

The Theatres of Roman Arcadia, Pausanias, and the History of the Region*

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When studying Roman Greece, scholars often rely on the descriptions given by the ancient literary sources. Ancient sources, however, are very contradictory and sketch quite different images of the conditions of Arcadia during the imperial age. This paper examines different kinds of evidence: numismatic testimonia, various literary sources, epigraphical evidence, and archaeological data related to the history of Roman Arcadia. In particular, the archaeological evidence offered by the theatres of Roman Arcadia is emphasized. These monuments, in fact, have to be considered as one of the most revealing indicators of the economic, social and political conditions of a Roman city. The fact that several Arcadian centres certainly possessed a theatre must be, in its turn, combined with other kinds of evidence.

The general condition of Roman Arcadia, as well as of Roman Greece more in general, has often been deduced from the sole analysis of literary sources. These texts, remarkably heterogeneous as to their chronology, literary genre and cultural milieu,¹ sketch a quite negative picture.² Here we shall attempt to

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1. The range is very wide: personal letters, novels, travel writings, orations, antiquarian books, historical descriptions. For a reading of the *Golden Ass* by Apuleius as a portrait of a provincial society see Millar 1981.

2. For a very well-balanced and complete analysis of literary sources regarding Roman Greece and their value for the reconstruction of the situation of the province, see Alcock 1993, 24-32 in particular.

reconstruct some aspects of the centres of Arcadia during the age when this region was part of a province of the Roman Empire, by combining the information given on one hand by the ancient sources and on the other hand by archaeological research, with special emphasis on a particular group of monuments: the theatres. A combined study of ancient sources and archaeological data turns out to be the most profitable approach in order to examine an ancient context in its entirety; but this should be done without trying to find a mechanical correspondence between the archaeological remains and the topographical description of a site or the data from the written sources.

The proposal to consider the theatres as a paradigm of study could be seen as a quite provocative choice. Nevertheless, in our opinion, the presence of a theatre must be considered as one of the most revealing indicators of the economic, social and political conditions of a city during the Roman imperial age. In this regard, we should consider a very eloquent remark made by Pausanias about the city of Panopeus. This city barely qualified for urban status: "Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain ..." ³ It is quite evident that a Greek of the 2nd century A.D. was aware that a city could not lack certain pre-requisites: the presence of a representation of the political power, where official acts are held (*ta archeia*); a public place for the exchange of goods (*agora*); a place for physical exercise (gymnasium); a public fountain so that citizens can supply themselves for free with a primary good, the water; and finally, a theatre. The theatre, which by the Roman period had lost its function as an almost sacred place for dramatic representations, had become a place for various forms of performance: together with more traditional spectacles such as comedies and tragedies, we shall recall mime, pantomime, ballets, and rhetorical displays. ⁴ Whereas in the West *ludi gladiatorii*, *venationes*, or *tetimimes* ⁵ were performed exclusively in amphitheatres, in Greece, where these structures were almost never built *ex novo*, ⁶ theatres

3. Paus. 10.4.1: Πανοπέας ... πόλις Φωκέων, εἶγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους, οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα, οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν, οὐ θέατρον, οὐκ ἀγοράν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην ... In any case, Pausanias must admit that Panopeus can be considered as a city because of the presence of borders: "nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbours" (Paus. 10.4.1). See also Alcock 1993, 119.

4. A specific form of spectacle was called διασκευαί, consisting of remakes of classical comedies: Veyne 1989.

5. Mimes for Tethys, wife of Okeanos: water ballets or other plays, performed in the theatres by naked or half-naked actresses. See Traversari 1950 and *id.* 1952.

6. Only two amphitheatres are attested in Roman Greece, one located in the Roman colony of Corinth, and the other in Epirus, in the Roman colony of Dyrrachium (which was part of the

were adapted to accommodate these shows.⁷ Above all, in Roman city planning these buildings played a clearly defined political role, both as a symbol of the Emperor's munificence and at the same time as a place where the whole civic body used to gather, seated according to social rank and status on the basis of severe hierarchical rules.⁸ Large crowds of people used to meet in theatres on the occasion not only of performances, but also of public assemblies, feasts and processions related to the imperial cult.⁹ These various occasions offered the citizens an opportunity to pay tribute to the local and central power, or even to challenge it.¹⁰ Thanks to the architectural structure itself, theatres conveyed multiple and different messages to the public which gathered from neighbouring cities and villages of a greater or lesser proximity. Furthermore, central and local power was obsessed by the necessity of enjoying the favour of the citizens (*favor, gratia*), which was strictly related to the necessity of being generous in sponsoring spectacles and financing games and performances. And the *scaenae frons*, richly adorned with statues and inscriptions¹¹ celebrating the Emperor, the imperial house and local *euergetai*, transmitted 'reassuring' messages to the public, constantly calling to mind the presence of a central and a local power which could keep order and grant prosperity to all the *cives Romani*, to such an extent that we could characterize the theatre as an ancient form of 'mass-media'.¹²

In book 8 of his work, Pausanias provides us with one of the most exhaustive descriptions of Roman Arcadia. The Periegetes saw the theatre of Megalopolis,¹³ and characterizes it as the largest of all the theatres in Greece.¹⁴ In effect, with its

province of Macedonia): Golvin 1988, 138 no. 126 (Corinth) and 203 no. 178 (Dyrrachium). For the alleged amphitheatre of Patras see Papapostolou 1989, in particular 354-71.

7. About the transformations which took place in the theatres in order to adapt them to the performances in fashion during the imperial age, see Moretti 1992.

8. Zanker 2000. An attempt to find a correlation between the spatial arrangement of the *cavea* and the social structure of the relevant communities has been made by Small 1987.

9. An eloquent example is the case of Gytheion: Kougeas 1928, 16-43, figs. 4-5.

10. Hülsemann 1987. A description of the screaming and cheering crowd, gathered in the theatre of a Euboean city in order to decide the innocence of a citizen accused of having appropriated public land, is to be found in Dio Chrys. 7.23-42.

11. In Greece, the sculptural decoration of the *scaenae frontes* of Roman theatres was really abundant above all in Roman colonies, such as Corinth, where the Roman presence was particularly strong. On the contrary, in most cases the Roman phase implied only some further embellishment of the Hellenistic *proskenion*, which was provided with columns on its front, and the addition of some statues, often located in the *orchestra*.

12. See the proceedings of the colloquium published by Blänsdorf 1990.

13. On the city of Megalopolis see Roy *et al.* 1988.

14. Paus. 8.32.1. The writer concludes his account of Megalopolis with a moral digression: so many cities once rich and flourishing have collapsed, because the gods and Tyche overthrow

orchestra 30 m in diameter, its *cavea* 130 m in diameter, and an estimated capacity of around 20,000 spectators, it can really be defined as one of the largest in Greece.¹⁵ Created during the 4th century B.C., the theatre was connected with the adjoining Thersilion (the assembly hall of the '10,000' representatives of the Arcadian League) in terms of chronology, function and proximity. After some changes made in the Hellenistic period, a stone *proskenion* was built during the Roman age, with 14 columns on its front, and which cuts into the 4th century *orchestra*. Recent excavations have shed light on the later fortunes of the monument, which was partly dismantled as the area was first occupied by a Byzantine necropolis and then (especially in the area of the east *parodos*) robbed of its marble when a lime-kiln of the Ottoman period was in use.¹⁶

Pausanias also refers to the theatre of Mantinea. This building is closely related to the vital centre of city life, as it represents the monumental frame of one side of the city *agora*, studded with monuments built during the Roman period. In its final aspect, the huge space of the Mantinea *agora* must have been very impressive. It was constituted with the theatre as the background of the short west side, the *exedra* of Epigone and a stoa on its north side, another stoa and several buildings on its east side, the monumental *propylon* in the southeast corner, and finally the so-called *bouleuterion*, with many statues on its front, on the south side. The theatre, built during the 4th century B.C. and restructured in Hellenistic times, also had a Roman phase. At that time the scene building, built with blocks of white limestone, had a *proskenion* with 16 half-columns on its front.¹⁷

The theatre of Tegea, built during the 4th century B.C., acquired (probably during the imperial age) a scene building in *opus caementicium* with 10 or 12 half-columns on its front.¹⁸ Its decoration must have consisted, as Pausanias

human destiny, and Megalopolis itself is now in ruins: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν (Paus. 8.33.1).

15. Here I shall not consider the problem of its chronological relationship with the Thersilion, nor that of the existence of a movable *skene* which was stored in the so-called *skanotheka*. The existence of this storage place for the scenery, comparable to the similar one in the theatre of Sparta, has been doubted for both the theatres of Megalopolis and Sparta: Buckler 1986.

16. Most recently discussed by Karapanagiotou 2001.

17. Fougères 1890, 248-52, pl. 17; *id.* 1898, 165-74, figs. 36-41; Bulle 1928, 248; Arias 1934, 95-7, fig. 64; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 313.

18. Vallois 1926; Bulle 1928, 259-60; Arias 1934, 97-8, fig. 65; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 270. This theatre is partially covered by the metropolitan church of Paleo Episkopi, and many elements which decorated it have without doubt been reused for the construction of the church, which lies above the *cavea*. The monument was later occupied by a Palaeochristian necropolis, as the presence of many inscribed funerary *stelai* demonstrates: Vallois 1926, 169-73, fig. 26, pl. 10.

reports, of bronze statues, which by his time had disappeared: the Periegetes, in fact, could see only the remaining bases.¹⁹

It is not by chance that Pausanias mentions only these three theatres in the whole region of Arcadia: as a matter of fact, the remaining ones must have been reduced to ruins by his time. Thanks to the archaeological investigations, it is an unquestionable fact that there was a theatre also in the city of Kleitor, located on the north-west slopes of the hill today called Κόντρα. Although this building was in use during the Hellenistic age, we can suppose that it had disappeared by the Roman period, because some marble seats from the theatre have been found re-used in a Roman building.²⁰ The theatre of Orchomenos is located near the *agora*, on the acropolis of the city. Its *cavea* exploits the slopes of the hillside, and the *skene* was built not long before the city walls of the 4th century. Pausanias relates that the upper city had been abandoned by his time and that the population now lived at the foot of the hill. This information, which implies that also the theatre was no longer in use, is confirmed by the total absence on the acropolis of remains dating to the Roman age, which, on the contrary, are evident in the lower city.²¹ Finally, although there was a theatre also in Psophis, whose scanty remains had disappeared by the beginning of the 20th century,²² Pausanias, who passed through the city, does not mention the monument; it must already have been a ruin in his days.²³

A different case altogether is represented by Stymphalos, which had a very small theatre still in use during Roman times.²⁴ Pausanias, who dwells on the description of the famous marsh, makes no allusion to the monument. Pending further excavations, we cannot confirm yet his account of a change in the political status of the city (Stymphalos would have accepted that its territory was annexed by Argos) or of the ensuing removal elsewhere of the urban centre.

19. Paus. 8.49. See also Papachatzis 1980, 397-8, fig. 438.

20. Petritaki 2001; see also her paper in this volume. At the actual state of the research, it is not possible to determine if the theatre of Kleitor already existed in the 4th century B.C.

21. Paus. 8.13.1-3. See also Blum and Plassart 1914, 79-81, fig. 8, pl. 3; Karo 1914, 161; Bulle 1928, 248-9; Arias 1934, 83-4; Stainhauer 1973-74, 301, pl. 193 α-β; H.P. Isler, in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio 1994, 229.

22. Curtius 1851, 387; Frazer 1898, 282; Papandreou 1920, 135, fig. on p. 130. See the paper by M. Petropoulos in this volume for recent attempts to identify it.

23. It has still to be demonstrated that also the ancient city of Kaphyes had a theatre. Pending further excavations, we must remark that the recently discovered marble throne, now in the museum of Tripolis, comes from the theatre of Orchomenos (I want to thank Yanis Pikoulas, to whom I owe this information); see instead Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2000, 48-9, who claim for it a provenance from the theatre of Kaphyes.

24. For a first presentation of the excavations carried on at Stymphalos by the Canadian Institute, together with an analysis of the theatre, see the paper by H. Williams in this volume (with previous bibliography).

Having made these observations, we may draw some conclusions. First, concerning the ever returning question of Pausanias' trustworthiness. It seems almost beyond doubt that Pausanias made a selective description of each place he visited: "Pausanias' selection within monumental context, far from being the result of distractions or of superficial decision making, is more frequently the product of cultural and political choices, which can be both conscious and unconscious but always derive from a profound adherence to the values that monuments, be they mentioned or discarded, embody within the Hellenistic taste of this particular Greek of the second century A.D."²⁵ Everywhere in the 8th book of his *Periegesis*, dedicated to a long and precise description of Arcadia, the writer seems to dwell upon the abundance of ruins in this region. It has been calculated that in this book the term ἐρείπια, the verb ἐρημόω and the adjective ἔρημος occur more frequently than in any other sections in his whole work.²⁶ This attitude has been interpreted, in my opinion with good reason, as a possible proof of his contempt for what is modern and of his admiration for what is ancient: describing a monument as a ruin would therefore demonstrate that it is worthy to be considered as venerable.²⁷

It is a matter of fact that rhetors exaggerate when they describe Roman Greece as a quite poor country, insisting on purpose on its decline. In his famous speech at Corinth, when he presented Greece with 'freedom', Nero regretted that he could not make this generous gift at a more flourishing moment for the country,²⁸ while Dio Chrysostom describes, in the 7th Discourse, an inhabited city of Euboea whose monuments and official buildings are covered by corn and whose citizens have turned the gymnasium into a ploughed field, while cattle graze in the market-place.²⁹ It is also to be admitted that there is much evidence

25. Torelli 2001, 54. For Pausanias' selection in his work see also Moggi 1993, 405-18.

26. Pritchett 1999, 195-222, in particular 197-202.

27. Arafat 1996, in particular 36-42. The book dedicated to Arcadia is the longest of the whole *Periegesis*, after those describing Elis and Olympia. Of course, Pausanias' interest in this region being very strong, the frequency of the term ἐρείπια could be also explained considering the dimensions of the 8th book.

28. *ILS* 8794; *IG* VII, 2713⁷: "Would that I had been able to provide this gift when Greece was flourishing, so that more people might have enjoyed my grace, for that I blame the passage of time for having reduced in advance the magnitude of my favour." For further bibliography see also Moggi and Osanna 2000, 277-8. The official text of this speech has been found walled up in a small church at Akraiphia (Boeotia): Holleaux 1888.

29. On this oration see the comment by Larsen 1938, 479-81: "Dio's purpose was not to give an accurate account of any section in Euboea but rather to paint a utopian wilderness in which a countryman without capital could live in comfort, and Euboea was so far from Rome (where it is believed that the speech was thought to have been delivered) that his hearers would not question the details ... Dio's sketch of Euboea appears overdrawn."

to show that Achaia had marginal economic importance in comparison with other provinces of the Empire.³⁰ But it is of fundamental importance to realize the impossibility of measuring by the same standard all the regions of the Empire, which are characterized by an enormous variety of settlement patterns, natural resources, trade exchanges, geographical situations, as well as by the legacy of their pre-Roman political regimes. Greece, which always enjoyed a privileged status amongst the provinces of the Empire by virtue of its glorious classical past, seems to offer a picture where rural life is prevalent, and there are only a few larger cities. Those cities were nonetheless integrated within a wider communication system: first of all, thanks to the *cursus publicus*, the official communication system of the Empire, and secondly thanks to the network traced by Roman roads.³¹ In Arcadia, Tegea was a post-stage of the *cursus publicus*, being located almost half-way between Argos and Sparta;³² and both Mantinea and Megalopolis were junctions on major Roman roads, and thus had access to frequent communications and exchanges of all kinds.³³

ἔρημία μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις. With these words Strabo characterizes Megalopolis, “the great city”, and one of the main centres of Arcadia, which would have been, by his time, “a great desert”.³⁴ His description of Arcadia as a desolate and abandoned land, whose once flourishing cities have disappeared, seems to coincide, at least to a great extent, with that of many other writers who lived during the imperial age and described Greece, directly or not. We shall recall here as an example a famous passage from an oration by Dio Chrysostom: “Does not the Peneus flow through a Thessaly that is desolate? Does not the Ladon flow through an Arcadia whose people have been driven from their homes?”³⁵ In ancient sources two recurring metaphors can be

30. Day 1942, 177-251, stresses that, apart from rhetorical exaggerations, Greece was anything but rich during imperial times.

31. In general, for the road system in the Roman provinces, see Purcell 1990, 12-4. For Greece see Pikoulas 1995, mainly 320-3.

32. In later times, Tegea is also mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*: Pikoulas 1995, 320-2.

33. Very little systematic work has been done on the Roman road network in Achaia. Nonetheless, no real imperial interest in road building seems to be indicated until the time of Trajan, in part because the province had no military importance. This aspect of Romanization is in any case to be stressed, as this urban network in fact “represented the expression of ideas from the centre of the Empire through to its periphery”: Jones 1987, 47.

34. Strabo 8.8.1. The chapter which he dedicates to Arcadia is – and not by chance – the most succinct of the whole *Geography*: only 5 paragraphs.

35. Dio Chrys. 33.25. Many other examples could be quoted regarding the poverty and desolation of Greece: for instance, Dio Chrys. 7 (the so-called ‘Euboean discourse’), Polyb. 36.17.5-12 and Plut., *De def. or.* 413 F. See also Alcock 1993, 24-32 in particular.

identified: *oliganthropia*, the scarcity of men (in contrast with past *polyandria*),³⁶ and the present obscurity and desolation (in contrast with past glory). These *topoi* have to be considered as mere rhetorical devices, stressing a strong perception of military and political insignificance of Greece under the Roman rule. In particular, the theme of *oliganthropia* is also connected with a situation of decline and, more in general, with a quite primitive and backward way of life.³⁷ But, on the contrary, many archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic testimonia attest the vitality of several Arcadian centres during Roman times. The fact that at least twelve Arcadian cities continued to mint coins at least until the age of Septimius Severus demonstrates that relatively consistent populations were still living in these centres.³⁸ And thanks to numerous inscriptions we are informed about works of rebuilding and improvements, as well as about donations and construction of new public and religious buildings, on the initiative of the imperial house or of local benefactors. For example, the *agora* of Mantinea benefited from the generosity of the biggest landowner in the Peloponnese, Caius Julius Eurykles Herculanus.³⁹ As is known, the fortune of a city during the first imperial period was strictly connected with its behaviour during the civil wars. Mantinea, for example, sided with the future emperor in the war between Octavian and Antonius, and its inhabitants took a prominent part in the battle of Actium. As a result, this city received a temple in honour of Aphrodite Συμμάχια, celebrating the happy event, possessed a cult for the goddess Roma⁴⁰ and was beyond doubt one of the centres most favoured by Hadrian when he visited the province of Achaia.⁴¹ On the contrary Tegea, having sided with Antonius,

36. For *polyandria* and *oliganthropia* see Gallo 1980.

37. *Oliganthropia* is for instance the main element within the picture of decadence presented by Polybius (36.17.5) as far as Greece is concerned: "In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit."

38. Heraia, Kaphyai, Kleitor, Kynaitha, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pheneos, Phigaleia, Psophis, Tegea, and Thelpousa: Gardner 1887, 178-204.

39. He ordered, in fact, the construction of a splendid marble porch, decorated with *exedrae*, which changed completely the aspect of the city *agora*: Fougères 1898, 184. This porch, constructed by the heirs of this famous benefactor, on his behalf, was dedicated to Antinoos, called ἐπιχώριος θεός: *IG* V.2, 281. About the figure of C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanus see Spawforth 1978.

40. *IG* IV.12, 629 (= Moretti 1953, 53): dedication from Epidauros, where feasts called *Rhomaia* are attested.

41. The philhellenic emperor restored the ancient name of Mantinea, which during the Hellenistic period had been changed to Ἀντιγόνη (Paus. 8.11.8), had the ancient temple of Poseidon *Hippios* rebuilt, though still respecting the venerable ruins of the older temple (Paus. 8.10.2), and following the local myth that Mantinea was the metropolis of Bithynion (making it

was robbed of its *palladium* (the ancient and venerable *xoanon* of Athena Alea), as well as of the mythical fangs of the Calydonian boar. Nonetheless, in the following years Tegea succeeded in flourishing again, as attested by the many monuments described by Pausanias as well as by the inscriptions which testify that in 124 A.D. the emperor Hadrian visited the city and had the baths rebuilt.⁴² Megalopolis, which did not suffer the wrath of the Romans perhaps because of the memory of Polybius' loyalty to Rome, demonstrated a strong vitality during imperial times: a bridge was built during the age of Augustus,⁴³ and Domitian paid for the reconstruction of a stoa burnt by a fire.⁴⁴ Furthermore, even after the disastrous earthquake which severely damaged Megalopolis about 200 A.D.,⁴⁵ a fragment of the edict of prices by Diocletian indicates the continuity of the commercial life in the city, at the beginning of the 4th century A.D., rather than its stagnation.⁴⁶

In conclusion, theatres represent only a 'fil rouge' to trace the history of Arcadia when the region was part of the province of Achaia. It is a meaningful coincidence that theatres are attested only in the few most important centres, located along Roman roads and integrated in a wider network of relations by means of the *cursus publicus*. Their presence in the larger centres of the region could be regarded as a proof that these buildings were considered objects of a particular concern by the central and local authorities, as places where messages of political and religious significance could be easily disseminated among the public. As we tried to stress above, theatres had a leading role in civic life, and the presence of a theatre in an urban centre implies that adequate economic sources must be available, in order to maintain them and organize performances and spectacles; this implies, in its turn, the presence of an active civic elite and, in some cases, also a direct interest from the emperor and/or the imperial house. In Roman times the rural landscape of Greece experienced a reduction in the number of sites, giving the impression of a considerable degree of rural abandonment,⁴⁷

the true mother country of Antinoos), presented the city with the penteterical games called Ἀντινόεια (*IG IV*, 590), a mystery cult in honour of Antinoos, a new temple dedicated to the young boy, and statues and portraits of Antinoos (Paus. 8.9.4-10).

42. Paus. 8.45-53; *IG V.2*, 51-2.

43. On the initiative of Titus Arminius Tauriscus: *IG V.2*, 456 (bilingual inscription).

44. *IG V.2*, 457 (bilingual inscription).

45. See the contribution by H. Lauter to this volume.

46. Loring 1890. Another fragment of this edict has been discovered in Kleitor, walled up in a house (*CIL III Suppl.* pars 2, p. 2328⁶¹⁻⁶³ FFF). This is safe evidence that here, as in Megalopolis, commercial life was still in existence at the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

47. Alcock 1993, chapter 2.

while on the other side only a very few large cities developed.⁴⁸ This situation must have negatively impressed rhetors and in general writers, especially those from richer regions (or, better, from regions which knew a different kind of rural and urban development), such as Pausanias, whose native place may have been Magnesia ad Sipylum.⁴⁹ If hunting and harvesting really seem to occupy a prominent place among the occupations of these times, this must not be interpreted as a return to uncivilized customs, but rather as the persistence of a traditional element of Greek rural economy.

Achaia was beyond doubt not the richest of the eastern provinces. It supplied products such as marble, oil and wine, but otherwise its production can be regarded as negligible; and, as far as marble is concerned, the richest marble quarries which were still in the possession of private people passed step by step into the *patrimonium Caesaris* through confiscation, purchase or inheritance.⁵⁰ In Arcadia, an inland rural region rich in mountains,⁵¹ a few larger cities did develop in such a context, and in particular Tegea, Mantinea and Megalopolis, while other centres continued their life, albeit on a different scale. It is beyond doubt, then, that this situation did not necessarily imply total depopulation, disastrous decline and abandon.

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48. Woolf 1997.

49. Habicht 1998, 13-7; Arafat 1996, 8-12; Bowie 2001, 24-5. As far as Strabo is concerned, it is almost beyond doubt that he never went to Arcadia, but knew the region only thanks to oral descriptions or those of other writers: Baladié 1980, 301-38.

50. And the same happened to those quarries which produced marbles particularly appreciated for their beauty: Dubois 1908, IX-XXV. A recent analysis regarding marble exportations and quarries in Greece is to be found in Pensabene 2001, with rich bibliography.

51. It has therefore been defined as "the Switzerland of Greece": Pritchett 1999, 204.

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