

# MEMORY AND IMPRESSION

PROCEEDINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM  
ORGANISED AT TEGEA – December 12-13, 2019

*edited by*

Stelios DAMIGOS, Panagiotis P. IOSSIF,  
Olga KAKLAMANI & Yannis STOYAS







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Proceedings of an international colloquium organised at Tegea  
(December 12-13, 2019)  
edited by S. Damigos, P. P. Iossif, O. Kaklamani & Y. Stoyas

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Image in p. 69: Copper medal, engraved by Alphée Dubois (after the painting  
*Et in Arcadia ego* by N. Poussin), 1872; KIKPE Numismatic Collection.  
Image in p. 97: Copper coin, Tegea, ca. 250 BC; KIKPE Numismatic Collection.

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## INTRODUCTION

The present collective volume offers an assemblage of twenty-one studies under the title *Memory and Impression: Walking through loci and images of the Peloponnese*.<sup>1</sup> This ensemble of combined efforts embellishes the thematic under discussion through a series of approaches aiming to enhance parts of the remembered past in dialogue with a specific space and context. The title of the volume pays tribute to mnemonic techniques that form a long tradition going back to Simonides of Keos<sup>2</sup> and the Latin texts of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*,<sup>3</sup> such treatises of *ars memorativa* also appeared much later, for example by Ramon Llull and Giordano Bruno.<sup>4</sup> The laid down rules of this old tradition of 'mnemotechnics' involved "to imprint on the memory a series of *loci* or places"<sup>5</sup> and to employ artificial memory, i.e. memory strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline, which "is established from places and images".<sup>6</sup> As a means to remember many things, a large number of places should be used, embedding in them a corresponding number of images.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the function of memory was occasionally likened to the impression made by a signet on wax.<sup>8</sup>

In effect, memory "tends toward spatialization", and the "primal element in all

1 The idea for an international colloquium complementary to a temporary exhibition to be held at Tegea came up in late August 2018, three months after the exhibition's concept had been put forward and while the initial discussions with the involved parties were in progress. During the development of the exhibition, a key point was to avoid being confined by the chronological watershed (ca. 400 AD) suggested by the items on permanent display in the Archaeological Museum of Tegea. Though the focus was set mainly on aspects of the Peloponnese in antiquity, the scope was deliberately expanded to include perspectives related to later periods. The international colloquium *Memory and Impression* occurred at Tegea (MSVF Cultural Center, Building A) on 12-13 December 2019. This scientific meeting effectively functioned as a herald to the temporary exhibition *Memory and Impression: An itinerary through the Peloponnese in the company of ancient coins*, which was to be delayed by the outbreak and spread of the Covid-19 pandemic. The exhibition project eventually came to fruition on 8 June 2022, hosted in the Archaeological Museum of Tegea (Alea Tegeas) and the MSVF Cultural Center, Building B (Stadio Tegeas). While the second exhibition venue ceased to be available after 30 September 2022, the exhibition in the Museum area was prolonged until 30 June 2023.

2 Simonides was the first to invent such a method or art of memory; see Yates 1966, 1-2, 4, 17, 19, 22, 26, 27-29, 41-42, 51; Carson 1999, 38-43, 107-108; Assmann 2011, 15, 193.

3 Yates 1966, esp. 2, 4-17, 23, 26, 41 (*ad Herennium*); 2, 12-13, 17-21, 28 (*De oratore*); 2-3, 10, 21-26, 35-36, 43 (*Institutio oratoria*).

4 Yates 1966, esp. 173-198 (Lullism); 199-230, 243-265, 287-307, 308-319 (Bruno). See also Assmann 2011, esp. 15-16.

5 Yates 1966, 3. For the impact on the perception of memory cf. Augustine, *Confessiones*, 10.8 (12): *et venio in campos et lata praetoria memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuiuscumodi rebus sensis invectionum* ("I come to the fields and the grand palaces of my memory where there are treasure stores of countless impressions brought there from every imaginable kind of thing that my senses perceived"; transl. C. J.-B. Hammond).

6 *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.16: *Constat igitur artificiosa memoria ex locis et imaginibus* ("Therefore, artificial memory consists of places and images"). See also Yates 1966, 6, quoting this passage and commenting further that "[i]mages are forms, marks or simulacra (*formae, notae, simulacra*) of what we wish to remember".

7 *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.17: *Oportet igitur, si volumus multa meminisse, multos nos nobis locos comparare, uti multis locis multas imagines conlocare possimus* ("We should therefore, if we desire to memorize a large number of items, equip ourselves with a large number of backgrounds, so that in these we may set a large number of images"; transl. H. Caplan); see also Yates 1966, 7.

8 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 11.2.4: *quamquam plerique inprimi quaedam vestigia animo, velut in*

mnemotechnics is placement”.<sup>9</sup> This was a point of departure<sup>10</sup> for Pierre Nora in developing his monumental study regarding the ‘mnemonic places’ or ‘memory places’.<sup>11</sup> Having coined the term, Nora provides the following official definition: “a *lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community”.<sup>12</sup> Commenting further on the complexity of the *lieux de mémoire* and their aspects of embodied memory (material, symbolic, and functional), Nora also states: “*Lieux de mémoire* are created by the interaction between memory and history, an interaction resulting in a mutual overdetermination”.<sup>13</sup> After a fashion, memory and history are largely at odds, with memory taking root in the concrete (in spaces, gestures, images, and objects) and being absolute, while history binds itself to changes and relations between things and aims to conceive the relative.<sup>14</sup> Concerning modern societies, Nora contends that there is a rupture with the past, a rift in memory, due to the inability of a society of the present to live within a real environment of memory. This signals that memory functions only as a mere historical trace, becoming a simulation of the past, thus leading to the creation of ‘realms of memory’.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, it is asserted that “*Lieux de mémoire* exist because there are no longer any *milieux de mémoire*, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience”.<sup>16</sup>

Quite notably, the memory of individuals is formed in processes of communication with various social groups within the frame of the collective memory.<sup>17</sup> “No memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections”, as Maurice Halbwachs remarked.<sup>18</sup> A notion which was elaborated further: even when we think that we are sole witnesses to events, “[o]ur memories remain collective [...] In reality, we are never alone. Other men need not be physically present, since we always carry with us and in us a number of distinct persons”.<sup>19</sup> Moving beyond Halbwachs’ theory, more recent research outlined ‘the memory of things’<sup>20</sup> and pointed to benefits that can be gleaned through analysis related to the concept of ‘cultural memory’.<sup>21</sup>

*ceris anulorum signa servantur, existimant* (“Many hold, however, that certain traces are impressed upon the mind, in the way that the mark of a signet persists in the wax”; transl. D. A. Russell); see also Yates 1966, 35-36.

9 Assmann 2011, 25 and 44.

10 Nora 1996a, xv; see also Kritzman 1996, ix-x.

11 Nora 1984, 1986, 1992. See also Ricoeur 2004, 401. About Nora’s work see Hutton 1993, esp. 8-10, 147-152.

12 Nora 1996a, xvii. For the variety of the symbolic objects considered as *lieux de mémoire* see Nora 1996b, 6: “Museums, archives, cemeteries, collections, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments, sanctuaries, private associations ...”. See also Ricoeur 2004, 404.

13 Nora 1996b, 14.

14 Nora 1996b, 3. Cf. Assmann 2011, 30 (“According to Halbwachs, the relationship between memory and history is one of sequence. [...] In other words, the historian takes over from where collective memory leaves off”), and n. 36 (for the passing from memory to history and for certain events that never cease to be “figures of memory”).

15 Kritzman 1996, xii.

16 Nora 1996b, 1. See also Ricoeur 2004, 404.

17 Assmann 2011, 23.

18 Halbwachs 1992, 43. See also Assmann 2011, 21-22. On Halbwachs’ theory see Hutton 1993, esp. 6-8, 73-90.

19 Halbwachs 1980, 23.

20 Assmann 2011, 6.

21 Assmann 2011, esp. 5-11, 35-43.

The studies arrayed in this collective volume delve into the timeline of the Peloponnese, analysing or touching upon matters in the abovementioned theoretical framework.

Afroditi Vlachou and Stelios Damigos combine the early written sources that refer to Arkadia with the material traces of the corresponding periods, presenting the evolution of these local and regional aspects of identity formation from the Protogeometric to the Early Archaic period. The connection of literary and material evidence provides a better understanding of the patterns emerging and evolving through time, poses new questions on the material, and produces new perspectives on the broader picture of traditionally decentralised areas, as in Early Arkadia. In a broader context, connections on a regional level are investigated, and the existence of cultural or other networks between Arkadia and the rest of the Peloponnese in this transitional period is examined.

Anna Vasiliki Karapanagiotou discusses the long process towards the foundation of the urban centre of Mantinea, while also focusing on the crucial contribution of ritual communication and public memory for constructing identity in Greek *polis* states. Evaluating the most recent archaeological data from the area, a picture of the formation of the urban centre in Mantinea in the earliest stages is drawn, and the dating of such evidence is updated. Furthermore, important questions are posed on the nature of public space and its materialisation in the architectural remnants uncovered.

Lara Diletta Varotto offers an overview of the Poseidon cult in Tegea, by examining the available sources related to it. The overall analysis of the sources suggests that the cult of the god – attested between the 6th and 2nd century BC – took place both within the urban circuit, in relationship with the *Hippochoitai phyle* and probably with the gymnasium, and in the *chora*, where some of the testimonies have been found (precisely from the area of *Aphidantes* and *Potachidai* demes). Concerning the nature of the god, elsewhere traditionally associated with the sea and its vital or destructive power, in Tegea – as in the rest of the inner region of Arkadia – it preserves its ancient and original characters: it appears as a chthonic god, strongly tied to essential and underground forces (earthquakes, springs, rivers and floods). Precisely because of this role, he is associated with the horse, a symbol of wild energy and the force of nature *par excellence*, as well as hypothetically within the gymnastic-competitive setting.

Paloma Guijarro Ruano analyses the extant corpus of Arkadian inscriptions in verse, identifying local attempts to impressing (or not) national memories to conform to a collective identity. For that purpose, these documents are compared with other metrical inscriptions from surrounding Peloponnesian areas. In the pre-Hellenistic period, epichoric dialects could be represented in epigraphic poetry: language – and the consequent selection of local dialects or commoner standardized forms – could also be interpreted as a marker of identity. Furthermore, these metrical inscriptions are compared with their literary counterparts, looking for their affinities and dissimilarities. These literary epigrams are to be quoted in ancient authors or ancient collections of epigrams (the so-called Garlands). As a result, further problems of authorship and the original nature of epigrams must also be taken into account. Finally, epigrams assigned to Anyte of Tegea, an Arkadian poetess who *floruit* ca. 300 BC, are also considered.

Hans Beck explores the notion of identity of place through the case study of Phlius and its coinage in the Classical period. From the 430s BC and through the 4th century, a series of silver coins from Phlius bear a wheel with four pellets, one in each corner of an incuse square on the reverse. Their weight follows the Aeginetan standard, which indicates easy exchanges with emissions from the economically pow-

erful Sikyon and Argos, nearby mints that used the same standard. In conjunction with the oxen on the obverse, the coin series references agricultural productivity. On some emissions, however, the depiction of the wheel is more schematic and abstract, indicating that there is more at play than farming. The longevity of the series, which runs unchanged for the longest time in the Classical period, further inspires the quest for a deeper meaning. It is argued that the visual language of the coins gave voice to the particular way in which the people of Phlious saw themselves and in relation to the world beyond their valley.

Peter Funke analyses the ever-changing landscape of power politics of the Peloponnese in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. He presents two case studies of concentration of power, the Mantineians in the late 5th and the 4th century BC, and the Achaian League in the 3rd and 2nd century BC. The selected case studies are intended to illustrate the functioning, as well as the wide range and high dynamism, of the political changes that had taken place within a multidimensional tension field in the Peloponnese in Classical and Hellenistic times.

Selene Psoma reopens the discussion about the 5th century BC coinage issued with Zeus enthroned on the obverse, a goddess' head on the reverse, and the legend *APKAIKON*. All previous interpretations and the dates proposed for this coinage are discussed, as she presents her argument that this coinage emerged during a critical period and served military needs.

George Kakavas, Elena Kontou, and Stelios Damigos present the results of a project carried out at the Numismatic Museum, Athens, concerning the 5th century BC *Arkadikon* coinage. A relatively large sample of such coins, found in the holdings of the Museum, were analysed to identify their metal alloy composition. This allows comparing the separate groups of these coins from a different perspective, commenting on their relevance and cohesion as coinage and further comparing it within the numismatic context of the respective period.

Lilian de Angelo Laky discusses the use of the image of Zeus on coins by the Arkadians in two crucial political moments: during the 5th century BC, arguably in the context of the formation of an Arkadian 'League', and then in the 4th century BC, within the context of the foundation of Megalopolis. Arkadia is prolific in numismatic representations of Zeus, coming second only behind the coinage of Elis-Olympia. Emphasis is given to the choice of Zeus by the Arkadians, underlying the role of the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion, which at that time was influential in articulating political and regional identities in Arkadia.

Thoroughly and exhaustively, François de Callatay addresses the broader question of how to understand (civic?) coinages not as isolated issues out of their context but within larger numismatic, historical, and cultural landscapes. The author considers the beautiful large silver staters issued by Pheneos, Stymphalos, and the Arkadian League in the 360s BC, three of the most praised for their beauty Greek coin issues. His analysis, based on quantifying methods on number of dies, die-links, weights, but also on the quality of metal composition, clearly shows that these small issues were part of a larger, supra-civic numismatic production, one to be understood in the context of the brief Theban domination in central Peloponnese sometime between the Theban victories at Leuktra (371 BC) and Mantinea (362 BC). Even if their iconography is beautiful, they were poorly and hastily executed in order to meet military payments, as most issues in Classical and Hellenistic Antiquity. This article serves as a method-

ological model on how to analyse individual issues of small size within their broader contexts by combining all data available.

Yannis Stoyas' focus is directed towards a short silver issue minted by Tegea in the 4th century BC with a warrior in a fighting stance on the reverse. Such a male figure appears also on later bronze issues of the *polis*. In the past, there was a tendency to identify this figure with Kepheus, a mythical king of Tegea. Quite interestingly, the coin type under discussion bears a close iconographic resemblance with a marble relief figure on display in the Archaeological Museum of Tegea; the relief is dated in the 4th century BC and bears the name EXEMOC, which was inscribed much later (1st or 2nd century AD). The identification of the warrior on the coins with Echemos, another mythical king of Tegea, is put forward as more plausible. A more probable dating emerges based on numismatic criteria and is viewed as a case of coined identity, i.e. a mythical narrative reified within a specific historical context (ca. 362 BC). Furthermore, a connection to a particular historical event is proposed for the re-emergence of the coin type on Tegeatan bronzes (ca. 207 BC), again as a component of 'intentional' story-telling.

Manolis Pagkalos develops an approach concentrating on the Arkadians and the Achaians, both considered indigenous populations of the Peloponnese by Herodotos. It is noted that Arkadia was a region with a tradition of ethnic unity and continuation but also of extreme political fragmentation. As the political landscape of the Peloponnese gradually changed and given their proximity to Achaia, it is not surprising that Arkadian cities started from 235 BC onwards to enroll in the expanding Achaian League. The case study of Megalopolis is enlightening, outlined by glimpses of ideological orientations of the elite traced in the work of Polybios, offering an insight into the mechanisms of memory construction. Rather tellingly, the federal bronze coins of the 2nd century BC bear a federal/regional designation (ΑΧΑΙΩΝ) next to the local/civic issuing authority; in the Hellenistic timeframe, an Arkadian could also be Achaian – a merged identity projected as an indicator of the attempts to achieve political unity in the league.

Olga Kaklamani reflects on the memory (Gr. *mnēmē*) of Lais the courtesan, in connection to her burial monument (Gr. *mnēmeion*) at Corinth; as attested by Pausanias, the tomb of Lais was located in the area of the Kraneion grove. Noteworthy is that Pausanias' testimony is antedated by a Corinthian coin issue belonging to the 'pseudo-autonomous' coin series of the city, struck probably in the time of Hadrian (ca. 128-138 AD). The discussion revolves around the persona of Lais, the cult of Aphrodite, as well as the practice of (sacred) prostitution at Corinth; special reference is made to the lioness iconographical device as a pun on the name of Lais. By the 2nd century AD, the famous courtesan had gained an elevated status in the collective memory of the Corinthians; her grave marker, situated on the route from Kenchreai to Corinth, had become an iconic landmark and an 'invitation' to the visitors of the city.

Kostas Buraselis, beginning with a neglected piece of evidence in Suetonius' biography of Vespasian on the latter's ascent to the imperial throne, presents some intriguing remarks on the typology of such presages of power for ancient rulers-to-be (particularly of less exalted inherited status) and their significance.

Nikos Giannakopoulos presents aspects of civic approval and public memory through the phenomenon of private honours in the Roman Peloponnese. He investigates this new textual practice of providing access to public memory in the cities of Roman Peloponnese and explores how similar practices used in Roman cities became known to the Peloponnese through the Roman colony of Corinth. He also examines the extent of using this new form of honorific inscriptions, comparing them with the

well-established from the past private and public honorific inscriptions and bringing forward important local particularities. Finally, he focuses on the social and political background of the individuals who were recorded as grantors and recipients of honour in these inscriptions, and on the nature of their interaction with the civic authorities.

Matthias Haake investigates the connection of the Peloponnese, particularly Arkadia, with philosophy as a discipline. Although the study of philosophy in Graeco-Roman antiquity is mainly focused on the large and well-known centres, above all Athens, but also Alexandria, philosophy should not only be considered as an ‘academic’ discipline but must also be seen as a widespread social practice of the (mostly male) members of the social elites in the Mediterranean world. This twofold perspective forces us to ask for different local and regional cultures of philosophy.

Ilias Anagnostakis attempts to shed some light on the scanty pieces of information that have been preserved about Tegea during the Byzantine period. This essay is limited mainly to philological sources, with selective reference to archaeological *realia* (pottery). By the 9th/10th century, the city was known as Amykleion or Eniklion; the old name Tegea was kept on occasion in use until the Frankish conquest, when Mochli, Mouchli, and Nikli became prevalent. Brief commentary is offered to literary references such as Tegean *topos* (land), Nikliou *chora* (territory) or Tegean *choros* (country). The ancient fame about a plain with many vines survives in medieval sources; the factual value with regard to the Byzantine period remains, however, under investigation.

Gerasimos Merianos brings into the spotlight George Gemistos Plethon (ca. 1355–1452), a significant Byzantine thinker and prominent Platonist during the twilight of the Byzantine Empire. Settling in Mystras, the capital of the Byzantine Despotate of the Morea, Plethon proposed a comprehensive political and economic reform plan to counter the looming Ottoman threat, which was communicated through memoranda to the despot Theodore II Palaiologos and the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos. Plethon drew inspiration mainly from Platonic ideals and the institutions of ancient Sparta, envisioning a virtuous state in the Morea and urging immediate action. A pivotal element of Plethon’s program was the abolition of foreign coinage, specifically, the debased Venetian torneselli, labeled as “wicked copper coins” – a term borrowed from Aristophanes. In this context, the Plethonian phrase is contextualised and the prevailing consensus on the likely associated issue of the “Peloponnesian/Lakonian tornesi” is assessed. Recognising that the Morea’s independence relied on curbing western economic penetration, symbolised by the circulation of foreign currencies, Plethon’s proposals aimed to address the economic vulnerabilities of the region and fortify its economic foundations.

Catherine Vanderheyde turns her attention to a curious carved slab that was discovered among the ruins of the Hagia Sophia church at Andravida. This slab bears an Old French inscription revealing that it was designed to cover the remains of Agnès of Villehardouin (ca. 1243–1286), the second wife of William II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaea. Moreover, it is stated that she was the daughter of the Byzantine despot Michael II of Epirus, and her death is dated 4 January 1286. The discussion is focused on the most puzzling feature employed in the ornamentation of the tomb slab, four salamanders, identified as such due to their speckled backs. The motif analysis provides insight into the meaning of the salamander(s) carved on the tomb slab of Agnès, illustrating her dual franco-byzantine identity.

In Renaissance Florence Pan’s image became related to Lorenzo il Magnifico, as evident in the nowadays lost painting of Luca Signorelli, *The Court of Pan* or

*Pan deus Arcadiae*. Ianthi Assimakopoulou attempts to highlight aspects of Pan's survival – both as a cosmic deity and as a god of Nature – in the Neoplatonic environment of the Medici villa at Careggi outside Florence. The patriarch of the Medici, Cosimo il Vecchio, had donated the villa to the humanist Marsilio Ficino in 1462, so that he might dedicate his life to thought, translation, and Plato. Thus, the “Platonic Academy” was established, and its members included the leading intellectuals of Florence and Lorenzo himself. Signorelli's masterpiece, despite various and often conflicting approaches, still remains an enigmatic work of art that invites viewers to reflect on the symbolic figures depicted and to perceive Pan as an enormous inner potency that urges the human soul to seek the universal and the eternal.

Dimitra Grousouzakou and Ioanna Spiliopoulou deal with the settlement of the Maniates in Petalidi (*quondam* ancient Korone) and the establishment of a colony of Mani there, after twelve centuries of silence and depopulation in the area. Petalidi was officially founded with the Royal Decree of 19 April 1834. The creation of the settlement mainly followed the neoclassical trends of urban planning and architecture during the reign of Otto. Three different populations were assembled in this colony: the Maniates settlers, the local inhabitants of the surrounding Messenian villages, as well as the Anevokatevates (Vlachs in origin, coming from villages of Arkadia), who had already moved to the surrounding area. The discussion closes with an assessment of the cultural acculturation in Petalidi due to its population diversity.

Viewing this collective volume in totality and scrutiny reveals some apparent or undercurrent links between authors. Aspects of the religious life of Mantinea (Vlachou and Damigos; Varotto) and sociopolitical constructs related to this *polis* (Karapanagiotou; Funke). The much-discussed ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ coinage (Psoma in particular; Kakavas, Damigos, and Kontou; Laky; Pagkalos). The metal composition of coins of certain Peloponnesian mints (Kakavas, Damigos, and Kontou for the 5th century; de Callataÿ for the 4th century BC). The issues of Tegea dated in the military turmoil of the 360s BC (de Callataÿ; Stoyas). The intentionality of narratives of the past re-employed in the present (Guijarro; de Callataÿ; Stoyas; Pagkalos). Case studies of localism (Beck about ancient Phlious; Grousouzakou and Spiliopoulou about 19th-century Petalidi). Patterns of political unity of the Achaian League (Funke; Pagkalos). Formulations of female sepulchral memory (Kaklamani about Lais; Vanderheyde about Agnès of Villehardouin) and reformulations of private honours in public space (Giannakopoulos). Literary references concerning Arkadia and Tegea (Guijarro; Buraselis; Anagnostakis). Examples of philosophers influenced by Plato and Neoplatonism (Haake; Assimakopoulou), with specific mention to Gemistos Plethon (Merianos *ad hoc*; Haake *paucis verbis*). The perception of the image of Arkadia during the Renaissance (Assimakopoulou *in extenso*; Guijarro *breviter*).

As remarked by Jan Assmann, “memory culture is universal” and is to be found in virtually any social group; accordingly, the history of ‘memory communities’ is more challenging to write: “It is only possible to highlight some generic features that can be illustrated by recourse to some examples chosen arbitrarily”.<sup>22</sup> The outcome of the studies collected here can be considered to fairly reflect this view.

22 Assmann 2011, 16.

In the postscript of his seminal study *Mal d'Archive*, Jacques Derrida comments on *Gradiva*, the novella of Wilhelm Jensen (1902), as analysed by Sigmund Freud in an influential essay. Set out to make a final point, Derrida propounds that Freud “wants to exhume a more archaic *impression*, he wants to exhibit a more archaic *imprint* than the one the other archaeologists of all kinds bustle around, those of literature and those of classical objective science, an imprint that is singular each time, an impression that is almost no longer an archive but almost confuses itself with the pressure of the footstep that leaves its still-living mark on a substrate, a surface, a place of origin. [...] An archive which would in sum confuse itself with the *arkhē*, with the origin of which it is only the *type*, the *typos*, the iterable letter or character”.<sup>23</sup> Derrida then refers to Norbert Hanold, the fictitious archaeologist in the book, indicating that the latter comes to realise his impulse: “all of this comes back to him in an act of memory (*Erinnerung*). [...] Hanold has come to search for these traces in the literal sense (*im wörtlichen Sinne*). [...] At least that imprint (*Abdruck*), distinct from all the others, must be rediscovered but this presupposes *both* memory *and* the archive, the one and the other as the same, *right on the same* subjectile in the field of excavations”.<sup>24</sup> In Derrida’s analysis, an impasse is reached for any researcher: try as one might, it is not possible to witness an event happening and at the same time archive that event. Still, despite research limitations, the primary impression must be sought to be possibly uncovered.

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23 Derrida 1996, 97-98.

24 Derrida 1996, 98-99.