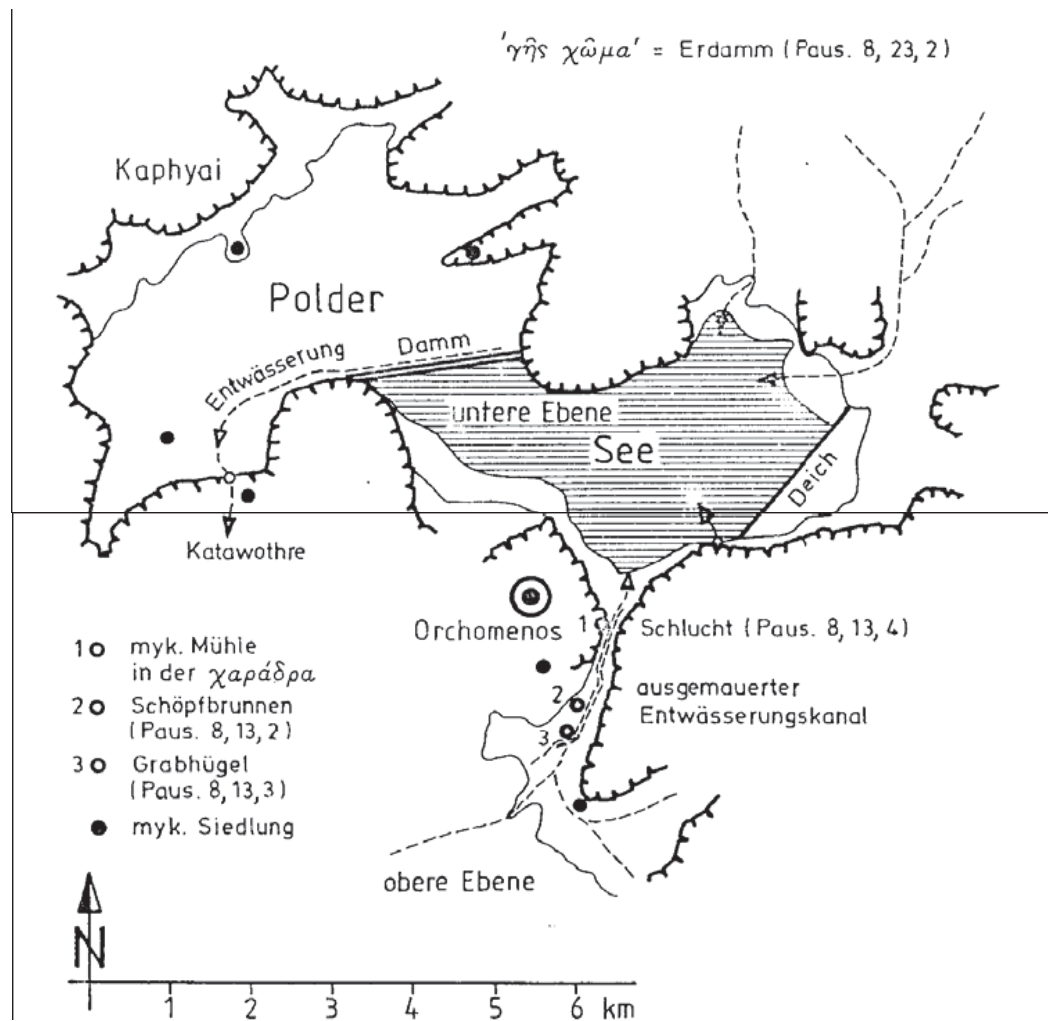
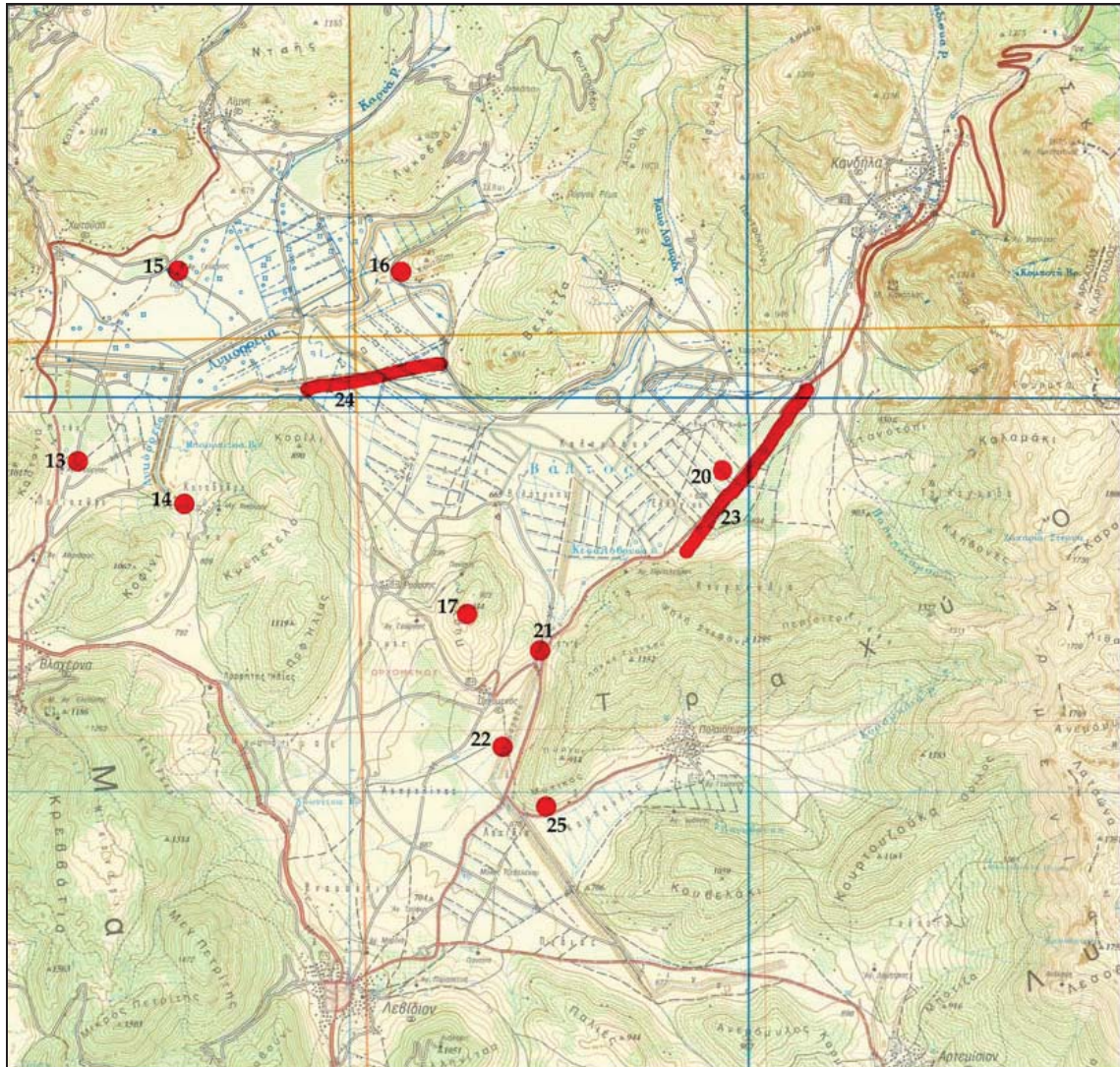


Fig.6.7: plan of hydraulic works and 'settlements' in the lower plain of Orchomenos (source: Knauss, 1989: 117)



Map 6.2: LBA sites in and around the Orchomenos plains (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000: Tripolis and Kandhila sheets).

13: Vlakherna-Petra; 14: Vlakherna-Plessa; 15: Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios; 16: Kandhila-Bikiza; 17. Orchomenos-summit; 20: tholos; 21: Hydraulic works/mill; 22: hydraulic works –channel; 23: dyke; 24: dam; 25: Orchomenos- Palaiopyrgos.



Fig.6.8: channel running past an EH tumulus (22) (photo: author).



Fig.6.9: LBA mill? (21) to the E of Classical Orchomenos (photo: author).



Fig.6.10: panoramic view from Khotoussa Ayios Yioryios (photo: author).



Fig.6.11: panoramic view from the summit of Orchomenos with the upper plain (Levidi) to left (SE, S) and lower plain (Kaphyae/Kandhila) to centre right & right (W, N, NE) (photo: author).

In the lower plain of Orchomenos, near Kaphyae, there are four sites of the LBA (Map 6.1). One, Vlakherna-Petra (13), is associated with religious ritual and has been explored in Chapter 4. The other three are represented by small scatters and findspots, described as *siedlungs* (settlements) by Knauss (1989: 117). These are Vlakherna-Plessa (14), where LH sherds were picked up by Howell (1970, n.3) on the terraced slopes of the Kofini hill; Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios (15), where sherds, discovered on a hill to the north of the plain, are “possibly Mycenaean” (Howell 1970, n.1); and Kandhila-Bikiza (16), where LH sherds were found on the south east slopes of the distinctive spur projecting south west into the plain, close to where the proposed dam was situated (Howell 1970, n.4).

For the people who frequented this area, the water and its control would have figured heavily in their daily lives. The *katavothra* on whose performance the success of any arable crops depended would have been a significant focal point. All the sites that have evidence of the everyday are situated around the edge of the plain on the higher ground. The practical advantages of this are obvious: safeguarding homes from incursions of water if the dam was breached. On sites that had been inhabited previously, when the water was not controlled, the worry of heavy unseasonable rains may have prayed heavily on the minds of the occupants. Being at the edge also gave the advantage of a view across the plain, a flat plain surrounded by mountains, a self-contained unit that could have served as a basis for group identity.

The artificial lake created by the dam and dyke would have provided another barrier, if only for part of the year, affording yet another point by which a group could define themselves – the physicality of the landscape, whether modified by humans or not, acting upon the perception people had of themselves and others. It is interesting to note that there are no sites from the area of the proposed lake except the tholos close to the line of the dyke in the east (Map 6.1), which may very well be of EH date like the one on the upper plain which seems to

be of similar construction (AR 1996-7, p.33). If the water was controlled and confined so that a lake was created at least seasonally, then the area of the lake would have been an uninhabitable zone, a physical barrier to the eastern part of the plain and separating it from the southern plain aided by the hill of Orchomenos. However, the communities living in both would also have been connected through hydraulic works that required the cooperation of those who resided there. Such relations of cooperation could cut across boundaries associated with territory and would have been necessary to practice transhumance as well as maintain hydraulic works and sinkholes (Morgan 2003 p.169). Moreover, whilst these activities required compromise and cooperation, they could also be sources of conflict (Thucydides 5.65.4)

The activities that the findspots at Orchomenos, Vlacherna-Plessa, Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios and Kandhila-Bikiza represent are unknowable. However, of course, people's activities do not stop at the 'site' edge; they go beyond and across such boundaries. If the question is whether people walked across these spots or visited the summit of Orchomenos then the answer must surely be yes, but what they were doing there we can only speculate upon, based on current evidence. Individuals within communities would have been familiar with their surroundings, walking across parts of them on a daily basis. They would have ventured further afield, travelling to the Mainalon for activities such as hunting, maybe at certain times of the year more than others, the catch from which may have formed a significant part of their diet. Findspots and scatters found today may be the result of a fleeting visit, passing across the place, or only a very limited quantity of the results of repeated or prolonged activity. It is prudent to think beyond each scatter as representing a permanent residence as is often assumed by describing such dots on maps as settlements (e.g. Knauss' 'siedlung' 1989, p.117). As stated above, people or groups may have been divided by the lake, the bounded plains serving as a physical entity in and on which group identity could be formed. However,

it may also be that the sites in the lower plain signify temporary activity, and that the people whose behavioural residue we see, were the same as those who lived at the more substantial settlement at Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos. A group or part of the group may have been itinerant, if even over short distances, especially before any water control measures were taken. They may have stayed for the summer seasons on the plain, when the risk of flooding was low, returning with successful harvests before the plain turned into marsh or lake for the winter. When the decision was made to control the water, perhaps when harvests had been ruined too many times, it was part of the same group who settled there. The ties of kin and friendship would stretch over generations and help keep cooperation alive.

Video clip 5: from summit of Orchomenos (Fig.6.10)

Therefore, despite the fact that the outlook from the site of Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos is towards the southeast, people living here would have walked up to Pyrgos and beyond. The community would have known what was around the corner and over the hill and would have recognised the people who resided there. Some may even have been related. It would have been a prerequisite for them to cooperate in order to create the complex of hydraulic works that we believe was put in place, especially to create a habitable and farmable plain near Kaphyae, or one that was reliably so, even if they themselves were not to benefit directly. In the light of the hydraulic works postulated for the eastern plains further south at Mantinea (see Case Study B) and Tegea, and those further north at Pheneos and Stymphalos (see Case Study C and Chapter 5), it was likely that people from this whole region communicated readily, passing on knowledge and expertise, even giving assistance. Differing levels of obligation may have existed across territorial boundaries associated with the land (Morgan 2003, Ch.4).

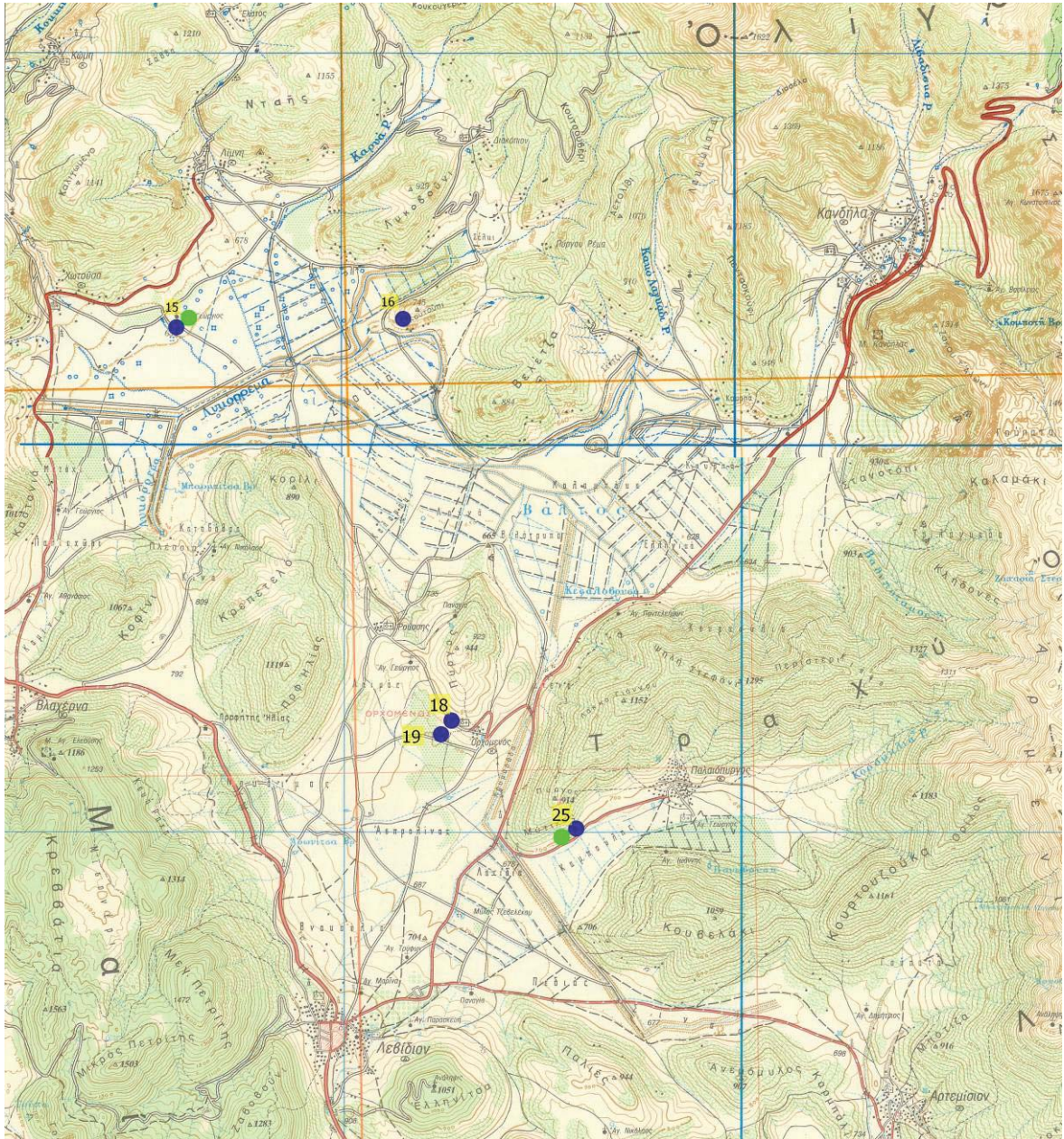
The katavothras around which much of these works were focused, the channelling of water to them and keeping them clear of debris, must have figured heavily in the mythology of the

area. For people who lived in a similar physical landscape a shared mythology developed that was directly informed by it. The stories associated with Herakles are testament to this (Salowey 1994; Morgan 2003, p.170). This mythology would have permeated the everyday where such modern abstract divisions between the sacred and secular come crashing down. This shared mythology, this apprehension of the surroundings in which they all lived, would have bonded groups. The very materiality of the landscape, what it meant to those living within it and the shared experience of it, may have formed a coherence to the eastern regions of Arkadia, a coherence that can be seen in later quasi- and true historical records (e.g. Homer *Il* 2: 603-14). In this way, there may have been an ‘Arkadian’ identity, as far back as the LBA, at least in the eastern plains, a cohesiveness that has been recognised in the material record from the G period, reflected in Homer (*Il*. 2 603-614) and found in the epigraphic and literary sources of later times (Morgan 1999, p.382; Nielsen 1999). In addition, the prominence of the Mainalon range in the viewshed of many sites, such as that of Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos, would have been highly significant in a developing sense of ‘Arkadianness’ that encompassed the whole region of ancient Arkadia, beyond a community’s immediate surroundings, accepting that boundaries and definitions of such would have been fluid and negotiable.

The PG period is characterised for the most part by a relatively few pieces of undiagnostic material and it may well lead us to interpret the Orchomenos plains as being all but deserted (Map 6.3). It is not clear what the decrease in number of sites in Arkadia and regions such as the Argolid (Wright 1990, p.645) and Messenia (Wells 1996) actually represent (see above) nor is it possible to know how events surrounding the end of Mycenaean Civilisation affected Arkadia. However, the telling of stories deeply rooted to the landscape may have cemented ties between diminishing populations at the end of the BA. Perhaps people moving through or wanting to create a new life where they now found themselves had disturbed these

populations. Conflicts were perhaps inevitable and in some instances, individuals may have felt impelled to join the travellers in a move to find a new place, or a new way of life, that was less tied to an unpredictable land. Those staying behind would have kept old stories alive. Conceivably, at a time when labour was diminished, breached dams could not be repaired in time for the next wet season, or perhaps no one was left to teach the new generation how to do it effectively. If communities were significantly reduced then the requirement for reclaiming land for arable farming would also have been reduced. Individuals or groups may have passed through on occasion, communicating knowledge to other individuals or groups they met by chance or to whom they were travelling. New people arriving may have heard the old stories and myths and saw the by now old remains. Alternatively, perhaps a new generation of the old population had been inspired from tales elsewhere that they found applicable to themselves, tales of heroes. It may have taken an exceptional individual to think that if their ancestors could have lived in substantial settlements on the plain, then they could do so again. To begin a process of regeneration, the starting point would have been the gods; the spirits that lived in the landscape that inhabited the natural places, the springs, the rivers, the sinkholes, the mountains – all places where we see evidence of early religious ritual (see Chapter 4). The significant evidence from sanctuary sites may reflect a real concern with propitiating the gods in order to embark on what was conceived of as a new beginning. Not a beginning that commenced at the same chronological point in all areas of Arkadia or Greece as a whole, but acts by individuals or communities that inspired and spiralled, acting back upon communities that were in contact with one another. Maybe we should not underestimate the now traditional theory (Coldstream 1976) that the Homeric poems circulating at the time were a catalyst, or perhaps served as reinforcement. This did not need to be a one-way movement, but a phenomenon that was constantly being reworked. Different understandings would have been created and changed, one group seeing significance in some tales more than

others did, embellishing and adding, bringing the tales back and finding relevance within in them for their own groups, families and communities.



Map 6.3: sites of the PG (green dots) and G (blue dots) on the Orchomenos plains (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000, Tripolis and Kandhila sheets).

15: Khotoussa-Ayios Yioryios, 16: Kandhila-Bikiza, 18: Orchomenos - Kalpakion church; 19: Orchomenos c – peripteral building; 25: Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos – possibly evidence at shrine.

6.4.2: Case Study B: The Mantinean Plain (Map 6.4)

From the site of Merkovouni-Ayiolias (32) the view to the north, east and south is expansive, despite the trees that grow there today, and it is still appreciated in the most dismal of days (Fig.6.12; Transcript 2 below). The evidence from this site consists of a scatter of N, EH, MH, LH and Classical sherds. Whilst the sherds testify to activity of some sort at various intervals over a long period of time, the position of the hill on which they were found lends support to the idea of the site being a place of habitation whether permanent or semi-permanent. It is certainly considered by Knauss to be a settlement, at least in the LBA (1989, p.108). In the plain below, situated at the narrowest part, are the remains of a dam (33) identified by both Nineteenth century antiquarians (e.g. Loring 1895, p.85) and more recently Knauss (1989). From similarities with more securely dated hydraulic constructions (e.g. Gla and Tiryns), they are generally considered to date to the LBA, like those around Orchomenos to the north. This adds further weight to the suggestion that a Mycenaean settlement existed on the hill of Merkovouni-Ayiolias: the construction and maintenance of hydraulic works would have required the cooperation of one or more communities, and would only have been undertaken if it were to benefit these communities.

Video clip 6: Merkovouni – Ayiolias

Transcript 2: Merkovouni-Ayiolias

At Merkovouni having an early evening walk up to the top. It's raining, wonderful. Starting at the bottom of the hill, we're going to walk up to the top to where Howell found the sherds. Looking back you can see the whole of the plain, all the way down towards Tegea and beyond. We are starting from quite high up so there's already a good view of the plain. Well, if the trees weren't in the way. The view at the top is really quite incredible in spite of the rain. Of course being elevated means less chance of getting caught up in floods, for which this area is well known, not so much today though. Across from here, I can see to the NE and Kapnistra, on the other side of which is the plain of Loukas, which I cannot see. To the north is the expanse of the Mantinean plain and the Artemision range in the distance and to the south the plain of Tegea. I cannot see, but I am aware of the Mainalon behind me, especially in this thunderstorm. It feels very much as if we are situated in the middle. Cannot see Ptolis Gortsouli from here, not in this weather anyway, but its there somewhere, to the north. I actually love this weather, when you can hear the birds too and the thunder in the background, very elemental, even though I am soaking.



Fig.6.12: view from Merkouvouni-Ayiolias (photo: author).



Fig.6.13: view of the Mantinean plain from Ptolis-Gortsouli (photo: author)

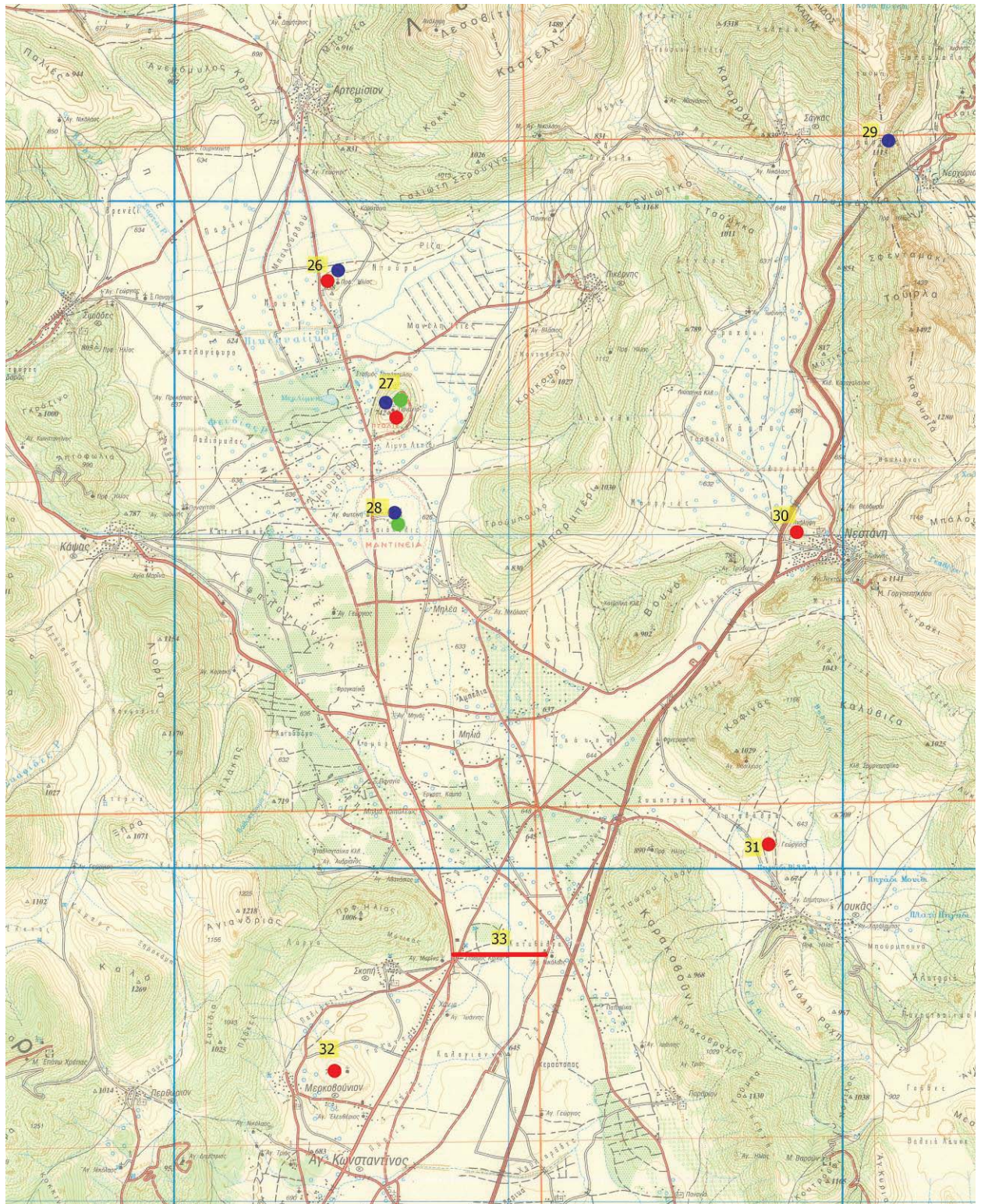




Fig.6.14: view of Ptolis from Artemision-Ayios Elias looking to the S (photo: author).

Towards the northern end and at the edge of the wide plain of Mantinea is the site of Ptolis (27) (Fig.6.14), located on the isolated rounded hill of Gortsouli, just north of walls of the ancient city of Mantinea. From the summit of this hill, the views are wide-ranging, obscured only by the Mainalon range to the west (Fig.6.13). To the north, the Anchisia hills are visible, as are the Artemision range to the east and the Tegean plain to the south, which stretches as far as the eye can see beyond the modern town of Tripolis. Ptolis-Gortsouli has significant evidence for Mycenaean habitation with reports of a Cyclopean wall standing on the upper eastern side as well as numerous sherds (Hope-Simpson 1964, n.87; Howell 1970, n.11). Karayiorya excavated the site in 1962, uncovering evidence that indicated the hill had been used by people from the late Neolithic and unearthing a later sanctuary which showed evidence of worship from the G period (eighth century BCE). Only one piece of PG ware has been found (Howell 1970, n.11) that breaks a hiatus from the twelfth to the eighth century BCE. Despite Mazaraki-Ainian's assertion (1997, p.336) that G evidence also points to habitation, Archaeological Reports (1993-4, p.17) states that from the eighth century BCE, the

hill appears to have been reserved for a cult and associated rituals until Early Imperial times. In addition, both Morgan (1999, p.390) and Voyatzis (1999, p.133) believe that from the 8th century the hill had a specifically sacred function (see Chapter 4).

Just to the north of the hill of Gortsouli is the site of Artemision-Ayios Yioryios (26). It is very similar in its physical nature and setting, an isolated hill to the edge of the plain although lower in altitude. This hill however has only two pottery sherds that have been identified as Mycenaean, clearly not enough to interpret as evidence of settlement and very little from other periods to suggest such either (Howell 1970, p.10). Quite what this evidence should be interpreted as is difficult to judge, but of course, people were not confined to their settlements. The hill today is wooded and from the summit, nothing can be seen of the surrounding landscape due to the Aleppo pines, which are a relatively recent addition (cf Nestani-Paniyiristra (30); Howell 1970, n.14), although the hill may very well have been wooded in the past. In the G period, the site became reserved for burials, interestingly at a time when Ptolis-Gortsouli seems to have been reserved for religious purposes (see chapter 5).

What I am asserting here, especially in the case of Ptolis-Gortsouli and Artemision-Ayios Yioryios is a change in organisation of the landscape in which people lived and thus the relationship they had with it from the LBA to the EIA. G evidence suggests a separation of roles and 'events' that is not found in the LBA. As has been argued by Mazarakis-Ainian (1997, p.290), in the LBA, religious activity was located close to habitation, within a settlement or often sharing the chieftain or leader's dwelling, and for this reason it appears to have had much more integration into daily life and the landscape in general appears to have been more accessible. It was perhaps socially acceptable to move through and over different areas, which were not partitioned nor controlled in the way they seem to have been in the G period. Boundaries between people and places were more fluid, dictated only by the physical

constraints, such as the mountains, the changing watercourses and the efficiency of the katavothra in draining the plain. This fluidity, however, could have been drastically altered when the dam was built, and the realisation that the elements could be controlled in this way may have raised awareness of the possibility that control could be imposed on other aspects of dwelling in the landscape. The materiality of the dam, a boundary built for practical purposes at the narrowest part of the plain, paved the way for boundaries between people, their identities and relations with one another. Communities either lived to the north or to the south of the dam; on the Mantinean or Tegean plain – names and identities that are not inherent but acquired, created by the people who dwelt there. The materiality of the landscape was enhanced by the materiality of the structure, having agency of its own, and acted upon the people who experienced it in their day-to-day lives

From the available evidence, it seems there was little activity in the region from the end of the LBA until the G period; PG sherds found on Ptolis and on the site of the later town of Mantinea, may suggest little other than that the area was not entirely deserted. People may have passed through, either living a more mobile seasonally routine-based life within the eastern plains and mountains of central Arkadia, or moving through to settle elsewhere, from Messenia or other regions that had been particularly affected by the unsettled times at the end of the BA. Those choosing to settle here on the Mantinean plain in the G period, who assigned Artemis-Ayios Yioryios for burials and Ptolis-Gortsouli for religious worship, did so whilst acknowledging the past that they could see around them. The substantial remains of walls on Gortsouli, presumably more upstanding in the eighth century BCE than they are today, could have prompted the decision to define this hill as a sacred place at a time when hero-cult was evident and Homeric epic was circulating (Chapter 4). In addition, if populations were new, then emerging elites aligning themselves with appropriated ancestors could justify claims to power. Access to sacred places would now be controlled to preserve

and enhance the sanctity of the place and those in authority. No longer was the landscape open and accessible. The hill of Artemision-Ayios Ilias, where there was little sign of the past, may have suggested itself as an appropriate burial ground, having no sign of past life. The remains of the dam, that may well have fallen into disrepair at the end of the BA could have suggested the boundary between, or reinforced the truth of, the separate identities of those living to the south on the Tegean plain and those to the north. In support of this is the evidence from the earliest phases of the sanctuary of Artemis on Ptolis and the Temples of Athena Alea at Tegea. Despite the fact that Tegea manufactured its own votives and transported them far and wide (Morgan, 1999: 390; Voyatzis, 1990: 87-89, 203, 208, 220-222, 254, 1995: 277) those at Ptolis, immediately to the north, show very little similarity. Those living on the Mantinean plain, as a way of expressing their unique identity, actively rejected bronzes made at Tegean workshops.

These early 'Mantineans' inhabited an easily definable landscape that enabled a new or growing population to assert its control on their territory, where the elite could appropriate the past and impose control thus mapping the 'new' order on their surroundings. It has been proposed that G settlements would have been scattered on the plain (Morgan 1999, 390). The people who worshipped at Gortsouli and buried their dead on Artemision would need to have lived somewhere in the vicinity, if this were the case. The plain was the landscape of the everyday, the hills around associated with religious and sacred rituals enacted during worship and burial of the dead. The hills, however, would also have been part of the everyday, perhaps viewed and apprehended to various extents, serving to remind those tilling their fields, droving their flocks, meeting with friends and family, cooking, creating, or teaching their children, of the order of their reality, reinforcing the mythological and cosmological beliefs of their community.

6.4.3: Case Study C: Loukas-Ayios Yioryios and Nestani-Paniyiristra (Map 6.4).

The small plain of Loukas (31) is bounded by mountains on the northern, eastern and southern sides with open and easy access from the west and the plain of Mantinea, of whose territory it later becomes a part (Hodkinson 1981, p.244). It is approximately three kilometres north to south and four kilometres east to west. Running north from the present village of Louka is a ridge, which almost splits the plain into two halves, as can be seen in Fig.6.15. It was on this ridge that Howell (1970, p.88 n.16) discovered a “fair number of Mycenaean sherds” alongside a few coarse Middle Helladic and later Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine sherds. The Mycenaean sherds were dated to LHIIIA-B by Hope-Simpson & Dickinson (1979, p.79, B17). Under the present day church of Ayios Yioryios (Fig.6.16) are the remains of a Hellenistic tower, the likes of which are seen elsewhere in the Mantinike (Mytika and Mt. Stravomyti in Hodkinson & Hodkinson 1981, p.244), thus giving further evidence of its association with the later town of Mantinea.



Fig.6.15: View of ridge of Loukas – Ayios Yioryios (photo: author).



Fig.6.16: View along ridge to church of Ayios Yioryios looking to the north (photo: author).

Transcript 3: Conversation with Anne Teather at Loukas Ayios Yioryios.

C ... We are standing on a long ridge coming from village of Louka coming from one side of the plain - the south stretching to north with magnificent views across the plain to the west and the interior of Arkadia and similar views across the other side to the east to the.... To the west there is lots of low cloud hovering across the plain, but the Mainalon is still visible through it.

A...that way (pointing to North) we have mountains so the ridge really divides the plain, maybe two or three miles to the entrance (west) and to the east maybe 1 ½, two? And directly in front of you, behind the ridge that we are on almost seems to form part of the mountains behind, so it really divides the plain.

C...the thing is this is completely natural. It is a completely natural ridge that presumably has been chosen throughout many periods precisely because of the kind of advantages it has because you have this incredible view of the surroundings.

A...It is so much lower than the mountains around

C...well that is the kind of thing you find. All of these hills that are on the edge of the plains that may very well have been used for settlement in the Late Bronze Age, they are all lower than the main mountain ranges, making them accessible yet defensible if needs be and that you can see.

A ... it really looked like the church was on a ridge isolated, but quite a different perspective when you are up here. If you were approaching from the west coming east, this would look more separate

C...There is an obvious importance of being able to see all around, there is also sound and how it travels, the importance of sound and how it travels especially towards the east, where it is bowl shaped and is like a natural amphitheatre. And there were two vehicles driving and you could hear them quite clearly, also can hear animals all around, and cars quite far away, and so the importance of being aware of what neighbours might be doing, or who might be approaching, not just the defensive kind of context,

A....but gatherings and ceremonies, sound would travel.

C... then that's about how the sound would travel from this point to the rest, which it would because it would bounce off the hills all around, so again, there was an animal figurine found here, often associated with 'ritual' activity. There are issues of seeing and being seen, and hearing and being heard...

Video clip 7: Loukas-Ayios Yioryios

The LBA evidence has been taken to indicate Mycenaean habitation including as it does both fine ware (*kylix* stems) and coarse ware (cooking pot legs) in addition to an animal figurine. The idea of a Mycenaean settlement at this site is also supported by a proposed settlement pattern in Eastern Arkadia, which has a single settlement and surrounding plain or part of a plain, which is assumed to be under its control – the territory of the site (Salavoura 2005). It is certainly possibly that habitation of some sort is represented by the evidence at this site, but through a closer examination of the landscape in which it is situated, the possibilities of what living in this particular place may have meant can be entertained without necessarily relying on, or stopping at, notions of a political and/or economic territory.

What becomes immediately apparent whilst standing on the ridge by the church of Ayios Yioryios is how the plain is physically bounded on three sides, apart from that to the west as described above (see Transcript 3 and Video clip 7 above). This creates a natural theatre, the acoustics of which are quite astounding. The amplification of sounds from other parts of the plain means that sounds such as vehicles and cockerels from quite a distance away are clearly audible. I attempted to capture the nature of this, but unfortunately the sound quality of the resulting video clip is very poor (see accompanying CD). Nevertheless, the notion of the travelling of sound as well as the visible prominence of a ridge practically cutting the plain in half brings to mind ideas of performance. Not only would the sound of approaching visitors, friend or foe, be heard probably before being seen, especially in inclement weather as is often experienced even during the summer months, the sound created by activity on the ridge would be projected around the plain and through the western ‘entrance’ (Fig.6.17). On moving toward the ridge, depending on the activity taking place, increasing detail would become discernable as the individual or group approached. Activity on the ridge may have changed as people neared, especially if the forward movement took place in a prescribed manner.



Fig.6.17: View from ridge to the west showing the plain of Louka and Mantinean plain beyond (photo: author).

This plain and this site therefore could very well have held special importance in the locality because of the sound quality and stage-like nature of the ridge and surrounding arena. People living in and around the plains of Nestane and Mantinea would have heard the sounds of everyday activities taking place here. However, perhaps these people were specifically ‘beckoned’ by noise that was produced, expected at and associated with certain times of the year, for example harvest, movement of herds and flocks, everyday or seasonal activities that would have been accompanied by ritual. In addition, ceremonies associated with life events such as marriage, initiation, death, or the summer and winter solstices, could have been important. There could have been a two way process where people occupying the ridge could be seen and heard by those on plain who, in turn, could be seen and heard by those above. There may indeed have been a community for whom this ridge was home all year round; indeed the plain, being higher than the connecting plain of Nestane would not have suffered as greatly from flooding, and therefore more suitable for arable farming (Pausanias 8.7.1). However, how this place was used may have always been unavoidably tied closely to other aspects of the immediate landscape. Such uses could have included greater numbers of

people at certain times, a meeting place for a particular purpose when not only that intention was fulfilled, (a celebration and thanks for harvest), but when also information was exchanged, relationships renewed, disputes settled, friendships cemented and gods worshipped. The sacred and the profane were neither separate nor disconnected.

Close by, approximately five kilometres distant, the site of Nestani-Paniyiristra (30) (Map 6.3) also gives opportunity to look at aspects of the landscape, although evidence for the period in question is dubious. Sherds of the early Mycenaean period LHI-II have been found, but none from any later periods until Classical and Hellenistic times. However, near the eastern gateway, walls incorporated into the later Hellenistic fortifications associated with Philip II were considered Mycenaean in character by Hope Simpson (1965, p.39, 40 site 88) and a copious spring on the rocky hill was taken as additional support for the place being home to a Mycenaean settlement. It may well be that the Hellenistic walls followed, to some extent, those of the LBA.

What is particularly striking about the landscape surrounding Nestani-Paniyiristra is the prominent outcrop of Kentraki to the southeast, just below which is the Monastery of Yoryoepikosi and the modern village of Nestani (see Fig.6.18). This is a rock, which through its imposing qualities invites speculation on possible attachment to myth and legend, visible and recognisable from the surrounding area. Even without activity between 1300 and 700BCE on the site of ancient Nestane of the Classical and Hellenistic period, this feature of the landscape would have been part of peoples' knowledge and understanding of the area as they moved through it. What is noticeable about this particular feature in relation to the site of Nestani- Paniyiristra is how the well-preserved eastern gateway seems to mimic the rock. It appears to be aligned very closely to it, which is exaggerated by the ruined nature of the walls, but reconstructed both features still share an angle (Fig.6.19 and Fig.6.20). If this was

not purposeful, it may still have acquired such a correspondence as people approached the gateway and looked up. If then this gateway and fortifications of the Hellenistic period followed those of an earlier LBA period, then this connection with the physical landscape could have been a feature at this earlier time, a way of harnessing the strength and permanence of the rock of Kentraki to permeate the walls of a settlement.



Fig.6.18: Rock of Kentraki to the SE of Nestani-Paniyiristra (photo: author).



Fig.6.19 and Fig.6.20: View of the rock of Kentraki in association with the later gateway (photos: author).

Such a prominent feature would be significant in daily-life and part of a pre-consciousness. In a plain prone to flooding, as testified by Pausanias (8.7.1), the permanence of this rock and mountain may have been exaggerated by the seasonal ebb and flow of water before it. Present is the immutability of the land on one hand and variability on the other, perhaps reflecting a perceived notion or hope of the continuation and steadfastness of the group or community in contrast to lifecycles of people and seasons. If there were a Mycenaean settlement on Paniyiristra, it was physically placed between Kentraki and the plain, the whole of which could have been seen along with the advancing and receding waters (Fig.6.21).



Fig.6.21: view from Nestani-Paniyiristra across the plain (photo: author).



Fig.6.22: View to north and Mt Kyllene across the Stymphalian plain from the site of Ayios Konstantinos, possibly 'Old Stymphalia' (photo: author).

6.3.4: Case Study D: NE Arkadia – Stymphalos and Pheneos (Map 6.5)

On the plain of Stymphalos, evidence is limited as there are only four sites pertaining to the everyday and two of these are hydraulic works. From the site of ancient Stymphalos (1), there are only approximately four sherds of LH date discovered through both excavation and surface finds (Hector Williams pers. comm.; Howell 1970, n.41; Hope Simpson 1965, p.38 n.84; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, p.84 B35). These have been dated more specifically to the LH IIIA (two *kylix* stems) and LHIIIB (two body sherds from an angular bowl) (Hope Simpson, 1965 p.38 no.84). From Karterion–Ayios Konstantinos (4) (Fig.6.22), a site to south west on the opposite side of the plain and past the katavothra to the west, a few possible sherds of G date (alongside some Archaic and Classical sherds) were found. This is the site of a possible temple or ‘Old Stymphalia’ as described by Pausanias (8.22.1; Howell 1970, n.41; Knauss 1990, p.46; Michopoulou 2004, p.43). There is also the possibility that some of the earth works in the plain today correspond to hydraulic works (sites 2 and 3 Map 6.5 below) constructed in the BA according to Knauss (1990 *passim*), but so far no artefactual evidence has come to light in support of this theory (Hector Williams, pers. comm. 30/09/2003). However, in light of other such constructions to the south in the plains of Orchomenos, Mantinea and Tegea, it seems likely that in similar physical settings where communities faced the same problems with control of water, they would have found similar solutions (see above Case Study A and B).

Around the plain of Pheneos, apart from the dam and channel (sites 7 and 8), there are four sites, all with a limited amount of evidence, yet the physical setting for each is unlike that for any of the others. Not only does this suggest different uses and different purposes, but also by and through these very uses, people and their communities would have forged various attachments to their environments.



Map 6.5: plains of Pheneos and Stymphalos (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000 Kandhila sheet).
 1: Ancient Stymphalos; 2: NE dam; 3: SW dam; 4: Karterion-Ayios Konstantinos; 5: Lafka tholos; 6: Ancient Pheneos, 7: dam ; 8: channel; 9: Ayios Kharalambos; 11: Lakkomata, 12 Tsoukka.

At the site of ancient Pheneos (6), underneath and to the north of the 2nd century BCE Asklepeion on the SE slopes of the southern hill, excavations in the late 1950s and early 1960s uncovered a complete sequence covering the Middle Helladic. Also unearthed were Mycenaean levels dating to the LHIIIA2-B (Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, p.122, B34) (Protonotariou-Dheilaki 1961-2, p.60; 1965 p.158). Both Howell and Hope Simpson report Mycenaean sherds all over the hill and Howell also found a few possible G sherds (Howell 1970, n.40; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, B34). More recent survey work (Tausend & Erath 1999) has identified a further three and possibly four sites in other parts of the plain in addition to the hydraulic works posited as Mycenaean in construction by Knauss (1990).



Fig.6.23: apsidal structure 1 side view looking W (photo: author).



Fig.6.24: apsidal structure 3 looking to N (photo: author).



Fig.6.25: apsidal structure 1, curved end looking to S (photo: author).

Just to the south of the ancient Pheneos site, on the hill of Tsoukka (12), on the western side of the plain, the remains of apsidal buildings were discovered (Tausend & Erath 1999, p.219) although not yet excavated. It is possible to discern three large apsidal house 'platforms' parallel to one another with the curved end facing to the south and towards what has been described as a natural entrance way (Fig.6.23-6.25). Apsidal houses are known throughout the period in various parts of Greece as was stated earlier (see also Coldstream 2003, p.304, p.316 n.5 & n.6). A number of sherds were found around the structures. These sherds, together with the knowledge of similar structures in the Peloponnese, point to a LBA date for their construction and use, if not a little earlier.

From Tsoukka it is possible to see across the plain of Pheneos in all directions, north to the site of ancient Pheneos and south to the katavothra. It may have been the south that held greater importance as it is here that a natural 'entrance way' through two jutting rocks is situated (Fig.6.26). This frames the katavothra and, in yet another plain prone to flooding, it may have been the effect of the sinkhole, on which the height of the waters in the plain depended, that formed the focus of the seasonal changes in the surrounding landscape. Both this site and ancient Pheneos to the north could very well have been inhabited at the same time, maybe by two distinct groups (family, kin), or on the contrary could have been used for different purposes by the same group. The southeast slopes of the southern hill at ancient Pheneos may very well have been affected by floods during the winter months making the higher ground of the site at Tsoukka a more agreeable place to reside. Even during a period where we assume permanent settlements, we should not forget the possibility of seasonal movement even within quite a small area, especially in a landscape that could change dramatically.



Fig.6.26: 'entrance' at Tsoukka (photo: author).

Another site, Ayios Kharalambos (9) has evidence dating to the LBA and G periods with BA coarse ware similar to that found at Tsoukka (Tausend & Erath 1999, p.199, p.219; Fig.6.27). Evidence from the LH period however is limited to two fragments, one of which is LH IIIB (Tausend & Erath 1999, p.212). This site is a rocky hill rising up from the Olbios to the East. Today the church of Ayios Kharalambos stands on the summit (hence the name of the site), and it stands in a prominent position on the northern edge of the plain.

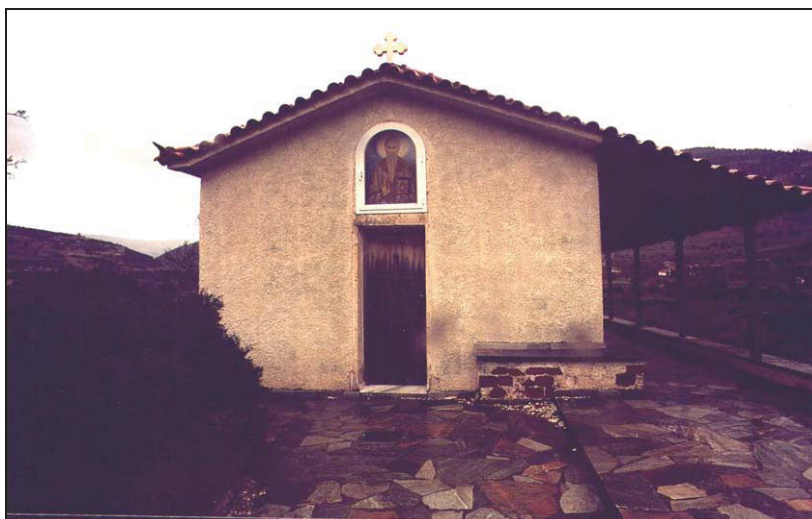


Fig.6.27: church of Ayios Kharalambos (photo: author)

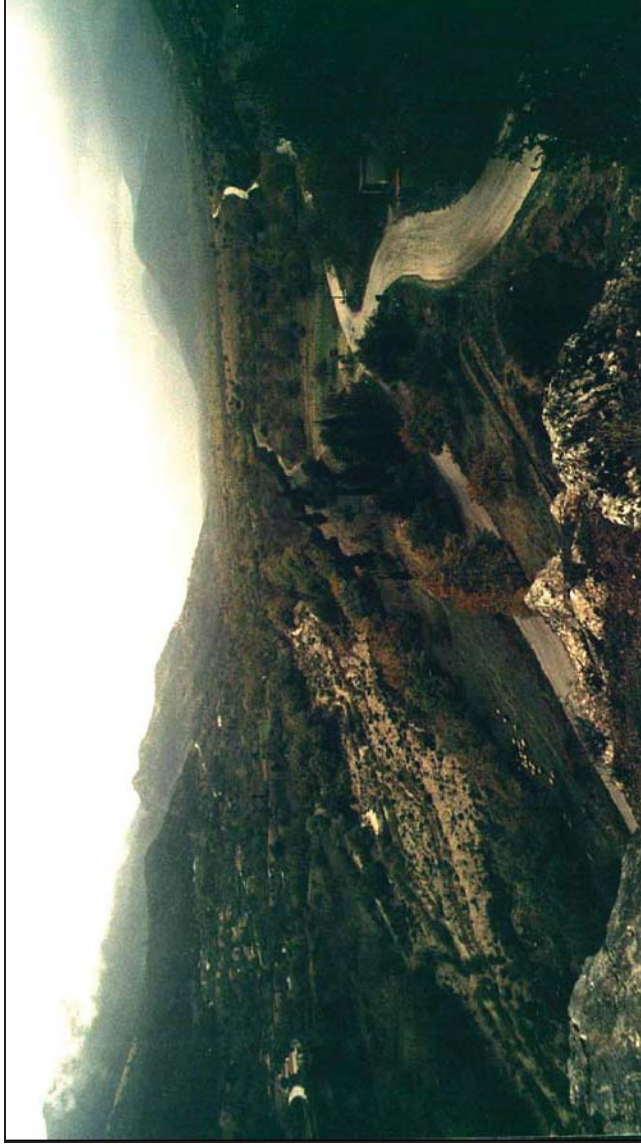


Fig.6.28: view to the south and Pheneos plain from the site (photo: author).

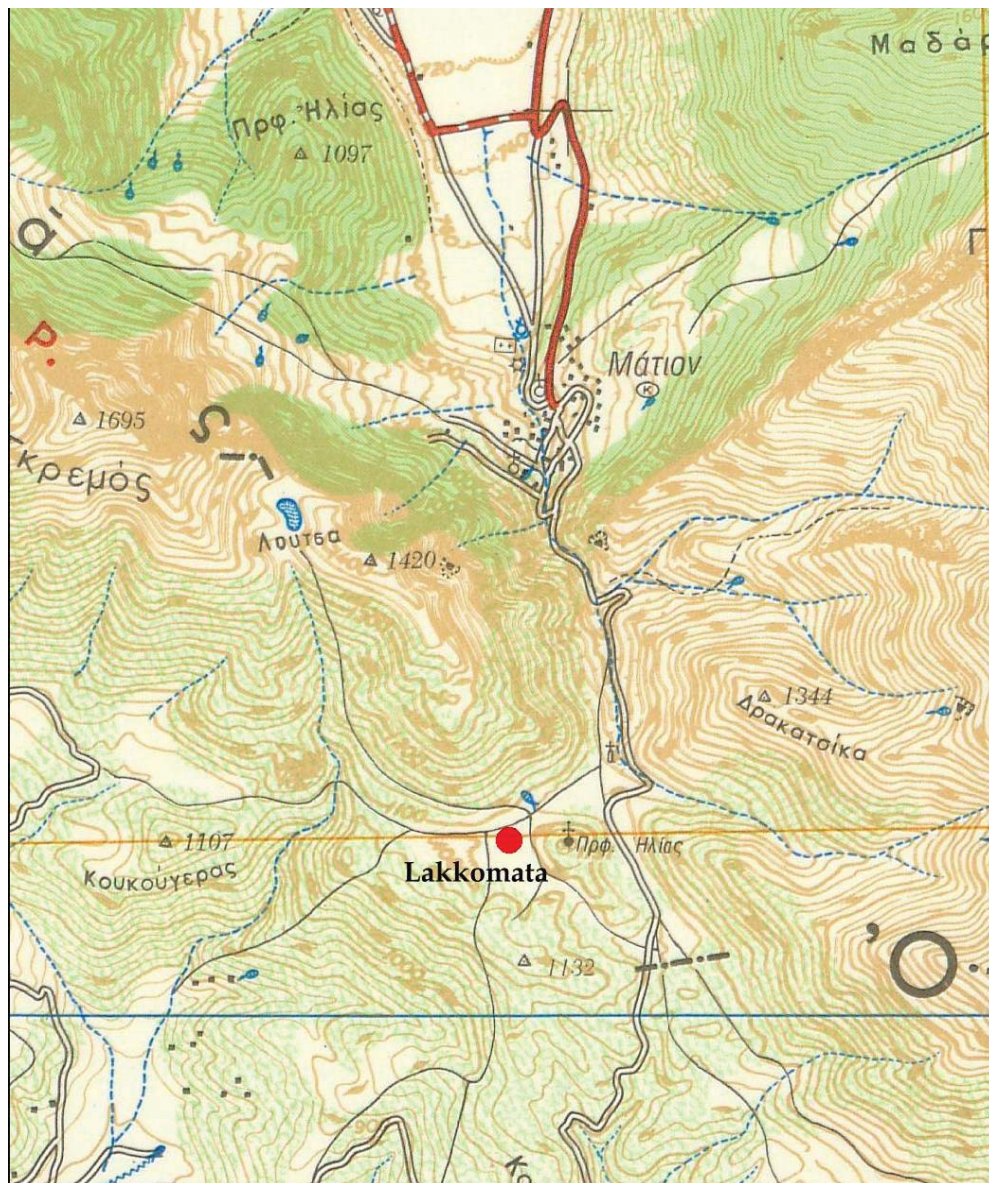


Fig.6.29: panoramic view of Lakkomata, spring centre right to NE (photo: author).

The evidence is too slight from all periods to begin to discern the nature of activity that took place here, although the landscape in which this activity was situated can indicate that an elevated position may have been advantageous and preferable in order to see and be seen (Fig.6.28). The distinctive rock may have been an invitation for groups to partake in activity, whether or not we can suggest any permanent or semi-permanent residence. Its position next to the river may be simply a matter of satisfying a basic need for water, but it may also signify a different kind of relationship with the river. Waters from the surrounding hills to the north would cascade down this river course, sometimes in a benign manner, sometimes as a raging torrent and then at other times not at all. In later Greek mythology, many rivers are personifications of gods, the river as a living and breathing being that changed in its physical manifestation, according to its moods (Brewster 1997). Such a being could drastically affect the landscape, perhaps not just at this point by Ayios Kharalambos, but also further down the plain where it would burst its banks and flood the plain. Conceivably, this was seen as the last point in which a river could be persuaded by some action not to behave in an uncooperative way.

In addition to these sites there is also evidence of activity on the mountain plateau of Lakkomata (11) (Map 6.6), situated close to the modern road and ancient pass that led from the Pheneos plain to the plain of Kaphyae (lower Orchomenos plain) to the south (see Fig.6.28). Here sherds were found dating to LHIIIA and possibly LHIIIB and LHIIC, along with six Korinthian pieces, and both Archaic and Classical coarse ware and fine ware (Tausend & Erath 1999, p.228). The site is more or less surrounded on all sides by the higher peaks of Mt Kremos to the north, Koukouyeras to the west, Koutsouveri to the south and the small peak of Profitis Ilias to the east and Mount Oligyrtos beyond. What is clear from the position of this site is that views, or the need to see or be seen across distances, were not of importance (Fig.6.29). What was surely of importance was the location of the spring. By the

pass over the mountains, this place was a resting place, a haven in the hills, an in-between place that seems to have been used for millennia. It still is today as the location for a shepherd's mountain hut and corral for goats and sheep, with a chapel close by. As people and animals moved across the landscape in the summer it would have and still does provide shelter from the sun, in the winter some shelter from the rain and always from the winds. Continuing a journey, the turn of a corner, when the whole plain either of Pheneos on one side or Kaphyae (Lower Orchomenos plain) on the other, would have signalled the final leg.



Map 6.6: Map showing region to south of Pheneos plain and location of site of Lakkomata (11) (source: Hellenic Military Map Service 1:50 000 Kandhila sheet).

6.5: Conclusions

This chapter serves well as the last of three that have investigated aspects of landscape and the way in which people are thoroughly enmeshed within their environments. The case studies in particular have brought together many strands that have been introduced in previous chapters, where everyday lives are as connected with religion and death as they are with mundane activities. Secularisation of the past is very much a modern activity (King, 2003). The evidence and explorations have shown that there were adaptations and changes throughout the period. People moved, lived and settled in various ways at various times. Certain aspects of the landscape figure more heavily in one period than they do in another, reflecting the different concerns and thus experiences of communities at various times.

The everyday evidence of LH period in Arkadia originates from forty-six sites (table 6.1), sixteen of which have been interpreted as 'settlement' at some time (e.g. Howell 1970; Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979). The typical type of Mycenaean settlement in Arkadia has been considered as located on the top of steep sided hills (Salavoura 2005), and this certainly appears to be the case in the eastern plains. Of the sixteen described as settlements, however, only seven can be described to be on steep-sided hills. For example, those in the Asea Valley are certainly not except for Kato Asea-Palaiokastro (45), and that at Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25) is located on the slopes and spreads down into the Upper Orchomenos plain. Again, it is the general that needs to be balanced by the particular; otherwise, a wealth of evidence becomes lost. In terms of settlement, it proves exceedingly problematic to discuss the other periods and thus it has served well to break down the barriers between the everyday, religion and death in order to investigate, for example, the Mantinean plain for the G period through a consideration of the evidence from the hill of Gortsouli (Ptolis) and Artemision-Ayios Ilias.

Nonetheless, in terms of altering perceptions throughout the period, in the LBA, there is a noteworthy concern with the behaviour of water shown by the position of sites. Although dating is not accurate, settlements may have been founded at a time when the hydraulic works were not yet constructed and so were located above flood lines. Continuity of community ensured continuity of inhabitation or use at sites, even after various dams had been built and the water controlled. The sites that are situated around the lower Orchomenos plain for example, may be the result of activity associated with a need to be close by, to be able to attend to the dynamics of the plain in a similar way to that suggested by Mark Gillings in South East Hungary (Gillings 2005). It may be expected that the plains would flood, in Gillings' terms, a potential, as opposed to an actual, affordance, but the exact timing would not be known unless close surveillance was carried out. It would have been through detailed knowledge of the activities of the katavothras and the patterns of flooding over many years that would enable communities to construct dams in the right places, for the right reasons.

As the period progressed, the behaviour of water on the plains was still certainly attended to, and writers including Pausanias talk of the katavothras and various inundations (8.7.1; 8.14.1-3; 8.22.3). Thucydides too describes the battle of Mantinea (385BCE) which was won by a Spartan general Agesipolis by manipulating the river Ophis (see also Pausanias. 8.8.6). In addition, he states (5.64.4) that the control of water between the territories of Mantinea and Tegea was so contentious that it was the cause of war between them. The physical properties of the landscape would have informed divisions perceived between peoples. Groups were acting against and with the agency of 'nature'. Their attempts to control it gave definition to their identity. As stated above, the physical barrier of a dam between what was to become the territories of Mantinea and Tegea would have made manifest the division between people. Maybe such a structure encouraged it in the first place, but suggested already by the narrowing of the plain at Mytikas.

Perhaps with growing communities from the G period onwards and new ways of living, the landscape was divided into roles as much as the people who populated it were. A growing population who were making a plain more inhabitable would have allowed settlement to exist upon it. In addition, where one community controlled the whole area, the need to be on hills that could be defended was negated. Even in periods where warfare and skirmishes were rife, the old places were not sufficient in size. They may have had particular associations, memories, and myths attached to them, so that they could not be used as places of settlement again. These ideas can be seen in terms of new social structures, to be associated with the emergence of the *polis*. It is still possible to discuss traditional problems and accept old ideas, but approaching from an angle that humanises the explanation, and one that begins to take notice of the places in which such changes occurred.

PART 3

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Much of the work in this thesis could be framed as an answer to the question “why were particular locations chosen for past activity rather than others?” (cf Tilley 1994, p.1). If there has not been one answer for each site, in each time and place, then there is no apology for this. The study is an exploration, an exercise in interpretation, an immersion in the landscape of a particular area where people chose to act at particular points of time in the past. What this thesis has done is bring out the diversity of the Arkadian landscape, the diversity of sites within it and the diversity of use throughout the time frame in question. In this final chapter, I summarize what the research presented here has achieved (Section 7.2), followed by a debate into what may be considered potential problems and how these have been resolved in order to legitimise the approach (Section 7.3). The chapter, and therefore the thesis, concludes with a précis of the value of the study and its worthwhile in understanding the early history and society of Greece as whole.

7.2: Arkadia in Transition

Although this study is entitled Arkadia in Transition, in reference to a particular time and place, it can be rightly argued that all life is in transition on a day-to-day basis. Not only are people dynamic, but landscapes too are in a constant state of flux, in terms of both long-term geological processes and shorter-term ecological cycles (Ingold 1993, p.164). To talk about Arkadia being in transition between the LBA and the EIA is largely trite and superficial when all situations and places are seen as being in a condition of change. From the privileged 21st century viewpoint, it is possible, as Bourdieu (1977) suggested, to apprehend the sweeping changes from one century to the next and to anticipate events. The old cultural-evolutionary ideas see history as a progression from one thing to another (e.g. Morgan, 1877), a proposal which has essentially originated the idea of Arkadia in transition during the LBA and EIA; it

is the no-man's land between the Mycenaean Civilisation of the past and the Classical Civilisation to come (cf Snodgrass [1971] 2000, xxiv). Rather than considering the period and place in these terms, this work has embraced a respect for the period and the extant material evidence for what it is – the fragments of past lives, the existence of which are important and valuable for themselves, even if not to the way history has tended to see them.

One of the main points to come from this research is that although generalisations can be made, the particular should not be forgotten. From the case studies, a step back can be taken, allowing the period as whole to be grasped and changes throughout to be apprehended, but hopefully this occurs with a deeper sense of the period than would otherwise be possible. It is hoped that an appreciation of the complexity of Arkadia in the LBA and EIA can be achieved, alongside a respect for the people and an understanding of something of what it may have been like to experience these times and places. Nonetheless, through charting the differences in the places in which people engaged in activity apparent over time, enhanced by the case studies, the idea of change and transition is one that was always going to be addressed. The conclusions of each chapter have discussed ways in which change was made manifest, the transformations in the way people and communities negotiated their surroundings, worshipped their gods, (Chapter 4) treated their dead (Chapter 5) and organised themselves into settlements (Chapter 6).

For the LBA, it is postulated that settlements in Arkadia were on top of steep-sided, defensible hills (Salavoura 2005), and certainly there is a pattern of settlements situated on top of hills distinguishable on and around the Mantinean plain (Ptolis Gortsouli (27), Nestani-Paniyiristra (30), Loukas-Ayios Yioryios (31), Merkovouni-Ayioliass (32) Chapter Six). This may suggest that individual communities inhabited the plain, sharing certain aspects of it, perhaps grazing rights for example, who came together to cooperate on certain occasions,

such as to construct the hydraulic works (33) needed to make the place reliably inhabitable (Morgan 2003, chapter 4). However, through the medium of the case studies the awareness of a range of qualities and characteristics of specific landscapes have opened up the possibility that variations existed in the way settlements were apprehended by those living in the area. In this way, if Loukas-Ayios Yioryios was home to a settlement in the LBA, the qualities of this relatively small plain may have afforded this place a particular role in the activities of the wider community, and that of Nestani-Panayiristra (30), may have gained particular status because of the imposing rock towering above. Appreciating variations still, the pattern of activity in the Asea Valley is different from the 'usual', where sites, except for Kato Asea-Palaiokastro (45), are positioned on hill slopes (Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris (47)) or on the valley floor (Ayios Athenasios of Dorizas (48), Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion (49), AVS62 (79) and AVS67 (50)). In another variation, the physical landscape in the central regions is highly fragmented, thus at Karvouni-Sfakovouni (75) and Lasta-Kollinos (74), not only would there have been incredibly different vistas and ways of moving around physically, but this would have contributed to the way inhabitants of these diverse locations apprehended one another. These few examples have served to illustrate the variation that exists within one period, over a relatively small area.

For the G period, it is possible to focus on the Mantinean plain where a distinct pattern emerges in the way the land is inhabited, as shown in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Although there is limited evidence for settlement in any part of Arkadia for this period, bringing together the aspects dealt with in separate chapters allows for some consideration. In the G period, it appears that the whole plain served as the territory for one community, which, although may have been living in scattered farmsteads on the plain (Milea/Mantineia (28); Morgan 1999, 390), divided areas of it for distinct purposes. For the community to whom Ptolis was a site of religious importance, and Artemision-Ayios Ilias was a burial site, there is an apparent

need to control and divide territory into definable units. This is something very different from the pattern in the LBA.

Some sites were used continuously, such as the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (34) and perhaps Orchomenos-Palaiopyrgos (25) (Chapter 4). If activity did occur at the latter throughout the period in question, it was a use that changed in nature. Where a shrine might have once been incorporated into the fabric of the town, it stood alone as the centuries moved on. People moved away but ties were kept through the recurrence of religious practice, a site that once stood home for distant ancestors, real or appropriated. The idea of remembering ancestors and forging links with places already old in the G period is played through at sites to which people returned, such as that of Ptolis-Gortsouli (27). Here, a site with visible remains of a previous settlement was appropriated by those who choose to focus religious activity here in the 8th century, probably, but not certainly, exclusively (AR 1993-4, p.17; Voyatzis 1999, p.146). In the southeastern region, there are hints that people in the 8th century returned to LBA tombs (Chapter 5) – both at Vourvoura-Analipsis (44) and Alea Palaiokhori (40) where fragments of G material have been found in the fill of the tholoi (Antonaccio 1995, p.68; Coldstream 2003, p.356). Processions and ritual around death may have had some continuity, as argued by Cavanagh (1978), but the locations in which burials were placed changed significantly, not to mention the type from multiple to largely singular. None of the cemeteries continued in use throughout the period. In the LBA, there is a definite sense of proximity to water, seen at all the tomb sites. However, as before, the landscapes at these sites afford different qualities, characteristics that could not have been unimportant. Thus, the experience of Vourvoura-Analipsis is very different to that of Alea Palaiokhori, two sites in very close proximity to one another (Chapter 5).

If there was continuity of population in Arkadia as supported by myth and linguistic criteria (Chapter 2), then the way they approached their world and the landscapes around them certainly changed. The dialect may be strong indication that this area was unaffected by movements of various populations, but the evidence as it stands does not show an undisturbed area that prospered and flourished. Much of the myth of Arkadian autochthony (e.g. Thucydides, 1.2.3.; Herodotus, 2.171), may have been more an “ideological statement of antiquity” (Morgan 1999, p.387) than a reflection of real events. Wider influences and networks, into which the lives of the people of Arkadia were woven, played back on their lives. Decisions that people and communities made affected those in other areas. Disturbances at the end of the Bronze Age did affect Arkadia. People may have dispersed, moved on and arrived, but people also stayed. However, if there was an influx, as posited for Cyprus at the end of LHIIC period (e.g. Dickinson, 1994: 232), then the remains of these communities are lost and unrecognisable archaeologically or not yet found.

The landscape surely played its part in events and it has long been argued that the Arkadian mountains may very well have sheltered the region from the large-scale effects of movements of peoples, but they are not impenetrable and have rarely represented an immutable boundary (Chapter 2). The picture of hardship and confusion of communities re-learning to sustain themselves after collapse of centralised redistributive palaces is probably not one which applies exactly to Arkadia. Although they would have been tied into wider networks of trade and exchange, the reliance that the LBA communities of Arkadia had on palatial centres would not have been direct, and evidence in other areas shows that not all small communities were at the mercy of the palaces or were affected in the same way (Foxhall 1995). In the G period however, the picture is one that is repeated in many areas of the Greek world, where an increase in number of and activity in sanctuary sites, on present evidence is a defining characteristic (Coldstream 2003, p.156, p.317). Particular communities in Arkadia were

living within a wider network of influences, as shown by artefacts deposited at Tegea, Ptolis and Lousoi (66), which have Argive, Lakonian and Corinthian connections to varying degrees (Coldstream 2003, p.156-7; Morgan 1999, p.395-6; Voyatzis 1999, p.144). Nevertheless, this generalisation should not mask the peculiar circumstances and landscape settings for each site that would have figured in the recreation and reproduction of activity.

As was acknowledged in Chapter 2, the evidence for this area and period is quantifiably not staggering. Also acknowledged was the possible need for a more sensitive methodology in order to assess the archaeological record for the period from the end of the BA and the beginning of the IA, in order to enable light to be shed on this temporal and geographic entity. As Forsen (2003, p.183) states, there is little knowledge of local coarse wares for the period, and analyses focussed more on fabric than on decoration may prove worthwhile. Pikoulas also suggests that this may be the reason for the lack of sites in and around the Megalopolitan plain (Pikoulas, cited by Morgan, 1999, p.402). In addition, surveys in the west may prove profitable, although this may have to rely on an innovative methodology whereby fieldwalkers are driven to walkable areas that may only have one or two transects worth of space. Moreover, scatters that may seem unimpressive in the world of Greek archaeology, re-deposited in the 16th-8th century BCE of other places, for example prehistoric Britain, would be the focus of intense interest. Greek archaeology has been habituated to the wealth of evidence, is immune to or at least expects the multitude of sherds that are strewn across every archaeological site. When only a few sherds are found, for a Greek archaeologist, not much can be said about them. For an archaeologist working on the British Neolithic, it is only the starting point (Anne Teather, pers. comm.).

7.3: Problems and Resolutions

The approach taken in this thesis will not be without its criticisms, and by promoting an almost eclectic point of view, attack may come from all sides. Central to this study of Arkadia has been the concept of landscape - in this case, the landscape(s) of Arkadia during what is considered a transitional period at the end of the BA and beginning of the IA. Research of a discreet geographical region (Arkadia) over a period of time (the transition from BA to IA) is typical of a processual approach. It is a desire to look at the whole landscape, identifying systems and the *longue durée*, processes that might be discernable from looking at the archaeological evidence from a whole region and over a substantial swathe of time - the 900 years from 1600–700BCE. Likewise, the idea of looking at a period that is relatively understudied, the Greek ‘Dark-Ages’ (as well as an area that is relatively understudied) is an adjunct of the processual. In this way it acclaims the importance of the archaeological record of all times and all places not just those that are indicative of ‘golden ages’, whether the preceding Mycenaean or the following Archaic and Classical in the realm of Greek archaeology (Binford 1968).

However, as many a post-processualist has expounded (e.g. Shanks and Tilley 1987; Hodder 1999; Tilley, 1987, 1994; Thomas, 1991, 1996), although processualism has been optimistic in its aim of reaching into the past and making sense of it, the concern has been with generalisations and rules that could be ascertained and applied universally. As Bintliff (1991b, p.3) has pointed out, New Archaeology has had little to say about the individual or the agency of people. Short-lived events were omitted from discussion and the tenets of positivism obscured the ‘personal, time-conditioned, subjective needs of individual researchers’ which is reflected in data collection and interpretation. Although settlement patterns can be mapped and changes charted over time, proximity to resources measured,

subsistence patterns posited, the notion that these landscapes and times were experienced and lived through by people was largely left out of discussions.

Through presenting the case studies in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the positions of sites in various periods has allowed investigations into elements of landscape that may have played an important role. However, this has not been to the exclusion of considering the evidence in a standard way. Throughout the body of the thesis there have been tables drawn up and distribution maps employed to help explain the evidence; an objectifying stance that employs a modern western world view based on notions of Cartesian dualism. Sites types have been discussed and in some cases with little reference to the people creating the material evidence. It has followed various avenues of enquiry, of engagement with the remains of the past.

By using both of these angles, there is a potential contradiction, a dichotomy that needs explaining. In the first place, there is the need to recognise that Cartesian dualisms do not simply constitute one way of looking at the world, and a phenomenological based approach another. People always have and always will dwell in the world and this is a state of being which cannot be escaped. People never do live ‘outside’ their environment (Ingold 2000, p.173). Whilst landscape and environment may be objectified through Cartesian notions, this does not stop it ‘being there’ for each and every one of us. All of us are in-the-world today as people were in the past (Heidegger 1962). Consequently, this premise allows a dwelling perspective to have its place in archaeological studies (Ingold 2000, p.189). It is viable because the landscape of Arkadia today can be approached and experienced, and little of the ‘natural’ environment has altered: the mountains are in the same relative position, as are the plains, despite a considerable accumulation of alluvium. The katavothras, although now mainly enclosed, behave in similar ways, and if anything there were less trees in the period under consideration than there are today (Rackham 1996, p.26, p.31; Roy 1999, p.320).

Although speaking with reference to the British landscape, as Tilley (1994, p.73) states the skin of the land may have changed but not the shape.

Nonetheless, on another interpretative scale, there is a need to recognise that the way people view space and place is unavoidably tied up to the times and places in which they live (Rodaway 1994). Consequently, the fundamental difference in the character of the past should be recognised and not be dismissed (King 2003; Shanks 1996, p.155). The case studies cannot simply be an exercise in describing and explaining a personal attachment to and experience of the Arkadian landscape and environment, although this plays its part - it does for all engaged with the past and past material culture. What prevents the case studies being simply a poetic task is the existence of past material evidence. The artefacts, structures and locations they were found focus our attention on particular times and places.

It is hoped that the present study has not fallen into the trap whereby the past is normalised and given a modern coating of explanation. Trying to avoid such an error has formed the greatest struggle and a sometimes-overwhelming paradox when formulating explanations for past material culture. This is the case in all interpretations of the past, not just here. Even though there is a general acceptance of the relative context of our viewpoint, explanations for the material record of the past are still often posited as universal, absolute truths and as evidence for universal human nature. Many 'schools' of archaeology have dedicated time to highlighting and preventing such a modern 'whitewash'. For example, the recognition and unveiling of an unquestioning and assumed universality is prominent within feminist archaeology, which has highlighted that the past has been and still is written largely from a white western male perspective and presented as objective truth. Women, for example, are represented as an 'unchanging essence' carrying out the same roles in the past as they do (or ought to do?) today (Gero & Conkey 1991). This white male perspective in writing the past

has been challenged over the last fifteen years as archaeology has caught up to some extent with other disciplines in the use of feminist and other critical approaches. However, even publications such as *The Meaning of Things*, the result of a World Archaeology Conference (Hodder 1989), which attempted to give voice to many different groups, was still controlled and ultimately edited by a white, middleclass male. Hodder (1989) chose papers that fitted his theme and fitted most closely to the style of western academic writing, despite mixing up chapters to give an illusion of random inclusivity.

Okri (2002) illustrates well the way in which our perceptions of situations and people (in this case, of a Nigerian man), are informed by a constant drip of (mis)information from everyday experiences, which becomes accepted as ‘fact’; people become unquestioning and accepting of ‘the-way-things-are’:

“Be aware that there are secret laws for different people and that these secret laws are carried out by the most innocent of citizens... Be aware of how much you are secretly conscripted into complicity through fear, misinformation, lack of contact, casual demonisation, distortions of history, irresponsible novelists and journalists and poets and film-makers...” (Okri 2002, p.111).

To this list, we can add archaeologists, a point that highlights the responsibility we have in interpreting the past and disseminating what we conclude, why and how, to the public. In terms of Greek Archaeology, the view of ancient Greece for the wider public is still very much as it was for scholars a hundred years ago. Even recent productions such as *Troy* (Peterson 2004), depict an age complete with motivations and values with which we can fully sympathise. Thus, the *Iliad* was turned into a love story between Achilles and Briseis, which showed a lack of understanding for the difference of the past, with values, and situations that are in many ways alien to us today (Winkler 2006). Achilles did not ‘love’ Briseis, at least not in our understanding of romantic love; he wept when she was taken away because Agamemnon had humiliated him by taking his prize and Homer states as much (Il I.338). This may be done in scholarly circles, but it is not always disseminated. Nietzsche (1873-6,

p.175) states in his essay 'We Philologists' that a false idealisation of the Greeks exists and that people would be horrified by the real nature of antiquity if they could only comprehend it.

Of course, Hollywood blockbusters are not known for accuracy, but in the case of Arkadia there have also long been overriding images that have little to do with any contextual analysis or consideration of material 'facts'. If we revisit the opening paragraph (Chapter 1) we are reminded of one view readily recognisable. This is the portrayal of Arkadia as Elysian, or paradise, as reflected in literary and artistic works from Virgil onwards. This is the view that many early travellers, antiquarians and culture historians had in mind when embarking on expeditions and researches. However, these same pioneers also experienced a very different Arkadia from the one they imagined, an Arkadia that can be seen in direct contrast to the Elysian expected and which also tapped into ancient views of the region. This view was of Arkadia as a barren, antiquated backwater, as considered in Chapter 2. However, unlike the reinterpretation of Homer referred to above, the latter image in particular was one to which scholars until recently subscribed. It is hoped that this study has provided an alternative way of considering the region.

Examining the Arkadian evidence by means of the case studies has enabled the particular to be emphasised. Thus, in Chapter 4, I considered evidence from the hill of Ayios Ilias in the Asea Valley (Case Study A). This focussed on analysis of how the hill may have been apprehended from other sites in the area, as well as how the perceptions of participants could have been affected by being on the summit. In a similar way, the site of Ptolis-Gortsouli was considered in terms of its position in the landscape, as was Vlakhera-Petra. However, conclusions reached for each differed quite markedly. The same can be observed for the case studies in Chapter 5, where conclusions reached for Alea Palaiochori and Vourvoura-Analipsis, Artemision-Ayios Ilias, the western cemeteries and the Lafka tholos, whilst

recognising corresponding themes such as the importance of water, were varied. Again in Chapter 6 analysis of evidence for the everyday resulted in diverse conclusions for sites around the Mantinean plain, Orchomenos and Pheneos. The concentration on the particular, on the specific characteristics of each sites and an awareness of the individual contexts created through an interplay of site, evidence, location and date has prevented the 'whitewash' to which the previous paragraph alluded.

One consequence of the present research and the approach applied is that increasingly, I have come to believe that there is little that is 'universal' and very little that can be put down solely to an essential human 'nature'. Most of human behaviour is to one degree or another learned through experience and therefore culturally constructed, not inevitable and therefore subject to an, if not infinite, then overwhelming amount of variations. In addition, and very importantly, is the fact that our learning and experiencing takes place within and through our bodies, affecting our biology and therefore nature (e.g. aggressive behaviour creates more testosterone which in turn creates aggressive behaviour; neglect in childhood can cause high cortisone levels, which encourages unruly behaviour or thrill-seeking to maintain the high levels, Bremner & Vermetten 2001 quoted in James 2002, p.6 p.315). Moreover, there is much to be said about the modern dualisms of nature/nurture and body/mind as unhelpful, or even disabling. Perhaps the reason why it is seemingly impossible to discern or agree upon which aspects of ourselves are due to nature and which to nurture, is precisely because the division is a false one (Shanks and Tilley 1992, p.120, Ingold 2000, p.3).

There will always be certain things that humans need, largely in order to survive and survive well. Maslow (1968) placed these in an order known as the 'hierarchy of needs', some which must be addressed before others. Even if we can agree that the needs themselves are universal in time and space, and therefore the essence of what it means to be human, the manner in

which they are achieved are significantly varied. Perhaps this is one reason why humans have such a long childhood (although ‘childhood’ as we see it today is also a cultural construction) in order that we have time to learn the behaviour that is required for us to engage successfully with the particular group and time into which we are born. In many ways this must be what it is to be human – the ability to be highly adaptive to context, that we can learn and adapt and thus create a multitude of different behaviours or ‘cultures’, which in turn means we have the potential to survive and flourish in all kinds of scenarios, as long as we can breathe, drink, eat, and procreate.

By stating that the way human beings think is contextual perhaps gives the impression that the past is unknowable and therefore nothing can be said about it. If care needs to be taken in imposing modern values onto the past, where can sense begin to be made of past people, their material remains and the locations in which they acted? In answer, what should emerge from the above and the thesis as a whole is that there should be no pretence, which states the past can be known as-it-actually-was, or where views are posited as absolutes, which ultimately deceive all into thinking that through positivist principles the Truth will be found. Instead, the many and varied ways of getting to grips with the past, namely the material past through archaeology (but also through literary and documentary evidence, where they exist) should be welcomed and explored. This includes engaging with ideas that can be pigeonholed as culture-historic, processual, post-processual, or scientific, non-scientific, inspirational or poetic and whatever other labels may come to mind.

In a sense this is what John Bintliff (2000, p.161), proposes through his use of Wittgenstein’s philosophy, which he sees as a way of allowing different views on the past to prevail. Julian Thomas (2004, p.224, p.235), a scholar often placed in an opposing camp to Bintliff, agrees that different approaches to the past should be ‘allowed’ and encouraged, comparing different

ways of looking at the past to looking through the many sides of a crystal. This view is not at odds with Bintliff's proposal, nor that of other scholars (e.g. Chippendale 1993, p.30). However, Bintliff, with his feet planted firmly in a positivist camp, seems to dismiss use of imagination or poetics as useful ways of describing the past. For him things that can be measured and drawn are most valid; 'things' he sees as unaffected by micro-politics or bigger politics of the present, thus dismissing Kuhnian notions on the social construction of scientific facts. Through using the example of an aeroplane, Bintliff argues that the fact it was invented by white western males is irrelevant to a statement about its technology in the 'thing-language' of science (in Wittgenstein's terminology). This may be a valid way of looking at the world, but implies that all the 'thing-language' of science or rather science itself can do is to describe measurable things, devoid of meaning. Thomas (2004, p.224) sees this approach as leaving archaeology "impoverished and etiolated". But even more fundamentally, although an attempt at objectivity may for some seem to be the only way, it can never be realised, as 'things' are embedded with meaning, for us today and for those in the past (Thomas 2001b).

Measuring and describing has its place, allows standards to be set and enables others to understand that which is being described, but this is not done devoid of meaning. Fletcher (1992, p.35) regarding the dissemination of generalisations and explanations about the past that result from scientific method states, "one thing is clear no one will want to know" except perhaps other like-minded individuals (i.e. academics of the same leaning). Ask any member of the public or child what they want to know about the past and it is likely that they will ask about the people, the everyday and their experiences. This is not to say that academic research should be set by the general public, only that it may serve us well to remember what it was that interested us about the past in the first place (e.g. Spector 1993). As Bowkett et al. (2001, p.1) state of Classical archaeology "Almost everyone who has explored the Classical World feels an increasing wonder and excitement about the lives of our distant ancestors...."

Although such statements maybe considered ‘unscientific’ and have nothing to do with the ‘past-as-it-was’, for many trying to be an objective archaeologist, it may do well to remember that the initial impetus to enter into research probably began through such an emotive response when first engaging with the material remains and ancient literature. There is no shame in admitting it.

In some ways, this emotional, subjective view of the past is characteristic of traditional archaeology, the innocent stage and in many ways is still a trait of Classical archaeology. The effect of processualism was to ‘disallow’ this kind of engagement with the past as being unscientific, and therefore incorrect and inviable. Perhaps the point now reached is one where the ‘science’ or scientific method behind archaeology is appreciated, such as the need for standards in archaeological practice, Munsell charts, Harris matrices, Carbon 14 dating, thermo-luminescence, careful excavation and recording and so on, but not see this as a limitation on creative thoughts and imagination. With the existence of the material record, alongside peers and colleagues limiting the possibilities of explanation, there is no necessary pretence, no fighting a losing battle on a journey to attaining a truth that can never be tested. No fictional archaeologist referred to by Richard Bradley need ever have a nervous breakdown after ‘waking-up’ to the uncertainty of knowledge (1993, p.131-133). Imaginations can breathe, and along with a plethora of ideas out there already, they can engage with the material record and the people who created, used and negotiated their lives through it. Scholars who have experimented with narratives such as Mark Edmonds (1999, 2001) and novel sessions at TAG (e.g. Poetic TAG, TAG 2004, Fig. 7.1) show viable ways of investigating past lives and landscape. This does not, nor ever will, take the place of field survey and excavation, but it does allow insights and connections that are otherwise lost. Encouragingly, the publication of the Asea Valley Survey (Forsen & Forsen 2003) included sketches produced by students in the field, not official or scientific illustrations, but

impressions and artistic representations (Fig. 7.2 and 7.3 below). These give a sense of engagement, an understanding that the archaeologists experienced the landscape in which they were working and, although I do not know at which level in the job hierarchy the ‘artists’ were, acts like this and the inclusion of the results may very well have cemented a working team together where members and their opinions were felt to be valued.

A vertical rectangular frame with a thin black border. Inside the frame, a poem is written in a light green, monospaced font. The text is centered and reads:

we finished a transect
and heard simon
calling us
from the
door of
a small
workshop
where he was
standing holding
a whole hellenistic
unguentarium, while
an old man with grey
stubble, pebble glasses
and a dirty cap looked on
delighted at our delight
he told us how he found
some while ploughing; there
was a whole cemetery he said
a hundred tombs. we tried to
ask exactly where they were
and when he had found them
but he just continued talking
vaguely about how impressive
they all were, how big, and
how deep, peering at each
of us through his pebble
glasses. he inssted
that we should have
a melon; we were
english, he was
greek, there
was some
special
kinship
and so
we had to
have some me on

Fig.7.1: Excerpt from Fieldwalkers, by M. Given, inspired by the Boeotia survey Greece (Poetic TAG, Glasgow: TAG 2004).

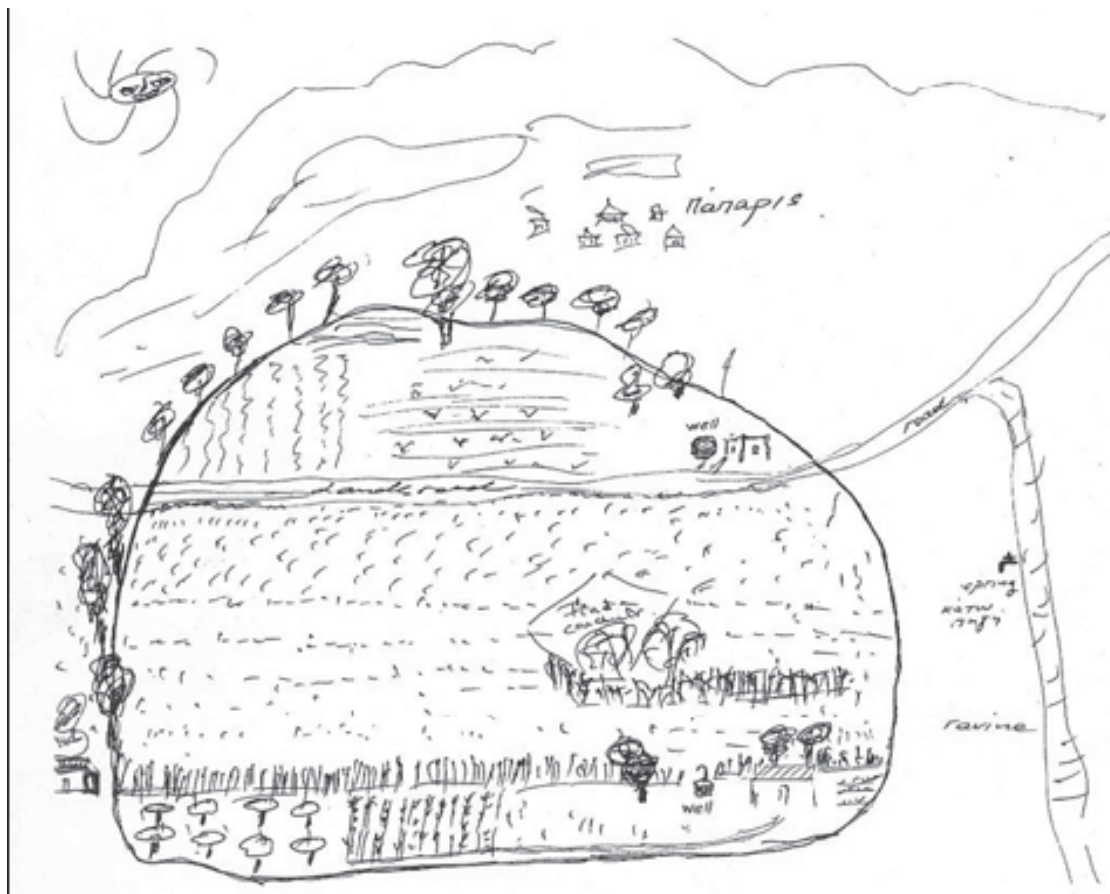


Fig. 7.2: drawing of S90 made in the field by Antonis Papardukakis (source: Forsen 2003, p.119).

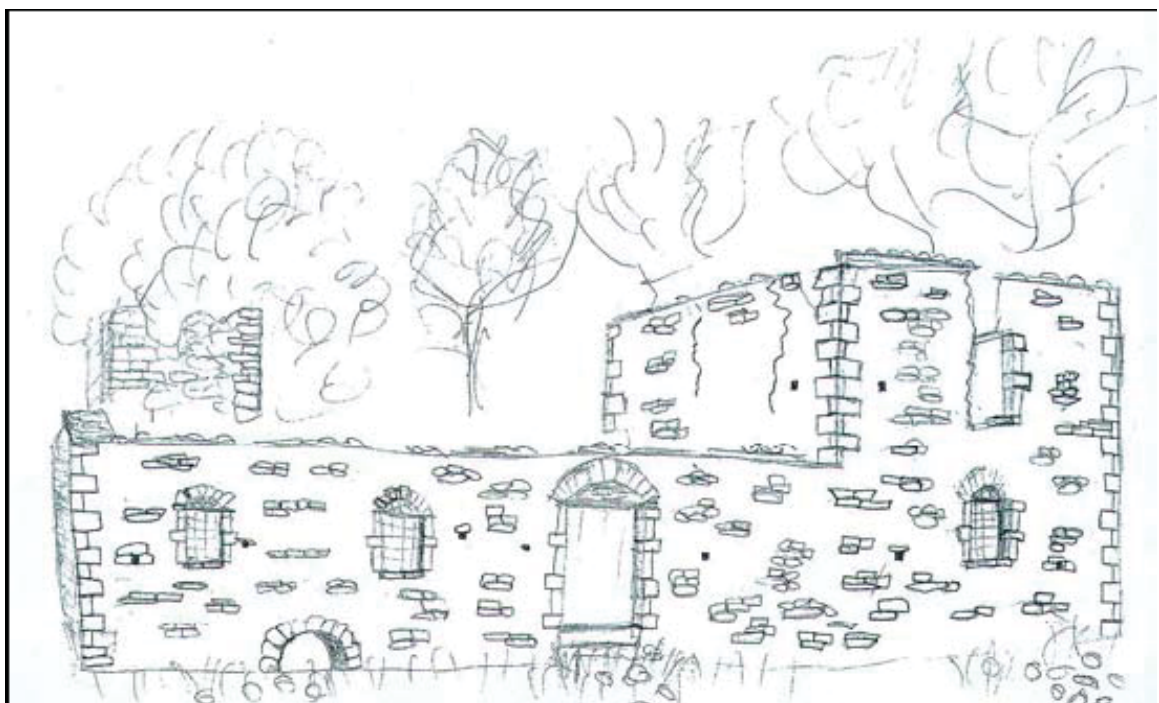


Fig. 7.3: Water Mill at Marmaria (SM1) from the south-west. Drawing made by Arja Karivieri in the field (source: Forsen, 2003).

Although not quite the norm, already there is a trend towards using an eclectic array of ideas and methods in archaeological practice. For example, Thomas, Tilley, Parker Pearson, Richards and Pollard, excavators at Durrington Walls, Wiltshire (2004 and ongoing) may quite acceptably describe themselves or be described by others as ‘post-processual’. At least two of their names are almost synonymous with such a ‘trend’. However their fieldwork, at least in part, is unashamedly influenced by New Archaeology in that they are working on the assumption that evidence can be collected in as objective a way as possible – or perhaps should be, which at least supposes that they think it may be possible. They are, during the process of excavation, using single context recording methods. They are also, like the majority of directors of excavations, taking soil samples where appropriate, using geophysical survey, and will no doubt send any organic material off to a lab to be carbon-dated. All of the above methods can and have been termed ‘scientific’ and positivistic in their approach and aims.

However, what is apparent on this project is that there is some attempt to bring in a ‘post-processual’ as opposed to the ‘scientific’ or ‘processual’ methodology in the collection of data and not just in the interpretation of that data. This is through the relatively simple task of walking through the landscape with informed imagination, reminiscent in some ways of the excursions of early travel writers and antiquarians (e.g. Leake 1830 and Dodwell 1819 in the Peloponnese). There are other projects that include or encourage this kind of approach as part of the official methodology, such as Ian Hodder at Çatalhöyük (2000). Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, very few professionals instruct students on the opportunities for alternative ways of undertaking fieldwork and in the CRM world virtually none (e.g. Diniz 2005), or allow for results to be included in the official site report. Until relatively recently this kind of thinking or imagining has not had much place in official scholarly reports and publications (Spector 1993, p.1).

7.3: Final thoughts

McDavid (2000, p.287) states that “truth is made, not found”. This thesis would never have been written if it had been a search for such a truth. To expect answers to be forthcoming, through using correct ‘scientific’ methodology, is frustrating at the least. On the other hand, the realisation that the archaeological process is one involving the necessary use of an ‘archaeological imagination’ is, in Julian Thomas’ words “a profoundly liberating proposition” (Thomas 1993, p.74). To be afraid of the criticism of relativism, of alternative truths or even abhorrent explanations of the past means there is little faith in our abilities to show weaknesses in other types of explanations and the strengths of our own. Whether they involve aliens, fascist agendas or prehistoric super-races, contending with alternative explanations and refuting them, means our arguments must be sharpened, which is no bad thing. As Feyerabend states:

‘... knowledge is not a gradual approach to Truth. It is rather an ever-increasing ocean of mutually incompatible alternatives, each single theory, each fairy-tale, each myth that is part of the collection forcing the others into greater articulation, and all of them contributing, via this process of competition, to the development of our consciousness’ (1988, p.32).

Surely, it is this that makes disciplines such as archaeology dynamic and full of vitality. It should not be expected that one day the truth and the answers will be realised, for they do not exist in that they cannot be validated by a return to ‘what-actually-happened’. The past will never be known as it ‘really was’ for there is no ‘really was’. Even if a time machine could be built and time was traversed, it would still only be viewed through 21st Century eyes; archaeology and the desire to ‘know’ the past is after all a modern phenomenon. Thomas (2004) attempts to unravel what is ‘modern’ about our views on the past and questions whether it is possible to extricate ourselves from them or indeed whether even archaeology itself can exist without ‘modernity’. Even if it proves difficult, if not impossible, to transcend archaeology’s attachment to modernity and still call it ‘archaeology’, being able to approach

the archaeological record with an awareness of our own and the discipline's circumstances may be enough and should be seen as a way of unrestricting our imaginations and ourselves. This enables the exploration of a multitude of possibilities without restriction to particular ways of looking because it is the way we have been conditioned. This is what has been achieved through the case studies in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Still, there is the sneaking suspicion that thinking in the way outlined above is the result of being in a 'post-modern' world, where 'multi-vocality' seems to have become a maxim, and 'anything-goes' is a code for living. Nonetheless, the results of our endeavours will be a matter for debate, a debate that is or should be vital to the discipline.

In conclusion, this study is an important contribution to the realm of Greek Archaeology. There are many works to date that have tackled the past from the 'participants' point of view and with a particular focus on landscape. This study is not a breakthrough, pioneering work in the field of archaeology in general (e.g. Thomas, 1993a, 1993b, 1996; Tilley, 1993b, 1994; Barrett, 1994, 2000; Exon et al 2000; Gillings, 1996, 1999, 2005), but it applies an already legitimised approach to the Greek sphere and in particular to the evidence from Arkadia. It introduces an approach and applies ideas that are seen as almost standard in other areas and if this study focussed on Neolithic and Bronze Age Wessex, it would be travelling down a well-trodden path (Thomas, 1997; Parker Pearson, 1998; Exon et al. 2000; Pitts 2001). However, an approach using phenomenological insights alongside traditional analysis, works particularly well in Arkadia during the period in question as limited material culture exists compared to other regions and periods. Where sites have produced an ample body of material, such as that from the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, scholars such as Voyatzis (2005) have concentrated on undertaking detailed analysis. In these cases, the present study compliments this work. In those cases where what does exist has been poorly published, the phenomenological approach particularly suited as the focus is on the location of sites in space.

The research presented here illuminates an area and a period in a way that has not been done or, to my knowledge, has not been attempted to date. This study looks at a region in a way that perhaps every region of Greece could or should be looked at, a study that recognizes that all aspects of life were interrelated, and that acknowledges all levels within a community, but most of all locates past peoples in the landscapes they once inhabited.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND ARCHAEOLOGY

It may seem a natural adjunct to approaching landscape in the way it has been in this thesis, to use a Geographic Information System (GIS), and at the outset, this was the intention. There has been however, a significant amount of debate around the use of GIS in archaeology and criticisms over its shortcomings in light of post-processual theories are constantly being addressed (e.g. Llobera 1996). As research progressed it became apparent for the study I wanted to do, GIS would prove to be little more than glorified illustrations, for which Google Earth has been found to be more than competent. In addition, the validity of such functions as viewshed and line-of-site analysis, in bringing understandings of how the landscape might have been perceived at different times during the period was not such to convince me of its worth.

Although one of the main advantages of GIS is that it allows large amounts of data (and often data not usually found together) to be accessed quickly and easily so that it can be analysed and presented, in order to reach this stage takes a very long time. Preparing paper maps, for example, via a scanner or digitising tablet for use within a GIS can take months. Likewise, where attribute data ('additional' information describing spatial data) is not already stored digitally in databases, input via the keyboard can take many tedious hours. This issue of time resources plays a large part in determining which data should be loaded and how detailed that data will be, especially in terms of background information. The largest scale maps for the area of ancient Arkadia are the 1:50,000 editions from the Hellenic Military Map Service. Contours on these are at intervals of 20 metres, which is enough to give a reasonably detailed impression of the physical geography of the region. Given such a mountainous region however, coupled with the initial intention of covering the whole area, this would have been a

monumental task. In addition, it has been argued by various scholars that such intervals are not detailed enough for undertaking line-of-sight and viewshed analyses, both of which take into account the view of a human observer. For such analyses to be valid it has been argued that contours need to be at the most five metres apart. However, even this interval would not pick up lumps and bumps that may obscure an observer's view. Connected to this, and adding to the reasons not to use GIS, was the notion of vegetation and how this easily and often obscures a view (see Fig A1.1.). Although it may not have been more wooded in Arkadia, in the period in question (Rackham 1996, p.26, p.31) trees and other vegetation have not remained unchanged and, this adds greatly to the question of how valid line of site and viewshed analyses can ever be. Of course, this reflects on whether even standing on a site today and looking around has any validity to it, but one can move to avoid vegetation, just as they could in the past and the general impressions of accessibility of views can be appreciated. Visiting a site in person also takes significantly less time to do and is infinitely more enjoyable than digitising maps. In this appendix, some of the issues that archaeologists face when using GIS is discussed as well as how they may be resolved. It ends on a positive note with some suggestions as to how this technology may be used in Arkadia in the future, building on work presented in this thesis.



Fig.A1.1: view from the top of Artemision-Ayios Ilias (photo: author).

The problems start with the paper maps. Often they are very detailed and decisions relating to which information is needed for digitization always have to be made before any work can progress. The implications of this are important: paper maps are simply a representation of the “real” world perceived a certain way at a particular moment of time. They have been compiled as a result of decisions made by the cartographer as to how physical features should be represented, and indeed which ones should be included, often dictated and informed by the authorities who commission the maps. Nowadays there are certain standards to which the cartographer must adhere depending on the mapping authority, and the scale of the map largely dictates whether for example a city is characterized by a dot or by many polygons representing individual features within the city. Maps reduce the landscape in which we live to a version of reality that purports to be accurate and true.

Digitising the paper map is another step away from the physical landscape, where further decisions need to be made that relate to which features should be used within a GIS, and how accurate they are required to be, depending on the purpose for which the particular project is being designed. In addition, data from maps may not show all the possibilities required in order to answer questions the GIS will be asked. For example, some topographical maps may not indicate whether a water source is seasonal or perennial, and certainly will not say anything directly about the quality of the water. Although geological maps may indicate the possibility of mineral inclusions in water, this depends on many other factors such as the flow of water, and whether it is ground water in the form of a river or lake or a deeper source accessed via a spring or well. Although there is very little that can be done about this, it is important to be aware of the fact that map information is and can be nothing else other than subjective and as such needs to be used critically. This is especially pertinent for the purposes of GIS in archaeology where the act of digitising and then using the results to say things about that landscape in the past, creates a version of a version of a version. In addition, where it is

the past landscape and often a distant past landscape that is in question, the modern landscape and present-day environment and how it relates to the past should not be taken for granted (Church et al. 2000, p.139).

There is an obvious problem with using contemporary environmental conditions as a basis for extrapolating about the past. How these conditions might have changed is often not taken into account thus giving only an unreliable static picture. The environment is dynamic and without evidence of how it might have altered over time predicting site locations based on this evidence, especially those prehistoric, is tenuous to say the least. As Church et al. (2000, p.139) point out “the present day environment is a good place to start but a poor place to end,” and often models have been more useful in predicting present-day campsites than positions of past sites, let alone providing any insight into past human behaviour (Church et al. 2000, p.137). It is not all doom and gloom however, and archaeologists working alongside geologists, geographers, and environmentalists should be able to make some headway into reconstructing past environments (Kvamme 1995, p.9).

Nonetheless, reconstructing past environments using information regarding types of vegetation and resources available, has often been at the route of environmental determinism, associated with processualism which, as was discussed in Chapter 3, has a particularly modernist way of viewing the world at its root. For example, the belief that the proximity of environmental factors is particularly important rests, for the most part, on principles of least cost/minimum effort, which are laden with modern values that might not necessarily have had any relevance in the past. In many ways, it has been the availability and popularity of software packages such as cost-surface analyses that has meant that this and similar tenets have been frequently applied in GIS applications (Witcher 1999, p.15). In addition, different types of sites or different types of activity that the archaeological record represents are not

always taken into account. For instance, a 'ritual' site might not need the same proximity to water or fertile soils as a habitation site and unquestioned assumptions regarding where sites are expected could result in an unbalanced picture: do habitation sites always need to be in environments close to water, fertile land and so on, as determined by modern academics. An example from Britain serves to illustrate this point. Lismore Fields in Buxton, an important Neolithic habitation site, would most certainly have been missed in any GIS predictive modelling of where to expect Neolithic houses. Although this site lies close to the River Wye, the heavier clay soils, on which it stands, was thought to be unsuitable for the 'first farmers'. Thus during construction of a new housing estate in the 1980's, there was complete surprise when it was found that the same spot had been used for a similar purpose approximately 6000 years ago (Garton 1991).

Most of the criticisms above can be seen as part of a 'post-processual' challenge to 'processualism' and the use of GIS, and feature heavily in most recent publications involving this technology due to a relatively recent upsurge in the use of GIS and with it a questioning of its use (e.g. Exon et al.2000 ch. 2). In fact 2005, was the first Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference of the last four years that did not have separate session on GIS, which may be an indication of the general acceptance of its use by many and varied archaeologists. However, GIS as it first appeared seemed to stand shoulder to shoulder with processual archaeology by being both generalised and somewhat dehumanised, long after these ideas in other areas of archaeology had apparently moved on. In the main, a more explicit recognition of the human experience in the past has been called for, rather than reducing it merely to statistical analyses that sees human behaviour as being both deterministic and as being a cog in the wheels of a bigger system.

A first reaction to these kind of criticisms outlined above has been a refinement of the use of analyses such as cost-surface, involving an acknowledgment of the modern values and assumptions that lie behind such ideas that may not have much relevance to people living within the past landscape under scrutiny (such as least cost/minimum effort) and adding variables such as time and terrain to produce interpretations that have a more human/subjective dimension in contrast to the traditional halo patterns used (Gaffney & Stančič 1991; Witcher 1999, p.15). The use of intervisibility and viewshed analyses that examine what can be seen between and from particular points in the landscape have also proved popular (e.g. Exon et al, 2000) and can be seen as an attempt to place us within a past landscape rather than looking down on it with a ‘birds-eye view’. Furthermore, some argue that the need for a more experiential approach is being addressed and overcome with the use of Virtual Reality (VR) in conjunction with GIS (Gillings 1996).

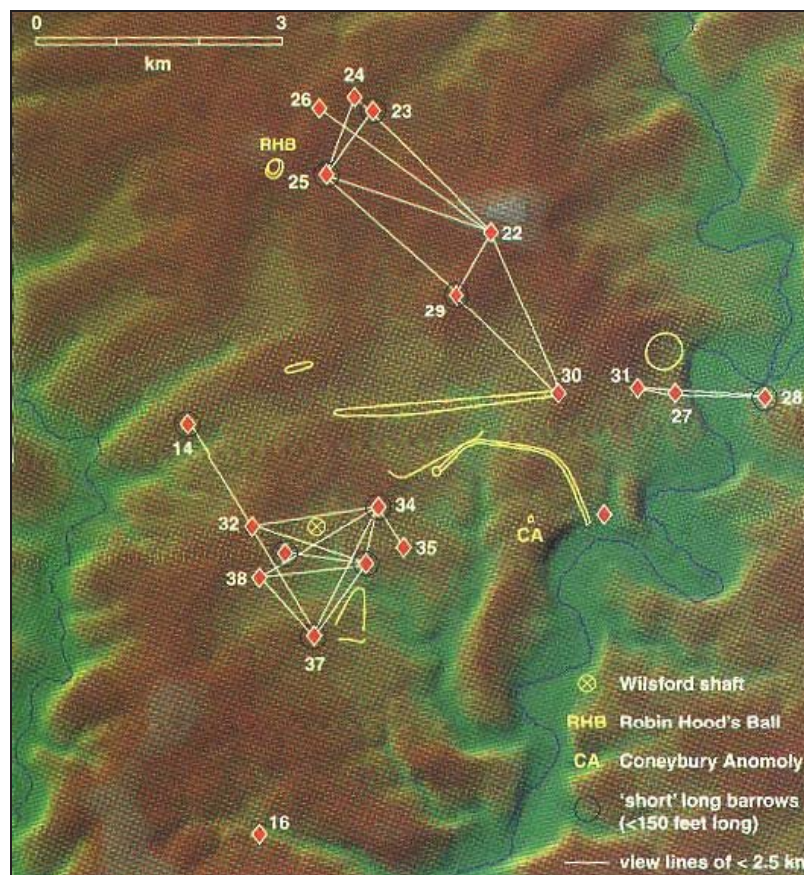


Fig.A1.2: Example of line-of-sight analyses (source: Exon et al 2000, p.41, figure 4.11 ‘long barrow ‘short’ intervisibility patterns).

However, VR falls short of what most may have imagined it would or could do, and even if we ever reach a stage where we can experience a Star Trek – The Next Generation ‘Holodeck’ there would still be issues relating to authenticity and interpretation and the need to recognise that we can never know what it was like in the past or experience it as it was. It will always be only a reconstruction in the present of what we suppose it might have been like for somebody in the past. There has been a recognition that GIS is often used merely to make “pretty pictures” and this danger is apparent also with using VR - the only goal in some case can appear to be to produce high quality computer graphics (Kvamme 1995, p.6). Not only does this cause problems in the sense that interpretation may be lacking (Gaffney et al. 1995), but also in the perceived credence of such images.

There are many studies on how important visualisation is in the production and dissemination of knowledge, including those that pertain specifically to GIS (e.g. Davis & Medyckyj-Scott 1994; Hearnshaw 1994; Medyckyj-Scott 1994; Petch 1994). Computer generated images in particular are powerful tools, holding an often-unjustified authority over other types of image; when data is presented in this way they are often perceived as being more “correct” than they actually are. This is not to belittle the intelligence of the general public or even academics, but studies such as those mentioned above testify to the influence images have. No television programme about archaeology is complete these days without a computer-generated reconstruction of individual pots or of sites and regions. The question of how far these images can represent any kind of reality is rarely questioned by the programmes themselves and the impression of accuracy is even promoted by the language used that accompanies such images. Rarely is there room made for words such as “might”, “based on this persons interpretation of the evidence”, and so on. Gillings (2000) outlined the difficulties an archaeologist might face when involved with the use of virtual reality in television programmes and explained how he had refused work in order to preserve his integrity -

programme producers wanted images so as to grab audiences, for which he felt there was plainly not the evidence.

For many archaeologists, especially those working within a phenomenological framework and those sympathetic to their ideas, working both within and outside the use of GIS (e.g. Thomas 1993, 2001; Tilley 1993; Gillings 1999), these 'solutions' have not gone far enough and have proved unsatisfactory. This dissatisfaction, for the most part, has stemmed from recent theoretical debate in landscape archaeology in general (Thomas 2001, p.166), a branch of archaeology that might seem to have most affinity with GIS even though the use of GIS has been left out of this debate until very recently (Gillings et al. 1999). By addressing the need to acknowledge the human experience, archaeologists have now taken on board ideas associated with a more 'post-processual' hermeneutic archaeology of the present day that has 're-peopled' the past, not only by recognising that people in the past might have perceived their landscape in a different way, but also by understanding that that different groups within that landscape would have had differing perceptions. In practical terms this has meant a call for not just creating maps that pertain to topography, geology, soil, climate and so on, and analysing these to provide explanations of the archaeology found, but creating additional maps that represent so called 'landscapes of perception', that is maps that represent abstract landscapes that relate to such notions as power, resistance and ritual, as suggested by Witcher (1999, p.18).

However, landscapes and human experiences of them are complex and work on many different levels. Is a landscape ever just to be perceived in terms of power relations only or those of ritual? Such abstract notions often undoubtedly overlap and are inherently connected (see also Morgan 2003, ch.4). Some of the answer to this may lie in overlaying, for instance, a ritual landscape map with a power map and others in order to create new insights into how

humans interacted with the physical landscape in the past. Nevertheless, what also needs to be acknowledged is whose perceptions are we concerned with; which particular group's perception within the past culture are we dealing with? In addition it must be kept in mind that the way a landscape was intended to be looked upon and how it actually was can be poles apart and resistance to intended ways of using and looking would create alternative ways of doing so. Bender (1993, p.1-17), using Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* I as an illustration, also points out that differing perceptions do not just occur between groups but between individuals and that an individual's perceptions change over time. How can these issues be explored using a GIS? Is it possible and is it necessary or even desirable to try?

Perhaps a number of these ideas can be explored by moving away from purely the visual that is so closely bound up with modernity, possibly by mapping sounds and smells of the landscape. Although any sounds can, in the main, only be informed from modern day examples, there is the opportunity to investigate the importance of when, for example, the sound of a trickling stream becomes obvious as we move through a landscape. Perhaps the importance of smell can be investigated by exploring how activities that we can assume emitted certain smells affected how people moved about the landscape. Perhaps Thomas's (1993) suggestion that causewayed enclosures were positioned at transitional locations where activities perceived as hazardous or polluting could take place could have some connection to the olfactory sense. Maybe there is also scope to map general wind directions and speeds, which involves the sense of touch and smell, which also has an environmental aspect. With direct relevance to this study, part of the reason ancient Enispe (Karvouni-Sfakovouni) has been identified where it has, is because of its epithet 'windy' in Homer's *Iliad* (II, 605) and the position of the site on the north slopes of the hill of Sfakovouni (AR 1990-1, 25). Likewise the position of the ash altar on top of Asea-Ayios Elias could be mapped with different wind directions imposed on top.

Although the ideas outlined above may help to get away from thinking in terms of vision and sight we still cannot get away from the fact that in using a GIS all these qualities have to be mapped. This is a fundamental problem some have seen with GIS: phenomena have to be mapped and given coordinates that correspond to their place in the 'real world'. This in itself is a product of modernity based on Descartes development of the coordinate system. Therefore if, as has been argued by Gillings, the problem is this overwhelmingly Cartesian view of the world on which modern cartography is based, that is also bound up with other aspects of modernity such as the separation of nature from culture and so on, then peopling the past and recognising that they and others had different and personal perceptions of the world does not solve it within the world of GIS. But more than this, a modern Western vision of the world and in particular the representation of land in map form, if it is a problem, then it is a problem with the discipline of archaeology as a whole and in itself. The discipline would not exist without this background.

This Cartesian view of the world that some archaeologists are keen to question and refute is the very framework that enabled archaeology as a discipline to emerge in the first place (Thomas 1996, 12; Thomas 2004, *passim*). It may well be recognised that there needs to be an approach to past landscapes from different perspectives than our own ingrained ones, to inform a more coherent, if varied explanation of the past, but ironically our very desire to attempt this is bound up in the self-same factors that inform a modernist western view of the world. The very discipline of archaeology has evolved because of this world-view. Therefore, if we try to abandon Cartesian based philosophy and the ideological shifts of the Enlightenment do we then have to abandon archaeology, as we know it? It can only be 'wrong' to use GIS in archaeology if archaeology with its constant collection of environmental data, geophysical data, surveying, inventories, map making, Munsell charts and Harris matrices is in the wrong. The dilemma here is not simply GIS, but also

archaeology. Is archaeology without the methods developed to gather information about the past, such as field survey and excavation any longer archaeology? Does it not become a different discipline altogether if we take away the “spatial technologies which seek to lay bare and penetrate the land” that trouble Thomas (2001, p.169). Although Thomas gives three examples - GIS, satellite imagery and aerial photography - surely, excavation is the very epitome of laying bare and penetrating the land, even if not strictly a technology, and it is something I have seen Thomas do with his own bare hands.

In this manner, the way archaeology is practised must take responsibility for the way GIS has been used. There seems to be a strong link between survey methodologies and the data it produces and GIS that has made GIS a most suitable and almost natural progression in terms of utilising modern technologies. However, rather than stating simply that GIS's have strong environmental tendencies, GIS's perhaps have exacerbated the propensity for surveys to collect environmental data. Specifically in terms of its use in archaeology this predilection has continued not necessarily because of an inherently environmentally deterministic nature of GIS but because of inherently environmental tendencies of archaeological survey methodologies (which themselves have their origins within the New Archaeology of the 60's and 70's) and hence the data that they throw up. What must be made clear though is that no one, to my knowledge, is suggesting or has suggested that data pertaining to the natural environment should be ignored and not collected. To disregard a whole range of valuable and possibly relevant material would be just as amiss as not taking into account ideas of the many ways in which landscapes can be defined and might be perceived and lived within and through. The point is, it cannot possibly be expected that the best explanations will come from one type of evidence alone. Therefore, it is not so much the data that has to change or the way it is collected or stored necessarily, but the way that it is looked at, used and interpreted. Leaving aside issues of how the implicit or explicit theory of individual

archaeologists can affect how, why and what data is even thought to be deemed worthy of collection, it is how we approach the data once we have it that is at stake here, and how we might use it to produce and support more coherent explanations of the past that are not lacking in understanding and sensitivity of many possibilities and probabilities. To be sure, it is not that GIS and archaeological practice are necessarily environmentally deterministic, it is the explanations and interpretations thought up by archaeologists who use them that are.

Thomas (2001, p.171) states that through using modern technologies, there is an implication that “through our objective, high-tech methodologies we [archaeologists] have access to a stratum of reality which was unavailable to people in the past. Their perceptions of these landscapes would necessarily have been distorted and impoverished versions of a reality which we can more fully grasp.” However, the arrogance that the uses of such technologies seem to give us as archaeologists surely does not have to be an expected and accepted adjunct. The methodologies that have been developed to investigate past landscapes is a way of discovering aspects that otherwise we would not have known, as we often do not live or dwell for any length of time within these areas ourselves and definitely not without modern structures and alterations of the landscapes.

Aspects of the landscape such as vegetation, altitude, proximity to water or a number of other environmental variables, or proximity to or visibility of other sites in the area might, or might not, have had any importance to past individuals, groups or communities. Past populations may have been aware of some factors and not of others and almost certainly not by the same categorisations that we use. There will be aspects of the landscape to which we are completely blind, that may have been the most obvious to past people, and of course, we will never know this. It may well be the case that the data our modern technologies produce may

be of little relevance or use at all, but if we did not employ them, we would never know this data or have the opportunity to investigate different possibilities.

As argued in Chapter 7, the way forward in archaeology has to be a more explicit acknowledgement that an interpretation is only one of many possible other ways of explaining the same evidence, that there are no absolutes, even with the use of all the best high-tech instruments in the world. Archaeology is all about possibilities and probabilities and the ideas we have about these. Assumptions must be made if one is to get anywhere at all, but it is necessary for these assumptions to be made explicit, and by becoming aware of them ourselves, we are able to question their validity. It is in this light that a GIS should be used. By and in itself, the use of one will not give the answers – it provides a framework in which ideas such as those relating to perception, experience and dwelling within a landscape can be explored in one way. The danger is that information technology, in this case, GIS or VR, gives the illusion of being authoritative and right, when it should be recognised and used as a tool and a platform in which ideas can be explored and illustrated.

In the end, in a study such as this that is concerned with the physical nature of the world in which people lived in the past and how that acted upon them, their perceptions and the way they lived, nothing can take the place of actually being there, visiting the sites in person and very unscientifically soaking up the atmosphere. Exon et al (2000, p.105), describe how they developed the concept of a “quality view” through their fieldwork, which referred to views and vistas that were visually ‘more stunning’ than others, from which a gut reaction was felt when the view was revealed. Quality views could not be picked up by computer-generated viewsheds, but involved elements of the landscape that could only be recognised by a person, being there. A GIS Digital Elevation Model in the present study, given the constraints of time and money would have been little more than a very time consuming and expensive way of

illustrating the text, of explaining to the reader exactly where the sites were and what was meant by, for example “an isolated rounded hill” in the text. This has been done well enough by providing panoramic photographs at certain points as well as video clips, in addition to the Google Earth images and tour, which does nearly everything that would have been done with a GIS.

However, this is not the end. It has not been argued that GIS can never be useful in archaeology as a whole or for Arkadia. Quite the contrary, this study has highlighted numerous possibilities now for looking more closely at particular landscapes perhaps to be focussed on plains that can be geared to answering particular problems, and through using larger scale maps with much narrower contours. What Google Earth of course cannot do is enable the position of observer to be pinpointed, so the view is always hovering above the landscape, a very ‘unnatural’ place from which to explore a landscape in terms of past peoples’ experiences. However, the possibilities of mapping abstract landscapes, for example sound-scapes (TAG 2004 session Audioscapes: Sound in/of Antiquity), is an interesting one, and there is a strong future for GIS in intra-site analysis, as well as inter-site. The use of GIS to explore the Arkadian landscape may prove to be an interesting and worthwhile avenue to take in the future, but not one that could be fully utilised in this study.

APPENDIX 2: TABLES

A2.1: Site type 1 categorisations

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 2 |
|---------|--|----------------|------------------|
| 1 | Stymphalia a - Stymphalos | LH | ?activity |
| 4 | Stymphalia d - Karterion, Ay. Konstantinos | Geometric | ?activity |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | Geometric | ?activity |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | LH | ?activity |
| 14 | Vlakherna b - Plessa | LH | ?activity |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | Geometric | ?activity |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | Protogeometric | ?activity |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | LH | ?activity |
| 17 | Orchomenos a - summit | LH | ?activity |
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | LH | ?activity |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | Protogeometric | ?activity |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | Sub Mycenaean | ritual |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiochori - b | Geometric | ?activity+ritual |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | Geometric | ?activity+ritual |
| 47 | Palaiokhoraki, Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris | LH | ?activity |
| 48 | Ayios Athanasios of Dorizas | LH | ?activity |
| 50 | AVS S67 | LH | ?activity |
| 54 | Anemodhouri | Geometric | ?activity |
| 55 | Andritsaina | Geometric | burial |
| 56 | Alipheira | Protogeometric | ritual |
| 59 | Figaleia | LH | ?activity |
| 60 | Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | Sub Mycenaean | ?activity |
| 63 | Vaklia - Palaiokastro | Geometric | ?activity |
| 65 | Priolithos | Geometric | burial |
| 65 | Priolithos | Protogeometric | burial |
| 67 | Manesi | Geometric | burial |
| 68 | Kompegadi | Geometric | burial |
| 72 | Dimitsana | Geometric | ?activity |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | LH | settlement |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | Geometric | ?activity |

Table A2.1: all findspots.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 2 |
|---------|---|-----------|-------------------|
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | LH | settlement+ritual |
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | Geometric | ?activity |
| 11 | Lakkomata | LH | ?activity |
| 11 | Lakkomata | Geometric | ?activity |
| 13 | Vlakherna a - Petra | LH | ritual |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | LH | ?activity |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | Geometric | ?activity |
| 29 | Nestane - Sangas | Geometric | ritual |
| 31 | Loukas - Ayios Yioryios | LH | ?activity+ritual |
| 32 | Merkovouni a - Ayiolias | LH | settlement |
| 35 | Thanas - Stoyia | LH | ?activity |
| 36 | Vounon | LH | ?activity+ritual |
| 38 | Manthyrea - Panayia | LH | ?activity |
| 39 | Alea Palaiochori - a | LH | settlement |
| 41 | Psili Vrysi | LH | ?activity |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | LH | settlement |
| 49 | Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion | LH | settlement |
| 53 | Mallota Kokkaliara | Geometric | ?activity |
| 62 | Dhimitra | LH | settlement |
| 69 | Drosato Vrisariou - Lakes | Geometric | settlement |
| 77 | Dhavia - Kastro | LH | settlement |
| 79 | AVS S62 | LH | ?activity |
| 80 | Kanelaki | LH | ?activity |

Table A2.2: all scatters.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 10 | Mt Kyllene | Geometric | ritual |
| 18 | Orchomenos b - Kalpakion church | Geometric | ritual |
| 19 | Orchomenos c - peripteral building | Geometric | ritual |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | Geometric | ritual |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | Protogeometric | ?activity+burial |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | Geometric | ?activity+burial |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | LH | ritual |
| 42 | Mavriki | Geometric | ritual |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | Geometric | ?activity |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaioakastro | Geometric | ritual+burial |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | LH | ritual |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | Protogeometric | ritual |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | Geometric | ritual |
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | LH | ?activity |
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | Geometric | burial |
| 56 | Alipheira | Geometric | ritual |
| 57 | Kreteia | Geometric | ritual |
| 58 | Bassae | Geometric | ritual |
| 64 | Psophis - Ayios Petros | Geometric | ritual |
| 66 | Lousoi | Geometric | ritual |
| 73 | Petrovouni | Geometric | ritual |

Table A2.3: all assemblages.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 2 |
|---------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | LH | hydraulic works |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | LH | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 5 | Stymphalia e - Lafka, tholos | LH | burial |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | LH | hydraulic works |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | LH | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 20 | Orchomenos d - tumulus | LH | burial |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | LH | hydraulic works |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | LH | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | LH | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | LH | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | LH | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | Geometric | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | Sub Mycenaean | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | Protogeometric | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | LH | hydraulic works |

Table A2.4: all structures.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | Protogeometric | ?activity+burial |
| 72 | Dimitsana | LH | settlement |

Table A2.5: all structure+findspot.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 2 |
|---------|---------------------------|--------|-------------|
| 12 | Tsoukka | LH | settlement |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | LH | settlement |
| 30 | Nestani - Paniyiristra | LH | settlement |
| 51 | Skortsinos - Khelmos | LH | settlement |
| 60 | Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | LH | settlement |

Table A2.6: all structure+scatter.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | Sub Mycenaean | ritual |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | Protogeometric | ritual |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | Geometric | ritual |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | LH | settlement+ritual |
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | Geometric | burial |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | Protogeometric | ritual |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | Geometric | ritual |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiochori - b | LH | burial |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | LH | burial |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | LH | settlement+burial+ritual |
| 61 | Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos | LH | burial |
| 61 | Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos | Sub Mycenaean | burial |
| 70 | Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | LH | burial |
| 70 | Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | Sub Mycenaean | burial |
| 71 | Gortys | Geometric | ritual |
| 75 | Karvouni - Sfakouvouni | LH | settlement |
| 76 | Bougrianou | Geometric | burial |
| 78 | Vrisarion-Gamenitsa | LH | burial |

Table A2.7: all structure+assemblage.

A2.2: Site type 2 categorisations

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 1 |
|---------|---|----------------|-------------|
| 1 | Stymphalia a - Stymphalos | LH | findspot |
| 4 | Stymphalia d - Karterion, Ay. Konstantinos | Geometric | findspot |
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | Geometric | scatter |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | LH | findspot |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | Geometric | findspot |
| 11 | Lakkomata | Geometric | scatter |
| 11 | Lakkomata | LH | scatter |
| 14 | Vlakherna b - Plessa | LH | findspot |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | Protogeometric | findspot |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | LH | findspot |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | Geometric | findspot |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | Geometric | scatter |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | LH | scatter |
| 17 | Orchomenos a - summit | LH | findspot |
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | LH | findspot |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | Protogeometric | findspot |
| 35 | Thanas - Stoyia | LH | scatter |
| 38 | Manthyrea - Panayia | LH | scatter |
| 41 | Psili Vrysi | LH | scatter |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | Geometric | assemblage |
| 47 | Palaiokhoraki, Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris | LH | findspot |
| 48 | Ayios Athanasios of Dorizas | LH | findspot |
| 50 | AVS S67 | LH | findspot |
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | LH | assemblage |
| 53 | Mallota Kokkaliara | Geometric | scatter |
| 54 | Anemodhouri | Geometric | findspot |
| 59 | Figaleia | LH | findspot |
| 60 | Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | Sub Mycenaean | findspot |
| 63 | Vaklia - Palaiokastro | Geometric | findspot |
| 72 | Dimitsana | Geometric | findspot |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | Geometric | findspot |
| 79 | AVS S62 | LH | scatter |
| 80 | Kanelaki | LH | scatter |

Table A2.8: all ?activity).

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 1 |
|---------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | Protogeometric | structure |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | LH | structure |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | Geometric | structure |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | LH | structure |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | Protogeometric | structure |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | Geometric | structure |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | Protogeometric | structure |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | Geometric | structure |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | LH | structure |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | Protogeometric | structure |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | Geometric | structure |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | LH | structure |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | Geometric | structure |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | Protogeometric | structure |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | LH | structure |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | Protogeometric | structure |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | Geometric | structure |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | LH | structure |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | LH | structure |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | Protogeometric | structure |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | Geometric | structure |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | LH | structure |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | Protogeometric | structure |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | Geometric | structure |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | Geometric | structure |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | Protogeometric | structure |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | LH | structure |
| 37 | Lake Takka | Geometric | structure |
| 37 | Lake Takka | Sub Mycenaean | structure |
| 37 | Lake Takka | Protogeometric | structure |
| 37 | Lake Takka | LH | structure |

Table A2.9: all hydraulic works.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 1 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| 10 | Mt Kyllene | Geometric | assemblage |
| 13 | Vlakherna a - Petra | LH | scatter |
| 18 | Orchomenos b - Kalpakion church | Geometric | assemblage |
| 19 | Orchomenos c - peripteral building | Geometric | assemblage |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | Sub Mycenaean | structure+assemblage |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | Protogeometric | structure+assemblage |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | Geometric | structure+assemblage |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | Geometric | assemblage |
| 29 | Nestane - Sangas | Geometric | scatter |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | Geometric | structure+assemblage |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | LH | assemblage |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | Protogeometric | structure+assemblage |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | Sub Mycenaean | findspot |
| 42 | Mavriki | Geometric | assemblage |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | LH | assemblage |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | Protogeometric | assemblage |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | Geometric | assemblage |
| 56 | Alipheira | Geometric | assemblage |
| 56 | Alipheira | Protogeometric | findspot |
| 57 | Kretea | Geometric | assemblage |
| 58 | Bassae | Geometric | assemblage |
| 64 | Psophis - Ayios Petros | Geometric | assemblage |
| 66 | Lousoi | Geometric | assemblage |
| 71 | Gortys | Geometric | structure+assemblage |
| 73 | Petrovouni | Geometric | assemblage |

Table A2.10: all religious ritual.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 1 |
|---------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | Geometric | assemblage |
| 5 | Stymphalia e - Lafka, tholos | LH | structure |
| 20 | Orchomenos d - tumulus | LH | structure |
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | Geometric | structure+assemblage |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiochori - b | LH | structure+assemblage |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | LH | structure+assemblage |
| 55 | Andritsaina | Geometric | findspot |
| 61 | Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos | LH | structure+assemblage |
| 61 | Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos | Sub Mycenaean | structure+assemblage |
| 65 | Priolithos | Protogeometric | findspot |
| 67 | Manesi | Geometric | findspot |
| 68 | Kompegadi | Geometric | findspot |
| 70 | Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | LH | structure+assemblage |
| 70 | Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | Sub Mycenaean | structure+assemblage |
| 76 | Bougrianou | Geometric | structure+assemblage |
| 65 | Priolithos | Geometric | findspot |
| 78 | Vrisarion-Gamenitsa | LH | structure+assemblage |

Table A2.11: all burial.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 1 |
|---------|-----------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| 12 | Tsoukka | LH | structure+scatter |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | LH | structure+scatter |
| 30 | Nestani - Paniyiristra | LH | structure+scatter |
| 32 | Merkovouni a - Ayiolias | LH | scatter |
| 39 | Alea Palaiochori - a | LH | scatter |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | LH | scatter |
| 49 | Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion | LH | scatter |
| 51 | Skortsinos - Khelmos | LH | structure+scatter |
| 60 | Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | LH | structure+scatter |
| 62 | Dhimitra | LH | scatter |
| 69 | Drosato Vrisariou - Lakes | Geometric | scatter |
| 72 | Dimitsana | LH | structure+findspot |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | LH | findspot |
| 75 | Karvouni - Sfakovouni | LH | structure+assemblage |
| 77 | Dhavia - Kastro | LH | scatter |

Table A2.12: all settlements.

| Site ID | Site Name | period n | site type 1 |
|---------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| 31 | Loukas - Ayios Yioryios | LH | scatter |
| 36 | Vounon | LH | scatter |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiochori - b | Geometric | findspot |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | Geometric | findspot |

Table A2.13: all ?activity+ritual.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 1 |
|---------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | Geometric | assemblage |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | Protogeometric | assemblage |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | Protogeometric | structure+findspot |

Table A2.14: all ?activity+burial.

| Site ID | Site Name | period | site type 1 |
|---------|---|--------|----------------------|
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | LH | scatter |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | LH | structure+assemblage |

Table A2.15: all settlement+ritual.

| Site ID | Site Name | period description | site type 1 |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | LH | structure+assemblage |

Table A2.16: all settlement+burial+ritual.

| Site ID | Site Name | period description | site type 1 |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | Geometric | assemblage |

Table A2.17: all ritual+burial.

A2.3: Sites by period

(table continued on next page)

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|---|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Stymphalia a - Stymphalos | findspot | ?activity |
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | structure | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | structure | hydraulic works |
| 5 | Stymphalia e - Lafka, tholos | structure | burial |
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | scatter | settlement+ritual |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | findspot | ?activity |
| 11 | Lakkomata | scatter | ?activity |
| 12 | Tsoukka | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 13 | Vlakherna a - Petra | scatter | ritual |
| 14 | Vlakherna b - Plessa | findspot | ?activity |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | findspot | ?activity |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | scatter | ?activity |
| 17 | Orchomenos a - summit | findspot | ?activity |
| 20 | Orchomenos d - tumulus | structure | burial |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | structure | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | structure | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | settlement+ritual |
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | findspot | ?activity |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 30 | Nestani - Paniyiristra | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 31 | Loukas - Ayios Yioryios | scatter | ?activity+ritual |
| 32 | Merkouvouni a - Ayiolias | scatter | settlement |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | structure | hydraulic works |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | assemblage | ritual |
| 35 | Thanas - Stoyia | scatter | ?activity |
| 36 | Vounon | scatter | ?activity+ritual |
| 37 | Lake Takka | structure | hydraulic works |
| 38 | Manthyrea - Panayia | scatter | ?activity |
| 39 | Alea Palaiochori - a | scatter | settlement |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiochori - b | structure+assemblage | burial |
| 41 | Psili Vrysi | scatter | ?activity |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | scatter | settlement |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | structure+assemblage | burial |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | structure+assemblage | settlement+burial+ritual |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | assemblage | ritual |
| 47 | Palaiokhoraki, Ayios Nikolaos of Manaris | findspot | ?activity |

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 48 | Ayios Athanasios of Dorizas | findspot | ?activity |
| 49 | Ayios Yioryios of Athenaion | scatter | settlement |
| 50 | AVS S67 | findspot | ?activity |
| 51 | Skortsinos - Khelmos | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | assemblage | ?activity |
| 59 | Figaleia | findspot | ?activity |
| 60 | Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | structure+scatter | settlement |
| 61 | Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | burial |
| 62 | Dhimitra | scatter | settlement |
| 70 | Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | structure+assemblage | burial |
| 72 | Dimitsana | structure+findspot | settlement |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | findspot | settlement |
| 75 | Karvouni - Sfakouvouni | structure+assemblage | settlement |
| 77 | Dhavia - Kastro | scatter | settlement |
| 78 | Vrisarion-Gamenitsa | structure+assemblage | burial |
| 79 | AVS S62 | scatter | ?activity |
| 80 | Kanelaki | scatter | ?activity |

Table A2.18: All Late Helladic Sites.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 2 | site type 1 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | hydraulic works | structure |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | hydraulic works | structure |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | hydraulic works | structure |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | hydraulic works | structure |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | hydraulic works | structure |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | hydraulic works | structure |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | hydraulic works | structure |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | ritual | structure+assemblage |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | ritual | findspot |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | hydraulic works | structure |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | hydraulic works | structure |
| 37 | Lake Takka | hydraulic works | structure |
| 60 | Palaiokastro - Ay. Sotira | ?activity | findspot |
| 61 | Palaiokastro-Palaiopyrgos | burial | structure+assemblage |
| 70 | Kalliani - Ayios Yioryios | burial | structure+assemblage |

Table A2.19: All sub-Mycenaean sites.

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | structure | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | structure | hydraulic works |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | findspot | ?activity |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | structure | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | structure | hydraulic works |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | findspot | ?activity |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | assemblage | ?activity+burial |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | structure+findspot | ?activity+burial |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | structure | hydraulic works |
| 37 | Lake Takka | structure | hydraulic works |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | assemblage | ritual |
| 56 | Alipheira | findspot | ritual |
| 65 | Priolithos | findspot | burial |

Table A2.20: All Protoegeometric sites.

(table continued on next page)

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|---|----------------------|------------------|
| 2 | Stymphalia b - hydraulic works NE | structure | hydraulic works |
| 3 | Stymphalia c - hydraulic works SW | structure | hydraulic works |
| 4 | Stymphalia d - Karterion, Ay. Konstantinos | findspot | ?activity |
| 6 | Pheneos a - Kalyvia - Pyrgos (anc. Pheneos) | scatter | ?activity |
| 7 | Pheneos b - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 8 | Pheneos c - channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 9 | Pheneos d - Ay Kharalambos | findspot | ?activity |
| 10 | Mt Kyllene | assemblage | ritual |
| 11 | Lakkomata | scatter | ?activity |
| 15 | Khotoussa - Ayios Yioryios | findspot | ?activity |
| 16 | Kandhila - Bikiza | scatter | ?activity |
| 18 | Orchomenos b - Kalpakion church | assemblage | ritual |
| 19 | Orchomenos c - peripteral building | assemblage | ritual |
| 21 | Orchomenos e - hydraulic works/mill | structure | hydraulic works |
| 22 | Orchomenos f - drainage channel | structure | hydraulic works |
| 23 | Orchomenos g - dyke | structure | hydraulic works |
| 24 | Orchomenos h - dam | structure | hydraulic works |
| 25 | Orchomenos - Palaiopyrgos | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 26 | Artemision - Ayios Ilias | structure+assemblage | burial |
| 27 | Ptolis - Gortsouli | assemblage | ritual |
| 28 | Milea/Mantineia | assemblage | ?activity+burial |

| Site ID | Site Name | site type 1 | site type 2 |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 29 | Nestane - Sangas | scatter | ritual |
| 33 | Merkouvouni b - hydraulic works | structure | hydraulic works |
| 34 | Alea (Tegea) - Temple of Athena Alea | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 37 | Lake Takka | structure | hydraulic works |
| 40 | Alea - Palaiochori - b | findspot | ?activity+ritual |
| 42 | Mavriki | assemblage | ritual |
| 43 | Vourvoura-Analipsis a | assemblage | ?activity |
| 44 | Vourvoura-Analipsis b | findspot | ?activity+ritual |
| 45 | Kato Asea - Palaiokastro | assemblage | ritual+burial |
| 46 | Asea-Ayios Elias | assemblage | ritual |
| 52 | Kyparissi Yiannolakka | assemblage | burial |
| 53 | Mallota Kokkaliara | scatter | ?activity |
| 54 | Anemodhouri | findspot | ?activity |
| 55 | Andritsaina | findspot | burial |
| 56 | Alipheira | assemblage | ritual |
| 57 | Kreteia | assemblage | ritual |
| 58 | Bassae | assemblage | ritual |
| 63 | Vaklia - Palaiokastro | findspot | ?activity |
| 64 | Psophis - Ayios Petros | assemblage | ritual |
| 65 | Priolithos | findspot | burial |
| 66 | Lousoi | assemblage | ritual |
| 67 | Manesi | findspot | burial |
| 68 | Kompegadi | findspot | burial |
| 69 | Drosato Vrisariou - Lakes | scatter | settlement |
| 71 | Gortys | structure+assemblage | ritual |
| 72 | Dimitsana | findspot | ?activity |
| 73 | Petrovouni | assemblage | ritual |
| 74 | Lasta - Kollinos | findspot | ?activity |
| 76 | Bougrianou | structure+assemblage | burial |

Table A2.21: All Geometric sites.

APPENDIX 3: INSTRUCTIONS FOR USING THE CD-ROM

This thesis is accompanied by a CD-ROM. This CD has a copy of the thesis complete with hyperlinks to video clips, database and a Google Earth tour of Arkadia in a PDF document.

In order to view the document Adobe reader is required. This can be downloaded free form <http://www.download-it-free.com/acrobat/> . To view the clips, click on the text at the appropriate places in the PDF document. The clip is embedded and will start playing automatically. The database has been created in MS Access and can be opened by clicking on the paper clip icon below and interrogated either through the tables, forms and queries already created or through new queries devised by the reader.

In order to view the Google Earth tour, a free version of Google Earth is required. This can be downloaded from <http://earth.google.com/download-earth.html> (if reading this from the CD this can be accessed by clicking on the link above). Once Google Earth has been downloaded, double click Arkadia Tour to open the programme. On the left hand side of the screen are two panels, the top one displays files including that named Arkadia Tour. Double click on this and a list appears beneath. Make sure all check boxes are ticked, and then click on the start tour button below – an arrow pointing to the right. The tour can be stopped at any time. Double clicking on any site in the list will take you straight to that site. It is also possible to negotiate the landscape independently by panning and zooming using the buttons at the bottom of the screen.

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