

ARCHITECTURE OF  
TERRITORY  
European Countryside  
fs 2016

# ARCADIA

Peloponnese

# Colophon

EUROPEAN COUNTRYSIDE  
ARCADIA PELOPONNESE

Spring Semester 2016 (fs16)

This semester program reader is  
produced as the introduction to the  
Design and Research Studio Arcadia,  
Peloponnese.

ARCHITECTURE OF TERRITORY  
Assistant Professor Milica Topalovic

Team: Metaxia Markaki, Fabian  
Kiepenheuer, Lukas Wolfensberger,  
Karoline Kostka

ETH Zurich D-ARCH  
ONA G35 Neunbrunnenstrasse 50  
8050 Zurich, Switzerland

P +41(0)44 633 86 88  
[www.topalovic.arch.ethz.ch](http://www.topalovic.arch.ethz.ch)

# Participants

## Teaching Team

Prof. Milica Topalovic  
topalovic@arch.ethz.ch

Markaki Metaxia  
markaki@arch.ethz.ch

Kiepenheuer Fabian  
kiepenheuer@arch.ethz.ch

Wolfensberger Lukas  
l.wolfensberger@arch.ethz.ch

Kostka Karoline  
kostka@arch.ethz.ch

## Studio Participants

Autieri Lorenzo  
autieril@student.ethz.ch

Hahn Dorothee  
hahndo@student.ethz.ch

Hirsbrunner Johannes  
jhirsbru@student.ethz.ch

Meyer Patrick  
patmeyer@student.ethz.ch

Rigling Sophie Julie  
jrigling@student.ethz.ch

Ruiz Andrade Andres  
ruandres@student.ethz.ch

Stender Meike  
mstender@student.ethz.ch

Yoshinaka Akito  
akitoy@student.ethz.ch

## Studio

ONA E 25 Neunbrunnenstrasse 50  
8050 Zurich, Switzerland



# Content

Semester project

— European Countryside — Arcadia, Peloponnese

Semester organization

— Semester schedule

Fieldwork investigation

— A journey to Arcadia

— Field trip schedule

Studio topics

— Arcadian villages

    Countryside in the European mountains

— Olive groves

    Countryside of agriculture production

— Olympia

    Countryside as heritage landscape

— Ilia's coast

    Seaside countryside

First task

Materials

Bibliography



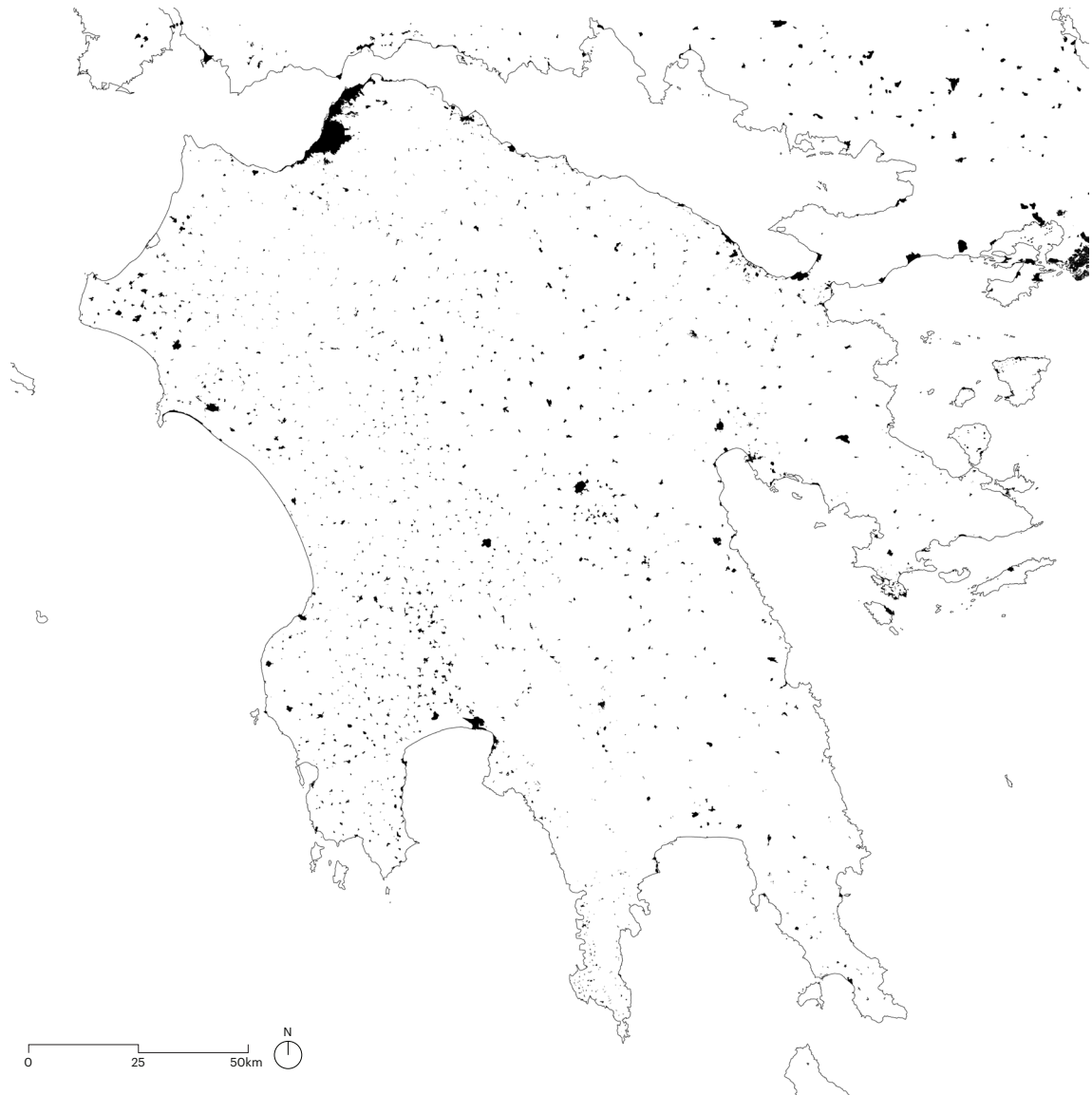
# European Countryside — Arcadia, Peloponnese

European territory has become completely urbanised. The countrysides in the traditional sense have disappeared; the distinctions between the town and the country have been blurred. In contrast to the unambiguous urban transformations of cities, the processes of urban change in the countryside are massive, yet often unnoticed. Away from the public eye and professional scrutiny, these processes have created new urban identities and configurations in the formerly rural realm of Europe. The studio series European Countryside will explore the terra incognita of the countryside, and its radical mutations. The project aims to reinvent contemporary countrysides as legitimate and critical subject of architecture profession. Starting in spring 2016, the studio will select several countryside case studies from the European typological panorama. Through these studies, a definition of contemporary countryside will be researched, and its potentials discovered and represented. These insights will form the basis for projects on the countryside.

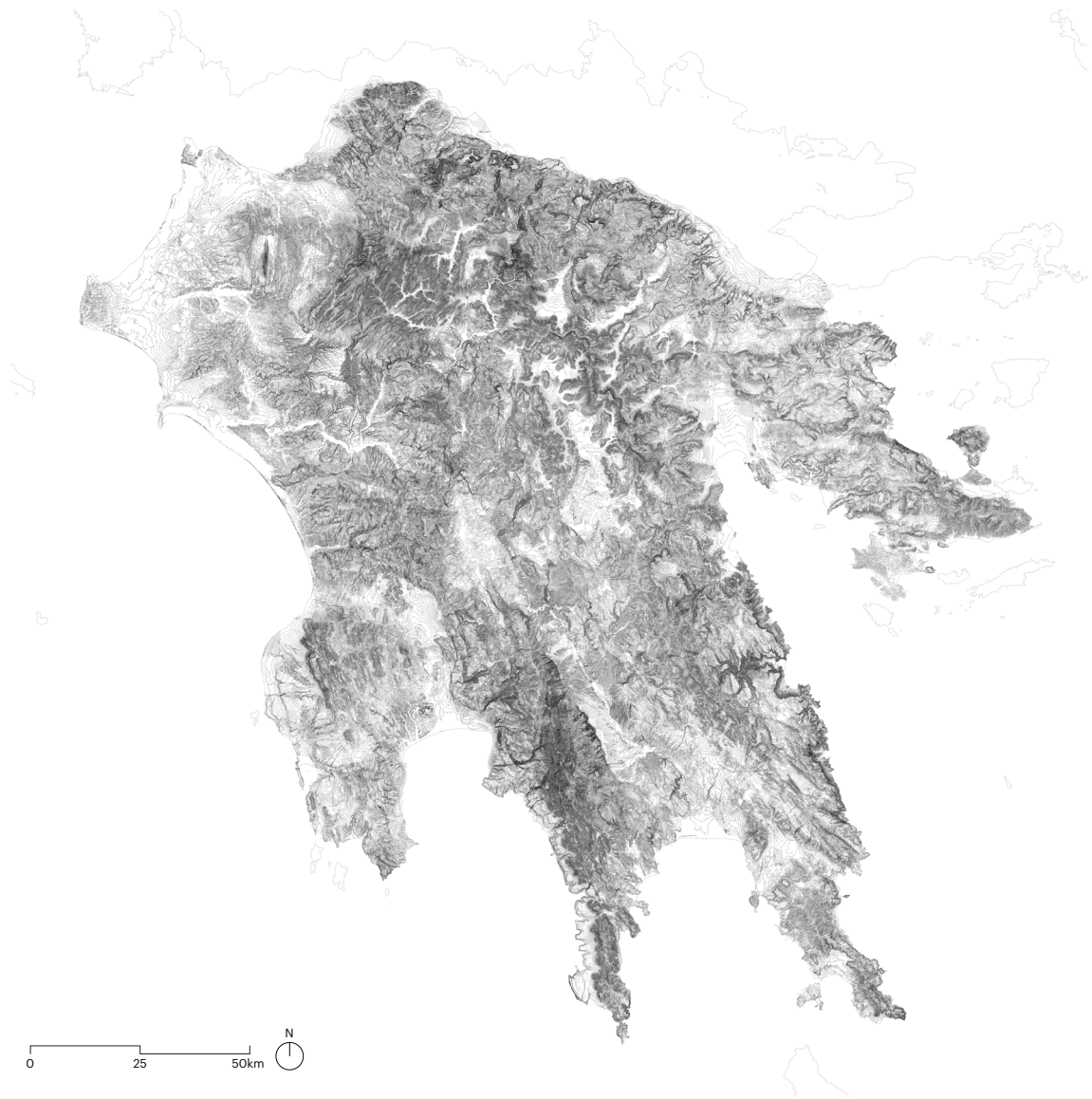
The mythical Arcadia and the landscapes of Peloponnese in Greece are the birthplace of European territory and a source of European culture. They will serve as the threshold for the investigation into the character and urban potentials of European territories beyond the city.

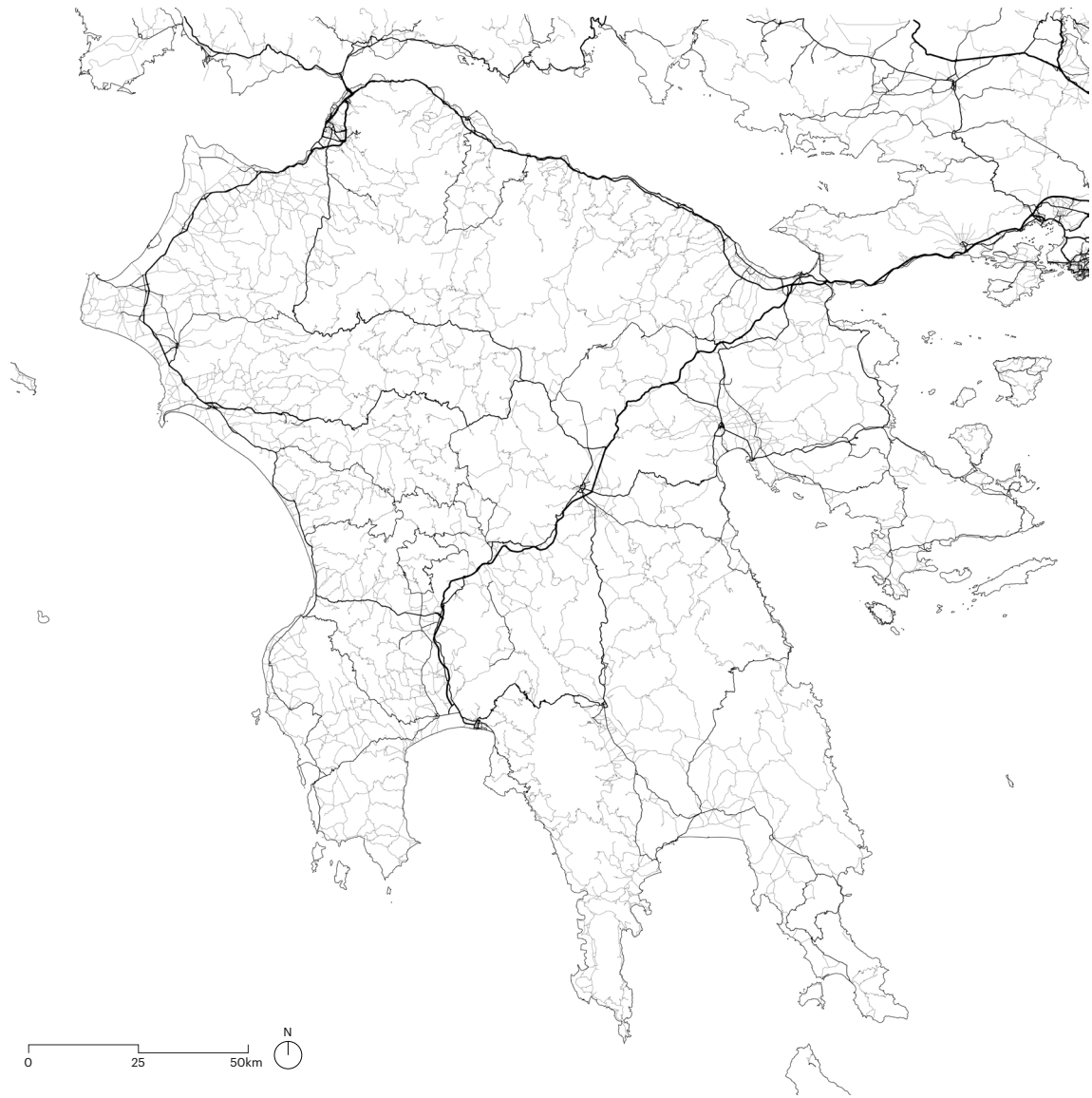
Arcadia is one of the most enduring utopias of the western mind. As an imaginary locus and a pictorial style, Arcadia originated in the pastoral scenery of Roman poets Ovid and Virgil, from where it spread throughout western painting and literature. The imaginary realm of Arcadia, where human beings, animals, and plants harmoniously coexist, remains one of the most powerful idyllic constructions of the countryside. By contrast, the actual region of Arcadia is located on the mountainous core of Peloponnese, the largest peninsula in Greece. These are the oldest inhabited territories in Europe and sources of European culture: sites of classical ruins, such as Epidaurus and ancient Olympia, still punctuate the landscape, and stone villages are scattered on the mountaintops. The entire Peloponnese is a quiet territory, seemingly unaffected by the metropolitan growth of Athens, and the gradual proliferation of new infrastructures and industries in the formerly rural landscape. The region's low population density, remoteness, and low accessibility are surprising and can be understood as possessing a powerful potential in the European context: Arcadia and Peloponnese resist urbanisation, and remain an important interruption in the dense urban fabric of the continent. But this countryside is also much more than the imaginary of the pastoral ideal: cultural heritage sites, nature areas, agriculture, energy landscapes, and tourism have interacted here to produce radical urban transformations and new forms of living and production. Our investigation will concentrate on the character and potentials of the Arcadian countryside, seen as an important and typical case in the European panorama of countrysides.

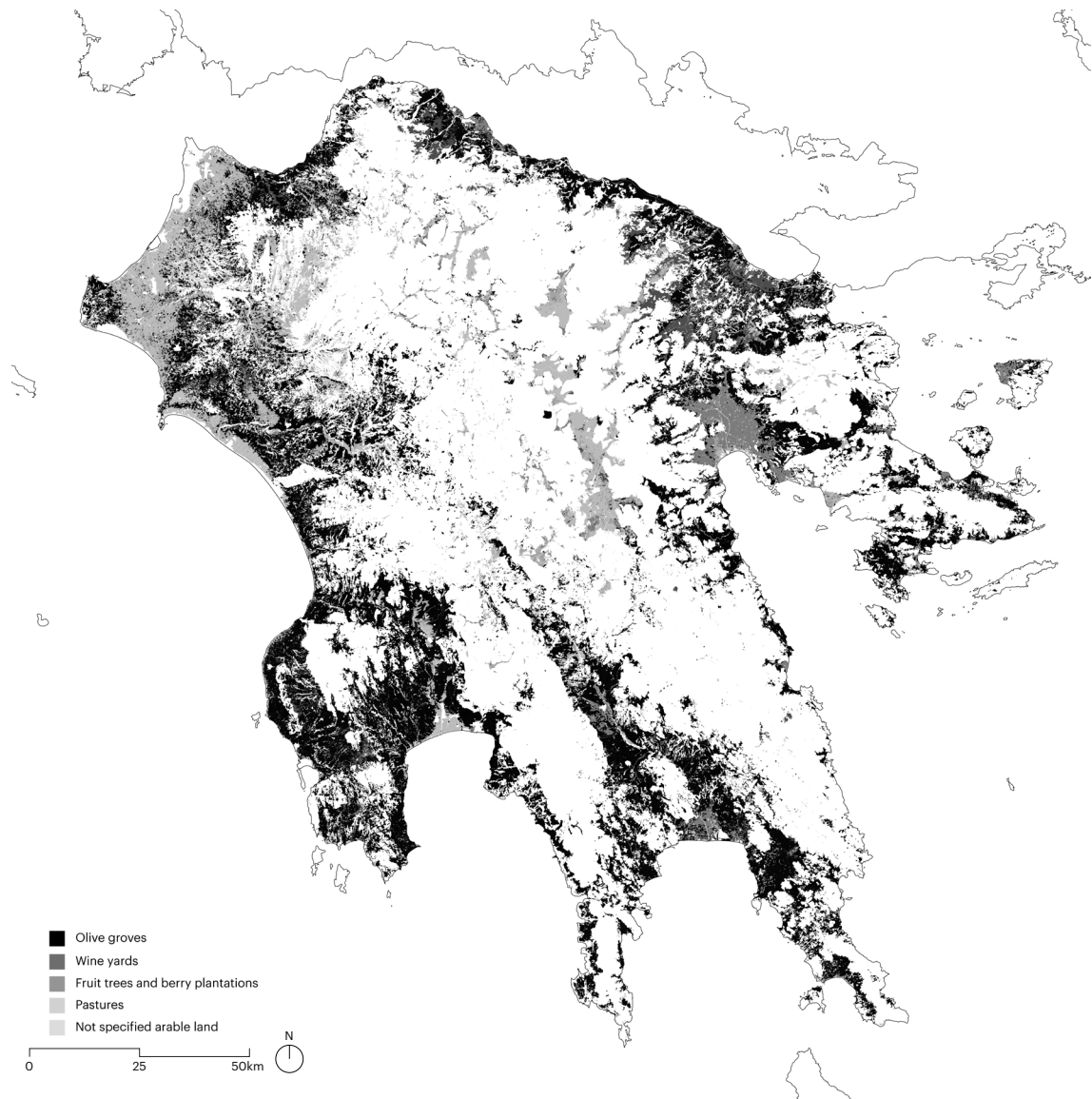
The project is organized as an east-west section through the territory of Peloponnese, running from coast to coast — from Epidaurus to Olympia, through the mountains of Arcadia. Learning from the myths and the direct experience of the landscape, the studio will investigate, discover, promote and design new typologies of Arcadian countryside.











# Semester organization

## ARCHITECTURE OF TERRITORY - FS2016 - EUROPEAN COUNTRYSIDE: ARCADIA. Semester Plan

WEEKS	WEEK 1		WEEK 2		WEEK 3		WEEK 4		WEEK 5		WEEK 6		WEEK 7		W
DATE	23.2	24.2	1.3.	2.3.	8.3.	9.3.	15.3.	16.3.	22.3.	23.3.	29.3.	30.3..	5.4.	6.4.	12
Morning 9.15-12.30	ETH Semester Start	ETH Semester Start			Morning Stage										
Afternoon 13.30-18.30	ETH Semester Start		Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Pin Up					Easter Holidays		Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	
Evening		Apero													
PROJECT PHASE	Phase 1: First Task on the Countryside						Seminar week, Fieldwork Investigation				Phase 2: Territorial Analysis and Analytical I				

# Semester schedule

WEEK 8		WEEK 9		WEEK 10		WEEK 11		WEEK 12		WEEK 13		WEEK 14		WEEK 15	
12.4.	13.4.	19.4.	20.4.	26.04.	27.4.	03.05.	4.05	10.05.	11.05.	17.05.	18.05.	24.05.	25.05.	31.05.	01.06.
Morning Stage		Morning Stage		Morning Stage			Mid-Term review 2	Morning Stage		Morning Stage		Morning Stage			
Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)		Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Finals
Desk Crits (2 groups)	Mid-Term review 1	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Pin Up	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Lecture by Panayiotis Tournikiotis	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Pin Up	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Studio Work	Desk Crits (2 groups)	Finals
					Film						Film				Studio dinner
<b>Drawings</b>		Phase 3: Territorial Strategy and Plan						Phase 4: Territorial Design and Final Presentation							



# Seminar week

## A journey to Arcadia

### 11.03—24.03.2016

Arcadia is one of the most enduring utopias of the western mind. As an imaginary locus and a pictorial style, Arcadia originated in the pastoral scenery of Roman poets Ovid and Virgil, from where it spread throughout western painting and literature. The imaginary realm of Arcadia, where human beings, animals, and plants harmoniously coexist, remains one of the most powerful idyllic constructions of the countryside.

An investigative journey to Arcadia and Peloponnese constitutes the core of Architecture of Territory first project on the European Countryside. Travelling along the territorial line that crosses the Peloponnese from Epidaurus to Olympia and from east to west coast, we will experience the region's complexity and beauty.

Extensive field research is a prerequisite for the students' projects. The interaction with local experts as well as the faculty and students of the School of Architecture at the National Technical University of Athens, will enable a close view of the territory.

The journey takes place from 11—22.3.2016. The first days(11-15.03) are organised as a group trip along Peloponnese, including lectures, workshops under a common schedule. The last days (16-22.3) host the individual student research. During these days, students explore independently the proposed region.

Fieldwork investigation

FRI 11th MAR

SAT 12th MAR

SUN 13th MAR

MON 14th MAR

TUE 15th MAR

WED 16th MAR

THU 17th MAR

DAY 1

DAY 2

DAY 3

DAY 4

DAY 5

DAY 6

	ATHENS	EAST COAST ARGOLIS	THE MOUNTAINS ARCADIA	WEST COAST ELIA	INDIVIDUAL FIELDWORK	INDIVIDUAL FIELDWORK
TRAVEL						
Night in Athens	Night in Epidauros	Night in Stemnitsa	Night in Pyrgos	Individual Night	Individual Night	Individual Night

COMMON PROGRAM

FIELDWORK IN GROUPS OF TWO

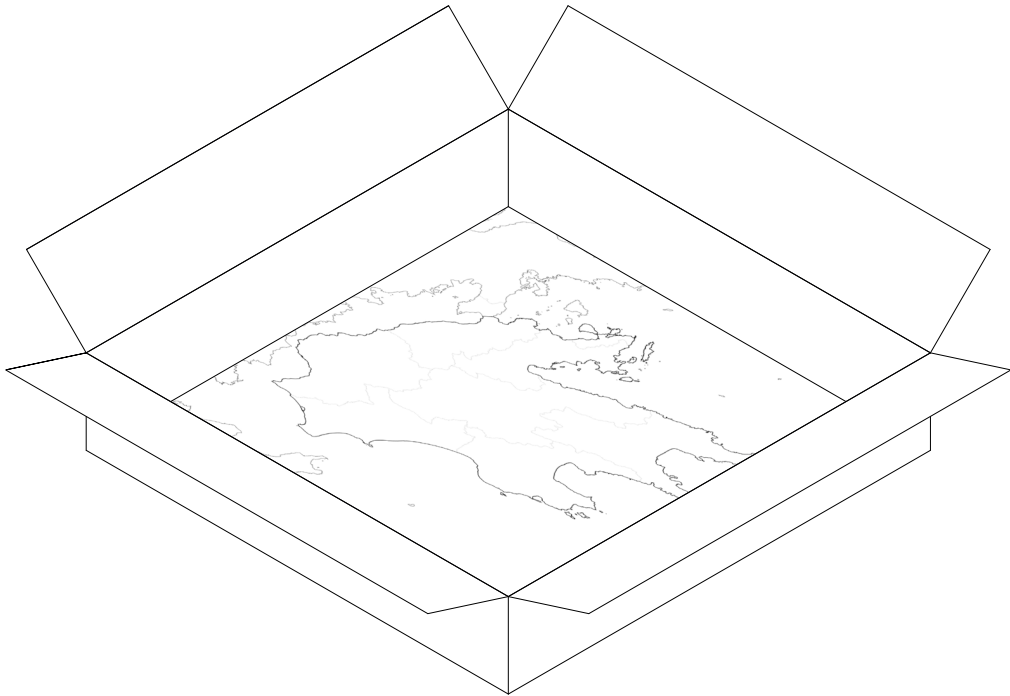
SEMINARWEEK (8 inscribed students + 4 external students = 12 students)

FIELDWORK (8 inscribed students)



# Field trip schedule

	<u>FRI 18th MAR</u> DAY 8	<u>SAT 19th MAR</u> DAY 8	<u>SUN 20th MAR</u> DAY 9	<u>MON 21st MAR</u> DAY 10	<u>TUE 22nd MAR</u> DAY 11	<u>WED 23rd MAR</u> DAY 12
FIELDWORK	INDIVIDUAL FIELDWORK	INDIVIDUAL FIELDWORK	INTERIM CRITIC TRIPOLI	INDIVIDUAL FIELDWORK	INDIVIDUAL FIELDWORK	INDIVIDUAL FIELDWORK
Night	Individual Night	Individual Night	Individual Night	Individual Night	Individual Night	
			INTERIM CRITIC	FIELDWORK IN GROUPS OF TWO		
4 external students depart						



# Arcadia, Peloponnese

## Studio topics

— 1

Arcadian villages

Countryside in the European mountains

— 2

Olive groves

Countryside of agriculture production

— 3

Olympia

Countryside as heritage landscape

— 4

Iliá's coast

Seaside countryside



# 1

## Arcadian Villages

### Countryside of the European mountains

The village (in Greek *chorio*, *χωρίον* < *χώρα* - *χωρός*) has a particular meaning in the collective memory of Greek urban dweller. It is related to a place of origin, to the definition of locality and carries the narrations of the previous generations that arrived from the province to colonize and expand the city. The Athenian peasant has been the urban stereotype of the 20th century, bringing with him all the culture and idioms of his village, as ingredients to construct the growing modern urban center. On the other hand, during the same period, the village has become the point of return of the urban dweller, and countryside has become the space where all kind of urban influences have arrived to be digested, giving way to a new provincial space and culture.

The Arcadian villages evenly punctuate the mountainous slopes of Mainalon, Parnonas and Lykaion Oros. With their compact built structure with precisely defined limits, each village constitutes an identifiable entity in the Arcadian landscape.

Located at the altitudes of 700 to 1200m, in extreme topographies and surrounded by wild nature, these villages have acquired a special role due to their remote location and secluded character. During the antiquity the inaccessible heights of Arcadian mountains triggered the imagination, transforming the area into the location of various myths: this is where, according to Pausanias, the battlefield of Gigantomachy (the battle between Gigantes and Olympian gods) took place; this is also the birthplace of the king of gods Zeus, and these are the forests where the goat-footed god of orgies and wine, Pan, lived with his Nymphs. The Arcadians, hardened by the harshness of the mountains were known as incompatible warriors, but also as the best sailors and ship-builders(!).

Since antiquity the region has never composed a unified entity, but it was rather characterized by the foundation of independent city-states that punctuated its mountains, including Gortyna, Teuthis, Heraia, Methydrion. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, Arcadia became part of the Greek-speaking Byzantine Empire (the so-called Despotate of the Morea) still remaining an intact and secluded area. Its inhabitants became proverbial herdsmen symbolizing at the same time pastoral lack of sophistication, and the gift of simplicity and living in bliss. The imaginary of this idyllic paradise travelled to the west first through the narrations of Evander, an Arcadian hero who arrived to Italy, and gave birth to the visions of a pastoral utopia of Virgil's *Eclogues* (in 42 BC) and Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504).

During the four hundred years of governance of the Ottoman Empire, the remote mountains proved to be the ideal hideout where the sense of the Greek national identity was preserved, and eventually produced the revolutionary generation that won the Greek national independence in 1821. The idyllic landscape turned into a battlefield and the Arcadian villages, from isolated areas, transformed to observatoria and strategic control points of the revolt in the valleys. The protection offered by topography, helped concentrate the wealth and the intellectual leaders of the era, with the villages booming at the beginning of 19th century.

The villages also become the places of severe isolation and exile during the 1970s military junta. After the 1950s they experienced extreme depopulation that accompanied the intense urban-rural migration of the postwar Greece. For example, Dimitsana's population before the war was double the present population.



Today, the Arcadian villages compose a heterogeneous constellation of dots on the map: Touristic destinations, such as the ski resort of Mainalon with luxurious pensions in renovated stone houses); Abandoned villages that exist only as transit points on hiking paths, such as Arkoudoremma (0 inh.) and Limpovici (0 inh.); Traditional villages are perfectly preserved, which regardless of their rich potential, are active only for a few days each month when they host weekend or holiday tourism. (Examples are Stemnitsa, which went to 191 inh. in 2011 from 411 inh. in 2001, and Dimitsana which had 342 inh. in 2011, shrinking from 611 inh. in 2001 – the figure equal the half of its population before the war.) Agricultural hamlets at the middle-heights, lacking the view and the natural attractions of the peaks, as well as future plans and visions, have also shrunk. (Examples are Kapelitsa with 30 inh., and Zatouna with 13 inh.); Wealthy villages in the lower heights host flourishing agricultural activities. (Tropaia counts 506 inh. 2011, compared to 674 inh. in 2001); These different types of villages are relatively independent and scattered throughout the protected forests of Mainalon, together with the multiple historical traces and myths.

Still considered a remote part of Greece, the Arcadia and its villages today have to face a new, contemporary myth, which claims that mountainous regions are intact natural and traditional areas. This understanding only contributes to the further decline of the villages.

#### Project goals

The Arcadian villages, created in idyllic isolation, face today various challenges that radically alter their character. During the semester, the Arcadian municipality of Gortynia will serve as the frame in which these various transformations can be observed: the challenges of depopulation and the declining economies; the parallel challenge of their reinvention as touristic destinations; the lack of infrastructures and the regional vision.

The mythical image of the blissful land of Arcadia is perhaps most readily identified with Arcadian villages. The project goal is to arrive at a clear picture (diagnosis) of urban transformation processes in the villages of Arcadia, to discuss the threats and the opportunities of their current situation, and to propose elements of the future territorial strategy for the villages as part of Arcadian countryside.

#### Project directions

By means of analysis, we shall try to gain an insight into the concepts of identity and region of Arcadia. We will try to understand the influences (social, economic, political) shaping the transformation of villages. We will describe the transformations by means of maps, drawings, photographs and text. What are for example the impacts of tourism, of heritage policies, and of changing economy of agriculture? What are the different transformation pathways that the villages are taking? How to represent them? Could we make comparisons to the conditions that the Swiss villages are facing? Would it be possible to highlight existing potentials that remain unseen and neglected?

In terms of a project proposal, how would you respond to the existing challenges? For example, could the relations between the villages and their connection to the rural surrounding be rethought? Should touristic infrastructures be enhanced and by what means? Or, conversely, should the local characteristics and production be enhanced to achieve greater autonomy? Could we integrate new forms of living and working in the settlements under stringent heritage protection? Could we dare to imagine that a new territorial structure that links the Arcadian villages?





## 2

# Olive groves

## Countryside of agriculture production

For agriculture, the particular characteristics of the area acquire special importance. Topography, climatic conditions and soil quality are characteristics that influence the cultivation in a fundamental way. Peloponnese has mediterranean climate. The mountainous interior, like the one of Arcadia, is colder than the coast and snow covers the mountains in winter. The coast of Ilia in the west, is more humid than eastern Peloponnese, due to fact that the central mountains range traversing the peninsula creates a climatic barrier between east and west.

Natural hazards also strongly influence agriculture. Rainy weather has caused destruction of villages by mudslides; enormous forest fires are a frequent threat. Artificial strip-like voids of cut down forest remind of land art, and can be on mountain slopes and can be seen throughout Peloponnese — they are part of the mechanisms of protection against forest fires.

Peloponnese hosts a large variety of agricultural production. Vegetable cultivation includes corn, tomatoes, potatoes, green peppers, livestock, watermelons, melons and other; however the fruit cultivation dominates the landscape and consists mostly of oranges (in Argos and Lakonia) and olives. The areas of specific cultivation (olive region, orange region, wine region, etc) are clearly recognisable in the landscape, since they are tied to altitude and soil quality.

The word agriculture shares root with Greek “agrios”, meaning “wild” — agricultural production in Greece and in Peloponnese is still domain of certain degree of wilderness. It is still based on small individual producers, and on small field sizes. The size of field properties in Greece is disproportionately small: 4.4 hectares in average, in the Peloponnese even smaller. In Switzerland, the average is 17.4 hectares despite the fact that its the terrain is also mountainous and subdivided in small sections. European Union policies and subsidies make decisive impact in regulating agricultural production. Greece has up to 82% of agriculture production areas. Areas classified as “less favourable”, which means that they are located in higher attitudes, on sloping terrain and they lack infrastructure. These areas don't receive EU funding. Despite the fact that the EU gives 2.5 billion euros in annual subsidies for production in less favoured areas, due to the problems of poor organisation amongst farmers, regional government and environmental organizations, much investment is wasted.

The valley of Alfeios River and the surrounding hilly slopes covered with olive trees is chosen as the frame to examine the agricultural complexity of Greek rural landscape. The area can be characterised as a “less favoured” for cultivation in terms of topography. The landscape is changes from flat, fertile river valley to rough semi-mountainous terrain. An intensive cultivation with few buildings characterizes the river plain. Olive groves, as well as pasture with scattered villages, mark the rough terrains.

Since antiquity, olives and olive oil have been the symbol of Greece, and its most significant agricultural product. Olives are in the DNA of the Greeks: olive oil (together with feta cheese perhaps) has shaped both the Greek landscape and regional identities. The importance of olive farming can be illustrated by the fact that municipal workers typically get time off every year for the olive harvest. Families in Greece, regardless whether “rural” or “urban”, continue to produce olive oil for themselves.



Fifty percent of all Greek farms include some kind of olive farming. Craft and artisanship surrounding the olive industry stand in sharp contrast in relation to the industrialization of agriculture of northern Europe. The traditional olive farming ecosystems have high levels of biodiversity due to the (still) limited use of pesticides. Unfortunately it is not easy for the small olive farmers to adequately promote the potential and benefits of traditional farming methods.

In order to respond to market needs, small olive farmers in Greece and Peloponnese have developed a variety of economic relationships with migrant workers. In reclaiming abandoned fields and century-old farms, migrant farmers now help revive Greek countryside.

Beside foreign work migration, a new type of urban-to rural migration has emerged as well: more and more young professionals abandon large cities to move to the countryside, in response to increasing urban unemployment and the financial crisis.

In addition, the potential of agro-tourism hasn't yet been fully explored. The calculation between the benefits and the drawbacks of tourism is complex and often unclear. However, it is sure that traditionally, agriculture in Greece has always been an autonomous field, clearly related to labour and production. Its new association with leisure and tourism still may appear incompatible with the popular understanding of the "rural land."

#### Project goals

Climate, topography and other natural conditions and hazards, field sizes, traditions, national and international economic policies and migrations are all powerfully shaping agricultural production. In Peloponnese, the family- and community-based work distribution, and cooperative organization structures for olive oil processing and trade emphasize the highly local and contextual character of olive farming. The project goal is to explore, name and describe processes of change shaping the olive cultivation in Peloponnese. The project also aims to discuss the potentials and the possible futures for the small-scale, family-based and traditional olive oil production.

#### Project directions

By means of analysis we shall try to gain an insight into regional characteristics, and to understand the forces currently influencing the agricultural production and olive farming. Which roles do the specific natural conditions like geology, climate, vegetation, etc play? What is the relation between the fields and the settlements? Describe the various populations working in agriculture — locals, migrant workers, urbanites arriving during weekends. What are the tendencies marking these populations? Are there other important transformations affecting olive farming? How would you describe them and map them? How is the model of the cooperative production working? Could we compare this model of production with the ones known in Switzerland? Would it be possible to highlight existing potentials, especially those that remain unseen and neglected?

In terms of a project proposal, how would you respond to the existing challenges? What is the future of olive cultivation, and how will it be visible and readable in the territory? Are there new forms of living (urban-to-rural migrants, migrant workers, tourists) that will change existing settlements? Can we identify a potential of public spaces and public landscapes in agricultural land? Could the cooperative model of production serve as catalyst for the development of the countryside?



# 3

## Olympia

### Countryside as heritage landscape

Countryside as heritage landscape refers to the phenomenon often encountered in Peloponnese and Greece: remains of classical architecture scattered at myriad rural location and in the landscape, away from the big cities. The sanctuary of Olympia, carefully laid out in the valley of rivers Alpheios and Kladeos rivers, can be considered typical for this phenomenon.

The site attracted visitors during centuries. The first Olympic games took place in 776 BC. In order to provide security for the athletes and spectators gathering from all over the Greek World, Olympic truce was introduced and all conflicts ceased before and during the games.

The ancient site was constructed in several stages over centuries, resulting in a heterogeneous structure. In 600 BC, one of the first built structures was the Temple of Hera, followed by the extraordinary olympic stadium carefully embedded in the terrain in 560 BC. In the so-called golden age of Olympia, in 456 BC, the Temple of Zeus, with gigantic statue of Zeus sculpted by Phidias exhibited in the interior. Due to the increasing importance of the games, further buildings for athletes were constructed, including the Palaestra and the bath houses.

In the 3rd century the site was damaged by earthquakes and valuable treasures were stolen by invading tribes. However the Olympic festival continued to be held at the site until 393 AD when Christian emperor Theodosius prohibited the worship of Greek gods. Repeated floods destroyed the settlement again in the early 7th century. An alternative theory, proposed recently by German archaeologists based on findings of mollusc and shells at the site of Olympia, proposes that its definitive destruction took place in the early 7th century as a consequence of a massive tsunami. Though the site was rediscovered in the XVIII century, the first excavation in Olympia were carried out by the French "Expedition Scientifique de Morea" in 1829. Subsequently the excavation and preservation of Ancient Olympia has been the responsibility of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. The first major excavation began in 1875, funded by the German government after negotiation of exclusive access.

A new systematic excavation was triggered by the Nazi Party in the year 1936 when the Olympic Games in Berlin were held. In this year the tradition of bringing the Olympic flame to the venue of the games had been started. Leni Riefenstahl directed the documentary film „Olympia“ showing the games in Berlin. It served as an effective propaganda film that purportedly revived the ideals of the Olympics in the modern, western world

Olympia heritage site lays today under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs, which supervises the area for any acts of illegal excavations, and intervenes in case any finds are revealed during digging works. The financial resources for the site are provided by the Greek state and European Union's funds.

The contemporary village of Olympia sprouted as a parasite next to the archaeological site, some years after the ruins were discovered. The village benefits from the seasonal tourist activities during the summer. Along its main village road are restaurants, tourist agencies, hotels, two museums and a municipal building — most public buildings are of high architectural value. At the periphery of the village a hotel „Xenia“ named after the ancient Greek concept of hospitality can be found: originally the building was part of the Xenia project of state sponsored tourist infrastructure development – today it is abandoned and awaiting



privatisation. The wider municipal territory of Olympia today counts around 13 400 inhabitants; the village itself around 1000.

Although the nearby Port of Katakolon seems to be very small, it serves as a major jumping off point for day trips to Olympia during the summer: in 2010 for example, almost 950 000 passengers debarked at this port. The transport of tourists between Olympia and Port Katakolon is organised by shuttle buses. Olympia also has a train station, the easternmost terminus connecting to Patras. However due to the economic crisis the service is now practically out of order.

The site of ancient Olympia was awarded the UNESCO World Heritage status in 1989. The site must be protected from the floods of Alpheios, and extensive flood barriers have been constructed. After forest fires nearly reached Olympia in 2007, fire protection infrastructures also gained in importance.

Within the site many interventions have taken place, such as new ticket offices, information signs and ramps for the disabled. A buffer zone and effective protection arrangements are preventing from any threats by future expansion of the nearby village. In 2008 the restriction of traffic through the foothills of Kronion Hill succeeded in protecting the monuments from vibration and pollution.

#### Project goals

The goal of the project is to analyse and propose new territorial strategies articulating the relationship between heritage and tourism in Olympia. Olympia was always a destination attracting visitors from afar — in the past athletes and spectators; today hundreds of thousands of tourists. This is an extraordinary situation requiring closer examination. The project aims to understand the character of tourism in Olympia today, and to propose ideas for Olympia's future territorial development.

#### Project directions

By means of analysis we shall try to gain an insight into the ancient site and its functioning. Could you for example draw the routes that lead to Olympia? From which parts of the Greek World did visitors arrive in the past? Could you compare these flows with the contemporary condition? What is the impact of today's high frequency of tourism on the ancient site? How would you describe and qualify the impact of tourism and tourist infrastructures in Olympia? In this context the interaction between the ancient site and the modern day village is interesting: how do the village residents live and are they part of the tourist economy? Is the Olympia-village growing or shrinking? In a broader territorial picture, it is important to analyse the accessibility of Olympia. How does Olympia relate with the coast of Elia, and how does it relate with the mountains of Arcadia? What temporal migration patters of tourists and locals can be distinguished here?





# 4

## Ilia's coast

### Seaside countryside

Seaside Countryside seems to be an identifiable typology of coastal development of Peloponnese. Several historical cities, Sparta for example, have for security reasons been located at a distance from the coast. Since antiquity, the coast of Peloponnese has been an area of commercial activity, but was perceived as dangerous, due to piracy and frequent conflicts. Even until the mid twentieth century, the coast of Peloponnese has resisted tourism: the growing Greek urban middle class at the time still preferred to escape the city by going to mountainous countryside for vacation and leisure. It is only in the 1960s and the 1970s that coastal tourism begins to flourish in Greece, mainly due to public incentives (e.g. Xenia project) in form of large-scale tourist facilities designed and built at various locations throughout the country. The coastline begins to transform into a leisure space and a resource attracting international tourism.

The coast of Ilia is part of a large low lying plain in the west of Peloponnese. It forms a foreland to the mountains running from north to south. Ilia's largest city, Pyrgos, is about 4 kilometres away from the coastline. The actual population of the city of Pyrgos is 25'000, with municipal population counting around 50'000. In terms of population size, Pyrgos is representative of most cities of Peloponnese, with the exception of Patras, the important port city, which is four times larger. The coastal geography has changed profoundly over time: In antiquity the position of the coastline was located approximately eight kilometres further inland. The present day coast is characterised by build-up of alluvial soil, which was made cultivable and arable through extended irrigation and drainage infrastructures. The area of Katakolo, exceptionally located on rock formations, was transformed to a port. Katakolo has been a port settlement for centuries, and had its glory days from the end of the 19th to the mid 20th century. The construction of the port was entirely funded by the municipality of Pyrgos to serve as the main gate for export of Ilia's agricultural products (especially raisin) to all major ports in Europe. But in recent years the port has experienced a reversal: Katakolo now receives around 300 cruise boats annually, serving as the gateway to the archaeological area of Olympia located some twenty kilometres away inland. The port's industrial buildings are no longer in use.

The coastline is characterised by coexistence of different types of urbanisation: Illegal settlements, secondary residences and tourist accommodations. The middle zone between the coastline and the city is a diverse peri-urban landscape: it is occupied by fields, farmhouses, water reservoirs and channels, leisure sites such as motorbike trails, and so on. The heterogeneous character of structures and elements indicates a relatively spontaneous and unplanned growth of the area.

The Greek countryside appears to be the victim of the lack of strategic territorial (land-use) planning. It is mainly the construction aspect of development that is subject of planning and control; especially the plot ratio (or floor area ratio) and the minimum plot size. It appears that land use is not considered as limiting condition for new development — there seem to be no restrictions regarding the change of land use from agriculture to building for example. Zoning plans cover less than 3% of the countryside, an important exception compared to most European countries including Italy, Spain, France, Britain and Switzerland.



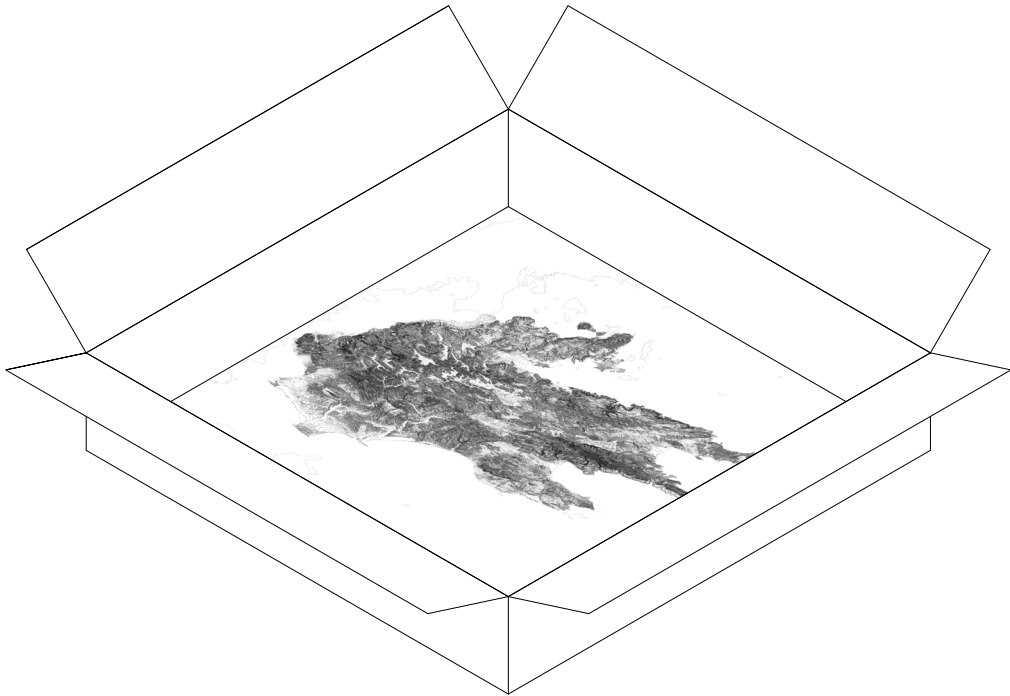
In order to understand the urban growth processes, particular building regulations need to be highlighted. Before 1928, construction was permitted only inside the peri-urban zone,; subsequently several urban land uses (except housing) were allowed both inside or outside the peri-urban zone. After the 1960s, land use restrictions were nearly completely removed. The plot ratios were increased and the minimum plot required for construction was reduced. In parallel to the regulated construction on rural land, the mechanism of unauthorized construction has become prevalent too. With the authorities following a laissez-faire attitude, the proportion of unauthorized constructions in Greece increased over 45% between 1950 and 1995. Initially, the mechanism of self-built housing outside legal frameworks served as a response to the pressing housing shortage of the period. However, after the 1970s the practice became widespread, to include holiday houses and other tourist establishments. The legalization of illegal settlements, and the policy of non-demolition of unauthorized construction should be seen as part of political trade-offs and electoral games.

#### Project goals

The coast of Ilia has a strong local character. In contrast to many other coasts areas of the Mediterranean, Ilia is not a purely touristic destination —.to the contrary, it has been appropriated by local communities. The seaside seems to be tightly connected to agriculture and to small cities lying near the coast, offering to the locals an area for summer (vacation) exodus. The projects goal is to study and describe the specific character of the local coastline of Ilia, which seems to represent an attractive mixture of local living, summer hideout and agriculture. Can you describe the phenomenon of seasonal housing? Does this type of “seaside countryside” offer interesting potentials? What is your vision to Ilia’s coast?

#### Project directions

By means of analysis we shall try to gain an insight into the region of Ilia, and to understand the forces that shape the seaside countryside. What is the role of geology, climate, water? What are the different types of settlements and landscapes along the coast? Which areas are touristic? Identify and describe the main urban landscape structures/typologies. How are they linked to the countryside and to each other? Speak of their roles for the region. Analyse the coastline in terms of accessibility and traffic circulation. What are the mechanisms and consequences of illegal construction? What kinds of illegal structures are produced? Does unregulated construction produce unexpected potentials? In terms of a project proposal how would you respond to the existing challenges? What are the problems and potentials of the coastline? Should the coast of Ilia be seen as a recreation area for the cities, which also involves agriculture? How to develop the areas of illegal urbanization in the future? What should be the approach to the coastal traffic? How should the coast be developed?



# First task

## Countryside atlas

Arcadia, Peloponnese is at the beginning of a series of case studies on the European Countryside. The studio will explore the typological panorama of the Greek countryside by focusing on four main themes: 1) the villages of mountainous Arcadia; 2) the olive cultivation; 3) the landscapes of classical heritage; and 4) the coastal settlements..

The findings related to each of the four topics will be collected and represented as part of a common project: the Countryside Atlas of Arcadia, Peloponnese. This collection of maps, drawings, design visions, and research evidence will be elaborated during the course of the semester.

The Countryside Atlas will also be printed in form of a book in the end of the semester; each group will contribute one chapter.

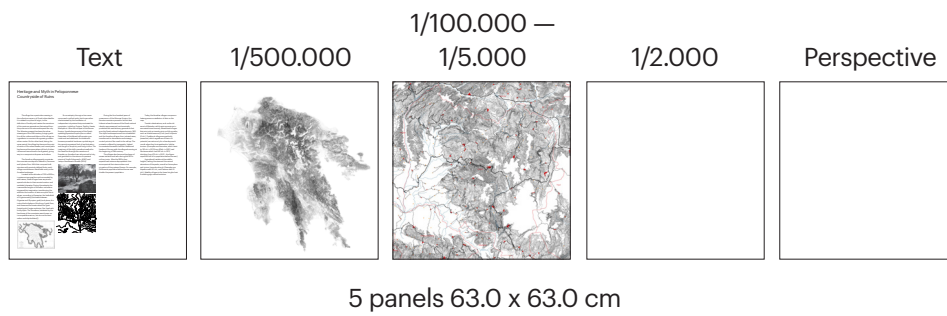
The insights of the First Task are the initial contributions to the Atlas. To create compatible drawings for the Atlas, each group will receive support during the creative process of developing the maps. Ideas, references and other materials are provided on the server and will be discussed during the desk critics.

## First task — common exhibition

To familiarise ourselves with the Greek countryside, the First Task asks the students to look at the four mentioned themes — four typologies of the countryside landscapes. By means of maps, drawings and text, we will engage with the countryside of Peloponnese at different scales and gain first insights into its current forms and processes of urbanisation. In addition, each group studies a selected reference project related to the countryside, and gives it a new reading, by drawing a new plan and eye-level perspective.

The First Task is presented in form of a common exhibition. Each group will present their typological portrait with five panels in the dimension of 63.0 x 63.0 cm. The exhibition will include:

- A territorial map describing the typological conditions of Peloponnese (scale 1: 500.000)
- A territorial plan in an intermediate scale describing developments in a given area of focus (individual scale per group)
- Illustrated text presenting analytical observations and other discoveries related to the theme
- Reference project, two illustrations: plan (line drawing in scale 1: 2.000) and
- image (eye-level perspective)



1 Villages

1:500.000 — Village portrait of Peloponnese

Find innovative ways to present different characters of villages and describe their geography, size and accessibility. Where are they located? Do these villages inherent common regional characters or perform in specific networks?

1: 100.000 — Map of population shrinkage and growth

The municipality of Gortynia frames the intermediate study frame. Examine current population conditions and tendencies in the mountainous villages of Arcadia. Use the census data of 1991, 2001 and 2014.

1: 2.000 — Gion A. Caminada, Vrin

Engage with the work of Gion A. Caminada and discuss the project of Vrin in Switzerland. Present the project in both, territorial plan and architectural image from eye level perspective.

2 Agriculture

1:500.000 — Agriculture portrait of Peloponnese

Present different types of agricultural production and land use patterns in Peloponnese and describe their geography, modes of cultivation and organisation. What are the contemporary trends in the Greek agriculture sector (seasonality, employment, migration of labour) and main tendencies of land transformation?

1: 50.000 — Olive production

The Alfeios River Valley frames the regional study. Discuss the networks and functions of olive production the semi- mountainous areas of Arcadia/ Ilia. Describe the organisational units and nodes of olive production in the network.

1: 2.000 — Andrea Branzi, Agronica 1995

Engage with the projects of Andrea Branzi and tackle the project of Agronica in a territorial plan and architectural image.

3 Myth and heritage

1: 500.000 — Myth and heritage in Peloponnese

Present the locations of heritage and myth in Peloponnese. Find innovative categories to describe their different conditions and characters.

How to trace their antiquity uses, rituals and myths; what are their contemporary meaning and geography?

1: 5.000 — Contemporary village of Olympia

Draw a plan of the contemporary set up of the Olympia. Identify the different conditions of the heritage site, nature protection, tourist infrastructures and other facilitating functions.

1: 2.000 — Site of ancient Olympia

As reference project tackle the reconstruction of ancient Olympia in a plan drawing and create an architectural image from the eye level perspective.

4 Tourism

1: 500.000 — Coastal tourism in Peloponnese

The coastal Greek terrain reveals divergent, contrasting occupations. Present the conditions of the touristic coastline of Peloponnese.

1: 5.000 — Katakolo Port, Ilia. Present the conditions and processes of urban transformation along the coast of Ilia. Emphasise on the juxtaposition of agricultural spaces, housing and international tourism infrastructures as part of the same coastal condition.

1: 2.000 — Doxiadis Associates, Aspra Spitia, 1961.

Examine the coastal housing development project by Doxiadis Associates in plan drawing and architectural image.





# Arcadia, Peloponnese Materials

— P. 50 ff.

Erwin Panofsky, *Et in Arcadia ego*, 1936.

— P. 54

Vergil, *Bucolia - Ecloga septima*, in *Leben auf dem Lande*

— P. 62 ff.

Denis Cosgrove, *Mapping Arcadia*, 2008.

— P. 64

Christiana Mitsopoulou, *Work of Demeter*, 2010.

— P. 68 ff.

Kostas Manolidis, *Land of becoming, Formation of cultivated ground*, 2010.

— P. 71

Phoebe Giannisi and Zissis Kotionis, *Ground*, 2010.

— P. 72 ff.

Nikos Platsas, *Mechanization 1950- 1980*, 2010.

— P. 76 ff.

Plato Issaias, *Informal: The greek case*, 2016.

— P. 82

Nikos Magouliotis, *Slow Metabolism*, 2013.

## Materials

Et in Arcadia ego (or The Arcadian Shepherds) is the title of a painting by the Italian Baroque artist Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (Guercino). The phrase appears for the first time in art and architecture in this work. The painting shows two young shepherds staring at a skull, with a mouse and a blowfly, placed onto a cippus with the words Et in Arcadia ego ("I too -The Death-[was] in Arcadia"), meaning that even in the idyllic arcadian utopia, Death is present. The latter is a moral reference to Death.



The translation of the phrase is “Even in Arcadia, there am I”. The usual interpretation is that “I” refers to death, and “Arcadia” means a utopian land. During Antiquity, many Greeks lived in cities close to the sea, and led an urban life. Only Arcadians, in the middle of the Peloponnese, were far from the sea, and led a shepherd life. Thus for urban Greeks, especially during the Hellenistic era, Arcadia symbolized pure, rural, idyllic life, far from the city. The ambiguity of the phrase is the subject of a famous essay by the art historian Erwin Panofsky (following). Either way, the sentiment was meant to set up an ironic contrast between the shadow of death and the usual idle merriment that the nymphs and swains of ancient Arcadia were thought to embody.

















## ET IN ARCADIA EGO

ON THE CONCEPTION OF TRANSCIENCE IN  
POUSSIN AND WATTEAU

By ERWIN PANOFSKY

IN Anglo-Saxon countries many people know and occasionally use the phrase, *Et tu in Arcadia vixisti* ('You, too, have lived in Arcadia'). In other European countries the more usual form is: 'I, too, have lived in Arcadia'; but both versions express the same idea, namely, the retrospective vision of an unsurpassable happiness, enjoyed in the past, unattainable ever after, yet enduringly alive in the memory. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literature particularly abounds in passages in which this Arcadian happiness is conjured up, be it elegiacally lamented (as is most usual), or accusingly though unsuccessfully demanded (as occurs with the frustrated hero of a celebrated Schiller poem who has renounced Pleasure and Beauty in favour of Hope and Truth and now requests compensation, challenging: *Auch ich war in Arkadien geboren*), or almost triumphantly evoked, as is the case with Goethe, who uses the phrase *Auch ich in Arkadien* as a motto for the description of his blissful journey to Italy.

The original version of this celebrated phrase, however, is in Latin and its original place is a tomb. In the year 1769 Johann Georg Jacobi, a German writer, penned the following sentimental lines: 'Whenever, in a beautiful landscape, I encounter a tomb with the inscription: "I too was in Arcadia", I point it out to my friends, we stop a moment, press each other's hands, and proceed.'<sup>1</sup> And in the same year Sir Joshua Reynolds

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Jacobi, *Winterreise*. This is believed to be the earliest appearance of the celebrated phrase in German literature (according to Büchmann, *Geflügelte Worte*, 27th edition, p. 441 f., where many other instances, mostly from the *Empfindsamkeitsperiode*, may be found). In the nineteenth century the hedonistic conception of Arcadian happiness as championed by Goethe (cf., for instance, also *Faust*, II, III:

Gelockt, auf sel'gem Grund zu wohnen,  
Du flüchtestest ins heiterste Geschick!  
Zur Laube wandeln sich die Thronen,  
Arcadisch frei sei unser Glück!)

was to degenerate into the trivial conception of 'having a good time', as is the case, for instance, in the well-known aria in Offenbach's 'Orpheus': *Als ich noch Prinz*

painted a portrait of two particularly lovely ladies, Mrs. Bouverie and Mrs. Crewe, in which was also seen a tomb inscribed 'Et in Arcadia ego'.<sup>1</sup>

This now is the canonical formula as used in the best-known pictorial interpretation of the Arcadia theme: it is found in the famous Louvre painting by Nicolas Poussin probably executed around 1630-5 (Fig. 1). Three handsome shepherds are both fascinated and moved by an austere simple tomb, one of them kneeling on the ground, so as to decipher the half-effaced inscription, *Et in Arcadia ego*, the second explaining its meaning to a lovely girl, who listens to him in a quiet, thoughtful attitude, the third trajected into a sympathetically brooding melancholy. It is as though the youthful people, all silent, were listening to or pondering over this imaginary message of a former fellow-being: 'I, too, lived in Arcadia, where you now live; I, too, enjoyed the pleasures which you now enjoy; and yet I am dead and buried.' We instantly perceive a strange ambiguous feeling which suggests both a mournful anticipation of man's inevitable destiny and an intense consciousness of the sweetness of life.

Thus the inner meaning of Poussin's picture<sup>2</sup>—an elegiac sentiment aroused by the contrast between friendship and love amid beautiful scenery and the tomb of one who has left these joys for ever—seems fairly clear. But when we come to think of it, we are puzzled by two problems, one bearing upon the Arcadia conception as a whole, the other—seemingly a mere philological one, but in reality connected with what I should like to call the 'History of Types'—bearing upon the wording of the inscription, which, as it stands, is not at all in harmony with the above analysis.

## I

First of all: how is it that that particular region of central Greece, Arcadia, was destined to become the visionary realm of

*war von Arkadien*. It is, however, a significant fact that the original French text does not speak of 'Arcadie' but of 'Béotie'—the above development being the negative result of a specifically German *Bildungstradition*.

On the other hand, the term 'Arcadian' could become a synonym of 'Utopian', 'imaginary', or even 'unfeasible', as in Jean Paul's *Dr. Katzenbergers Badereise*, 24. Summula: *Doch sind das nicht ganz arkadische Träume*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 23 f., n. 1. The picture is still preserved at Crewe Hall.

<sup>2</sup> Special literature about this picture: Henry Lemonnier, 'Les sources des "Bergers d'Arcadie"', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XLVII, 1925, pp. 273 ff., and W. Weisbach, 'Et in Arcadia ego', *Die Antike*, VI, 1930, pp. 127 ff.

Love and Beauty, the dream incarnate of ineffable happiness, surrounded nevertheless with a halo of sweet melancholy resignation?<sup>1</sup> True, Arcadia was held to be the domain of Pan, the shepherds' god, who could be heard playing the syrinx among the pine trees of Mount Maenalus.<sup>2</sup> The Arcadians were renowned for their rustic virtue, their hospitality, and primordial simplicity, as well as for their complete ignorance of what was happening in the outer world, but at the same time also for their musical accomplishments; for theirs was the only land where 'music was considered an indispensable thing instead of a merely desirable one', to speak in the words of the historian Polybius, Arcadia's most famous son.<sup>3</sup> The interesting thing, however, is that Polybius describes his country as utterly devoid of such natural charms as might be expected from an ideal land of pastoral happiness. Arcadia, according to him, was a rough, poor, bare, and rocky country, which scarcely afforded the necessities of life for meagre goats and frugal shepherds. We can well understand, therefore, that the Greek poets refrained from selecting Arcadia as the scene of their bucolics. The pastorals of Theocritus were staged in Sicily, so richly endowed with all those qualities which Arcadia conspicuously lacked. Pan himself condescended to come down to Sicily when the dying Daphnis wished to return his shepherd's flute.

It was in Latin art and literature that the specific poetic significance that seems to be a matter of course to the modern mind was attached to Arcadia<sup>4</sup> (witness the well-known fresco

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Gercke, 'Auch ich war in Arkadien geboren', *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum*, xxiv, 1921, pp. 313 ff., and R. Helm in *Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswiss.*, 30, 1902, ii, p. 24. Furthermore, the commented editions of Theocritus' Idylls and Virgil's Bucolics, especially: *Virgils Gedichte, erklärt von Ladewig, Schaper und Deuticke*, i, *Bucolica und Georgica*; 9. Aufl., bearbeitet von Paul Jahn, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, *Periegesis*, viii, 36. 8: 'Mount Maenalus is particularly sacred to Pan, so that the people assert that Pan could be heard there playing the syrinx.'

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, *Historiae*, iv, 20.

The negative aspects of primordial simplicity were emphasized by such authors as Juvenal, who characterized a peculiarly boring orator as an 'Arcadian youth' (vii, 160) and Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii*, viii, 7), who calls the Arcadians 'acorn-eating swine'. Even their musical achievements were disparaged by Fulgentius, who by *Arcadici aures* meant 'ears not susceptible to real beauty' (p. 90, Helm).

<sup>4</sup> The existence of a pastoral poetry in Arcadia, as conjectured by R. Reitzenstein (*Epigramm und Skolion*, 1893, pp. 131 and 249), seems rather improbable, and even Helm's opinion that an unknown Alexandrian poet might have shifted the scenery of pastoral poetry from Sicily to Arcadia (Helm, l.c.) remains a mere hypothesis (cf. Jahn, l.c., p. 225 and p. 268, footnotes). To our present knowledge Virgil is

from Herculaneum),<sup>1</sup> and even within the Latin culture we can distinguish between two manners of approach: Ovid connects Arcadia with a mythical cosmogony which in turn is possibly one of the sources of later Hermetic doctrines,<sup>2</sup> while Virgil uses it for the ideal scene of his bucolics.

Ovid's conception of Arcadia foreshadows that of truly 'primitive life' as imagined by such Renaissance authors as Alberti or Filarete, and later on idealized by Jean Jacques Rousseau. According to Ovid, the Arcadians, ruled by Pan, existed before the birth of Jupiter and the creation of the moon, and lived the life of primitive savages. They knew nothing of agriculture, architecture, clothes, tools, and domestic animals: *Vita ferae similis, nullos agitata per usus—Artis adhuc expert et rude vulgus erat*. It is a Golden Age in which no gold exists; innocently simple, but rough and decidedly unenjoyable.<sup>3</sup> Obviously Ovid drew to some extent from Polybius' description, but synthesized the Polybian traits with the cosmogonical ideas which were mentioned above; thus he emphasized the characteristics of a poor and primitive life while eliminating the characteristics of a specifically musical mentality, and he also shoved the whole conception back into a mythical past.

Virgil, however, interpreted and used Polybius in quite the opposite way.<sup>4</sup> For Virgil the emotional values of Arcadian life

the first author who selected Arcadia as the realm of pastoral happiness (cf. Cartault and Legrand, quoted by Jahn, l.c., p. 268).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Löwy, *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*, 1927, pp. 46 ff., Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> I feel indebted to Dr. Klibansky for reminding me of these connexions. Cf. Th. Zielinski, *Hermes und die Hermetik*, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix, 1906, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* ii, 289 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Jahn argues that Virgil's Arcadian shepherds originally belonged to the ordinary Theocritean variety, and were but subsequently transformed into 'Arcades', when the poet had been informed (either through a learned footnote to Theocritus, i, 3 *μετὰ Πάνα τὸ δεύτερον ἄθλον ἀποισίη* or i, 124 *ἀμφιπολεῖς Μαίναλον*, or through an Alexandrian poet) that Arcadia was the *eigenliches Hirtenland*. However, to become aware of the 'pastoral' significance of Arcadia, Virgil did not need such hypothetical sources, but could, and did, draw from sources open to Pausanias and from Polybius. To me this fact was pointed out by Prof. Ernst Kapp, to whom I feel much indebted in many other respects also. Thus the *solis cantare periti Arcades* in Ecl. X, v, 32 was obviously inspired by Polybius' fervent description of Arcadia's musical accomplishments (cf. p. 225, n. 3), which description also accounts for Ecl. IV, v, 58 ff., where 'Arcadia' is called upon as a judge in the imaginary contest between the poet and Pan. And the famous lines Ecl. VII, 4-5, *Arcades ambo | Et cantare pares et respondere parati* (especially famous by their somewhat cynical reinterpretation in Byron's *Don Juan*, iv, st. 93, 'Arcades ambo, id est blackguards both') are an almost literal translation of Polybius' *ἀνὰ μέρος ἕθεν ἀλλήλοις προστάττοντες*. The important thing, however, is that Virgil realized

eclipsed its cultural shortcomings, and while Ovid had transferred the Arcadian primitiveness to an imaginary period, Virgil transferred the Arcadian purity and musical sensitiveness to a Utopian space. Thus it was Virgil who achieved the paradisaical conception which the modern mind automatically connects with the term 'Arcadia'.

Technically speaking, he did nothing but transplant the bucolics of Theocritus to what he decided to call 'Arcadia' (so that now Arethusa, the Naiad of Syracuse, must swim to Arcadia while in Theocritus Pan had had to desert Mount Maenalus for Sicily).<sup>1</sup> But by this rearrangement Virgil created a new visionary realm endowed with both the sweetness of the real Sicily as described by Theocritus and the emotional fascination of the real Arcadia as described by Polybius—a realm sufficiently remote from Roman everyday life to defy any realistic interpretation (the very names of the characters, as well as of the plants and animals, suggest an unreal far-off atmosphere when they occur in the context of Latin verse), yet sufficiently saturated with visual concreteness to appeal directly to the inner experience of the reader.

Thus, thanks to the imaginative power of a Roman poet, a somewhat bleak and chilly region of Greece became transfigured so as to survive in the memory of mankind as an ideal realm of perfect bliss. But behold! At the very moment when this new Arcadia was created, a dissonance made itself felt between its preternatural perfection and the fundamental limitations of human nature as such: even in Arcadia there existed the two

the immense increase of emotional values to be gained by a visionary synthesis between the real Sicily as described by Theocritus and the real Arcadia as described by Polybius (for in Ecl. VIII. 22 ff.

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentes  
Semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores  
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertes

Virgil obviously not only transplants Theocritus' whispering pine trees to Arcadia but also utilizes the sources of the Pausanias passage quoted p. 225, n. 2). After the completion of this article there appeared a new discussion of the subject by Herta Wendel, *Arkadien im Umkreis bukolischer Dichtung in der Antike und in der französischen Literatur, Giessener Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie*, Heft 26, 1933. She adduces much new material but fails to realize the importance of Ovid as well as the connexion between Virgil and Polybius, and does not much contribute to the interpretation of Poussin's pictures and their inscription. However, she too confirms the fact that Virgil was *der Hauptfaktor für das Klassisch-Werden Arkadiens für die stereotype Verbindung von 'Arkadien' und 'Hirtengedicht'* (p. 30).

<sup>1</sup> Compare Virgil, Ecl. X, v. 1 ff. with Theocritus, Id. i (Daphnis), v. 123 ff.

fundamental tragedies of human life, inextricably connected with one another: frustrated love and death.

True enough, in the 'Thyrsis' of Theocritus Daphnis had also died, though he had died through love and not of love as we shall shortly see. But if we compare the episode of the death of Daphnis in Theocritus to corresponding episodes in Virgil we are struck by a fundamental difference. Virgil infuses into the subject a new sentimental and melancholy feeling aroused by the consciousness of a discrepancy between human suffering and ideal environment. He uses the Daphnis story in two Eclogues. One (the fifth) is almost an imitation of the poem of Theocritus. In Theocritus, however, we actually witness the last moments of Daphnis and listen to his dying words foretelling that after his death everything in nature will be reversed, so that pears will grow on pine trees and the deer will pursue the hound. In Virgil's fifth Eclogue, on the other hand, Daphnis is already dead, and we listen to the elegiac complaints of the survivors who are preparing a memorial ceremony and a tombstone inscribed with a sentimental distich (here, then, is the first appearance of the Tomb in Arcadia, so indispensable a feature in later 'Arcadian' art and poetry).<sup>1</sup> Nature is described as disfigured, not that her laws are merely reversed as in the Theocritean instances of the pears on the pine trees, &c., but health and beauty have turned to poison and ugliness, barley has been supplanted by dandelion, violets and narcissi by prickly thistles. In Virgil's second and more original poem inspired by the Daphnis episode, the tenth Eclogue, the dying Daphnis is boldly transferred into a real person, namely Virgil's friend Gallus, who is described as suffering in agony and foretelling his death, while sympathizing shepherds and divinities surround him. But while the Daphnis of Theocritus is really fated to die, Virgil's Gallus merely yearns and languishes; while Daphnis is put to death by Eros because he has refused to love, Gallus suffers because his Lycoris has left him for a rival. Thus mythical veracity gives way to subjective

<sup>1</sup> Spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras,  
pastores (mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis)  
et tumulum facite et tumulo superaddite carmen:  
'Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,  
formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse'.

Obviously this Eclogue is the main inspiration of the frequent descriptions of tombs and funeral ceremonies in Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, the very parent-poem of modern Arcadian art and poetry.

sentiment revelling in the contrast between the Utopian beauty of Arcadia and the sadness of unreciprocated love: Lycoris dwells in the dreary north—Arcadia abounds with flowery meadows, shadowy groves, and crystalline springs—how beautiful it could be if she were present!<sup>1</sup>

This elegiac interpretation of Arcadia, which in Virgil was still limited to a few episodes and might be called a literary phenomenon rather than a psychological one, was destined to sink into oblivion for many centuries. During the Middle Ages, when the aims of human nostalgia had been shifted to the Beyond, pastoral poetry assumed a rather worldly, realistic character. Some learned poet of the twelfth century would celebrate his small country estate in the manner of Horace rather than of Virgil.<sup>2</sup> Petrarch sings of his hermitage of Vaucluse, near Avignon. In pastoral poetry in the technical sense of the term the characters are called 'Robin' and 'Jeannette' instead of 'Daphnis' and 'Chloe'. The scene of Boccaccio's 'Ameto', where the name of 'Arcadia' reappears for the first time, is laid near Cortona in Tuscany (although the landscape already teems with satyrs, dryads, and hamadryads), and Boccaccio's 'Alcesto di Arcadia' competing with a shepherd from Sicily, 'Achaten di Achademia', contrasts the Polybian conception of rough healthy laboriousness with the Sicilian ideal of wealth and comfort which leads to an idle and materialistic attitude towards life.<sup>3</sup>

In the Renaissance, however, Virgil's Arcadia emerged from the past like an enchanting vision. Only, for the modern mind, Arcadia was not only something distant and ideal, but it also

<sup>1</sup> Even the motive that the frustrated lover foresees the glorification of his fate in future poetry is drawn from Theocritus (*Aites*). But while, in Theocritus, the lover wishes that his and his friend's mutual love might become a shining specimen of perfect happiness, Virgil's Gallus feels comforted by the idea that his sufferings will be the subject of an Arcadian song. Here, too, we are struck by the beautiful sentimentality of Virgil's reinterpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Marbod of Rennes, quoted by W. Ganzemüller, *Geschichte des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 224 ff.; see Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. clxxi, cols. 1665-7. Marbod's attitude is rather unusual and almost surprising in a period practically estranged from the classic conception of *Otium*, meaning the blissful state of a mind entirely belonging to and satisfied with itself. In general the reinstatement of this feeling was a Renaissance phenomenon, while to the medieval mind, unfamiliar as it was with the conception of human mental self-sufficiency, a leisurely time neither devoted to work nor to the communion with God meant a dangerous or even sinful thing (*Acedia*).

<sup>3</sup> Boccaccio, *Ameto*, Canzone v (Florent. edition of 1529, p. 23 verso ff.).

belonged to what was now conceived as the *Sacrosancta Vetustas* and considered as a 'Consummation devoutly to be wished'. The imaginary realm of Arcadia, which for the Roman writers had no common denominator with actual life, was to become the object of a very real nostalgia, a psychological factor instead of a literary fiction: it developed into a haven not only from a faulty reality but also from a questionable present.<sup>1</sup>

At the height of the Quattrocento an attempt was made to conquer the visionary kingdom of Arcadia by means of a metaphorical identification with real scenery, so as to smooth away the chasm between the present and the past. As was proved by Saxl, the Medici villa at Fiesole was celebrated as 'Arcadia' by such poets as Angelo Poliziano and even Lorenzo the Magnificent, while the various members of the Medicean circle appeared as Arcadia's inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> This alluring fiction lies also at the bottom of Signorelli's marvellous Berlin picture, which shows a sweetly melancholy Pan surrounded by musical shepherds and beautiful nymphs (one of them, depicted asleep, refers to the 'sacred hour of Pan':

Die Nympe darf nicht munter sein,  
Und wo sie stand, da schläft sie ein,<sup>3</sup>

to speak in the terms of Goethe).

Soon, however, the realm of Arcadia was established as a sovereign domain. While in Boccaccio's 'Ameto' Arcadia had only figured as a distant home of rustic purity, and while again the Medicean poets had praised the villa at Fiesole using the conception of Arcadia as a mere classical disguise or drapery, a monumental poem by Jacopo Sannazzaro entitled 'Arcadia' (1502) glorified Arcadia for Arcadia's sake,<sup>4</sup> and this glorifica-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art*, Metropolitan Museum Studies, iv, 1933, pp. 228 ff., conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Saxl, 'Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance', *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, viii, 1927, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Goethe, *Faust II*, ii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Jacopo Sannazzaro, Arcadia*, ed. M. Scherillo (with illuminating introduction), 1888. Sannazzaro's poem is based on both Italian and classical sources (Petrarch and Boccaccio on the one hand, Virgil, Polybius, Catullus, Longus, Nemesius, &c., on the other), thereby resuscitating the Virgilian conception of Arcadia within the limits of a modern, more subjective *Weltanschauung*.

Sannazzaro's is the first pastoral poem actually staged in Arcadia, and it is a significant fact that the few allusions to the real life of contemporary Naples were added, or at least made explicit, only in the second edition of 1504. The author primarily aims at reviving the imaginary realm of Arcadia as an emotional ex-

## Siebte Ekloge

Meliboeus. Corydon. Thyrsis

## MELIBOEUS

Zufällig hatte sich Daphnis unter einer rauschenden Steineiche niedergelassen, und Corydon und Thyrsis hatten ihre Herden an derselben Stelle zusammengetrieben – Thyrsis seine Schafe, Corydon seine von Milch strotzenden Ziegen. Beide Hirten standen in der Blüte ihrer Jugend, beide waren Arcader, [5] beide tüchtig im Singen und zum Wechselgesang gerüstet. Hierher hatte sich, während ich die zarten Myrten vor der Kälte zu schützen suchte, mein Bock, der Herr der Herde, verlaufen. Und da erblicke ich Daphnis! Kaum sieht auch er mich vor sich, ruft er: »Schnell, komm hierher, mein Meliboeus! Dein Bock und deine Zicklein sind in sicherer Hut. [10] Hast du ein wenig Zeit, so ruhe dich im Schatten aus. Hierher werden die Stiere von selbst über die Wiesen kommen, um zu trinken; hier säumt zartes Schilfrohr das grüne Ufer des Mincius, und aus der heiligen Eiche ertönt das Summen der Bienen.« Was hätte ich tun sollen? Einerseits hatte ich keine Alcippe oder Phyllis, [15] die mir die entwöhnten Lämmer zu Hause hätte einsperren können; andererseits war »Corydon gegen Thyrsis« ein großer Wettkampf. Schließlich stellte ich trotz allem meine ersten Pflichten ihrem Spiel zuliebe zurück. Also begannen beide abwechselnd um die Wette zu singen, und die Musen wollten es, dass sie sich im Wechsel an ihre Verse erinnern sollten.<sup>1</sup> [20] Die einen trug Corydon vor, die anderen jeweils nach ihm Thyrsis.

<sup>1</sup> Trotz des berechtigten Hinweises auf griechische Vorstellungen und Konstruktionen sprachlich ein *locus desperatissimus*. Vers 69 (*haec memin*) könnte ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass in Vers 19 die bei Servius aus anderen Quellen bezugte Lesart *volebam* die ursprüngliche ist: »ich wollte mir die Verse, ihr Musen, im Wechsel merken«.

## CORYDON

Nymphen, meine geliebten, vom Libethrus! Schenkt mir ein Lied wie meinem Codrus (er macht Verse, die denen des Phoebus am nächsten kommen)! Heißt es aber von mir: »Nicht alle können es schaffen«, dann sollst du, klangreiche Rohrpfefe, hier an der heiligen Pinie als Weihegabe hängen.

## THYRSIS

[25] Hirten, ihr Arcader, schmückt den angehenden Dichter mit Efeu, dass dem Codrus vor Neid die Eingeweide platzen; oder, wenn er sich in seinem Lob zu weit versteigt, umkränzt seine Stirn mit Narde, dass keine böse Zunge dem künftigen Sänger schade.

## CORYDON

Diesen Kopf des borstigen Ebers bringt dir, Delia, der kleine Micon dar, [30] und dazu das weitverzweigte Geweih des langlebigen Hirsches. Wenn ihm das Jagdglück treu bleibt, so stehst du hier bald ganz aus glattem Marmor mit purpurnem Kothurn um die Waden.

## THYRSIS

Eine Schale Milch und diesen Opferkuchen, Priap, kannst du alljährlich erwarten; das ist genug. Du bist der Hüter eines bescheidenen Gärtchens. [35] Vorerst haben wir dich, unseren Mitteln entsprechend, aus Marmor gebildet; wenn aber die Herde durch einen neuen Wurf Zuwachs erhält, sollst du vergoldet werden.

## CORYDON

Nereus-Tochter, Galatea, süßer für mich als Thymian von Hybla, weißer als Schwäne, schöner als schimmernder Efeu! Sobald die Stiere von der Weide zu den Krippen zurückkehren, sollst du kommen, [40] sofern dir dein Corydon ein wenig am Herzen liegt.

## THYRSIS

Ich aber will dir bitterer erscheinen als sardonische<sup>2</sup> Kräuter, stacheliger als Mäusedorn und wertloser als Algen am Strande, wenn mir dieser Tag nicht bereits länger erscheint als ein Jahr. Geht nach Hause – ihr seid satt! –, geht, ihr Stiere, wenn ihr noch einen Funken Anstand habt!

## CORYDON

[45] Bemooste Quellen und du, Gras, sanfter als der Schlummer, samt dem grünenden Erdbeerbaum, der euch mit lichtem Schatten bedeckt! Haltet von dem Vieh die Hitze der Sonnenwende fern! Schon naht die sommerliche Dürre, schon schwellen an der geschmeidigen Rebe die Knospen.

## THYRSIS

Hier ist der Herd, hier fette Fackeln und jederzeit Feuer, soviel man will. [50] Schwarz sind die Pfosten vom ständigen Ruß; hier kummert uns der kalte Nordwind so wenig wie Zahlenstempel einen Wolf oder Ufer einen Wildbach.

## CORYDON

Hier stehen Wacholderbüsche und struppige Kastanien, auf Schritt und Tritt liegen Früchte unter ihren Bäumen verstreut; [55] jetzt lacht die Natur: Wenn aber der schöne Alexis diese Berge verlässt, kannst du sehen, wie sogar Flüsse austrocknen.

<sup>2</sup> Sardonische Kräuter (z. B. eine in Sardinien gedeihende Hahnenfuß-Art) wirkten »kaustisch«, sie erzeugten Verbrennungen auf der Haut, ihr Saft rief Wahnsinn hervor (»sardonisches Lachen«); den bitteren Geschmack dieser Kräuter glaubte man im sardischen Honig wiederzuerkennen. Die Antike wusste, dass Sardinien keine giftigen Tiere, wohl aber einige giftige Pflanzen beherbergt.

## THYRSIS

Dürr ist der Acker, vor Durst stirbt das Gras in der drückenden Luft; Bacchus hat den Hügeln den Schatten der Reben nicht vergönnt: Kommt aber unsere Phyllis, so wird der ganze Wald ergrünen [60] und Iuppiter in all seiner Fülle in fruchtbarem Regen niederströmen.

## CORYDON

Die Pappel ist dem Hercules lieb, die Rebe dem Bacchus, der schönen Venus die Myrte, sein Lorbeer dem Phoebus: Phyllis aber liebt Haselnüsse; solange Phyllis diese liebt, übertrifft keine Myrte und kein apollinischer Lorbeer die Haselnuss.

## THYRSIS

[65] In den Wäldern ist die Esche die Schönste, in den Gärten die Pinie, an den Flüssen die Pappel, auf Bergeshöhen die Tanne: Wenn aber du, schöner Lycidas, mich öfter besuchst, so mag die Esche in ihren Wäldern, die Pinie in ihren Gärten dir den Platz räumen.

## MELIBOEUS

So weit kann ich mich erinnern und auch daran, dass Thyrsis unterlag. All sein Eifer war umsonst. [70] Seit jener Zeit ist Corydon *der* Corydon für mich.

Arcadia owes its name to the mythological hero Arcas, the son of Zeus and the nymph Callisto. Arcas was a king of Arcadia and the country's greatest hunter. In Greek mythology, Callisto was a nymph of Artemis, the goddess of forests and hills. Zeus desired the Nymph. In order to lure her, he disguised into the figure of Artemis and managed to approach her and sleep with her. Hera, the jealous spouse of Zeus, found out that Callisto was pregnant. Full of ruth, she turned the Nymph into a bear. Callisto gave birth to a son named Arcas. Zeus in order to protect Arcas from the ruth of Hera, hid Arcas in a remote area that would come to be called Arcadia, in his honor.



Years later when Arcas was hunting, he came upon a bear. Not knowing that it was his mother, he pointed his arrow on her, ready to kill her. Zeus took pity on the tragedy of mother and son, took Callisto and Placed her in the sky as Ursa Major (Great Bear in Latin) and Arcas nearby her as Ursa Minor (Little Bear). When Hera heard of this, she became so angry that she asked Tethys to keep them in a certain place, so that the constellations would never sink below the horizon and receive water.



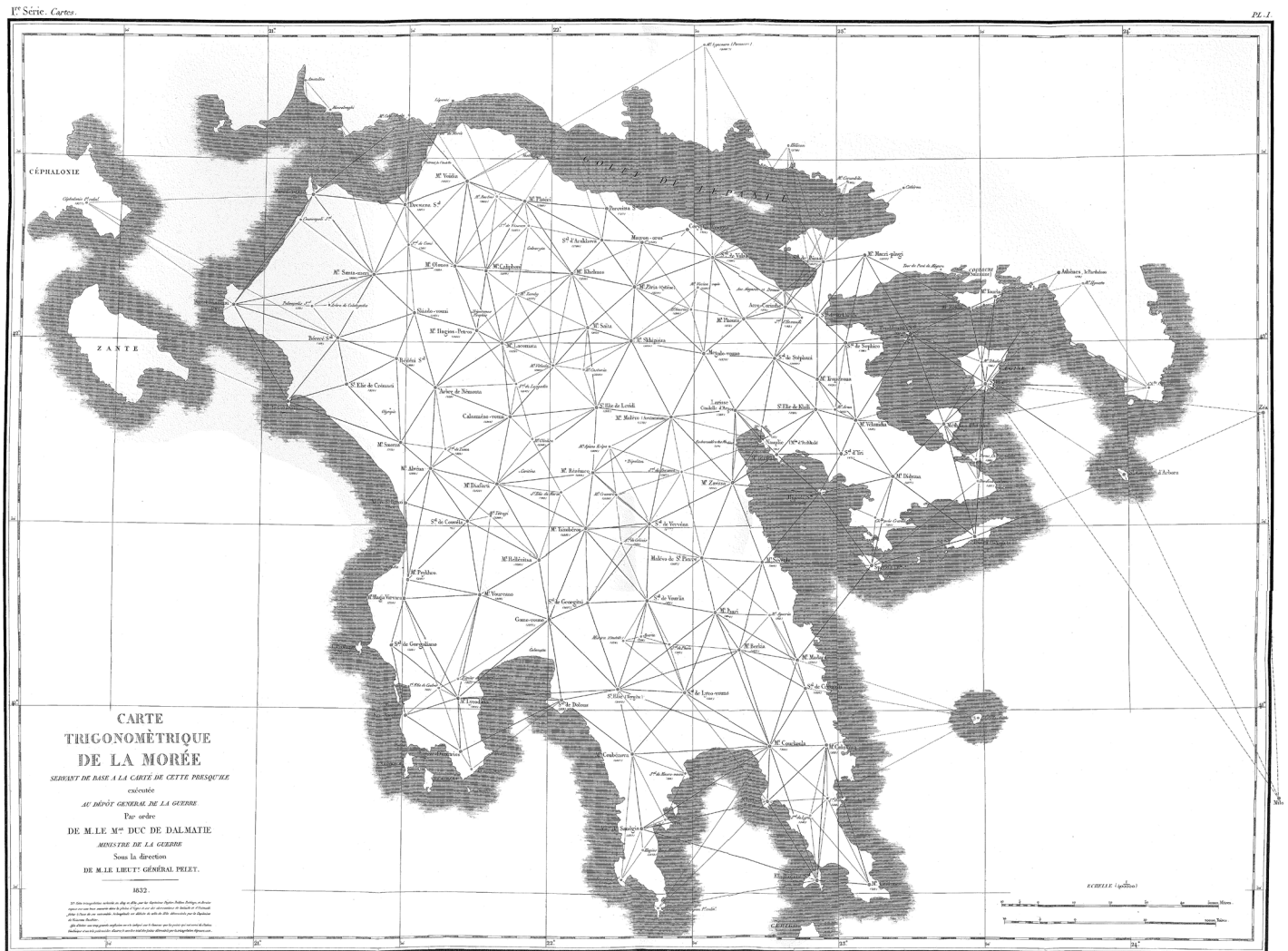


## Materials

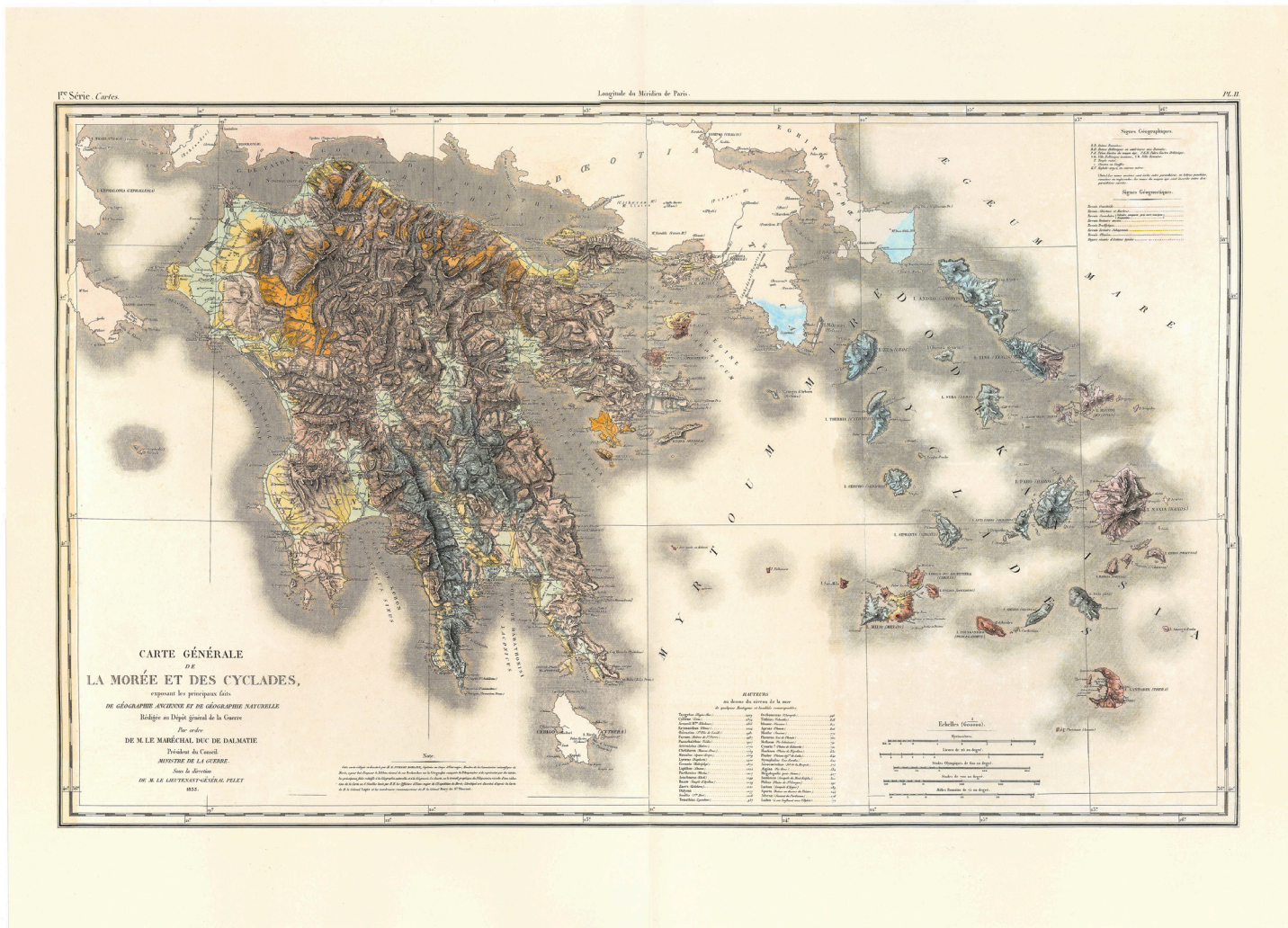
The Course of Empire is a five-part series of paintings created by Thomas Cole in the years 1833–36. It is notable for reflecting popular American sentiments of the times, when many saw pastoralism as the ideal phase of human civilization, fearing that empire would lead to gluttony and inevitable decay. In the second painting, called The Arcadian or Pastoral State, the sky is clear and a fresh morning of a day in spring or summer is depicted. The images reflect an idealized, pre-urban ancient Greece. This work shows mankind at peace with nature. It symbolizes that the environment has been altered, but not so much so that it or its inhabitants are in danger.



The Morea expedition (French: Expédition de Morée) is the name given to the land intervention of the French Army in the Peloponnese (at the time often still known by its medieval name, Morea) between 1828 and 1833, at the time of the Greek War of Independence.



After the fall of Messolonghi, Western Europe decided to intervene in favour of revolutionary Greece. Their attitude towards the Ottoman Empire's Egyptian ally, Ibrahim Pasha, was especially critical; their primary objective was to elicit the evacuation of the occupied regions, the Peloponnese in particular. A Commission of Sciences and Arts, the Morea Scientific Expedition (Expédition scientifique de Morée,) accompanied the troops. Seventeen learned men represented different specialities (natural history and antiquities – archaeology, architecture and sculpture) followed the voyage.



Their work was of major importance in increasing knowledge about the country. As an example, the topographic maps they produced were excellent. The Morea expedition and its publications offered a near-complete description of the regions visited. They formed a scientific, aesthetic and human inventory that remained one of the best means, short of visiting them in person, to get to know the regions.





1. *Albâtre employé à Olympie.*
2. *Concrétion maritime.*
3. *Serpentine de Trézène.*
- 4 5 et 6. *Serpentines de Tine.*

Oudart del.

Imp<sup>r</sup> de Folliau.

Aug<sup>te</sup> Duménil sculp.

## 4 Mapping Arcadia

The title 'Mapping Arcadia' signals perhaps the most clichéd assumption of the geographical project: making and interpreting maps. But as Arcadia is an imaginary place, the subject of artistic and literary more than geographic exploration, to map it suggests something more than surveying and compiling a graphic image of its dimensions and spaces. I use mapping here in its more metaphorical sense, but one that draws nonetheless on the deep historical connections between cartography and imagination. Such connections are apparent, for example, in the creation of patrician landed estates with their villas, vistas and gardens in sixteenth-century Italy, or in early maps of the New World, discussed in the last chapter. Here, I extend the connection between mapping and art, but use the idea of mapping as an active engagement that seeks to give form and meaning to an elusive and largely imaginary space.

### Mapping and Arcadia

'Mapping', the cognitive and creative process rather than the scientific and design aspects of map-making, has more than one meaning. Most simply, it refers to the locating and way-finding practices of recording places and things in space, for example the charting activities traditionally employed by navigators that produced coastal rutters or *portolani*. But mapping also suggests more broadly cognitive and imaginative processes of discovering and denoting our place within the world, and of ordering the worlds we experience through spatial representations: graphically, pictorially, even narratively and performatively.<sup>1</sup> In the first sense mapping Arcadia would mean locating in geographical space an elusive region whose name has echoed through two millennia of literary and artistic culture as a point of harmony between nature and social life. Arcadia does exist as a geographical

68

### GEOGRAPHY AND VISION

there. For Arcadia's geography is one of yearning more than finding. It is a nowhere place, a utopia. Arcadia addresses the insistent question of the place that humans occupy, *should* occupy and, in reverie, perhaps once *did* occupy, in nature. Behind this single, simple toponym lies a complex geography of memory and desire, and a landscape that, once we map its poetic contours, reveals itself as the habitation of more troubling ghosts than we might initially expect.<sup>2</sup> This chapter attempts such a mapping by connecting some reflections on the current state of thinking about nature and landscape in North America to Arcadian thinking and its classical, Mediterranean origins, before returning to this now rather thin and tired trope of social harmony some of its complexity and poetic authority.

### Arcadia in America

California, home of the Arcadia furthest removed geographically from those austere limestone crags and pine forests of peninsular Greece, is as good a place as any to start. The history of settlement in the Golden State over more than a century has been governed by a restless search for environmental and social perfection. The countless expressions of the California Dream across the Californian landscape – in sanatoria and health spas, on beaches and in communes, among orange groves and in the shade of eucalyptus trees, and even in the rows of suburban bungalows – make a story that is tragic in the original dramatic sense of that term: at once heroic and flawed.<sup>3</sup> It is shot through with the irony that the ideals of personal ease and social perfection sought within the setting of an idealized climate and spectacularly beautiful natural environment have been consistently elusive, endlessly deferred, or subverted in the artificiality of the human landscapes that have degraded Californian nature and hardened so much of Californian social and physical space.<sup>4</sup>

One aspect of this irony is captured in Roger Minick's image: *Woman with Scarf at Inspiration Point, Yosemite National Park* (1980) (Fig. 4.1). The Arcadian sweep of grassland, forest, rock and water visible from Inspiration Point appeals to a landscape sensibility shaped by Claude Lorrain's pictorial vision and moulded in the American West by Ansel Adams's photography<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 4.2). The woman's headscarf carries a banal printed image of the very scene she is viewing. The obvious effect of this piece is to question the 'naturalness' of both the scene she is observing and of her own response to it. In Dean MacCannell's phrase, Yosemite, paradigm of Western wilderness, is today 'Nature incorporated'.<sup>11</sup> Since 1855, Yosemite has been celebrated as the iconic landscape of the American West, the jewel in the crown of America's preservationist movement. Here the movement's founding father and guiding spirit, John Muir, played the Arcadian rustic, herding sheep in the

70

toponym on the map of Greece, a mountainous and wild region in the central Peloponnese. Its regional government today uses the name's resonance to promote eco- and agro-tourism in a landscape of poor hill farms and declining pastoralism. But the Greek region has only the most tenuous connection to the literary Arcadia, whose enduring literary and artistic influence is more accurately traced to Virgil's *Ecloques* and *Aeneid*. In Virgil, as I argue below, Arcadia might with equal textual justification be located in the reedy marshlands around Mantua in the plains of the River Po, the bare mountain pastures of Sicily, or the Capitoline Hill prior to the building of Rome: 'golden now, but once a-bristle with woody thickets' (*aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis*).<sup>2</sup> And yet this classical mapping too is false to the literary tradition as we know it today, the origin of which is more appropriately found in the hugely influential poem *Arcadia*, written by the Neapolitan Jacopo Sannazaro in the 1480s and published (against its author's wishes) in Venice in 1502.<sup>3</sup> An immediate literary success across Europe, Sannazaro's poem celebrated the landscape of San Cipriano, near Salerno, south of Naples, where his aristocratic family had their estates.

Today, Sannazaro's poem is forgotten and unread – 'its preoccupation with beauty – beauty of countryside, beauty of language and of rhythm, idyllic beauty described in an elegiac tone', considered too saccharine for today's knowing and ironic tastes.<sup>4</sup> It comes to the contemporary reader mediated and relocated, through Sir Phillip Sidney's 'enamelled meads' and the rococo spaces of Marie-Antoinette's Versailles.<sup>5</sup> But at the time of its appearance, Sannazaro's poem was widely read and its landscape mapped onto the New World descriptions of sixteenth-century explorers. Here is Giovanni da Verazzano's record of the landscape he encountered near Cape Hatteras in 1524:

following always the shore, which turned somewhat North, we came in a distance of fifty leagues to another land that appeared much more beautiful and was full of great woods, green and of various kinds of trees. Grapevines climbed to the branches, and the place we called *Arcadia*.<sup>6</sup>

Jacques Cartier expressed similar sentiments at Hochelaga, the site of today's Montreal, where he noted that people were engaged in cultivation and fishing solely to sustain themselves, and did not value worldly goods, being ignorant of them. Arcadia has been a recurrent theme in the European cultural appropriation of American nature. If I want to go horse-racing today in Los Angeles, or to the LA County Arboretum, I travel to Arcadia (see Fig. 3.2). It nestles below the San Gabriel Mountains just east of Pasadena, its appearance signalling the continuing power of poetic landscapes to become mapped into actual geographies.

Clearly, the broader sense of cognitive mapping is much more appropriate to the cartography of Arcadia than the narrow sense of finding our way

69

### MAPPING ARCADIA



Figure 4.1 Roger Minick, *Woman with Scarf at Inspiration Point, Yosemite National Park*, 1980 (Oakland Museum of California)

1860s and proclaiming that 'nature like a fluid seems to drench and steep us throughout, as the whole sky and the rocks and flowers are drenched with spiritual life'.<sup>12</sup> Yosemite represents that uniquely American faith in unspoiled, wild nature as the repository of natural (and national) virtue, which, if embraced in the right spirit of subdued awe and reverence and in accordance with the correct codes of conduct and dress, could transmit itself to individuals.<sup>13</sup> Through the spiritual renewal offered by wilderness experience, the moral order of society was supposed to be uplifted. This is an Arcadian vision which spread across the globe during the twentieth century. 'National' parks define 'true nature', the originating landscape, of every nation state.<sup>14</sup> They signify, too, the nation's commitment to ideals of environmental protection and conservation, to a balance between nature and human life. Since the 1970s environmental science has been awarded the privileged role of guide in the common human commitment to 'restoring' harmony with nature (Fig. 1.4). In turn, ecology as the study of the

71



Figure 4.2 Ansel Adams, *Clearing Winter Storm, Yosemite National Park*, c.1935 (Ansel Adams Publishing Rights Trust)

balance of life has guided the management of national parks as the Arcadian groves of the modern world.<sup>15</sup>

But, over the past decade, the assumptions underlying the widespread commitment to wilderness and ecological virtue have been subject to a more critical scrutiny. The respected American environmental historian, William Cronon, initiated a fierce polemic when he pointed out in the mid-1990s that 'nature' is inescapably a human fabrication, a name through which we denote and delimit a reality that undoubtedly exists, with its own forms, processes and interactions, but which in and for itself is radically 'other', and thus, within human discourse, always a social construction.<sup>16</sup> The languages that we select to describe and address nature's forms and workings, together with the virtues or vices with which we invest 'wilderness', 'ecosystems' or any other of the terms we apply to natural spaces, as well as the roles we deem appropriate for ourselves in respect of them, are all culturally rather than scientifically determined. There is nothing pre-given or objective about the selections we make, and we need to attend critically to their implications. In thus promoting nature as a social construction, Cronon opened himself to the accusation of undermining the

72

immediate environs were transformed into gardens with elaborately designed orchards, flowerbeds and parterres. The 'wilderness' of the hunting park, which lay beyond the formal garden, provided for aristocratic leisure, to be sure, but it was leisure for a purpose. A society that relied for its defence upon an elite corps of mounted soldiers drawn from the nobility required space for the practice of martial skills: horsemanship and the use of heavy arms. The hunting park provided that space: it was the restricted-access military training zone of the feudal world. Its sylvan wilderness, a space of muscular challenge and violence, lay at the margins of aristocratic territory, beyond the space of cultivation and romantic assignation represented by the garden and the ruling centre of the country house, to be sure, but mapped securely within the social space of rule.

At first sight the conventional image of Arcadia seems far removed from the conceptual map I have drawn here of the park within the noble domain. In fact the two are closely connected. To understand the connection we first have to negotiate the Arcadian landscape sketched out for the modern world in the early Renaissance, the Arcadia later to be performed in the shallow aristocratic conceits of the Petit Trianon. The spiritual landscape of poetry and love where the genius of wild places and the simple life of nymphs and swains acts as a foil to the ennui of the city originates with Jacopo Sannazaro, the youthful Neapolitan noble and author of *Arcadia*. Sannazaro sublimated his adolescent passion in the poetic tale of Silvio, a jaded urbanite finding temporary solace in the woods and pastures of the family estates near Salerno. The enduring elements of the landscape sketched out in *Arcadia* are familiar: open woodland glades and pastures, frequent springs, streams and pools, and occasionally deep ravines and denser shades of gloomy forest, a landscape similar to that other mythical Greek scene pictured in Abraham Ortelius's image of *Tempe* on the lower slopes of Mount Olympus and later refined by Claude Lorrain (see Fig. 3.4). The land is inhabited by rustics: shepherds or goatherds and their animals. Autochthons, born of the soil, their movements are unplanned and unmapped, governed by the wanderings of their flocks, and their homes are either caves and temporary woodland shelters, or simple huts of branches, moss and leaves. The landscape is idyllic, pictured always in the full verdure of springtime, its dark sylvan recesses reassuringly distant from the sunlight shafting through oaken groves or warming the florid pastures. The Arcadians' rough manners and vulgar work are softened by their simple delights of rustic competition and their devotion to the poetry and song inspired by Arcadia's ruling genius, Pan:

Nor are the shades of the trees . . . so discourteous that with their shade they altogether forbid the rays of the sun to enter the pleasant little grove; so graciously do they admit them that rare is that tree that does

74

scientific foundations of environmentalism and opening the door to interests and activities that damage and destroy the natural world in the interests of profit or power. In fact, Cronon was simply asking for a more thoughtful, reflective and ultimately resilient conception of nature and how we should live in relation to the rest of life on this planet. Rather than asking natural science unaided to determine our moral choices, he urges us to relocate the conversation of conservation within the sphere of moral discourse, recognising nature for the human and social concern that it is. And that concern is one of the oldest and most consistent subjects of art and poetry. It is the key to mapping Arcadia.

Arcadia is precisely a place where the relationship between human society and the natural world is opened for critical reflection. To grasp the full richness and complexity of the Arcadian landscape, however, we need to escape the insipid images of courtiers and aristocrats playing pastoral games in Fragonard's world of the French *ancien régime*, or of world-weary city-dwellers going 'back to the land', to live 'naturally' in shapeless homespun on organic communes. We have to work our way back to the origins of the poetic trope and the contexts in which Arcadia emerged and evolved as an imaginative geography within the Western literary and artistic tradition. In doing so we might start with the designation of Yosemite itself. While not the first great tract of Western wilderness to be bounded and declared as a national park – that honour goes to Yellowstone – Yosemite offered the model as the earliest such space to be set aside, removed from the modern space and time that Americans prided themselves on making, to be appreciated for its timeless spiritual, scenic and recreational values alone. Although deep in the Sierra Nevada, by 1890 Yosemite was already accessible enough to the growing urban region of San Francisco to be exploited for both recreation and water – the fierce struggle over the Hetch Hetchy dam and aqueduct that tamed and took its waters was America's first great environmental battle. But what does it mean to designate such a place a park?<sup>17</sup>

### Arcadia and the park

The origins of the park do not lie in the arrest of time or the exclusion of cultural impacts from nature. They lie in the enclosure of aristocratic hunting grounds, territories set apart from settlement and cultivation for the explicit purposes of the chase – hunting and killing wild animals. Areas such as Windsor or Sherwood in England, and Fontainebleau and Vaux-le-Vicomte in France, were woodland zones, their timber and game protected by law from exploitation by the surrounding community. Hunting lodges within or adjacent to them became palaces, villas and country houses whose

73

not receive from them the greatest invigoration: and though it be at all times a pleasant spot, in the flowery spring more than in all the rest of the year it is most pleasing. In this so lovely a place the shepherds with their flocks will often gather together from the surrounding hills and exercise themselves there in various strenuous contests, such as hurling the heavy stake, shooting with bows at a target, and making proof of their skills in light leaping and stout wrestling, full of rustic trickery; and most often in singing and in playing the shepherds pipe in rivalry one with another, not without praise and reward for the victor.<sup>18</sup>

In Sannazaro's tale, various elements cloud this vision of simple but quite muscular harmony between man, beast, landscape and season. Most familiar among them are the sighs of the lovelorn young shepherd. In Sannazaro's lyric, the youthful rustic Ergasto's love is an affliction, and his personal melancholy shadows the landscape itself:

Spring and her days do not return for me,  
nor do I find herbs or flowers that profit me;  
but only thorns and splinters that lacerate the heart.

How can you wish that my prostrate heart should rise  
to fix its cares on my poor and humble flock,  
since rather I fear it will be scattered among the wolves?

Amid my griefs I find no other remedy  
Than that of sitting alone at the foot of a maple,  
Of a beech, of a pine, or of a cork tree.  
For thinking of her who has lacerated my heart  
I become an icicle and care for no other thing,  
Nor feel the pain from which I grow lean and waste away.<sup>19</sup>

Ergasto is only one of various lovesick youths who populate Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Their adolescent yearning for a release from heartache leads them to a sacred grove 'which never did any dare to enter with any axe or iron', in whose craggy depths lies an image of the woodland god Pan. His altar bears the 'antique laws and rules for conduct of the pastoral life, from which all that which is done in the woods today had its first origin', and above it hang the waxen pipes. From this sacred grove the shepherds are directed to another, wilder place: 'a very deep ravine, bounded on every side by solitary and echoing forests of an unheard-of wildness; so beautiful, so marvellous and strange, that at first sight it strikes with unwonted terror the minds of those that enter there.' The band must pass through this sublime space in order to learn the rites that will either rid the youths of lovesickness or gain for them knowledge of the spells and potions that will 'force your enemy into loving you'.<sup>20</sup>

75



We climbed the hill to look over our land:  
 fields poor and few, stones, olive trees.  
 Vineyards head toward the sea. Beside the plow  
 a small fire smoulders. We shaped the old man's  
 clothes  
 into a scarecrow against the ravens. Our days  
 are making their way toward a little bread and  
 great sunshine.  
 Under the poplars a straw hat beams.  
 The rooster on the fence. The cow in yellow.  
 How did we manage to put our house and our life  
 in order  
 with a hand made of stone? Up on the lintel  
 there's soot from the Easter candles, year by year:  
 tiny black crosses marked there by the dead  
 returning from the Resurrection Service. This land  
 is much loved  
 with patience and dignity. Every night, out of the  
 drywell,  
 the statues emerge cautiously and climb the trees.

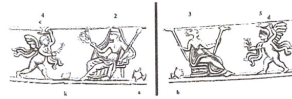
YIANNIS RITSOS, *Our Land*, translated by Edmund Keeley.



*HYMN TO DEMETER*

302-310

But golden-haired Demeter sat there apart from all  
 the blessed gods and stayed, wasting with yearning  
 for her deep-bosomed daughter. Then she caused  
 a most dreadful and cruel year for mankind over  
 the all-nourishing earth: the ground would not  
 make the seed sprout, for rich-crowned Demeter  
 kept it hid. In the fields the oxen drew many a  
 curved plough in vain, and much white barley was  
 cast upon the land without avail. So she would  
 have destroyed the whole race of man with cruel  
 famine...



ANONYMOUS. *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica with an English Translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Homeric Hymns. Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914.*



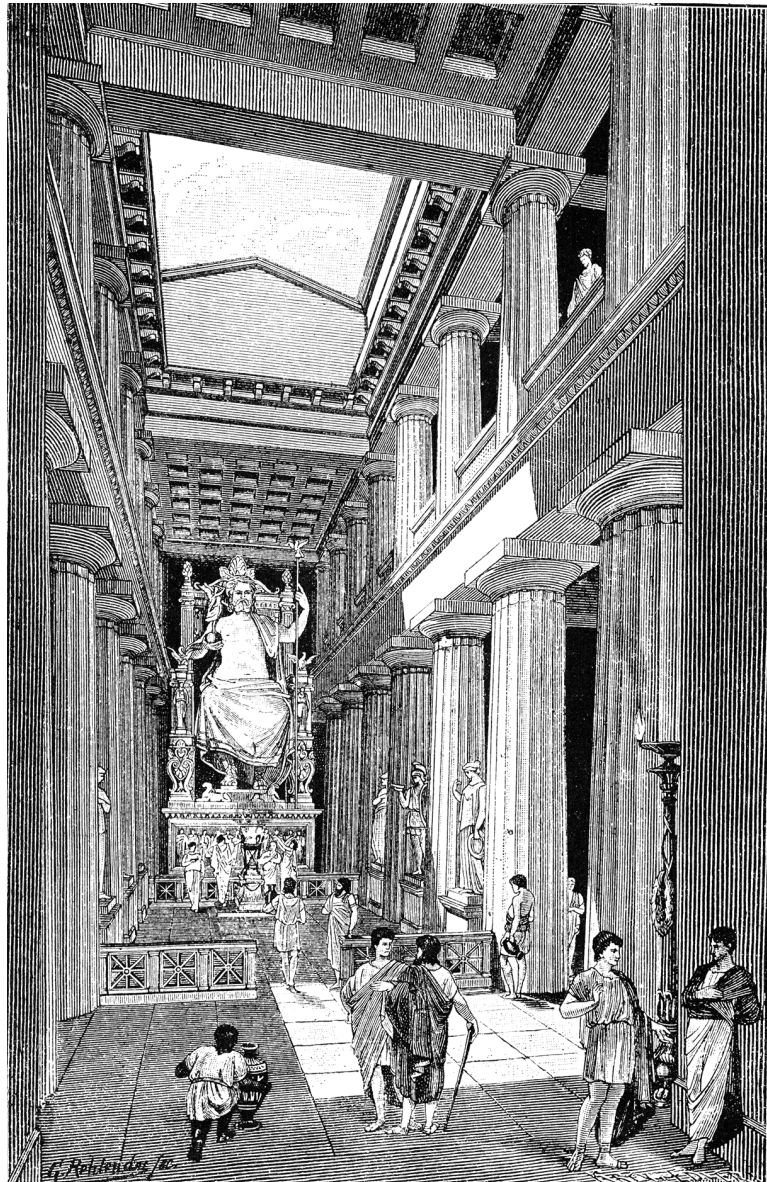


The Olympic Games were a series of athletic competitions among representatives of city-states and one of the Panhellenic Games of Ancient Greece. They were held in honor of Zeus, and the Greeks gave them a mythological origin. The Olympic Games were held every four years throughout Classical Antiquity, from the 8th century BC to the 4th century AD. During the celebration of the games, an Olympic Truce was enacted so that athletes could travel from their countries to the games in safety. The prizes for the victors were olive leaf wreaths or crowns.



Ολυμπιακοί αγώνες.

The Statue of Zeus at Olympia was a giant seated figure, about 13 m (43 ft) tall, made by the Greek sculptor Phidias around 435 BC at the sanctuary of Olympia, Greece, and erected in the Temple of Zeus there. A sculpture of ivory plates and gold panels over a wooden framework, it represented the god Zeus sitting on an elaborate cedar wood throne ornamented with ebony, ivory, gold and precious stones. One of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, it was lost and destroyed during the 5th century AD with no copy ever being found, and details of its form are known only from ancient Greek descriptions and representations on coins.



The site of Olympic Games was located at Olympia. The sanctuary, known as the Altis, consists of an unordered arrangement of various buildings. Enclosed within the temenos (sacred enclosure) are the Temple of Hera (or Heraion/Heraeum), the Temple of Zeus, the Pelopion, and the area of the altar, where the sacrifices were made. Olympia was a space of particular meaning, located in special relation to the landscape and generating an exceptional condition in the countryside.



## LAND OF BECOMING FORMATIONS OF CULTIVATED GROUND

Kostas Manolidis

The greatest event of the 20<sup>th</sup> century remains indisputably the disappearance of agriculture as a defining activity of human life in general and of each culture in particular.<sup>1</sup>

Michel Serres

### The devalued soil

It is a matter of uncertainty which came first: the retraction of agriculture from the productive priorities of the modern world, or its exit from the horizon of our collective imagination. Either way, these developments have further undermined our relationship to the earth and its processes and nullified the significance of parameters such as the weather and the soil.

In truth, what the soil represented has gradually become undesirable. The deep connection with the ground of cultivation, of the founding or burial of the ancestors, was discovered to be discordant with the canon of unsettledness and fluidity which permeates the current state of affairs. A kind of disengagement from the ground seems to be structuring modern consciousness. This disengagement is manifest in the anxiety of constant motion and is encapsulated in the cult of lightness. "To be modern, to belong to the world of the weightless, one needs to have lost the ground from under one's feet"<sup>2</sup>, as E. Arantisis has commented pointedly.

Liberation from every kind of burden and commitment is not only promoted as an imperative of mass culture but is also laid in the agenda of higher cultural pursuits. That precise condition of weightlessness is what a sector of architecture desires to monumentalize by means of the transparency, the immateriality, or the illusory levitation of buildings. Even earlier, though, the architectural paradigm of the Modernist movement sought the building's emancipation from the earth, its maximal detachment from it, tending towards an abstract purity which set aside the dirty reality of natural matter. In modernist rhetoric, the natural ground constituted an indifferent or even hostile agent, a carrier of rheumatism and tuberculosis.

<sup>1</sup> Assistant professor, University of Thessaly.

Transformations of the cultivated land  
Research and design: Kostas Manolidis / Production: Kostas Manolidis; Anna Vasof, architect; Thalia Melissa, student of architecture / Satellite images from Google Earth.

<sup>2</sup> Michel Serres, *The natural contract*, University of Crete, Heraklion 2001, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Eugene Arantisis, «The anxiety of take-offs», *Eleftherotyia (insert 7)*, 14/09/2003.

Within this wider spirit of deterritorialization, the web of meanings connecting man to earth is gradually being dismantled. The earth is now shrinking into an inert, homogeneous matter with no charged inner layers, no stratifications, accretions alternations or discontinuities. The less familiar and understandable something is, the more deprived from narratives and character, the easier it becomes to exploit it. The surface of the earth, then, becomes a potential real estate plot, bound and controllable, or it is surrendered to an industrialized agriculture, concerned exclusively with the increase of production.

Correspondingly, there has been a systematic devaluing of empirical knowledge and scientific observations around the active constitution of the soil. The soil is not something static but a growing body whose health and efficacy depend on the vigor of the biological microcosm it contains. Disregard for this condition, has allowed the ascendancy of practices which lead to the devaluation and exhaustion of soils and to their becoming dependent on chemical additives. This is not merely the outcome of manipulation on the part of the agrochemical industry. It has to do with the variously supported cultural suspiciousness towards all things natural. Our attitude of compassion, nowadays, towards wild nature and the identification of the natural with a potential for purity, health and wellbeing, all take place almost exclusively in the realm of representation. What has been imposed and has assumed a reassuring function, is the edited image of 'the natural', or, better still, its sterilized virtual version with no mistakes, invisible dangers and unpredictable behavior. If the natural, i.e. what grows of its own accord, is anticipated to be modified and controllable, then, we also need a soil that is predictable, anorexic and drained from meanings.

We have certainly now reached a stage where the dead ends of the enslavement and possession of the natural world are becoming visible, as they accumulate. It's becoming more likely that the triumphant victory of civilization upon the fragile balance of the natural order might turn into a disaster. "Vulnerability has just shifted side."<sup>3</sup>

Michel Serres, will dare indicate one single way out: the signing of a new contract with the silent partner of the human species, Nature, which will be permeated by the constitutive principle of love. "To love our two fathers, the natural and the human, the soil and our fellow man; to love humanity, our human mother and our natural mother, the Earth."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Michel Serres, *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Serres, *Ibid*, p. 77.

### Earth's grammar under the satellite's lens

It appears then, that it is absolutely timely to reassess the entire range of agricultural activities and their comeback, as an intrinsic aspect of the human condition. We may even contemplate a rural ontology whose scrutiny on the meaningful exchanges between man and the soil, would constitute the moral meeting ground for the sciences of agriculture, of the earth and of space.

To serve such a rapprochement is the intention behind the small cartographical tour in the rural landscapes of Greece, which took place as part of the Greek participation in the Venice Biennale.

Since the expanded task of architecture is to interpret and reconfigure the spatial parameters of human life, its contribution to the contemplation of rural space may well be decisive. It is a fact that the man-generated landscape of agriculture, with its humble scale and imperceptible excitations, has rarely attracted the interest of architectural analysis. Yet, it would not be far-fetched to understand the creation of agricultural land as a series of primarily architectural acts: weeding, flattening, demarcation, excavation. Among other things, then, agriculture is an elementary, and the most effective, act of architectural landscaping.

By means of this investigation, an initial familiarization is attempted with the grammar of the rural landscape. The resultant groupings, without conforming to any taxonomic discipline, merely draw attention to specific organizational attributes detectable from the aerial perspective of the satellite images.

Certainly, observation from the ground would enrich the data and correct possible inaccuracies in the aerial readings. Even more useful would be to cooperate with scientists who specialize on such issues. Nevertheless, at this stage and with the means at hand, we thought that a more spontaneous viewing could prove productive. Our aim was to avail ourselves of the abstraction of the aerial cartography and of a naive, untutored gaze, in order to regard our land freed from the commonplace of everyday imagery. Through the unfamiliar, vertical viewing, we can allow ourselves to be startled by the rural landscape as if it were a foreign land, proceeding thus to fruitful discoveries and analogies. We committed ourselves to this assignment while being aware of the paradox of returning to the ground by way of a lens orbiting in space.

If one, then, systematically inspects the surface of the land of Greece from the satellite images of Google Earth, will locate almost everywhere the contribution of agricultural activity to the morphology of landscapes. The zones of purely agricultural areas, usually lighter in tone, are readily recognizable in valleys, plateaus and generally in level or mildly contoured expanses of land. There, fields have been unified through reparcelling into relatively large lots of equal size and are under intensive farming.

As one, however, zooms into the darker areas of the map, begins to ascertain the existence of a wider rural territory which takes up almost all of the rest of the country. The scanning effortlessly reveals a variety of cultivated lands existing at the sidelines of the large agro-systems. Farmed fields dispersed on mountainsides and flatlands, in many different altitudes and different ecosystems, comprise an enormous repertory of agricultural setups. A repertory that has been underestimated on account of its disadvantageous positioning and its restricted productive yield, but which, nevertheless, preserves valuable characteristics of an older, organic order of agricultural practices.

Within this wider territory of the semi-mountainous and mountainous regions, the rural landscape has been impacted to a much lesser degree by the radical transformations brought about by reparcelling and by the modern methods and infrastructures of cultivation. The cultivated zones show a greater or lesser degree of discontinuity on account of the unevenness of the ground. In addition, voids appear due to the abandonment of older cultivations or the change in land use from agriculture to livestock breeding or because of the soil's degradation or the region's depopulation.

### A spontaneous typology

The first thing one acknowledges from an aerial view is the diversity and small scale of cultivations. The dispersed fields have not been joined together remain, on occasion, of minuscule size. The surface area of the fields relates, of course, to their use and the kind of local economy which they supported. The vineyards on the mountainsides, the orchards at the outskirts of settlements or by creeks, but also the cultivation of cereals, were often intended for the nutritional self-sufficiency of the household and not for the generation of income.

Cultivations often coexist in a steady engagement with uncultivated zones and natural vegetation. Land-folds, ravines and streams impose a fragmentary, discontinuous and irregular development of arable fields. But even in cases where surface morphology allows for a fuller and more unified land use, property subdivisions are maintained. Still, within this more general framework, we may perceive gradations and specificities:

1. **Mosaics.** The most distinctive image of conventional farmland is that of a mosaic of geometrically shaped fields, tightly fitted together. Where there has been no reparcelling of the land, the sizes are kept small, producing on occasion dense compositions of elongated shapes. Often, the complicated arrangements and orientations of the fields clash with the geometric austerity of the access roots or irrigation and draining networks.

**2. Jigsaw pieces.** In these cases, the fields are assembled like the pieces of a worn-out mosaic, with vacant intervals of barren ground, trees and bush clumps. Shapes are side-by-side arrayed in an ambiguous order that resembles at times the layout of traditional settlements. Orthogonality of the fields, though a major determinant of these arrangements, is consistently disrupted as corners are in most cases rounded, following the curvature of plowing.

**3. Rags.** A very common and repetitive pattern throughout is that of scattered fields which unfold on hilly undulated topographies. Land use for arable farming, of only the flat parts of this uneven ground formation, results in compositions of irregular patches that look like rags spread on the landscape. In this random morphology, conforming to the wavy terrain, it is rare that a repetitive rhythm or geometric rule can be established.

**4. Outlines.** A special category of outstanding environmental importance is the arrangement of fields with interposed corridors of natural vegetation, whether of trees, bushes or, more rarely, reeds. The thick outlines of these vegetative field separating margins entail a number of benefits. They protect the crops from the wind and contribute positively to the microclimate, they define property lines and they help control livestock access and grazing.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, they offer wildlife habitat and, generally, they preserve the biodiversity of natural ecosystems which interact in diverse ways with the farmland. Out of this cohesive and mutually complementary engagement of the natural and the human-made, emerge intense aesthetic qualities which make such landscapes in other countries, widely appreciated and protected.

**5. Dapples.** Less visible and recognizable mostly from above, are the cultivations in deforested parts of woodland. Large wood covered areas of Greek inland are mottled with such vacant spots. These are small-scale artificial clearings which were stripped at great expense, in order to provide farmland. As E. Elefantis writes about such a plot, created by his grandfather in a gorge: "he worked for twenty years to get the rocks and stones out, to uproot boulders and plane-trees with his pickaxe, to carry the stones to the edge, building an enormous wall..."<sup>6</sup> In most cases, their geometric

characteristics appear altered as the fields seem to have been abandoned and the woodland is gradually reclaiming them.

**6. Weaves.** The extensive presence of the olive tree as vegetative cover in the Greek landscape, makes olive groves a category of its own. Their special organizational feature is that they occupy extended areas, often uneven and sloping, obscuring the boundaries of the different fields. Thus, the image that emerges is of a unified carpet of thousands of trees arranged loosely or densely like the, visible from Delphi, distinguished historic olive grove of Amfissa. However, in drier regions, trees in olive groves get sparse and are frequently combined or alternated with other crops. In this case, the patterns woven by the tree lines as they follow the contours of the ground, become more complex and lace-like, with empty spaces in between.

**7. Striations.** The terraced hill slopes, a valuable means of holding up the ground and rainwater, is the most representative and impressive case of man-made landscape in south Greek territory. The striated landscape of terraces on the islands, but also in mountains of inland Greece, is the culmination of the kind of human intervention that has impacted beneficially on the natural environment. There are regions completely landscaped in layered strips of arable land, which, however, have to a great extent been abandoned and degraded. This happens more extensively wherever the terraces are not planted with olive trees but, rather, were used for the cultivation of grains or livestock feed.

**8. Nets.** Carefully scrutinizing satellite images of locations where no man-made changes are evident on the land, it, nevertheless, becomes possible to find out traces of older agricultural activity. Dry-stone wall fences are such examples, often difficult to identify in the resolution of the satellite image. Spreading over many areas in the country, especially in dry, island regions, they intersect, often forming a continuous stone web extending in all directions. These fences, not always defining property lines, contributed to a complex system of management of grazing, the protection of crops and the renewal of the arid, grazing fields.

**9. Imprints.** A special group of agricultural arrangements, though they do not present any organizational aspect that differs from the previous cases, are singled out by the very fact that they have been completely abandoned. Still, the layout of the ruined fields has left an imprint in space. The vegetation of the old hedges continues to inscribe outlines on ground that is now barren, preserving an image of the land's previous farm patterns. In many cases, this prolonged fallow state revitalizes the soil and makes a potential future reuse plausible.

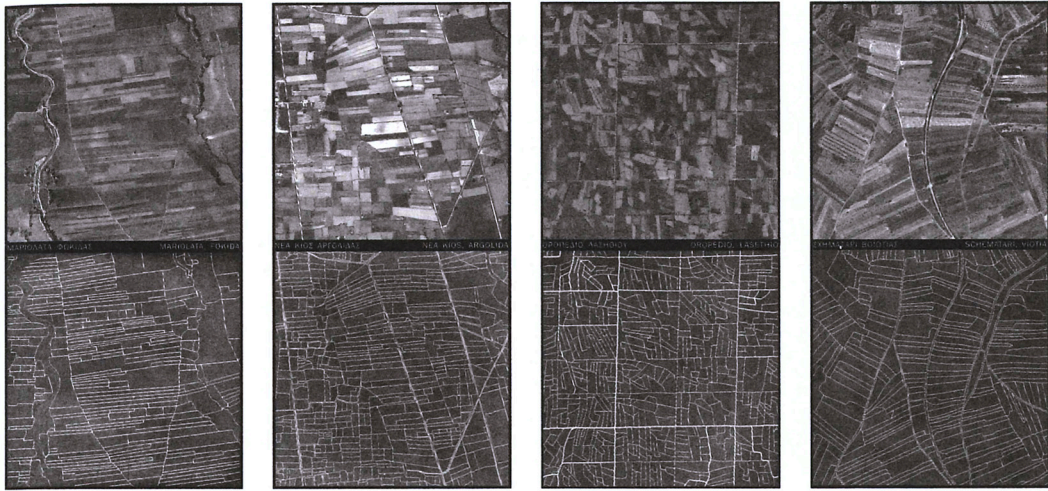
Though limited, this experimental reading of features of agricultural landscapes appears to be enlightening. It allows us to perceive the fundamental civilization of the ground which organizes at each place the geophysical conditions and restrictions into architectural space and cultural landscape. The response to the difficult and variegated Greek geomorphology has resulted in a diversity of agro-ecosystems and landscapes. This diversity must be protected from the homogenization caused by intensive monocultures that level both landscapes and biological material. The different patterns we have located have emerged from sustainable practices favorable to the soil's potential, and offer us valuable models of a synergistic approach, adaptable to limited natural resources. That's why, they may contribute to the renewal of our understanding of domestic agricultural prospects as well as revitalizing our bonds with the great, "pulsating land of becoming".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See the analytic investigation of the relationship between natural vegetation and cultivations by Nikos Beopoulos, "Environmental consequences of re-arranging in the semi-mountainous zone" in *ΤΟΠΟΣ - Review of urban and peripheral studies*, 11/96, pp. 61-86.

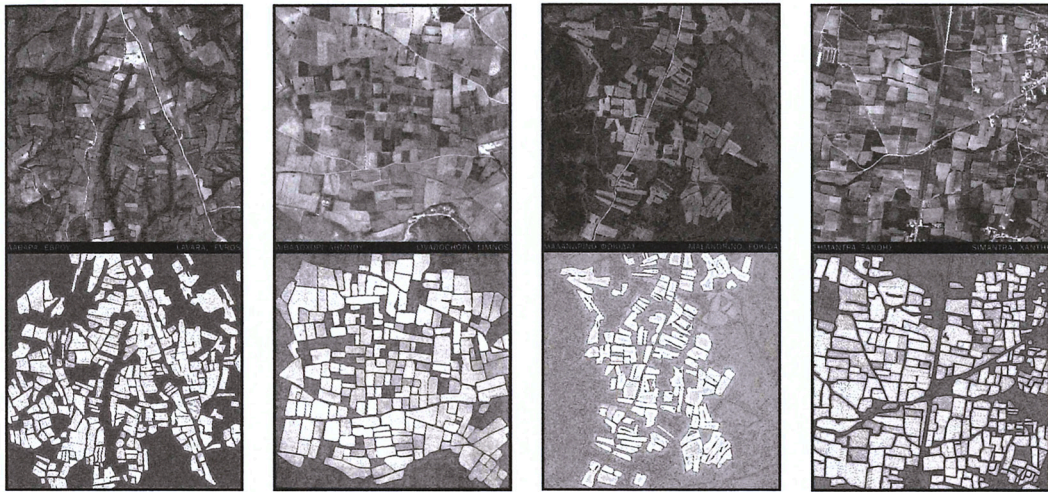
<sup>6</sup> Angelos Elefantis, *Minima Memorialia, My grandfather's story*, Polis, Athens 2001, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Verse from the poem «Earth» in *Andreas Empirikos, For all generations or The present day as tomorrow and as yesterday*, Agra editions, Athens 1999 (1984) p.100.

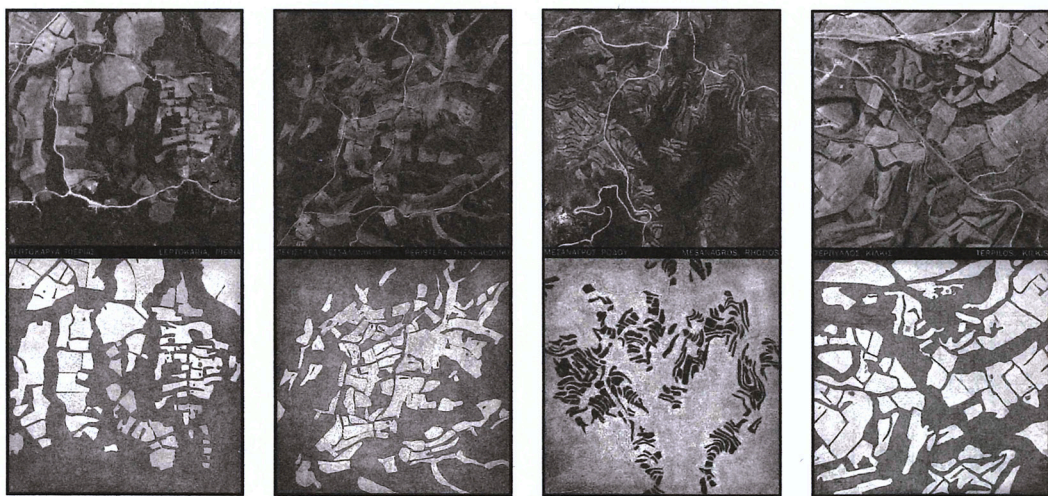
KOSTAS MANOLIDIS FORMATIONS OF CULTIVATED GROUND



1. Mosaics



2. Jigsaw pieces



3. Rags

## GROUND

The crisis of agricultural production in Greece has combined with the development of tourism and, not least, with the transformation at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century of the totality of the greek land into a unitary, undifferentiated residential expanse, a carpet woven by the urban, the peri-urban and the rural; the crisis of non-stop development in tandem with the enormous explosion of communications technology, immaterial production, and the desertification of arable lands, ultimately lead us not just to a reconceptualization of economy in relation to production, but, also, to the metropolization of the population and of the land.

We are now called upon to contemplate architecture through this new and simultaneously old ground, within this new condition of habitation. What is the ground and what architecture, what is the new condition for the “builder”? An unexpected encounter of the contemporary with the ancient ground can be read in the etymology of the greek word “ktizein”, (to build): among its oldest conceptual references are the activities of ‘land reclamation’, ‘cultivating’, ‘sowing’, ‘inhabiting along with others’ and a little later, those of ‘founding’ and ‘building’.

In the origins then of this word, we find conjoined Heidegger’s “Building, Inhabiting, Thinking”, which correspond, in turn, to the Aristotelian triad of “Acting, Making and Comprehending”. All three conceptual categories concern acts of architecture (of habitation itself) and the activities appropriate to it, as a force that gives form to the ground, and the activity of building alongside the activity of cultivating as founding acts. These are, as language testifies, civilizing acts, transforming an environment from wild to cultured, actions that shape the communal ground. “Terms deriving from the root ‘kti-’, confirm the double meaning, heritage of the indoeuropean language group, at once ‘agricultural’ (to reclaim, to prepare the ground, to sow or plant) and ‘social’ (to inhabit)”<sup>5</sup>. The same verb which will later be used for the construction of the edifice, initially refers to activities which shape space for the purpose of habitation by means of inter-

<sup>5</sup> Michel Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire de colonisation en grec ancien. Etudes lexicologiques: les familles de κτιζω et de οικέω-οικίζω*, Klincksieck: Paris, 1985, 15.

ventions to the surface of the ground – i.e. denotes the activities of cultivation (reclamation, seeding, planting) and of habitation. In a contemporary reactivation of all the ancient connotations at once, the ground, as the field of all human activities, is what can aid the expansion of the definition of architecture and of the architect’s role. The meaning of ‘foundation’ which comes to be added to that of ‘building’ at some period after Mycenae, is the one which aids the comprehension of the previous ones as well, by distributing them within a unified field of signification: reclaiming but also building, habitation but also sowing and planting, come, with the violence of the original act, to seal the transformation of the ground from virginal to inhabited, from uninhabited to civilized.

If we perceive the entire area of the Greek land as an extended metropolis with the bounds between the city and the countryside annihilated, with the peri-urban space excessively enlarged, activities of cultivating, building and inhabiting are no more than different aspects of today’s architecture, as it spreads through the ground, whether earthly or human, in like manner. Now, the distinction between the ‘wild’ and the ‘cultivated’, i.e. civilized, is, on account of this diffusion, also dislodged: we can no longer tell the resident of the city apart from that of the village, a differentiation for which there is historical testimony from ancient Greece at 431B.C., when the Athenian citizens residing in the countryside (εν αποίς) are forced to leave from their homes and move inside the Long Walls, because of the Peloponnesian War. This differentiation also marks a rapture in the ancient imaginary where the ideal of a rural Athens is superseded by that of an Athens based on its naval and mercantile power<sup>6</sup>. Ever since that time, the country dweller begins to be identified with the boorish, unrefined, uncouth and beastly character who, in Aristophanes’ *Clouds*, shows up to marry the urban girl and: “On the wedding day at the table, I reeked through and through of the new wine, of cheese and wool - of abundance; she was all perfumes, saffron and lusty kisses – insatiable...”<sup>7</sup>

Exiting from the opposition of ‘country dweller vs. urbanite’ as we are urged to do today on the strength of the image of the city’s territorial diffusion and the spread of communications technology (illustrated by the image of a farmer with a laptop) may also mean exiting from the male image of the master-builder, the specialist-architect-designer who erects buildings and is preoccupied with ‘creation’. A singular cultural activity conjoins both sides of κτίζειν (building) – as these used to find expression in the western patriarchal model – where now ποιεῖν (creating) comes to be joined with πράττειν (acting). Here, on the one side, is the god Apollo<sup>8</sup>, the founder and builder: the founding of his temple follows the sacrificial slaughtering of the dragon guarding the spring and whose decomposition gives the site its name. Apollo is simultaneously the god of the settlers. His tread upon the earth as he seeks the appropriate place for his temple, occurs in woodlands not trodden by man, places of wildness where no streets exist as yet, or cities or land-cultivation. Apollo founds and builds, ritually setting in place “the long foundations of the building of his temple”. On the contrary, the goddess Demeter, after wandering through the earth, looking for her daughter, in a world already inhabited and civilized, she teaches mortals the ways of cultivation<sup>9</sup> and, with these, the mysteries concerning life after

<sup>6</sup> Philippe Borgeaud, “The agroikos”, in: *The Hellene Human*, ed. J.-P. Vernant, Ellinika Grammata: Athens 1996, 310-311.

<sup>7</sup> Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 41-52.

<sup>8</sup> See: Marcel Detienne, *Apollon, le couteau à la main*, Gallimard: Paris, 1998.

<sup>9</sup> For the role of cultivations and the rituals surrounding it in the constitution of the city-state, see in the same tome Christina Mitsopoulou.

death – Demeter founds again in peace, while Apollo founds from the start with violence. At the same time, the gifts of Demeter related to food and to upbringing, seeding, birth and growth (natural as much as social) are gifts that relate to co-habitation and therefore “πράττειν” (acting). This πράττειν which in the 80s, de Certeau showed forth in all its daily manifestations (“walking in the street” and ‘talking’, ‘eating together’ and ‘cooking’) as a phenomenon of rhetorical feedback to the current power structures<sup>10</sup>, is redistributed along with “ποιεῖν” today not between the sexes any more, but between persons, upon the expanded and vague territory of the modern-day resident. Ποιεῖν and πράττειν, male and female roles, war and peace, enmity/conflict and friendship, at the present historical moment may be seen in the process of a radical transformation determined by factors both human and non-human.

**MECHANIZATION 1950-1980**

**Nikos Platsas**

After the war, Greece experiences a thriving agricultural economy which will be the foundation of the country's national production. The primacy of agricultural production means that, as of the beginning of the 50s, it employs almost 55% of the population, in a land area of 3,5 million hectares. At the end of the 70s, though 4 million hectares of land are under cultivation, employment is provided for only 35% of the population, with a marked declining trend.

Though the class of pure agricultural producers is diminishing, the production of agricultural products is progressively increasing. In analyzing this paradoxical state of affairs, it transpires that the interdependence of human beings and production is being broken. It might seem as if nature, magically provides humans with its goods. This, in turn, avails humans of the "freedom" to leave rural toil behind and head for the readily available infrastructures and services of the city. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the distancing of

massive numbers of people from agriculture, paves the way for the machine and introduces new conditions in man's cultural connection to the landscape. The space in between manual labor and mechanization is the meeting place of rural culture with an industrial universe, inhabited by tractors, combine harvesters, rotary hoes, pesticides, flying machines for aerial spraying, automated watering systems and greenhouses.

Looking then, at the panorama of the rural past from the beginning of the 50s to the beginning of the 80s, one can make out the progressive silencing of the festivals of agriculture and its demotion from a collective high point to an industrialized sequence taking place somewhere outside of the city: it now belongs to an essentially unfamiliar in(ex)terior, a mute system of endless, cyclical events. This powerful cultural exit from rural culture results in a rigid transformation within the collective unconscious of geographical space as a binary landscape, urban or natural, with no intermediary space of any kind. While, then, urbanization has specific traits, the countryside is losing its specificity before the forgetfulness of the urban experience and is henceforth identified as 'anything green', outside the bounds of the city.



Industrial and Small Business Exhibition of Volos where modern machinery for cultivation and processed agricultural products are presented. The occasion is celebrated as a major event in the city of Volos and accompanied by a parade of young farmers. Under the roof of modern kiosks, the meeting takes place of the agricultural activity of the future with a wide audience of producers and city dwellers. August 1952. (source: T11532, National audiovisual archive)



Harvesting and thrashing of rice with early mechanical systems in tandem with collective manual labor. Although the use of agricultural machinery is not extensive, national production is at a surplus. The dynamic of the human factor retains its particular importance. Agrinio, July 1954. (source: T114965, National audiovisual archive)



Grape harvest and sorting in previously unexploited/ard lands which were cultivated with modern methods for the production of particularly high-quality and hardy grapes for export to Germany. From harvest to packaging, the work is done collectively, with perfect method. Chalkidiki, September 1954. (source: T16217, National audiovisual archive)



Presentation of helicopter for aerial spraying at the 2nd Pan-Laonic Exhibition of Sparta and exhibition of pesticides and fertilizers at the 1st Agri-Educational Exhibition of Achaia. Laconia, May 1968 and Achaia, September 1969 (sources: T17236 AND T10891, National audiovisual archive)



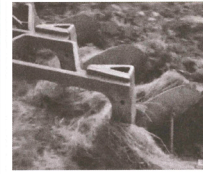
Beginning of classes at the Agricultural Training School of the American Agricultural University, where students from Greece and abroad (Yugoslavia, Israel, Cyprus and Turkey) will be trained in modern agricultural applications as an advanced scientific procedure. Thessaloniki, November 1954 (source: T11497, National audiovisual archive)



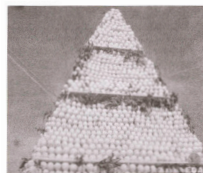
Visit by Queen Frideriki in Thrace and Macedonia, where, among other activities, the Queen is taken on a tour of small, home-grown cultivations in the village Vathytopo, in Drama, while she opens the sowing season at the village of Nea Kerdylia in Serres, as a symbolic gesture of participation in rural toil. Northern Greece, May 1955. (source: T12140, National audiovisual archive)



After a natural disaster hit Thessaly, the enormous destruction of the crops is assessed and, afterwards, special teams distribute flour and seeds to the inhabitants of the Valley of Thessaly, so that they may sow their fields again, with the help of agricultural sowing machinery. Karditsa, May 1960. (source: T17746, National audiovisual archive)



A grape fest in Zemeno, Corinthia, organized by the cruise-ship company "Argos" in order to invigorate tourism. Foreign tourists, alongside local farmers, collect ripe grapes in an exuberant atmosphere. A singular encounter of western urbanites with the population of the European countryside. Corinth, September 1963 (source: T11260, National audiovisual archive)



An orange festival with imaginative ways of the fruit's presentation, product of a new urban aesthetic which is beginning to take shape, regarding agricultural produce. The beneficial qualities of the orange for the city dweller are lauded as a means of introduction of the fruit from the countryside. Argos, January 1965 (source: T16738, National audiovisual archive)



The 3rd Panhellenic Agri-Industrial Exhibition, where the Greek flags are flying next to those of Mercedes-Benz. The mechanization of agriculture becomes a national affair, with the terms of the international market of the battle-ready agricultural machinery. Lamia, May 1969. (source: T17413, National audiovisual archive)



2nd tractor rally, at the time of the international flourishing of rally derbies, in imitation of urban practices on the up hill then virginal landscape. Lamia, June 1971. (source: T10176, national audiovisual archive)

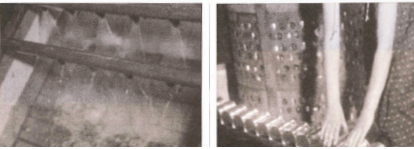


Grape packaging unit of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Paegeon, where the large numbers of outdoors packaging outfits are replaced by a single, modern infrastructure of industrial scale, foreign to the customary rural images. Kavala, October 1971. (source: T11301, National audiovisual archive)





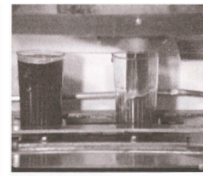
Production, processing and packaging of peaches in Macedonia, Imathia, October, 1978 (source: T8966, National audiovisual archive)



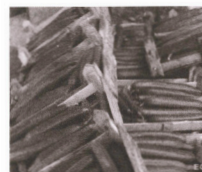
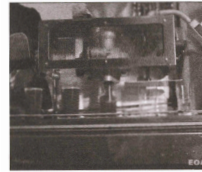
Production, processing and packaging of tomatoes, Greece, December 1978. (source: T4267, National audiovisual archive)



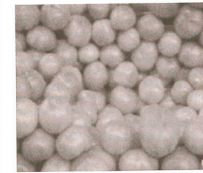
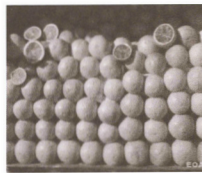
From the production of strawberries in Pieria to their sale at the open-air vegetable markets of Athens. The bench of the open-air market and the plastic container have the function of transporting the countryside to the city. Greece, June 1979. (source: T13623 National audiovisual archive)



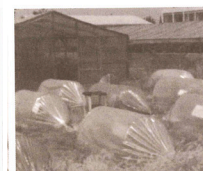
Production of cherries and sour cherries in Greece. Pieria, June 1979. (source: T13623, National audiovisual archive)



Chain process of the production and making ready for delivery at the markets, of out-of-season produce in Ierapetra, Crete February 1981. (source: T7954, National audiovisual archive)



Standardization in the presentation of produce on the benches of the open-air markets as well, Greece, February 1981. (source: National audiovisual archive)



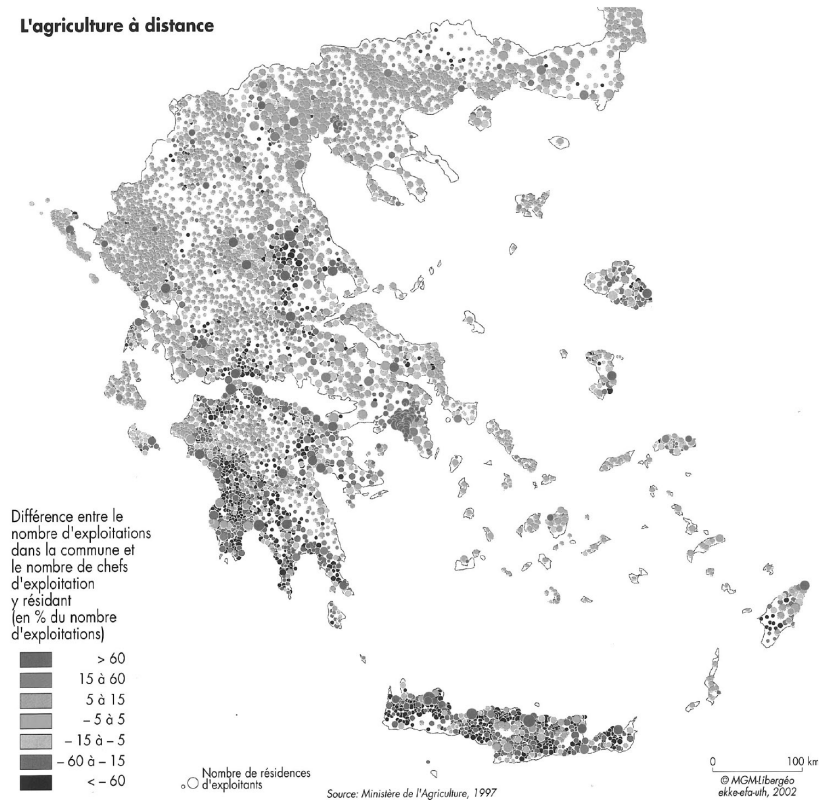
As the twentieth century is drawing to a close, the studies intensify at the Centre of Agricultural Research of Northern Greece, regarding the more cost-efficient and effective production of produce out of season, transforms the image of agricultural expanses into that of an otherworldly countryside. Greece, August 1981. (source: T7892, National audiovisual archive)



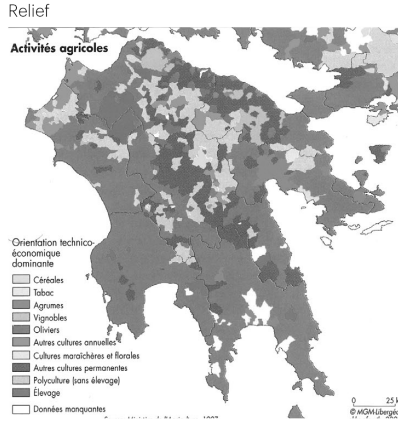
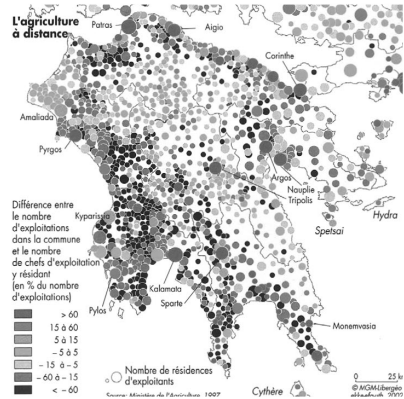
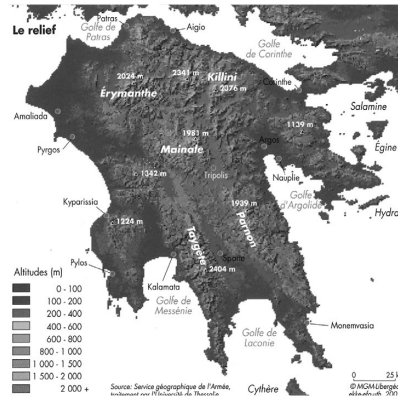
Peloponnese constitutes a very typical example for the complexities of rural regions in Greece: lack of connectivity, scarce and discontinuous agricultural lands, agricultural specialisation according to the physical particularities of each region. An interesting observation, stated in the Atlas de la Grèce (ed. Michel Sivignon) is the phenomenon of “agriculture through distance”, manifested in a map that brings in relation the living and working place of people occupied with the olive business. As the olive field and harvest requires only a seasonal treatment, people can live in distance, permanently settled in bigger or smaller cities and only seasonally move to the area of the fields.



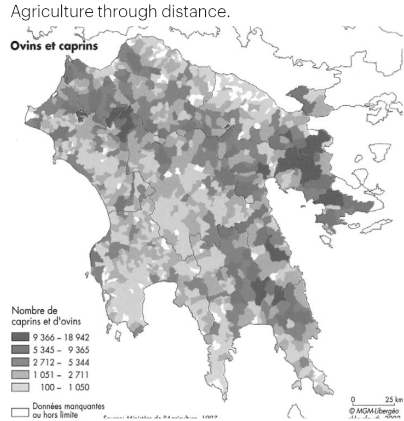
**L'agriculture à distance**



Agriculture through distance, Greece.



Agricultural Activities



Livestock

## On Conflict, Generic and the Informal: the Greek Case

Building on the thesis *Beyond the Informal City: Athens and the possibility of an Urban Common* (2014), this short essay introduces a few elements of the distinctive urbanization that characterizes the contemporary Greek city. The aim of this essay is to classify the typically Greek method of urban planning and spatial design as an indispensable branch of a complex political project. My objective here is to demonstrate the way in which social transformation in Greece has been primarily achieved by—and occurred within—the development of specific architectural and urban types as well as planning protocols. This body of tools and design procedures was used to administer social relationships; it put space at the epicenter of political and social antagonism. As a sophisticated institutional framework that employs a process of subjectification, it framed forms of life, corresponding practices, and conditions of occupation. Simultaneously, this method of producing architecture composed a characteristic economic, material, and spatial entity. The strategy of my research is precisely to unveil how this form of domesticity constitutes the concrete materialization of a set of relations that governed the Greek city, managing and controlling its territory and population from within the economy of the typical household and the sphere of its social reproduction, the housing unit itself.

In the Greek city, the domestic monad acquired its highest and most complex resolution as a managerial, bio-political device in the form of a particular type of architecture: the “*polykatoikia*.” This term stands for the small-scale, multi-story apartment building, and ultimately refers to a method for constructing and disposing multiple housing units and apartments within a single plot of land. The resulting architectural object defines the urban horizon of Greece by its singularity, a condition that becomes apparent when one experiences *in situ*, or even just looks at an image of, Athens or any other Greek town.

As a revealing case study, the Greek city allows us to re-think the distinction between “formal” and “informal” urbanization. These two dialectically opposed categories distinguish two types of planning, which supposedly represent equally opposite managerial processes to formulate contemporary urban environments. Whereas the first echoes the tradition of central decision-making and planning, which implies a strong involvement of the state in the management of space, the second assumes a process whereby the lack of governmental control has been replaced by a type of city development based on seemingly autonomous and impromptu popular practices. However, in the Greek case, what appears to be a spontaneous and unplanned urban typology is in fact the result of a meticulously detailed regulatory structure that evolved strategically through time. This legislative frame produced not only the characteristic Greek urban space and its emblematic “*polykatoikia*” building, but also eventually established a common architectural language, a unified and unifying building knowledge and technique that built a sporadic and highly fragmented city.

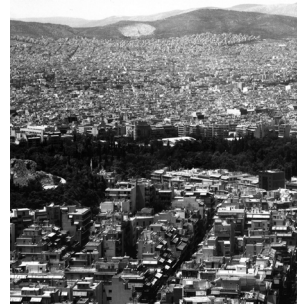
### II.

With all of this in mind, I will deploy here categories of political economy to analyze conditions and phenomena of the urban. My research presents the process of city management through a specific methodological lens, which understands conflict as the generator of spatial and societal transformations in the city, and production as the space where this antagonistic relationship primarily occurs. Conflict and struggle are the two instrumental categories to confront the notion of “crisis” as an ongoing, never ending project of capitalism, not as a mere malfunction of the capitalist economy and its cities. The rhetorics of “crisis” and its multifaceted agents are the elements that stand for the reactionary opposition to social change; it is precisely what constitutes the counter-program to the exact possibility of social struggle. In this particular moment, the status of the neoliberal paradigm and the intense political conflicts around the world, together with the acute problems of contemporary cities, make this encounter one of historic urgency, especially when it comes to tackling the impossible rationale of free-market urbanism. However, one should aim to go beyond a cause-and-effect relationship between space, architecture, the economy or the political itself, and instead speculate on the strategic link between production in general—and production of space in particular—with the city and its machines of administration. The understanding of the politics of labor in relation to space production and occupation, as well as the transformation of the social and economic organization of labour itself, can give rise to a methodological operation that challenges the notion of the “informal” in the contemporary discourse on the urban and its properties. In order to push back against the distinction between “formal” and “informal” urbanization, we should understand both as projects that attest specific power relations and forms of governance, through spatial and physical design, of a territory and its population. The “presence” or “absence” of formal properties in the design of cities is evidence of violence in regards to the division of labour, forms and accumulation of property and wealth, methods of production, and the very function of power as well as its administrative infrastructure. More to the point, how can we relate the management of space at large in the city with the administration of life within the space of its typical domestic unit? What is the relation between the domestic, the work of production, and conflict in the city?

### III.

In his essay “The rationality of Capitalism,” Cornelius Castoriadis describes capitalism as a regime that “precisely, and above all, [...] was born and developed in a society in which conflict, [...] was present from the outset,”<sup>[1]</sup> stressing that its core social imaginary signification is “the thrust towards the unlimited extension of rational mastery.”<sup>[2]</sup> Castoriadis also remarks that “rationalization,” as the true trend in the historical creation of capitalism, is the concept that allows it to survive as a true “mastery” since it cannot be produced or deduced by anything else. This mastery is primarily internal, and tends to conquer the totality of *bios* and *zoe*. “[...] this thrust towards mastery is not oriented towards ‘foreign’ conquest, but is aimed just as much, or more, at society as a whole. It must be achieved not only in production, but in consumption as well, and not only in economy, but also in education, law, politics, and so on.”<sup>[3]</sup> Its success is based precisely on its capability to extend rationality beyond profit and economic expansion to an ontological condition.

It is through this lens that we can understand urbanization as an episteme born along a historic process to define the ingredients of the modern concept of governmentality within capitalist economy. It is essentially in the organization and control of the space where this productive activity could best occur, which expands to the realm of social reproduction, the domestic space itself. The true object of capital, and therefore, the true objective of urbanization, is the management of the potential—life and welfare of producers, which implies a philosophical paradox. The true essence of capitalist rationale and its practice of spatial control is the



Vincenzo Castella, *Athens 2000*. Source: Vincenzo Castella, *Siti 98-08*, ed. A. Madesani (Milano: Baldini Castoldi Dalai Editore, 2009)



View of central Athens, 2000. Source: Dimitris Philippides' personal archive



An Inner City Squatter's Settlement in Athens, 1966. Source: Dimitris Philippides, “Town Planning in Greece”, in *20th Century Architecture in Greece* (New York: Prestel Publishers, 1999). Courtesy of Dimitris Philippides Archive.  
1. Cornelius Castoriadis, “The rationality of Capitalism”, in *Figures of the Thinkable*, trans. Helen Arnold (Stanford: Stanford University Press 2007), p. 55.  
2. *Ibid.*, 54.

3. *Ibid.*, 53.

management of something that does not exist—it is the potential of production and both time and possibility of development. This relation between the urban, economic management and administration of production becomes therefore central. This is the moment city management established its critical bond with economy and the process of subjectification. The critical point therefore is to understand how economy becomes not only the paradigm of the praxis of administration, but also the process through which produces its own subject.

As Maurizio Lazzarato pointed out in *the Making of the Indebted Man*,<sup>[4]</sup> this issue of future development and the management of its uncertainties become even more critical today, especially within the mechanisms of exploitation and domination produced in contemporary financial capitalism in the debtor-creditor relation. As Lazzarato argues, this dialectic scheme lies in the very core of the neoliberal project and, far from being a pathogenesis or a 'malfunction' of monetary capitalism, constitutes the very process that destroys the past distinctions of the welfare state between workers and the unemployed, consumers and producers, working and non-working populations, between retirees and welfare recipients. As Lazzarato further explains, Capital initiates an ontological guilt and debt becomes a political construction, which cannot be reduced to an economic mechanism, but constitutes a device of governance and control. By a technique where the honor of a private or public debt and the minimization of uncertainty are placed in the centre of contemporary economic policies and political debates, the exchange of time and money in the future pushes for the reconfiguration of the entire material and existential horizon of the debtor. In his book *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, the anthropologist David Graeber significantly expanded this position, arguing for a much longer historic instrumentality of debt in relation to the organization of human societies.<sup>[5]</sup> From the virtual transactions of early agrarian societies to primitive accumulation based on gold and silver, i.e. real money, to contemporary financial capitalism, the process of constructing "the debtor" is crucially linked with the construction of the oppressed. The "slaves of debt" have nothing more to valorize but their future, i.e. their own existence as producers who owe each time anew their own productive capability. The sovereign debt "crisis" of the Greek State coincides with a colossal restructuring of the model of its economic development, a "crisis" of the economy of the city and a violent transformation of the productive basis in Greece. Elements and traces of this violence preceded the International Monetary Fund/European Union agreements, and could be detected even in the late 1990s. During the five decades following the Second World War, the organization of labour in the construction industry and the evolution and diffusion of the *polykatiikia* model created a condition where this productive activity became central to the Greek economy. Investment in land and property became a popular practice for the working and the middle class. This process was severely challenged by neoliberal economic reforms of the real estate market at the time when Greece was entering the Eurozone in 2001, a project that continued after the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Today, due to the systemic modification of land and taxation policies, what originally seemed to be a form of investment and wealth has become a device of extreme exploitation through the institution of debt. The collapse of this model must therefore be discussed in light of Lazzarato's and Graeber's concepts. In a process of further "rationalization" of economic transactions related to real estate, urban space in Greece is "de-valorized" such that large corporations and banks may acquire and accumulate it from the hands of the indebted, the class paradoxically made up of the original producers and owners of this very space, now the device of their own subjectification.

The fact that modern capitalist development constructs a regime, which, as a totality, is based on the dissemination of an agglomerate of different apparatuses, explains it as a project that implies the "extreme proliferation in processes of subjectification."<sup>[6]</sup> This poses a structural political problem regarding the constant struggle between the individual and the devices of control, since these construct multiple fragmented renditions of the being in different "sub/multi-subjectivities." This process of destroying the individual being achieves an even more efficient governance of society, disguising the main plane of antagonism that occurs in the space of production between the two elemental subjects: producers and holders of the means of production. The political challenge lies not in the denial or destruction of these apparatuses, but rather in claiming that the very processes of subjectification, the most elemental of which is the one taking place the moment labour power, the potentiality of the worker is captured and exploited in the productive process.

#### IV.

With regards to spatial administration and territorial management, this alternative could be based on an architectural paradigm that would claim space itself as an apparatus and re-appropriate it as a form of productive activity. This is particular necessary when we take into account the profound transformations of the capitalist city, where production and the extraction of value has shifted from previous paradigms of spatial organization (such as that of the factory or the office), to the city as a whole. This does not mean that these previous spatial archetypes have disappeared, but that the management of every aspect of life has been achieved by the diffusion of exploitation in any form of activity in the city. Today, labour is the core of any form of production, absorbing sets of relationships in the continuum of the urban and expanding the real essence of economy – the *nomos* of the *oikos*, or in other words the administration of what belongs to the house – to the city as a whole. There is a profound relationship between the nature of labour and architecture, which occurs in the space of production itself. That is the notion of the generic, which exists and defines both concepts, especially in the contemporary city.<sup>[7]</sup>

The term "generic" comes from the Greek word *genikos* (γενικός), the one that belongs to a specific "race" or "kind," *genos* in Greek (γένος). The actual activity implied by the term is that of the verb *gignomai* (γίνομαι), which describes the process of "coming-into-being," "of one (a being) producing oneself," i.e. becoming a subject. The term "generic" therefore refers to a condition or a property of a being that pre-exists the individual, the social subject and thus, as a category, is strongly linked with the category of labour. According to Marx, man as an entity becomes a social individual that consists of both singular determinations and generic faculties. In his "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," Marx merges pre-individual characteristics of human life and the generated life activity into one human essence through which human beings become aware of their own subjectivity.<sup>[8]</sup> That is production, which has to be understood as the generic activity of the human being par excellence, something that is irreducible to any specific form of labour, a pre-individual capability to produce, and something of which labour power is its most concrete manifestation. The possibility of production includes not only production itself, but also the re-production of the species, i.e. the domestic sphere and all the other schemes and devices that guarantee the welfare of the being.

The importance of production lies on the fact that the mastery of capital appears in the rationality of the generic in the organization of the productive process as a whole. Labour as a generic entity, constitutes a general category that describes a wealth-creating activity without any limiting specification. In "Grundrisse," Marx described that this abstraction becomes true and obvious only in modern societies, where labour in reality became the means of creating wealth in general, linking all

4. Maurizio Lazzarato, *The Making of the Indebted Man*, trans by Joshua David Jordan, (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2012).

5. David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (New York, NY: Melville Publishing House, 2011).



Manolis Baboussis, *Construction Site*. Source: Athens: 1985 -1996, M. Baboussis personal archive.

6. Giorgio Agamben, *What is an Apparatus? And Other Essays*, trans. by David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 15.

7. These methodological observations and analytical framework were first elaborated and formed the basis of the second-year design studio "Labour, City, Architecture" taught at the Berlage Institute in the academic year 2010-11. (tutors: Pier Vittorio Aureli, Maria S. Giudici, Platon Issaia, Eila Zenghelis). For more on the project: Pier Vittorio Aureli, Maria S. Giudici, Platon Issaia, "From Dom-ino to *polykatiikia*", *Domus* 962 (October 2012): 74-87. Pier Vittorio Aureli, Maria S. Giudici, Platon Issaia, "Labour, City, Architecture: Athens as a case study", *Made In Athens, catalogue of the Greek Pavilion on the 13th International Architectural Exhibition- Venice Biennale*, ed. Panos Dragonas, Anna Skiada (Athens: YPEKA, 2012), 313-319. Maria S. Giudici, "Education, Consumption, Production: Three Cautionary Tales", *Architektur + Analyse 3 Is There (Anti-)Neoliberal Architecture?* Ana Jević, Anselm Wagner (eds), (Berlin: Sovis Verlag, 2013), 88-103.

8. Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, in *Early Writings*, translated by Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton (London: Penguin Classics in association with New Left Review, 1975) 279-400.

specific activities to one and impartible whole. “The point of departure of modern economics, namely the abstraction of the category of ‘labour,’ ‘labour as such,’ labour pure and simple, becomes true in practice.”[9] The crucial point is how this activity enters the capitalist process. Labour exists before production, before the stage where it could extract profit, i.e. before entering the category of value.

V.

In his essay “The Strategy of Refusal,” Mario Tronti describes the dialectic relation between labour and capital, and it is from this relationship that the category of conflict arises.[10] It is the moment when the conditions of labour confront the form of capital. This is when productive labour is transformed into wages, the moment when “laborers are transformed to workers,” which is to say that the potential residing in labour power is captured by capital. According to Tronti, this is the moment when the whole society confronts the rationale of capital as an apparatus of production, the aim of capitalist society in general. Conflict and struggle exist within the capitalist process as an indispensable part in the form of antagonism within production itself. As Tronti states, “capitalist power seeks to use the workers’ antagonistic will-to-struggle as a motor of its own development,” which means that it is the workers’ organization and class that fuels development and not the opposite.[11] The suggestion here is to establish a dialectic relation between class struggle and capitalist initiative, or in other words, to think which one precedes the other. Within this scheme, conflict and struggle are understood to exist within the structure of capital production and re-production as an antithesis from the beginning of the capitalist process. Labour defines the social condition of capital itself. The true cost that capital has to pay is the potentiality of struggle, since conflict always exists from the outset of its own organization. In regards to space, the exchange of wellbeing and material wealth is paid for by acceptance of the violence of administration in an array of social contracts and rationales.

These methodological tools and analytical categories allow us to discuss contemporary forms of urbanization as direct evidence of places of conflicts and struggles that occurred within the space of production. Conflict, as an indispensable part of capitalist organization, stands as the “motor,” the device that produces capitalist transformation and the evolution of specific forms of production in general as well as types/protocols of space in particular. Our aim here should be to unveil how planning of any kind, i.e. administration of the city through managerial devices, directs and apportions conflict over the territory of the city from within an economic regime that places the production of architecture and the construction of domestic life at the centre of its machine of dominance and control. This is what “informal” urbanism precisely exacerbates, being a form of city design that had produced a type of domestic architecture unanimously linked with economic development. It constitutes a system within which space and land ownership have been understood and instrumentalized as the most primordial and essential productive assets. A system promotes the economy of construction, the building industry, as the epicenter of production and the main tool in the hands of administration to govern space and the city as a whole.

VI.

All of the above notions allow us to see the form of Greek urbanization as direct evidence of the conflicts and struggles that occurred within the space of production, throughout the recent history of the country. As it has been described previously, conflict, as an indispensable part of capitalist organization, stands as the “motor,” the device that produces capitalist transformation and the evolution of specific forms of production in general, and types/protocols of space in particular. Greek cities as case studies, and especially the history of Athens, unveil how planning of any kind, i.e. administration of the city through managerial devices, directed and appropriated conflict over the territory of the city from within an economic regime that placed the production of architecture and the construction of domestic life at the centre of its machine of dominance.

In less than two centuries, from 1834 when it was chosen to become the capital of the newly independent Greek Kingdom, Athens grew from a small Ottoman town of 6,000 inhabitants to a dense metropolitan area of 4 million which covered the Attica Basin. This acute enlargement resulted from consecutive waves of human displacement, in respective periods of the city’s recent history. From the first wave of public servants, military personnel, court officials and entrepreneurs during the early years of the capital, to the massive growth of the working class in the city of the early 20th century, and from the 250,000 refugees from Asia Minor of 1922, to the colossal internal immigration inflow of the 1950s and 60s, Athens had to be significantly densified and expanded in order to accommodate such fundamental transformations. These instances should be read as moments of interruption, of radical change in the city’s social consistency, within which the notion of “crisis,” the pressure of social conflict and the ever-increasing housing needs instructed immediate political responses.

Ever since this city’s initial stages of development, the discourse on what type of city planning to employ, and what type of architecture, had been closely linked with a particular mode of economic development, within which space and land ownership had been understood and instrumentalized as the most primordial and essential productive assets. It is the economy of construction, the building industry – *i oikonomia tis oikodomis*[12] – as this appeared and developed in Athens first, and elsewhere in Greece respectively, which have become the epicenter of production in general and the subject of spatial administration of the city as a whole. This has been achieved by the mechanisms of its own development and reproduction, fueling capital accumulation and concentrating most of the monetary activities of the different social classes. Whether speculative, opportunistic, conscious or spontaneous, desperate acts or deliberate collective initiatives, urban or peripheral, these spatial and building practices defined a method of city planning where the state limited itself to providing just the platform, which, in the form domestic archetypes, defined an environment, within which these popular praxes could flourish. This function of the Greek state in regards to city planning could be read as the very definition of the role of the state and its various institutions in the market economy. Contrary to the widespread rhetoric about free-market economics, the persistent presence of the state affirms the necessity of its very existence within this economic regime, which eagerly needs the latter to define the *modus operandi* that allows for its promotion and dominance. The state and its institutions not only guarantee the sovereignty that allows a territory to be economically exploited, but primarily provide the juridical and regulatory framework that institutionalizes capitalism’s very essential functions: private property, method of production and social division of labour. The neoliberal mantras of deregulation and “laissez-faire economics” disguise this almost existential precondition of capitalist development, which requires the more-than-dominant presence of state administration throughout the productive process. The qualitative difference of neoliberal governmentality is the replacement, the apparent absence of central planning with a network of managerial processes that private actors execute.

9. *Ibid.*, 19.

10. Mario Tronti, ‘The Strategy of the Refusal’, on ‘Initial Theses11’ in Tronti’s *Operai e Capitale* (Turin: Einaudi 1966): 234-232. (English translation available online, accessed 07/12/2013: <http://libcom.org/library/strategy-refusal-mario-tronti>).

11. *Ibid.*, 236.

12. *Oikodomí* (οικοδομή) in Greek is the term used to describe a building under construction, but also the array of processes related with the construction of buildings of any kind. It’s a composite word from *oikos* (the house) and *domi*, which signifies the structure of a thing, the way an entity is composed by different elements. *Domi* is also the origin of the latin word *Domas*, eventually meaning the dwelling.

Greek cities should be read as a clear manifestation of spatial management and capitalist planning. The historical circumstances and the particular geopolitical conditions of Greece were conducive to this mode of city planning, which has been often labeled as the aftermath of “informal” development. This approach neglects the local socio-economic structures and operations undertaken by public authorities, or misinterprets the political and social context that produced this type of urban management in the first place. The fact that the Greek economy was similarly based on small-scale businesses, sporadic self-employment and fragmented organization of the labour force added further to the classification of this urban landscape as a “self-made,” almost accidental development. In other instances, the architecture of the *polykatoikia* and the history of this typology were studied almost independently from the modes of production and the forms of labour and property in the Greek city and society. These studies approached the *polykatoikia* more as a local adaptation of postwar modernism, as an architectural style, or as a positive effect, an emblematic resolution of a metropolitan lifestyle that modernized Greece after the Second World War.

The spatial and architectural characteristics of the *polykatoikia* were ultimately the media that captured and rendered profitable the productive potentialities residing within these existing forms of labour, transforming the labour power and the potential of producers into wealth, property and surplus capital in Greece. The advancement of this method of urbanization should be understood as the preeminent device of a much broader agenda, which aims for the capitalist integration of Greece, an underdeveloped country of the European South. “Spontaneity” and “informality” are the attributes that disguise the very nature of this strategy, with its final goal being the establishment of a privately owned and controlled urban environment in extremis. This project took its most apparent resolution in the second half of the twentieth century with the *polykatoikia* but, as my thesis argues, it has its origins in the foundation of the Modern Greek State in the 1830s. Since then, city planning was carried out primarily by the manipulation of singular architectural objects, by a small-scale, mainly private architecture, while large-scale masterplans gradually became obsolete and altogether ineffective. Instead of being addressed, the existing fragmentation of property was further intensified in order to promote specific forms of production, capital accumulation and monetary circulation within a rather small-scale construction sector. The success of this project, especially in the last six decades, was based exactly on its capability to present itself as a self-originated, self-help mode of welfare, within which entering the realm of private property constituted the ultimate social imaginary and form of wealth for different social subjects in Greece.

## VII.

If the *polykatoikia* is the architectural object of post-war reconstruction in Greece, the “antiparochi” was the system that made it possible: the element that executed the latent project of the contemporary Greek city. This mechanism can be accurately described as a “private contract” between individuals. It not only multiplied to the extreme the dominance of private property, but also replaced advanced capitalist methods of financing in the building sector. The land owners had the opportunity not only to acquire a newly-built apartment to upgrade their living, but also to increase their income and their private assets, simply by owning properties or by renting the apartments they didn’t use as their own house. House occupants, average or poor households understood themselves as potential entrepreneurs and land speculators. Downies, apartments as “gifts” to younger family members, extensive tax evasion was not only tolerated but accepted as an indispensable part of the Greek economy. Apart from the unskilled labour force of the construction workers, related employment, such as architects, civil and mechanical engineers and even lawyers and conveyancers, became the spine of the native middle class. Many of these professions, with their incomes being fueled by the activities within the building industry, had their wages regulated and secured by the state, which legislated accordingly. At the same time, the contractors were able to obtain land without bank loans or other public subsidies. Again, the absence of a direct presence or interference of public authorities within this process depicted the latter as a self-initiated and autonomous economic activity.

The proliferation of this mechanism resulted in the formulation of a unified construction market, where all the actors and agents were simultaneously operating in different building scales and areas of the city. The most important effect of this phenomenon was the emergence of a common architectural technique, a consistent building technology based on local materials, cheap methods and manual labour, with the *polykatoikia* being the emblematic resolution, the architectural form that incorporated and illustrated these complex socio-economic activities. The generic architecture of the archetype became the shareable knowledge of space and occupation for the producers and the inhabitants of the city. The *polykatoikia* materialized the “social contract” of the post-war reconstruction, being the machine with which Greek society exchanged the possibility of social change with material wealth, overwhelmingly entering the imaginary of private property. Defined as a “necessity” in the aftermath of the 1944-49 Civil War and executed as a seemingly unplanned, informal strategy, it became the point where the opposing camps of the conflict met, agreeing upon the form, content, and character of economic development and social welfare in Greece.

It is in this history that the various political and economic relations, the struggles and the social desires of the Greek society may be read. Contractual agreements between individuals, property owners and contractors, forms of labour and employment, family structure, gender and class domination, and ultimately, the patterns of estrangement and disenchantment in the urban space are registered in *polykatoikia*’s continuous slabs and plastered brick walls. The *polykatoikia* is the system through which the city has been transformed into a continuous, uninterrupted productive landscape. A complex spatial machinery of social engineering, capable to exploit labour power, diffuse production and foster accumulation of capital in every space and territory of the Athenian or the Greek landscape. It is a device of subjectification, of class differentiation and social alienation, presented as self-help, welfare project. It produced a vast Greek middle class, the constituents of which were simultaneously owners, producers and consumers of space, in a paradoxical manner. Nevertheless, it is a class and a society of debtors.



Self-built domestic unit in the periphery of Athens. Source: Dimitris Philippiades, *Modern Architecture in Greece* (Athens: Melissa Publishers, 2001), 73.



Manolis Baboussis, *Termae*. Source: Athens: 1985-1996, M. Baboussis personal archive.



Manolis Baboussis, *Kallithea*, 1987. source: Athens: 1985-1996, M. Baboussis personal archive.

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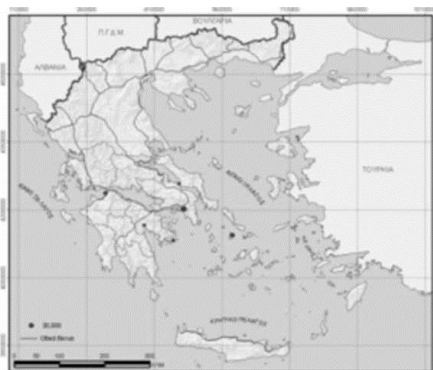
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The Athenian peasant will become the urban stereotype of the 20th century. After the loss of Minor Asia and during the postwar period, an intense urban-rural migration will radically alter the territorial balances in Greece. The inhabitant of the countryside will arrive from the province to colonize and expand the city, bringing with him all the culture and idioms of his village, as ingredients to construct the growing modern urban center. On the other hand, during the same period, the village will become the return point of the urban dweller and countryside the space where all kind of urban influences will arrive to be digested giving birth to a new provincial space and culture.

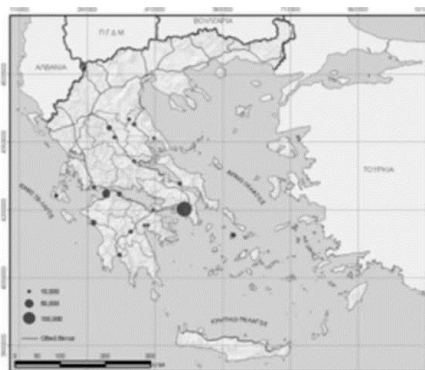


Γειτονιές της Ἀθήνας. (Ἐλλης Παπαδημητρίου, «Παλιές φωτογραφίες», Ἐκδ. «Ἑρμῆς»)

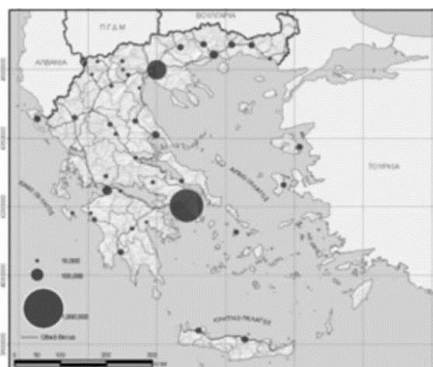




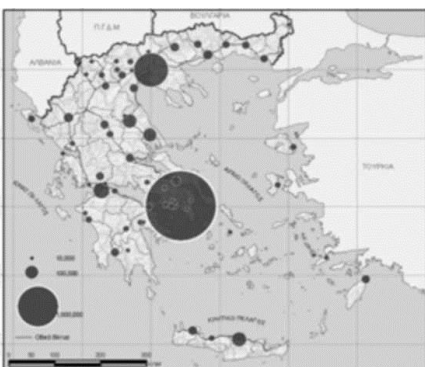
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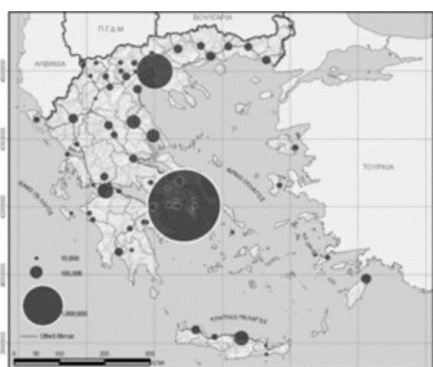
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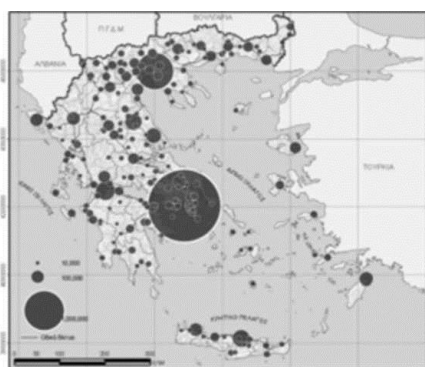
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## Slow Metabolism

Following WWII, an interesting change occurred in the way several architects designed housing: modern architecture and industrial pre-fabrication, previously accused of uniformity and repetition, would set out to generate variation, adaptability, and complexity. Structuralism and Metabolism (as was the common term for such tendencies) are perhaps some of the bravest steps that architects made towards a resignation from the duties of clairvoyants, or prophets of the future of urban form.

But this agnostic attitude is, of course, not an exclusive privilege of specialists. Gradual and additive construction is also a persistent characteristic of vernacular architecture worldwide. With the extensive dilution of modern technological means, numerous anonymous structures are now broadly making use of basic Modernistic mottos and discovering new ways of coping with change, adaptation and expansion.

Given that this paradigm shift in professional practice, more than half a century ago, was allegedly inspired by studies on anonymous architecture, one can't help wondering about what ever happened to these same "noble savages". Did modernity and its Structuralist declarations ever find their way back into their source of inspiration, the "great number" of houses built "without architects"?

### The house of Yorgos and Polyxeni.

After years of living in a deteriorating house, Yorgos and Polyxeni decided to build themselves a new one. They hired an engineer to design a basic concrete frame and, making the most of the small lot, they built it filling the irregular footprint of what was left of the lot. Shortly after, local authorities demanded the demolition of the old house because it was exceeding the construction line. In a reversal of mass and void, the new house acquired a new yard that coincided with the footprint of the old house.

Settling in the new house they only built a bedroom, a bathroom and a kitchen on the 1st floor. But that didn't stop them from furnishing and utilizing the remaining open-air spaces: The second floor, filled with all sorts of materials and tools, serves as a workshop for small repairs and constructions. The breezy ground floor, protected from the street by numerous flower pots, serves as an open-air living room for the morning hours. The first floor, open to the surrounding townscape, is where the couple spend most of their evenings, usually inviting friends over for coffee and backgammon. After years of temporary layouts, this space acquired a more stable layout: a series of walls created an indoor living room and a corridor linking to the other three rooms, still maintaining contact with a large open veranda.

Seen from outside, the house is hard to grasp: the concrete frame (and its capacity for enclosure) echoes the form of neighboring buildings, but its ad-hoc infill and open air inhabitation hints a different trajectory. All around the yard and the empty frame, parts of the old house (window frames, bricks and tiles) await re-use. Furniture and casual activities gradually sketch the form of future enclosures. Ideas occur but they have to wait for months or years for the funds to be accumulated. The old couple has no estimation on the future of the house, but they are optimistic: "We only made a start. Someone will inherit this and take it further."





### Another Metabolism

Contemporary vernacular architecture is still largely made “without architects”, which often means “without drawings”. This would be an oversimplification if we didn’t mention technical drawings, used mainly by other disciplines involved in construction. Such documents usually depict a basic frame, open to different interpretations; empty of infill, but full of potential. Nevertheless, the architectural drawing, as an instrument to create one final image of the building (that construction has to live up to) is usually absent. Instead, there are several images, drawn or imagined. And so, the house is not the result of a meticulous execution of one drawing, but the outcome of the superimposition of many.

Of course this “metabolism without architects” is not an outcome of ideology or rhetoric, but a matter of circumstances. Far from the velocity and the scale of a Futurist city or a Metabolist mega-structure, such slowly evolving buildings may not seem so exciting and ambitious. But this anonymous patient ad-hocism does share one basic principle with many of the famous manifestations of Metabolism: the resignation from clairvoyance. Design is not prediction. It is, at best, estimation. The future form of a house must be prepared and nurtured, but it cannot be predefined.

Acknowledging the existence of such multiple “modernisms” and alternative “metabolisms”, could help us resume the habitual loop between eponymous and anonymous architectural practice, and continue their mutual feedback. Widening the notion of “Metabolism”, both as a historical term and as an analogy for architecture could signify a more radical departure from our need for and confidence in clairvoyance. It may serve as a tool for designing buildings with respect to unforeseeable changes, but also as a filter to understand contemporary anonymous architecture. It is not a return to an outdated manifesto, but simply a call to resume the rejection of our belief in being able to predict the future of buildings, cities and geographies.

All images were taken by the author during visits to the house from August 2013 to September 2014. (Location: Karditsa, Thessaly, Greece) All information on the house was provided by the inhabitants.

Tourism in Greece has been a key element of the economic activity in the country and it is one of the country's most important sectors. Greece has attracted 26 million visitors in 2015 and is projected to attract 28 million visitors in 2016 contributing 18% to the nation's Gross Domestic Product. The long coastline and the beach has been a major destination and attraction. However, this was not always the case. Since antiquity the coast has been a dangerous spot, exposed to pirates; an area of war and commerce. Even until the late 1950's, the growing greek bourgeoisie would escape to the mountainous countryside for vacation and leisure. It is only in 1960s and 1970s that tourism flourishes in modern-day Greece, mainly due to large-scale projects for hotels (i.e Xenia project) and other such facilities. The coastline transforms to a leisure space and a resource attracting international tourism.





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ARKADIA

LANDSCAPE AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

With an area of 4,419 square kilometres, Arkadia is the largest Prefecture in the Peloponnese. It occupies the central part of that region of Greece, and borders on all the other Prefectures of the peninsula. The total population of Arkadia today is 105,000, barely two-thirds of what it was early in the twentieth century: the census of 1920 put it at 151,000.

The mountainous terrain and the inaccessibility of the hinterland have militated against the development of large urban centres. Tripoli, the largest town and the 'capital' of the Prefecture, has a population of only 22,500, while the chief towns of the Sub-Prefectures of Megalopolis, Kynouria and Gortynia are still smaller (Megalopolis 4,700, Leonidio 3,600, Dimitsana 740).

Before the construction of the new motorway from Corinth to Tripoli, which runs through a tunnel beneath Mt Artemisio to the north of Nestora, the Tripoli route branched off the Argos-Kiveri road and snaked up to the Achladokompos plain, following the line of the ancient road. The same route is followed today by the railway line, which runs through the Prefecture for approximately 100 km — Tripoli and Megalopolis being the largest stations — before heading further south into Messinia.

Given that 45% of the area of the Prefecture of Arkadia consists of rough grazing land (bushes and scrub), it is not surprising to find that pastoralism continues to be very widespread. Farming is the next most important activity, the principal crops being cereals (wheat and animal foodstuffs), fruit (apples, pears, cherries, nuts (almonds, walnuts, chestnuts) and, of course, the olive. Forestry is important in the large forests of the massif of Mainalo and Parnon. Valuable resources are also located underground: lignite is mined in the area, and marble in Megalopolis, and marble is quarried on Mt Parnon. The largest industrial plant on the river Ladonas is the thermoelectric power station in the Megalopolis basin, which has left its mark on the landscape there. There is another power station on the NW edge of the Prefecture — the hydroelectric plant on the river Ladonas — but otherwise almost all the industrial units of any size are concentrated in the surroundings of Tripoli.

The most important industry is tourism. As we shall be seeing in detail in the itineraries based on the map, Arkadia has a great wealth of archaeological and historical sites and monuments together with natural beauties to fascinate the visitor.

Surrounded as it is by mountain ranges, Arkadia has only one outlet to the sea, the coastline of Kynouria, where the eastern slopes of Mt Parnon run

down to the shore. The massif of Mt Mainalo cuts across the hinterland, dividing Arkadia into eastern and western parts. Eastern Arkadia, confined on the one side by the range of peaks which mark its north-east border (Saitas, Olyvritos, Lykoie, Artemisio, Klenias, Partheni) and on the other by Mt Mainalo, consists of successive enclosed basins, the dolines, separated by low limestone hills. The rainwater that gathers in the basins does not run off on the surface, but flows down swallow-holes into subterranean passages. Some of it forms underground rivers that emerge as subterranean springs of fresh water in the Argolis Gulf.

The soil in the basins, which are sometimes flooded, is fertile; wheat is the principal crop there today, with fruit and other trees being cultivated on the drier slopes around the basins, especially in the Tripoli area. The barren sides of the limestone hills are covered with a sparse coat of maquis, which gives way to forests of fir towards the peaks of Mainalo.

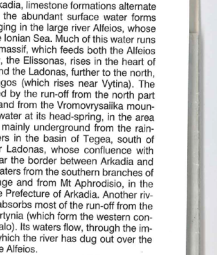
In western Arkadia, limestone formations alternate with flysch and the abundant surface water forms streams converging in the large river Alfeios, whose estuary is on the Ionian Sea. Much of this water runs off the Mainalo massif, which feeds both the Alfeios (whose tributary, the Elissonas, rises in the heart of the mountain) and the Ladonas, further to the north, via the river Tragos (which rises near Vytina). The Alfeios is also fed by the run-off from the north part of Mt Taygetos and from the Vromovryssaika mountains, while the water falls at its head-spring, in the area of Asea, comes mainly underground from the rainwater that gathers in the basin of Tegea, south of Tripoli. The river Ladonas, whose confluence with the Alfeios is near the border between Arkadia and Iliia, gathers its waters from the southern branches of the Olympos range and from Mt Aphrosdisio, in the NW corner of the Prefecture of Arkadia. Another river, the Louisios, absorbs most of the run-off from the mountains of Gortynia (which form the western continuation of Mainalo). Its waters flow, through the impressive gorge which the river has dug out over the centuries, into the Alfeios.

Although the axis of the river Alfeios provides Arkadia with a 'view' of the sea, it does little to facilitate communications, since after it leaves behind the flat basin of Megalopolis its course runs through narrow gorges between very steep slopes, such as that around the base of the hill on which the very beautiful town of Karitaina stands.

The flora of western Arkadia is more varied than that of the eastern. Dense forests of fir cover the massif of Mainalo, the higher tops of the Gortynian mountains and the northern



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parts of Taygetos. To the south of Megalopolis are extensive oak forests. The composition of the scrub which is the principal feature of the middle altitude levels varies according to the underlying formations. In the limestone areas, holly and kerm oak predominate, together with certain maple and Jerusalem sage. Flysch tends to be covered with maquis — that is, dense undergrowth consisting largely of Greek stork and heather. Here and there among the oak forests and scrub stand clumps of cypresses, trees which give the landscape of the Peloponnese much of its character. Along the banks of the larger streams and rivers stand plane trees and willows. Perhaps the most notable feature of the landscape in western Arkadia, and in Gortynia in particular, is the terracing of the hillsides. Many of the terraces are planted with olives, though the maquis has reclaimed the ground wherever farming has been abandoned.

The SE part of Arkadia is called Kynouria. Although coastal, this area of the Prefecture is largely mountainous, since most of it consists of the extensive massif of Parnon and the coast is steep and rocky. Only at Astros and Leonidio are there coastal plains. Mt Parnon stretches from Ano Doliana to the extreme south of the Prefecture, with peak after peak separated by dips and plateaus. Most of the peaks and higher slopes are covered with forests of fir and black pine. Systematic cutting of these forests is an important source of income in the area. In earlier times, large numbers of kilns exploited the presence both of limestone and abundant fuel to make considerable quantities of lime.

The northern part of Mt Parnon — where ancient Thryatiads, known for its woods and rivers, extended — is the source of the streams which form the river Tanos. It flows into the sea at Astros. The run-off from the eastern slopes is gathered by the river Traisios, which comes to the sea at Paralia Ayiou Andrea, and by the seasonal river Dafnias further to the south, which supplies the wells around Leonidio. On the east side of the Parnon massif is a huge, rough plateau covered with a vast expanse of kerm oak. A more Mediterranean note is struck along the coast, where the olive tree flourishes along with the carob or locust tree.

The mountainous nature of Arkadia and the lack of influence from the sea make the climate in this region generally cool and continental. Although the coastline of the Peloponnese is known to be among the hottest parts of Greece, the temperature tends to be much lower in the hinterland of Arkadia. In Tripoli, for instance, the mean January temperature is only 1.3°C, and the absolute minimum can be as low as -17°C. The hinterland also enjoys higher rainfall, in a diminishing pattern as we move from west to east. The mean annual rainfall in Tripoli is 900 mm, while at Vamvakou (on Mt Parnon) it is no more than 550 mm.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As we have seen, Arkadia today occupies the central part of the Peloponnese and a section of its eastern coastline. Throughout antiquity, however, it had no access to the sea because what is now the Sub-Prefecture of Kynouria did not belong to it. On the other hand, ancient Arkadia also included districts which are now part of the Prefectures of Iliia, Achaia and Corinthia.

According to the myths, the first king of Arkadia was Pelasgos, who was succeeded by his son Lykaon. Lykaon founded the city of Lykosoura, was responsible for the epithet 'Lykaon' attached to Zeus, and established the Lykaian Games in the god's honour. Lykaon's sons were supposed to have founded the majority of the cities of Arkadia, to which they gave their names (Mantineia - Mantinea, Togeates - Tegea, Figaleia, etc.).

Arkadia has been inhabited without interruption since the Neolithic era, and its first peoples were pre-Hellenic tribes. In the Geometric period (10th-8th cent. BC), the first properly-organised settlements were built. During the Archaic period (7th-6th cent. BC), these towns grew both in size and in number, while Sparta stepped up its policy of expansion into Arkadia. However, the area seems to have flourished at this time, as can be seen in the large number of sites devoted to the cults of the gods and from the unique local artistic style of the items dedicated there, and in particular of the figurines. During the Persian Wars of 490-479 BC, all the Arkadian cities joined the rest of the Greeks in the common campaign, while in the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) the cities of Arkadia allied themselves now with Athens and now with Sparta, following the lead given by Mantinea and Tegea, the two strongest city-states.

In the early fourth century, Thebes intervened in Peloponnesian affairs and invaded the area to curb Spartan power. This had a direct impact on the Arkadian cities, which finally realised their need of political unity. Thus, in 370 BC, they formed the Arkadian Federation (or *Koinon* of the Arkadians), based at Megalopolis (literally, the 'great city'). By one, all the city-states of Arkadia joined the Federation and there was a brief period of peace, lasting to the expansion south of Macedonia in the third century BC. The Arkadian cities were divided over how Ma-

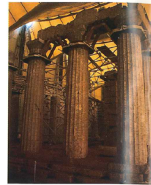
cedonian sovereignty was to be treated, as a result of which they lost their power and in order to survive were ultimately incorporated into the Achaean League.

Under the Romans, some of the cities of Arkadia flourished afresh, but many others — mostly the smaller ones — declined and were abandoned. We do not know precisely when Christianity reached Arkadia. It seems certain, however, that the inhabitants of the mountainous and isolated regions remained loyal to their old religious beliefs for many years, embracing the new faith long after the rest of Greece.

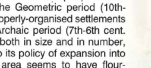
Early in the ninth century, the Byzantine Empire founded the Theme of the Peloponnese, which included Arkadia. After the Fourth Crusade (1205), Arkadia was invaded by the 'Franks', adventurers from Western Europe, who founded castles to protect their conquests. In 1320, Andronikos Palaeologos drove them out and annexed Arkadia to the Byzantine empire which a few years afterwards became known as the Despotate of Mystras. After the Turkish conquest of 1460, Arkadia formed part of the vilayet of the Morea and the Peloponnese.

In the early fifteenth century, on the invitation of Theodoros Palaeologos, Despot of the Mystras — or at least with his agreement — Albanian populations settled in Arkadia and the rest of the Peloponnese. They spread out through the countryside and established new farming and pastoral settlements. Side by side with the Greek inhabitants of Arkadia and with the Slav populations who had settled there during the early centuries of Byzantine rule and had subsequently been assimilated, the new group strengthened the local population and contributed to the formation of a dense network of settlements which functioned as an important economic and social force in the mountainous areas.

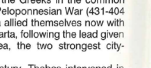
In what is now the Sub-Prefecture of Kynouria, on the borders of Arkadia, an interesting population of the Tsakonian, whose language sets them apart from the rest of the inhabitants of the Peloponnese. The Tsakonian dialect is a fascinating monument to the ancient Greek heritage, preserving features which originate in much earlier phases of the development of the Greek language and serve as an invaluable source for our understanding of how the modern living tongue came to take the shape it did. In the grammar, syntax, vocabulary and style of Tsakonian is a hard core of ancient Greek usage dating back to late antiquity — which has survived into the modern world of Greek society. Scholars have proposed various explanations for the presence of Tsakonian in Arkadia. However, the mass emigration that occurred after 1949 — principally with Athens as its destination — could not be offset by the natural growth of the remaining population, leading to the irreversible depopulation of Arkadia and in particular of its mountain areas.



A photograph of an ancient stone structure, possibly a temple or a fortification.



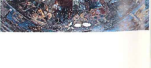
A photograph of an ancient stone structure, possibly a temple or a fortification.



A photograph of an ancient stone structure, possibly a temple or a fortification.



A photograph of an ancient stone structure, possibly a temple or a fortification.



A photograph of an ancient stone structure, possibly a temple or a fortification.

The Ottoman occupation of the Peloponnese was interrupted by a period of Venetian rule (1685-1715) which, however, does not seem to have been particularly popular with the local population and left little trace on its social organisation.

The first two centuries of Turkish rule (1460-1685) had thus passed off relatively peacefully. The period after the Venetian conquest, however — from 1715 to 1821 — was one of serious conflict and revolt, the most serious uprising being the Russian-sponsored Orloff revolt of 1770.

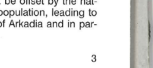
When the War of Independence broke out in 1821, Arkadia was one of the first and most important centres of operations. There was much fierce fighting in the area, and many locations became associated with events of historic importance for the spread and the ultimate success of the struggle for freedom.

The capture of Tripolitza (Tripoli) on 23 September 1821 was the first major military success of the Greek revolutionaries, and it did much to determine the outcome of the struggle.

The nineteenth century, during which the major historical event in Arkadia, as in the rest of Greece, was the new departure of the War of Independence (1821-1832), was a period of population growth. This phenomenon had appeared in the mountainous areas of Arkadia as far back as the mid-eighteenth century, and it went through a number of stages. Down to 1821, the population of the agricultural and pastoral villages stabilised and then increased, causing small population surpluses which led to a degree of selective long-distance emigration (to Constantinople, the Danubian Principalities, and elsewhere), with the movement of larger numbers to the neighbouring sea-faring islands (Hydra and Spetses) and local migration to nearby Tripolitza, which emerged as an important urban centre and the 'capital' of the Peloponnese at this time. After Independence and down to the time of the Second World War, the population of Arkadia grew steadily, allowing the area to maintain a high density of population despite the constant drain of emigration. As soon as the free Greek state was established, the people of Arkadia began to move to the low-lying areas of the Peloponnese (Iliia, Messinia, Argolis), to provide the towns and cities with new and hard-working populations, and to found new villages wherever there was ground lying idle. In the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth, large numbers of people from Kynouria and Gortynia moved to Athens and Piraeus. Transatlantic emigration dating back to another large part of the population of Arkadia, which is now one of the most notable components of the Greek diaspora in the USA. However, the mass emigration that occurred after 1949 — principally with Athens as its destination — could not be offset by the natural growth of the remaining population, leading to the irreversible depopulation of Arkadia and in particular of its mountain areas.



A photograph showing a view of a town or village, likely Tripoli or Karitaina.



A photograph showing a view of a town or village, likely Tripoli or Karitaina.

# Digital material

- Elias Beriatos, *Uncontrolled Urbanization, Tourism Development and Landscape Transformation*, 2008.
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- James P. Verinis, *The black swans of greece's global countrysides*, 2014.
- George Vlahos, *Leonidas Louloudis, The Greek Rural Landscape; Between Perdition and Preservation*, 2010.

## Filmography

### 2016\_FS\_ARCADIA > 2\_RESOURCES > O FILMS

- Filippou Koutsaftis, Mourning Rock, 2000  
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0268898/>
- Filippou Koutsaftis, Arkadia Haire, 2015  
[http://www.imdb.com/title/tt5167186/?ref\\_=nm\\_filmg\\_cin\\_1](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt5167186/?ref_=nm_filmg_cin_1)
- Dimitris Koutsiabasakos, The son of the guardian, 2006  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZE\\_jazVNjRU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZE_jazVNjRU)
- Dimitris Koutsiabasakos, Hercules, Achelöos and my Granny, 1997, <https://vimeo.com/109995653>
- Dimitris Koutsiabasakos, The Grocer, 2013  
<https://vimeo.com/33711159>
- Unknown Director, Greece 1962 Daily life in the Peloponnese, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9c8OAH\\_5LqA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9c8OAH_5LqA)
- Theo Angelopoulos, Trilogy: The Weeping Meadow (Trilogia: to livadi pou dakrizei), 2004
- Theo Angelopoulos, The beekeeper (O melissokomos), 1986
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- Theo Angelopoulos, Landscape in the Mist, 1988  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EC-AhAYLnOc>
  
- Rem Koolhaas lecture on Countryside and Hinterland, 2014  
<http://vimeo.com/96194772>
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## Map Peloponnese

### 2016\_FS\_ARCADIA > 2\_RESOURCES > K VECTOR MAPS, GIS DATA

- fs16 Peloponnese.ai
- fs16 Agriculture production.pdf
- fs16 Road Network and Settlements.pdf
- fs16 Nature Protection.pdf
- fs16 Water Management.pdf
- fs16 Settlements by Population Number.pdf
- fs16 Administrative Borders.pdf

### 2016\_FS\_ARCADIA > 2\_RESOURCES > J BITMAP MAPS/WEB DOCUMENTS

- 10 Orthophoto.jpg
- 11 Geo Tiff Topography.tiff

## Additional extended material

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