

**Erik Østby:**  
**THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA ALEA AT TEGEA:**  
**THE TOPOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE**

Pausanias approached Tegea from the direction of Megalopolis and Pallantion, after crossing the Manthourian plain for about 50 stades (about 10 km). He left a small hill called Mount Kresios with a sanctuary to Ares Aphneios on its top to his right,<sup>1</sup> and closer to the town he passed by a fountain called Leuconia, perhaps where the village Kerasitsa lies today.<sup>2</sup> If this is correct, he probably did not follow a direct road across the plain toward the main gate which has been presumed near the village of Nea Episkopi,<sup>3</sup> through which the traveller could arrive almost immediately in the centre of the town with its agora; instead he took a slightly longer route located further south, along the foothills of the more hilly landscape south of Tegea. Such a trail would have the obvious advantage of avoiding the marshy plain during the wet seasons when it was difficult to use, and might for that reason even be the principal route from the west towards Tegea and further east. It might then bypass Tegea town to the south by a couple of kilometres, but it passed close by (but still to the south of) the sanctuary of Athena Alea which certainly always remained outside the walls – although it is not at present known by how much. Instead of leading the traveller into the town, this trail would probably join the road towards Laconia, southwards, outside the gate which must have existed somewhere in the southern part of the walls: through this gate that road left the city. In other words, by following this hypothetical trail a traveller could continue directly toward Laconia without entering the city at all. But if he wanted to enter the town, or just visit the sanctuary, he would have to cross the river Alfeios (today's Sarantapotamos, which now runs about 2 km farther

east) if it still in his time ran in an U-loop south, west and north of the sanctuary before continuing northwards. This was clearly the situation in the Archaic period, but recent geological studies have shown that at a certain moment in antiquity, perhaps as early as the Classical period, the river broke through the loop and found a new course through the sanctuary, east of the altar.<sup>4</sup> If this had happened before Pausanias' visit, he would no longer have to cross the river before reaching the sanctuary; but he would have to do that before continuing to enter the city, just as visitors from the town would have to cross it from the east in order to go to the sanctuary.

Some such reconstruction of his approach may explain why Pausanias begins his description of Tegea with the sanctuary of Athena Alea, introducing it with an excursus on important events in Tegean history.<sup>5</sup> Evidently he considered it the most important sight of the ancient town, devoting to it far more space than to any other item (apart from the long excursus on Philopoemen, triggered by the inscription on an empty statue-base at the agora), but it may also have been the first place he saw on approaching the town if he followed this route before entering the town through some southern gate, probably the one for the road towards Laconia. But since he does not, after leaving the sanctuary, offer any topographical indication such as a mention of walls or other structures relating to an urban centre (the walls are not mentioned at all until he has left the city, continuing towards Laconia),<sup>6</sup> there is nothing in his text to indicate whether he has now entered the town or remains outside. After his discussion of the sanctuary of Athena Alea, and in connection with it the old sanctuary of Athena Poliatis (which was probably located on one of the low hills to the north, also outside the walls),<sup>7</sup> he goes on to describe the centre of the town

<sup>1</sup> 8.44.7. For this part of the road, see the study by Y.A. Pikoulas, "Συμβολή στην τεγεατικήν τοπογραφίαν," in *id.*, *Αρχαία*, Athens 2002, 163–9, where the hill is identified with a hill now named Koukoueras and the sanctuary for Ares, tentatively, with a small site on its southern slope. See also Casevitz and Jost 2002, 269; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 497.

<sup>2</sup> 8.44.8. The location at Kerasitsa was suggested by J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* IV, London and New York 1898, 422; see Moggi and Osanna 2003, 497.

<sup>3</sup> This would be the Pallantian gate mentioned by a source (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.9); see Callmer 1943, 115.

<sup>4</sup> See the contribution by Ødegård and Klempe, section ii, 28 and *Figs 1–4*; also Ødegård 2005, 211–2.

<sup>5</sup> His discussion of the sanctuary: 8.45.4 – 47.4. For recent, full commentaries, see Casevitz and Jost 2002, 270–6, and Moggi and Osanna 2003, 499–507.

<sup>6</sup> 8.53.11, where he has left Tegea heading towards Laconia and mentions altars for Pan and for Zeus Lykaios "about two stadia from the walls".

<sup>7</sup> 8.47.5. At this point of the text this must be understood as a digression:

with the agora and the theatre, the locations of which are known, and various other sights whose positions are currently unknown.<sup>8</sup> At this point of the narrative he has obviously entered the town, but without telling us whether he has done so before or after his visit to the sanctuary of Athena Alea. Since the course of the walls in the southern part of the city has never been safely identified, there has obviously been room for a discussion on whether the sanctuary was located inside or outside these walls; the French investigations of the walls in the 1890s could give no clear answer to this question.<sup>9</sup> But it now seems clear that the walls must have been located at some distance north of the sanctuary, thus allowing sufficient space for a westward bend in the river between the walls and the sanctuary; in this way the river could be useful as a moat in front of the walls.<sup>10</sup>

If Pausanias approached the sanctuary from the west, he would come from the opposite direction of what one would expect for normal traffic between the town and the sanctuary. The regular approach to the sanctuary from inside the town would most probably have been from the east, through that southern gate where one would leave the city towards Laconia. One of those streets oriented approximately north–south through the urban centre which recent investigations have identified, probably one which departed from the agora,<sup>11</sup> would lead towards that gate, whose precise position is at present unknown. Outside the gate it must have been possible to reach the sanctuary by turning right and proceeding for a short stretch to the west. Apparently there was a special road for this purpose, and a fine of three obols if anybody

directed towards the sanctuary diverged from this road, as a passage in the famous inscription with the sacred law of the sanctuary states. From the same inscription it appears that there was ample pasturage close to the sanctuary, for the use of which there were strict rules.<sup>12</sup> No solid evidence for such an approach is at present available, but it would seem to be more rational and convenient than an approach through the Pallantian gate and from the west. It would, moreover, have lead visitors from the city toward the sanctuary from a direction where they could, in a normal way, have seen from the east the main front of the temple with the monumental altar in front of it. In the periods when the river ran south, west and north of the sanctuary, with this approach it would have been possible to reach the sanctuary from the city without crossing the river; that would no longer be possible when the river began to run east of the altar.<sup>13</sup>

After his visit, Pausanias would have followed that route in the opposite direction, arriving at the agora from the southern gate. On his way he mentions a stadion “not far from the temple” (certainly closely connected with the sanctuary, and probably part of it; otherwise it is difficult to explain why he mentions it before the fountain north of the temple<sup>14</sup>), and then a small temple for Hermes Aipytos.<sup>15</sup> These structures should, if this interpretation of his text is valid, be located directly east of the sanctuary – the temple of Hermes at a distance of about three stades or 600 m, according to him. Perhaps this was where the secondary road toward the sanctuary branched off from the main road leading southwards. The temple may have been located at or near the small chapel of Agios Ioannis Provatinou, about halfway between Alea and Stadio, where ancient building material has been found and where Bérard, although with considerable doubt, proposed to identify a piece of the city wall.<sup>16</sup> The stadion must be closer, not only because it is mentioned first, but also because it was almost certainly functionally connected with the sanctuary, as early stadia normally were. The identification of a block from the starting line in the eastern part of the sanctuary supports this

the sanctuary is probably mentioned here because it was dedicated to the same goddess, not because its topographical location was close (so, certainly correctly, Moggi and Osanna 2003, 508–9). For the sanctuary, see the discussion in *Tegea* I, section i (Østby), 14–5.

<sup>8</sup> On the agora, 8.48.1–8 (full commentaries by Casevitz and Jost 2002, 277–9, and Moggi and Osanna 2003, 510–3). See discussions by Callmer 1943, 117–8, Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 13–4, and Jost 1985, 147–8, and for preliminary results of recent fieldwork concerning the agora Ødegård 2010, 12–7. The theatre is barely mentioned 8.49.1; according to a passage in Livius (41.20) it was rebuilt in stone and marble by Antiochos Epiphanes in the early 2nd century B.C. See R. Vallois, “Le théâtre de Tégée,” *BCH* 50, 1926, 135–73, and Callmer 1943, 118–21; the recent work of excavation and restoration is so far unpublished. The long excursus on the history of Philopoemen and other important figures of Greek history (8.49.1 – 52.5) was triggered by a base near the theatre with a long inscription which he reports precisely (8.52.6).

<sup>9</sup> In the fundamental first discussion of the walls by Bérard 1892, 543–9, pl. 13, the southern part of the walls was reconstructed with a course which included the sanctuary inside the walls, but on the basis of very slender evidence, as he himself admitted. Callmer 1943, 112–6, argued convincingly for a position outside the walls, and recent fieldwork has demonstrated that the wall must be located further north, although it is unknown precisely where. See also Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 12–3, and for preliminary information on recent work on the walls, supporting Callmer’s conclusion, Ødegård 2005, 213–4, and *id.* 2010, 17–8.

<sup>10</sup> This question is further discussed in the contribution by Ødegård and Klempe, section ii, 33–5.

<sup>11</sup> See Ødegård 2010, 18–9 and figs 5–6, and his contribution in section ii, 33–4 with *Fig. 5*, for preliminary results concerning the network of roads in the town. A focused search for such a road to the south has so far not provided any results.

<sup>12</sup> The inscription: *IG* V.2, 3; first published by V. Bérard, “Inscription archaïque de Tégée,” *BCH* 13, 1889, 281–93. See also Callmer 1943, 115–6; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, 135–7 no. 67; Jost 1985, 382–4. The marble slab, on which it is written, was according to Bérard (p. 281) found north of the temple, at a distance of about 200 steps (ca. 100 m?), in the fields safely beyond the modern road and the probable northern limit of the sanctuary. It is now an open question whether it would also have been north of the river.

<sup>13</sup> For this development, see section ii (Ødegård and Klempe), 33–5.

<sup>14</sup> Paus. 8.47.4. For the stadion. see the discussions by Callmer 1943, 116–7, Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 14–5; Casevitz and Jost 2002, 275; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 507–8. Bérard (1893, 3) proposed for it a location about halfway between Alea and the neighbouring village Achouria (now Stadio), but it was certainly close to the sanctuary and probably inside it; see the discussion below, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> See for this temple remarks by Casevitz and Jost 2002, 276; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 508; and Jost 1985, 146.

<sup>16</sup> See note 9 above for the course of the walls. An Early Archaic capital was discovered at this point during the recent survey project; see *Tegea* I, section i (Østby), 47–8 with *Fig. 28*.

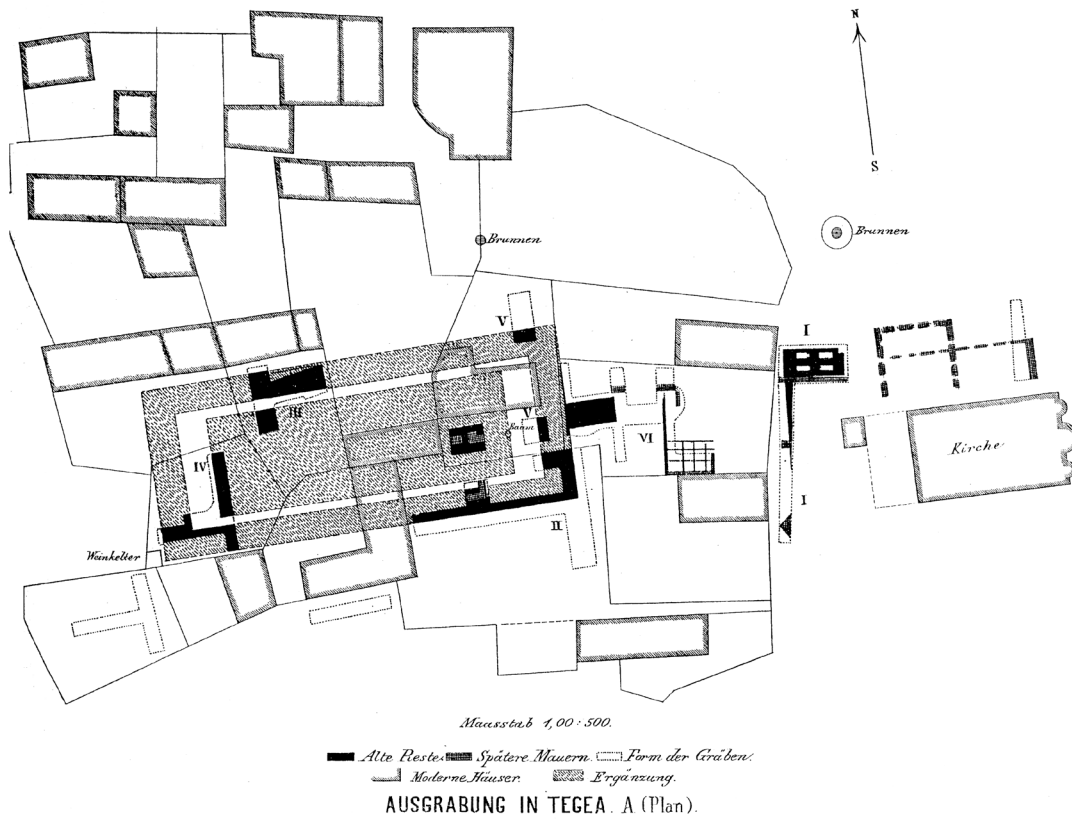


Figure 1. The plan of the excavation at Tegea in 1878–79 by A. Milchhöfer. Scale here 1 : 850. (After Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungsausgrabungen*, pl. 2)

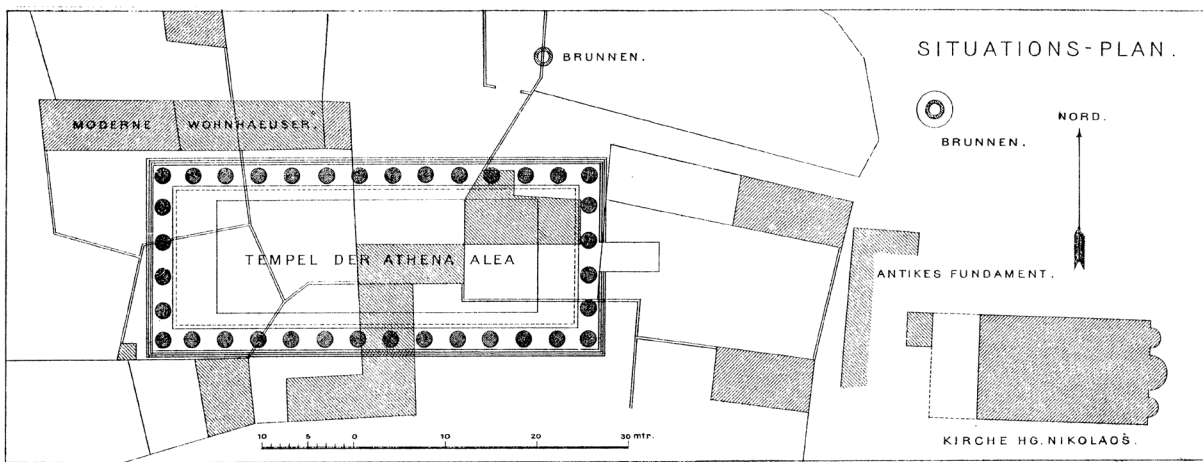


Figure 2. Plan of the investigations by W. Dörpfeld at Tegea in 1882. (After Dörpfeld 1883, pl. 14)

argument.<sup>17</sup> The change in the course of the river may have had negative consequences for the stadion, but it is not at present possible to say if it could have remained west of the river, in its original position.

Leaving such speculations aside, it is clear from Pausanias' text that nothing else at Tegea could in his days compete with the splendour of this sanctuary and its

temple, although it was located in a somewhat marginal position. (Almost half of his ten Loeb-pages long text on Tegea, excluding his long excursus on Philopomen, is dedicated to the sanctuary.) This impression has been amply confirmed by archaeological investigations in modern times, which could already at the beginning of the 19th century establish the approximate location of the sanctuary and the temple in the northern outskirts of the village called Piali (now Alea), in front of the village

<sup>17</sup> See p. 20 below, and section xviii (Pakkanen) on the starting block.

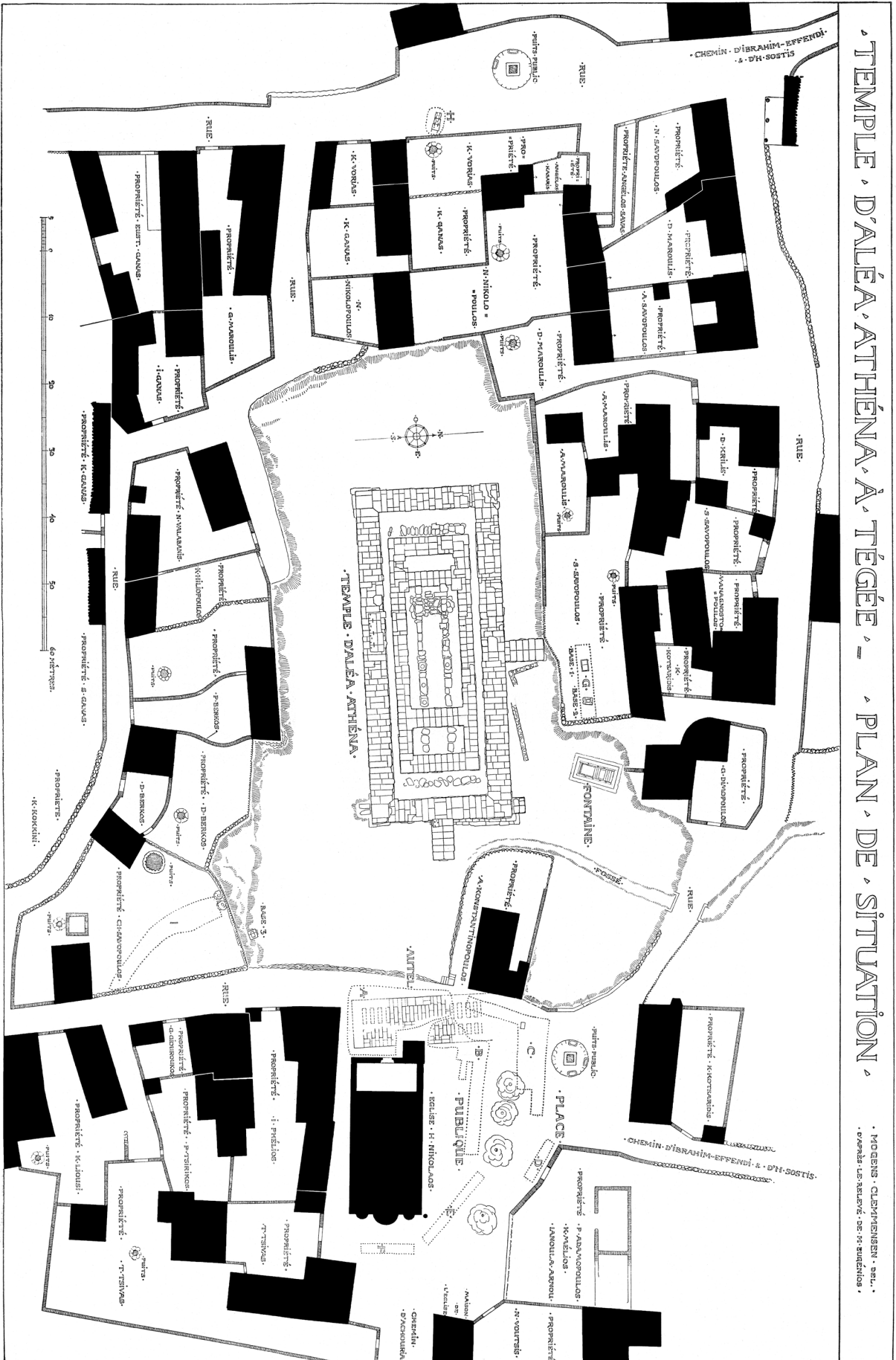
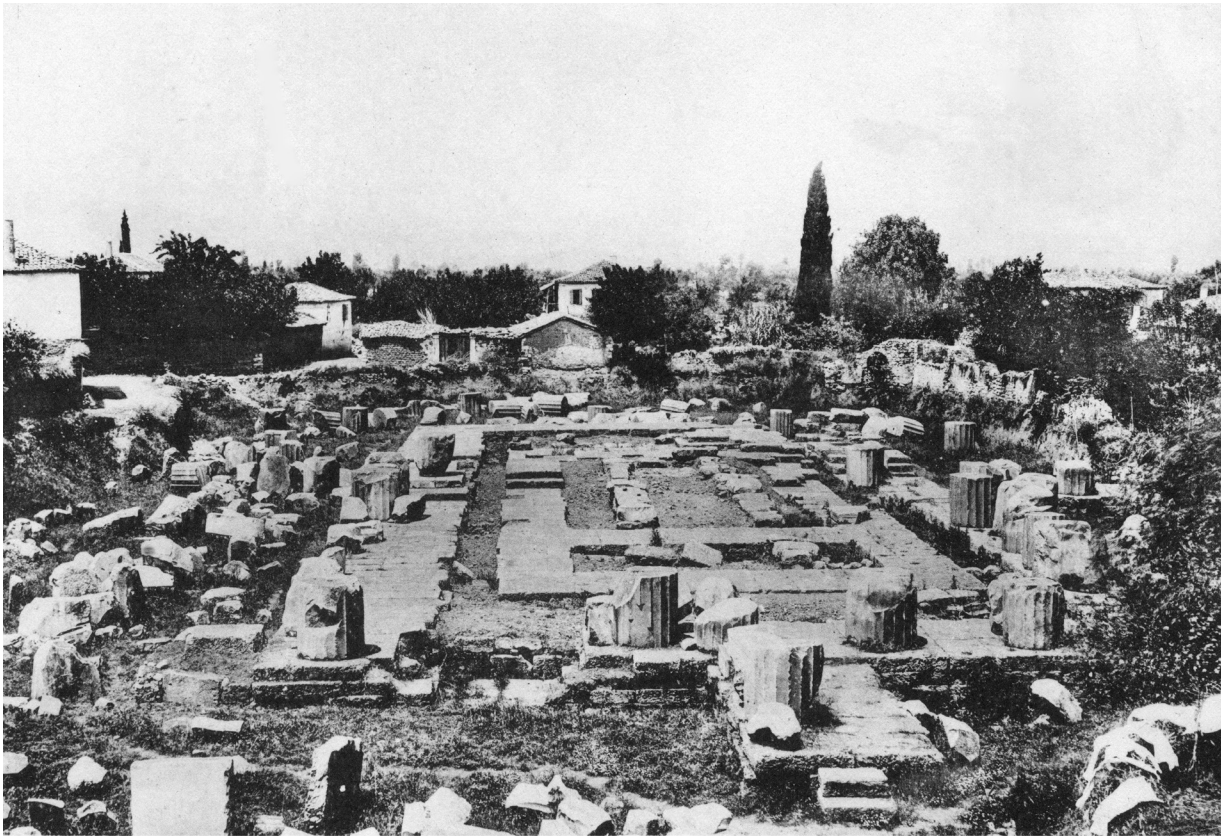


Figure 3. General plan of the sanctuary and its immediate surroundings, after the French excavations in the early 20th century. (After Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, pl. 1-2)



**Figure 4.** The excavation site at Tegea at the end of the French excavations in the early 20th century, with the temple foundation and the building blocks scattered on and around it. Until recently the situation was not much different. (After Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, pl. 82.a)

church which was constructed at about the same time.<sup>18</sup> Excavating inside the densely inhabited village proved difficult and expensive, but in spite of this excavations from about 1880 to 1910, first by German and later by French archaeologists, were able to expose the central parts of the sanctuary with the remains of the temple and the sacred fountain.<sup>19</sup> (See the plans *Figs 1–3*, and the photo taken at the end of the excavation *Fig. 4*.) To the east an extension just in front of the village church exposed the foundations of the large altar; but this had to be covered up again, so these remains are not visible now. Other test soundings, which involved the privately owned plots north of the temple and public space in front of, north of and behind the church, also had to be covered again and were not documented according to modern standards.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> E. Dodwell, *A classical and topographical tour through Greece during 1801, 1805 and 1806*, London 1819, 418–20. Before any excavation could be started, the place was visited and the identification confirmed by W.M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea I*, London 1830, 90; L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland I, Reisen im Peloponnes*, Berlin 1841, 66; E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos, Eine historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel I*, Gotha 1851, 254; G. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland II*, Leipzig 1872, 218. See Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, ix.

<sup>19</sup> This process is conveniently described by Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, ix–xiv, with a thorough presentation of the development of the French project. See for further information Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungsausgrabungen*; Dörpfeld 1883; Mendel 1901; Rhomaios 1909, 303–16.

<sup>20</sup> Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 65–73, describes only the trenches where monuments were found.

The part of the sanctuary which was left open and visible by these early excavations stretches for a total of 85–100 m from east to west, approximately twice the length of the temple foundations, 49.56 m. It includes an open area of about 18–22 m to the west of the temple and 22–25 m to the east of it (disregarding the ramp at the eastern front of the temple); but in front of the north-eastern corner of the temple and almost touching it, a plot with an old village house belonging to the Konstantinopoulos family covers almost the entire distance to the eastern limit of the excavation. (To our knowledge no investigation has ever been undertaken there.) South of the temple an open, 10–23 m wide field was included in the excavated area. North of the temple, for most of its length, the open field is only 6–8 m wide, but it increases to 17–18 m near the eastern front, where it includes the sacred fountain, and stretching still further to about 25 m in front of the temple, north of the Konstantinopoulos plot. The total width of the excavated area thus varies from a minimum of about 37 m behind the centre of the temple, to a maximum of about 75 m in front of it – but this maximum width is interrupted by the about 12 m wide Konstantinopoulos plot, next to the northern end of the altar.

It is clear that only the central part of the sanctuary was exposed, and even that part incompletely. No clear indication of its external limits (a temenos wall, or anything similar) could be identified anywhere, nor could

any of those secondary buildings (stoas, service buildings) which must have been connected with a sanctuary of such importance and which would, according to normal rules, have been placed near the boundaries of the sanctuary. Although neither Pausanias nor any other source makes any mention of such buildings, discoveries of architectural material during our excavation demonstrate that they existed as far back as the Early Archaic period.<sup>21</sup> The western boundary of the sanctuary may have been located not very far beyond the limit of the excavated area in that direction; but if the four blocks (two of which are marble) of a curved wall identified in a small *sondage* 55 m west of the temple, under a village road, belong to a structure within the sanctuary, it must have stretched for at least 55–60 m in that direction.<sup>22</sup> Towards the east, at least a similar distance must be presumed beyond the altar, which would involve an eastern boundary of the sanctuary safely beyond the east end of the village church, where one of the French trenches (F on *Fig. 3*) was opened about 30 m from the altar, 65 m east of the temple. If the stadion was entirely enclosed in the sanctuary that distance might be substantially greater. To the north, it now seems that the boundary of the Classical sanctuary can be identified about 35 m north of the temple foundation, and a similar distance south of it would make the southern boundary coincide approximately with the village road going east–west south of the Valavani- and Berkos-plots which are now the property of the Greek state. The sanctuary would in that case be about 90 m wide and somewhere between 150 and 200 m long, covering a total area of approximately 13,000 to 18,000 m<sup>2</sup> if the sanctuary had a regular, approximately rectangular shape. It was in that case smaller than the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia (ca. 160 × 220 m) and of the Apollo at Delphi (ca. 150 × 200 m), but it might be close to the presumed size of the sanctuary at Nemea, about 13,000 m<sup>2</sup> (ca. 95 × 140 m).<sup>23</sup> Of this admittedly rather hypothetical, calculated area, the excavations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries have exposed about 4,000 m<sup>2</sup>, of which about 1,100 m<sup>2</sup> are occupied by the foundations of the Classical temple. Our work in the northern sector has added about 370 m<sup>2</sup> to the exposed area.

The orientation of the temple is almost precisely east–west, and follows the orientation of the earlier temples as far back as they can be traced. This implies that the principal extension of the sanctuary probably followed the same axis, although the neighbourhood with the river may have created some irregularities at the borders. Only a complete excavation of the external parts of the sanctuary can clarify this.

The sanctuary was established a long time before the urban settlement, and always remained on the outskirts of the town. Its position outside the walls, but probably not

far from their southern stretch, makes it a typical example of the group of sanctuaries located near the transition from a town to its surroundings, or what is often called “periurban sanctuaries”.<sup>24</sup> Such sanctuaries are rarely the principal sanctuary of a town,<sup>25</sup> but at Tegea this was inevitable, since it probably received this status when the Archaic temple was built, in the late 7th century B.C., or at least a couple of generations before the urban centre was established; this process can now tentatively be dated to the late 6th century B.C.<sup>26</sup> Any attempt to define more precisely how the existence of this sanctuary may have influenced the planning of the urban structure, must await further investigation of the town itself, particularly in its southern part. That southern part seems still to have remained a rather useless, marshy plain without settlement in the Classical and later periods,<sup>27</sup> but the need to avoid a long distance between the walls and the sanctuary might have been one reason to include this part of the plain within the walls. Only future fieldwork can throw more light on this problem.

The only other important monument which is visible today in the sanctuary is the *fountain*, located 10 m north of the temple, in grid squares F-G 5-6.<sup>28</sup> (*Figs 5–6*) It was observed by the German archaeologists about 1880 and was inserted in their plans as a well, but it was not mentioned in their texts, and the identification with the ancient fountain mentioned by Pausanias “north of the temple” (8.47.4), where Heracles had his meetings with Auge, was made later by the French mission.<sup>29</sup> It is enclosed on three sides by marble slabs raised on edge, 0.20–0.25 m thick, and connected with metal clamps of double-T shape; this enclosure is about 2.10 m wide and 5.60 m long,<sup>30</sup> with a north-east to south-west orientation. The upper surface of the slabs is about at the level of the ancient ground or perhaps even slightly below it, and since the clamps would not have been left visible, there must have been another construction above these slabs, probably one which carried a roof to protect the well

<sup>24</sup> This group of sanctuaries is discussed extensively by F. de Polignac, *Cults, territory and the origins of the Greek city-state*, Chicago and London 1995, 60–81. See *Tegea* I, section i (Østby), 16–8 for the possible reasons behind the original choice of this location.

<sup>25</sup> Another interesting case exists at nearby Mantinea, where the ancient sanctuary of the principal deity, Poseidon Hippios, had a similar position outside the walls of the much later city area. See Jost 1985, 132–4 and 290–1.

<sup>26</sup> Ødegård 2010, 19–20, and *id.* in section ii, 33.

<sup>27</sup> This is the preliminary conclusion from recent fieldwork; see Ødegård 2005, 213–4; *id.* 2010, 1; and in section ii, 33.

<sup>28</sup> Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 69–70, figs 26–27, pls 81 and 95.C–D; Glaser 1983, 14, figs 19–22 (after the French publication). The low, modern wall surrounding the fountain was set up in 1909: Rhomaïos 1909, 309.

<sup>29</sup> It is included in the plans by Milchhöfer and Dörpfeld (here, *Figs 1–2*). The identification with the fountain mentioned by Pausanias was made by Mendel 1901, 246. See *Tegea* I, section i (Østby), 11 with note 4 for the traditions connected with the fountain; Casevitz and Jost 2002, 276, and Moggi and Osanna 2003, 508, for commentaries to the text.

<sup>30</sup> Glaser 1983, 14, gives different measures, 5.36 × 1.65 m, which are probably taken inside the marble slabs.

<sup>21</sup> See section xv (Østby).

<sup>22</sup> See for this structure Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 72–3, and below, p. 25. It is marked as H on his general plan reproduced here, *Fig. 3*.

<sup>23</sup> For this calculation, which is also rather hypothetical, see D.E. Birge in *Nemea* I, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford 1992, 1.

from falling leaves and other pollution. There is no trace, however, of such a roof construction, which, if it existed, must have been of wood or other perishable materials.<sup>31</sup> At the north-east end, where the framing slabs are omitted, there is access to the staircase which had 12 marble and two conglomerate steps. This staircase led about 3 m down from the original ground level to the opening of the well, which is surrounded by conglomerate blocks and measures about 0.40 × 0.70 m. Bosses for lifting ropes are present on the surfaces of several of the marble blocks framing the staircase. Halfway down the staircase is interrupted by a wider landing ca. 0.85 m deep. The inner half of this landing is covered by a marble step which is only half as high as the other steps, and has an opening in its front for a channel where surplus water could run off whenever it rose above this level. Both steps in this landing are framed by a ca. 0.20 m deep socle on each side, which may have supported a door frame since the rear parts of the upper surfaces of these socles have been prepared for something to rest on them.<sup>32</sup>

Typologically the fountain belongs to the group of so-called “Stufenbrunnen” or wells with staircases. Such wells are quite frequent in Greek sanctuaries, and were



Figure 5. The fountain. (Photo: Østby)

<sup>31</sup> Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 70, and Glaser 1983, 14, agree on this point.

<sup>32</sup> As suggested by Glaser 1983, 14; this seems more likely than interpreting these surfaces just as shelves for resting the water containers (so Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 70).

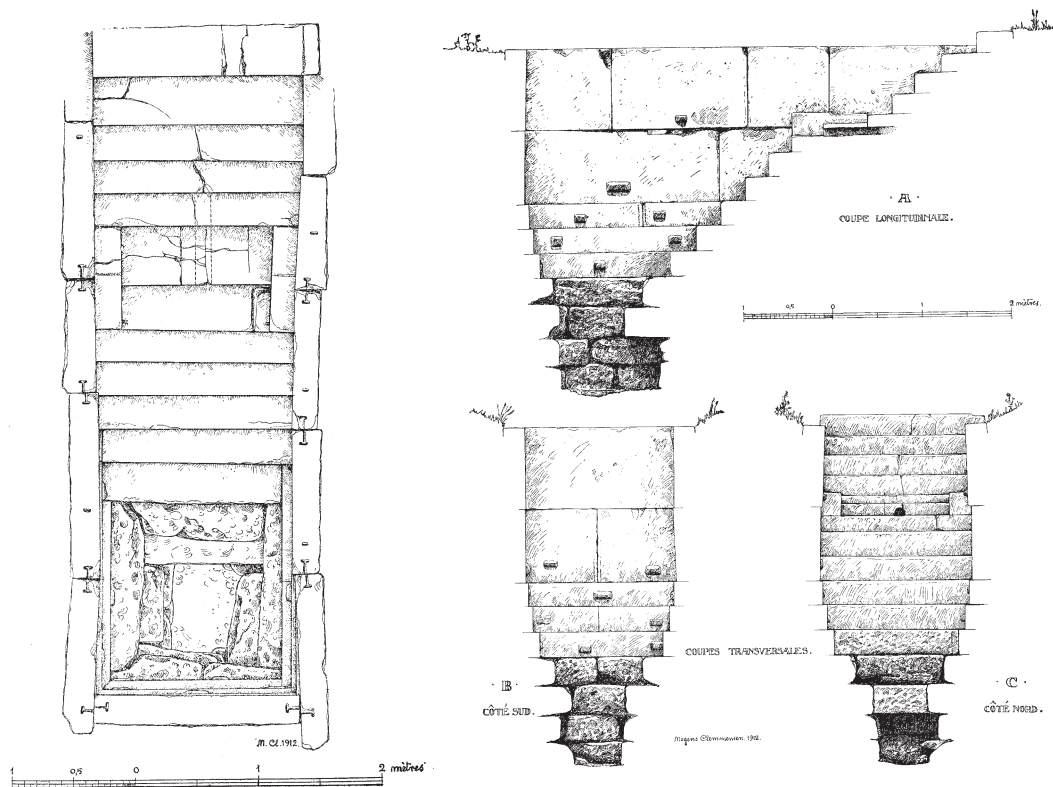
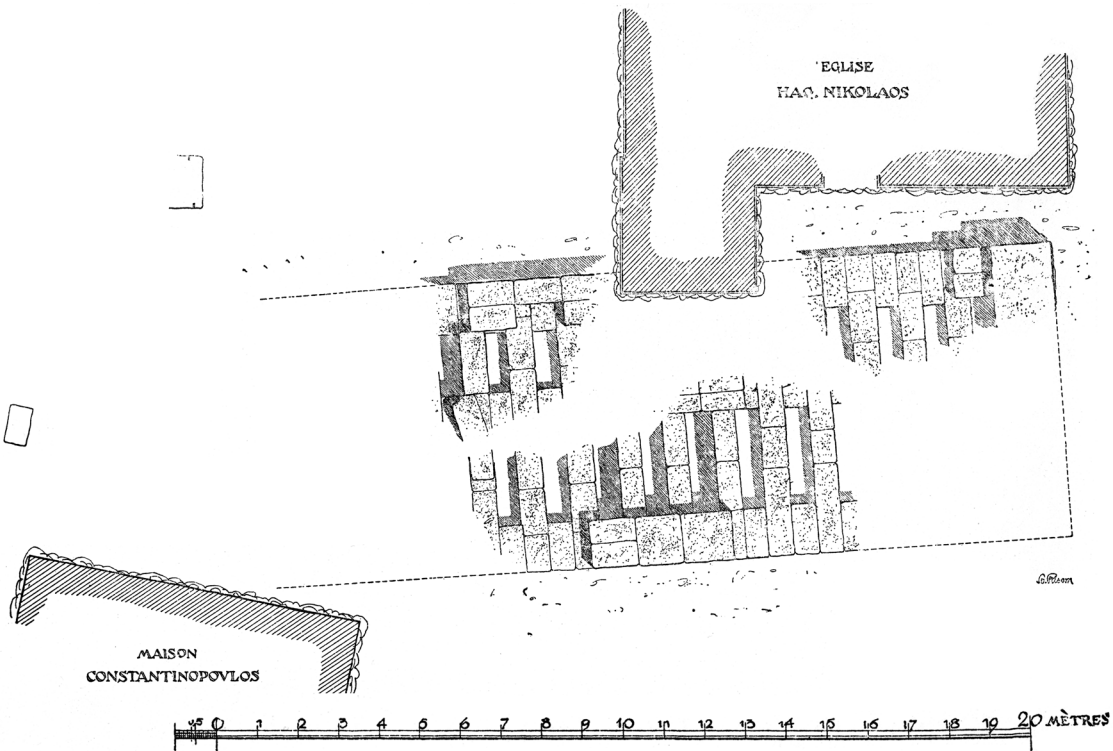


Figure 6. The fountain as recorded in Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 69 fig. 26 (left) and pl. 81 (right).



**Figure 7.** The remains of the altar, as documented in Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 66 fig. 24. The metre scale has been adjusted to correct size.

certainly built until about 350 B.C., probably also later.<sup>33</sup> As a natural feature the spring was always present here, but the date of the architectural arrangement surrounding it is uncertain.<sup>34</sup> There is nothing, however, to suggest a date different from the construction of the Classical temple and the general rearrangement of the area north of the temple connected with that project. The double-T clamps were also used in one of the monument bases north of the temple, which are certainly contemporaneous with it.<sup>35</sup>

The foundations of the *altar* of the Classical sanctuary are now covered by the modern road between the archaeological area and the village church, a part of them (the south-eastern corner) also by the church itself. They are about 26 m distant from the temple, and have, to judge from the topographical plan of the French publication (*Fig. 3*), the same almost precise north–south orientation. Nothing of the structure is now visible, but considerable parts of it were exposed first by Milchhöfer in 1879 and then by the French archaeologists, and the French publication includes a plan and a concise description of it – both, unfortunately, with a serious error in the indication of the dimensions, which has only recently been noticed.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For this group, see Glaser 1983, 129–33, .

<sup>34</sup> For a concise discussion, see Glaser 1983, 14. Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 70, does not discuss the issue.

<sup>35</sup> See section *iv* (Tarditi), 57 with note 12.

<sup>36</sup> Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungsausgrabungen*, 53–4, pl. 2.I (here, *Fig. 1*); Dörpfeld 1883, 277 (identification as an altar), pl. 14 (here, *Fig. 2*); Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 66–9, fig. 24, pl. 95.B. See also Norman, *Temple*,

(*Fig. 7*) Only the lowest shift of the foundation and small parts of the second shift were preserved; these were built of “a hard stone different from the conglomerate used in the foundations of the temple” (hardly marble – limestone?) according to the French publication, where a precise geological identification is not offered. The foundation was slightly more than 7 m wide (not 11 m, as reported) and was uncovered for a length of 15 m or slightly more (not 23 m). Since the northern end of the foundation was not exposed by the French mission, the full length is unknown, but it was about 21 m if the plans from 1879 and 1882 are reliable.<sup>37</sup> Quite possibly it repeated precisely the width of the Classical temple, 21.20 m, and the almost precise orientation north–south also seems to be identical; but its southern end projected about 4 m south of the southern flank of the temple, so the axes did not coincide. This apparent irregularity may be caused by a subtle interplay between the altar and the sculptural decoration of the temple, according to an interesting, recent hypothesis.<sup>38</sup>

The foundation was constructed with a continuous

190–1; Casevitz and Jost 2002, 275; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 506–7; Ohnesorg 2005, 176–8, with the correction of the dimensions in n. 991. On *Fig. 7* here the metre scale, which was too small on the original drawing, has been increased to the correct size.

<sup>37</sup> On Milchhöfer’s and Dörpfeld’s plans the northern end of the structure is immediately in front of the Konstantinopoulos house, which still exists. Stewart 1977, 50, and Norman, *Temple*, 190, suggest 28 m as a maximum length, on faulty evidence; see last note. Ohnesorg 2005, 176, suggests about 30 m assuming that the axes of temple and altar coincided, but the early plans seem to exclude that.

<sup>38</sup> Stewart 1977, 50 with figs 4–5.



outline of blocks, about 1.20 m wide, and another, similar block line running through the centre of the foundation lengthwise; slightly narrower block lines were bonded into these foundations and connect them crosswise, at intervals no wider than the block lines themselves. This is a careful and ambitious construction, beyond what the limited weight of a normal altar structure would seem to require, and this suggests that a substantial structure was supported by it. This impression is confirmed by numerous marble fragments which have ornamental mouldings with a sequence of an ovolo, a bead-and-reel and a Lesbian kymation under a projecting geison. These blocks have, hypothetically, been ascribed to the altar; they are too small to fit the temple, are not of the same excellent quality as similar mouldings from it, and seem to have been carved in some hurry.<sup>39</sup> As a type, however, they are close to the ornaments in the temple, and if the blocks belong to the altar, they confirm the impression from the foundations that both altar and temple were built in the same period, as parts of the same project.

The long and narrow, rectangular shape, probably about and perhaps precisely three times as long as its width, connects the altar with earlier Peloponnesian traditions of long and narrow altars, which were often decorated with a triglyph frieze.<sup>40</sup> But the fragments mentioned above do not support this if they were connected with the altar, and Pausanias' description of the altar (8.47.3) with a lavish sculptural decoration suggests that it followed a different type, with a wall surrounding the altar table on three sides and decorated with colonnades on a podium; the sculptures (statues or reliefs<sup>41</sup>) could then be placed in the intercolumniations. Such altars had apparently been introduced slightly earlier with the new altar in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, built after the destruction of the Archaic temple in 356 B.C., and these altars were later to become widespread in Ionia.<sup>42</sup> Statues were also

placed in the intercolumniations of the colonnade on the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, which is of some interest since the artist Skopas was connected with both sites;<sup>43</sup> the sarcophagus with weeping women from Sidon, from the same period, provides a more immediate example of how such arrangements may have appeared.<sup>44</sup> Since the altar at Ephesos, the Mausoleum and the Sidon sarcophagus can all be dated more or less safely to the 350s, it follows that the altar at Tegea was hardly earlier if it reflected such models.<sup>45</sup>

In his description of the altar Pausanias does not say anything about its architectural shape; his focus is on the subjects of the sculptures. The principal scene illustrated the local Arcadian myth of the birth of Zeus in Arcadia (his mother Rhea holding the baby with the nymph Oenoe, a group framed by four local nymphs on each side); the nine muses, another motif relevant in Arcadia in this period, decorated the other side.<sup>46</sup> If these compositions with nine subjects were distributed on the nine intercolumniations in a dekastyle colonnade, and if that colonnade covered the entire front of the altar, the axial spacings would be slightly more than 2 m wide. Sculptures framed by such surroundings can hardly have been of much less than life-size.

The deliberate use of a traditional Arcadian myth connected with the ancient cult of Zeus on Mount Lykaion<sup>47</sup> is well aligned with the political and cultural atmosphere which can be assumed at Tegea and elsewhere in Arcadia after the liberation from Spartan supremacy. It has been suggested, perhaps correctly, that the altar was intended to be a federal monument, reflecting an attempt to obtain for the sanctuary at Tegea a pan-Arcadian status similar to that of Mount Lykaion.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps the ancient

<sup>39</sup> Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 68–9, ascribes the blocks illustrated fig. 25 and pl. 86.C to the altar; so also Stewart 1977, 50, and L.T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek mouldings*, Cambridge Mass. 1936, 85, pl. XXIII.18, who dates them later than the temple ("about 350"). Norman, *Temple*, 184 with figs 86.a–b, followed by Ohnesorg 2005, 176–8 with fig. 93 and pl. 78.2, connects another decorated block with the altar, perhaps as part of an anta. Milchhöfer found Ionic capitals which he could not connect with the temple during his investigation in 1879 (*Untersuchungsgrabungen*, 59); they might come from the altar, but have later been lost. See section xiv (Sande), 294 for the possibility that the female statue found by us in the northern sector may belong to the sculptural decoration of the altar. The same origin has been proposed for the famous head of the so-called Hygieia; see Sande *ibid.*, and note 64 below.

<sup>40</sup> For this group of altars, see now conveniently M.-Chr. Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque 2. Architecture religieuse et funéraire*, Paris 2006, 141–4; also D. Rupp, *Greek altars of the northeastern Peloponnese c. 730–725 B.C. to 300–275 B.C.* (diss. Bryn Mawr 1974), Ann Arbor 1975, and Ohnesorg 2005, 205–7.

<sup>41</sup> Possibly reliefs rather than three-dimensional statues, as regularly supposed, according to Şahin 1972, 87. Stewart 1977, 150, considers an altar frieze for some fragments otherwise ascribed to the metopes from the temple.

<sup>42</sup> For these altars, see conveniently the survey by Şahin 1972, 83–124; the altar at Tegea is discussed there (86–91) as one of the earliest examples. See also Ohnesorg 2005, 209–18 and 232–3, and 176–8 for an analysis of

the Tegea altar. For the altar at Ephesos, in addition to Şahin 91–2, see A. Bammer, "Der Altar des jüngeren Artemisions von Ephesos," *AA* 1968, 400–23, and the recent, extensive publication by U. Muss, A. Bammer and M. Büyükkolancı, *Der Altar des Artemisions von Ephesos (Ephesos 12.2)*, Vienna 2002. See Norman, *Temple*, 190–1, where the comparison with the altar at Ephesos is drawn and used to pinpoint Skopas' activity at Tegea after his return from Halikarnassos. Waywell 1993 thinks along similar lines, discussing a relief with Carian connections found at Tegea, now in the British Museum. For these questions, see section xvi (Østby), 344 and 345 with note 179 for the Carian relief.

<sup>43</sup> That connection is discussed in section xvi (Østby), 346–8. See the presentation of current reconstructions of the Mausoleum in I. Jenkins, *Greek architecture and its sculpture*, London 2006, 211–23, figs 205–208.

<sup>44</sup> For the sarcophagus from Sidon (possibly made for a king who died in 358 B.C.) R. Fleischer, *Die Klagefrauensarkophag von Sidon (IstForsch 34)*, Tübingen 1983; Stewart 1990, 182, fig. 539; Ridgway 1997, 174–6, pl. 47.

<sup>45</sup> So also Norman, *Temple*, 191. Ohnesorg 2005, 178: about 340, same as the temple.

<sup>46</sup> The nine muses also appear as witnesses to the contest between Apollo and Marsyas on the well-known relief base from Mantinea, mentioned by Pausanias (8.9.1) and attributed to Praxiteles or his workshop. See Stewart 1990, 177 and 277–9, figs 492–494; Ridgway 1997, 206–9.

<sup>47</sup> See Jost 1985, 241–9, for a thorough discussion of the myth. The same myth, with slightly different characters, was also represented in a sanctuary for the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis: Paus. 8.31.4; Jost 1985, 246–7.

<sup>48</sup> For discussions of the figured decoration, see Moggi and Osanna 2003,

traditions behind these motifs are the cause of Pausanias' blunder when he ascribes this certainly Classical altar to the mythical seer Melampous.<sup>49</sup> No traces of an earlier, built altar have been reported at the site, although it seems likely that an altar in this position must have existed to serve the Archaic temple from the late 7th century onwards. Following local traditions it may have been a simple ash altar; if so, it has only left the more than 1 m thick layer of fat, black earth with Archaic votive objects found by the French mission in a trench north of the altar ("Couche C") as evidence of its existence.<sup>50</sup>

After discussing the altar, but before he comes to the fountain, Pausanias mentions the *stadion* (8.47.4) and expressly states that it was not far from the temple (οὐ πρόϋω). Although his movements are often disturbingly erratic, the position in the text between the altar and the fountain must be viewed as a strong indication that the stadion was located within or at any rate very close to the sanctuary, and was considered part of it.<sup>51</sup> This is likely also because it was according to Pausanias used for games in honour of Alea, which may be old: two votive inscriptions of the late 6th century B.C. mentioning competitions, one of which was dedicated just to Alea, may be connected with them.<sup>52</sup> The games are mentioned by one source together with those at Mount Lykaion and two other places in Arcadia, and apparently had some sort of pan-Arcadian status.<sup>53</sup>

The simple earth bank (χώμα γῆς) which according to Pausanias was used by the spectators could easily have left some evidence in an open landscape, if only as a very modest swelling; but there is no such indication in the open fields north of the sanctuary, and in this case the stadion would have been separated from the rest of the sanctuary by the ditch where the river ran in early

times.<sup>54</sup> To the east, the low hillock halfway between the villages of Alea and Stadio, which was assumed at one point to be a remnant of the stadion, is too far removed from the sanctuary; if it is not just a natural feature of the landscape, it is certainly something else than the stadion.<sup>55</sup> By simple exclusion of alternatives, it must be assumed that the eventual remains of the stadion are buried under the houses of the modern village. This is probable also because there seems to have been a general trend in the Peloponnesian sanctuaries to have the stadion, if there was one, close to the altar.<sup>56</sup> In contrast with Olympia, it may have been oriented so that the athletes started close to the altar, instead of arriving there; it does not seem probable that the marble block from the starting line which was found in the sanctuary, between the temple and the altar, was carried there from as far away as the entire stadion, almost 200 m.<sup>57</sup> In any case, the earth bank probably stretched for that distance into the village in a southern to south-eastern direction from the southern end of the altar. With that position and orientation, the stadion would not have been disturbed by the river as long as it ran south, west and north of the sanctuary; but that situation may have been changed when the river at a certain moment chose to run east of the altar, probably interrupting the connection between the stadion and the rest of the sanctuary. What problems this new situation created, and how they were solved, is unknown; Pausanias is silent on this matter.

The two *monument bases* in squares C5 and D5, about 11 m north of the temple and 4 m distant from one another, were first discovered by the French mission and were re-exposed by us. (Figs 8–10) They are discussed elsewhere in this volume, where it is also demonstrated that their stratigraphical situation proves that they were contemporaneous with the construction of the Classical temple, in the late 4th century B.C., although they are at a level about 1.20 m below the euthynteria of the temple.<sup>58</sup>

506–7; Jost 1985, 247; and Ch. Picard, "Remarques sur les sculptures monumentales du sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée I: L'autel fédéral," *REG* 46, 1933, 381–422, and again *id.*, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque* IV.2, *Période classique, IVe siècle*, Paris 1954, 193–205, for an ambitious attempt to analyze as a federal monument the sculpture decoration as described by Pausanias. Similar messages can be interpreted from the sculptural decoration of the temple (Stewart 1977, 66–9) and from the Arcadian dedication in the sanctuary at Delphi, which was set up in 369 immediately in front of a Spartan monument (J.-Fr. Bommelaer and D. Laroche, *Guide de Delphes, Le site*, Athens 1991, 104–6).

<sup>49</sup> For the traditions concerning Melampous, see *Tegea* I, section i (Østby), 13 with note 16.

<sup>50</sup> Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 338. The position of the altar in the early periods is discussed in *Tegea* I, section i (Østby), 19, 29–30 and 49–50.

<sup>51</sup> The location approximately halfway between the villages of Alea and Stadio, proposed by Bérard 1893, 3, is for that reason certainly to be excluded, as all recent authorities now agree. See the references in note 14 above, and note 55 below.

<sup>52</sup> *IG* V.2, 75 (also *SEG* 11.1065 and 26.472) and 113. For the former, see also Aupert 1980, 311–5, fig. 3, where the particular disposition of the text lines is considered as an indication that the stadion had a curved end. See also Jost 1985, 369 and 374; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 507–8; and section xviii (Pakkanen), 373.

<sup>53</sup> Jost 1985, 374 with n. 6 (a scholion to Pindar, *Ol.* 7.153). Explicit epigraphical evidence for the games is forthcoming from the 3rd century B.C. onwards; see *ibid.*, notes 6–8.

<sup>54</sup> A possible location north of the temple, as an explanation for the northern porch and the projecting foundation from the northern flank of the temple, was suggested by Norman, *Temple*, 189. It was also discussed and rejected by Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 71.

<sup>55</sup> Bérard 1893, 3; according to him, local farmers had found building stones there. Whatever their significance, this is not a trustworthy indication of a monument supposed to consist of an earth bank. For discussions, see Callmer 1943, 116–7, and Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 14–5.

<sup>56</sup> Aupert 1980, 315 n. 14, noticed the stadion block and argued along these same lines. See section xviii (Pakkanen) for the block, and for this situation in other sanctuaries (Olympia, Isthmia, Nemea) D.G. Romano, *The stadia of the Peloponnesos* (PhD diss. University of Pennsylvania 1981), Ann Arbor 1981, 186. For the successive withdrawal of the stadion at Olympia from the altar, observe the interesting considerations by E.L. Brulotte, "The 'pillar of Oinomaos' and the location of Stadion I at Olympia," *AJA* 98, 1994, 53–64.

<sup>57</sup> For these considerations, see section xviii (Pakkanen), 375. If it was used as building material in the medieval constructions at the site (see below, pp. 25–6), it must have been equally close at hand as the abundant material from the temple and the altar.

<sup>58</sup> Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 71–2, figs 28–29 ("Base 1" and "Base 2"); see section iv (Tarditi), 55–8 with Figs 2 and 4. The dimensions given here were taken by us and diverge slightly from those in the French



**Figure 8.** Base 2. (Photo: Østby)



**Figure 9.** Base 1. The block upon it does not belong to the monument. (Photo: Østby)

Both must have had at least one more shift of blocks above the preserved ones, to cover the irregular inner structure of the smaller Base 2 and the coarsely tooled surface behind a 4 cm wide, polished rim on the larger Base 1. The smaller Base 2 (*Fig. 8*), of approximately square shape (1.06 × 1.42 m), may have carried a normal standing or seated statue, of considerable dimensions. The larger, more rectangular Base 1 (*Fig. 9*: 1.11 × 1.93 m), which is almost aligned with the projecting foundation from the temple and perhaps also for that reason was considered more important, may have carried a group, an equestrian statue, or some such more complicated

monument. Only future excavation further to the west can show if these two bases are parts of a chain of similar monuments along the northern flank of the temple.<sup>59</sup> In the other direction the fountain, with which the two bases are precisely aligned, is only about 8 m distant from Base 2; this stretch has been completely excavated, without any trace of any base. There is, however, about 3 m north-northeast of Base 2, in square E6, a rectangular pit (unit number E6/25) where another monument base may have been located; the pit is only slightly smaller than Base 2 (1.19 × 1.38 m). It cuts into the same Late Classical surface on which the two preserved bases rest

publication. For the difference of the levels, see sections v (Ødegård), 94 with note 11, and xvi (Østby), 340–1 with *Fig. 16*.

<sup>59</sup> No such indications are reported or visible, however, in the two trenches opened by Dr Steinhauer in our grid squares A5 and 0A5.

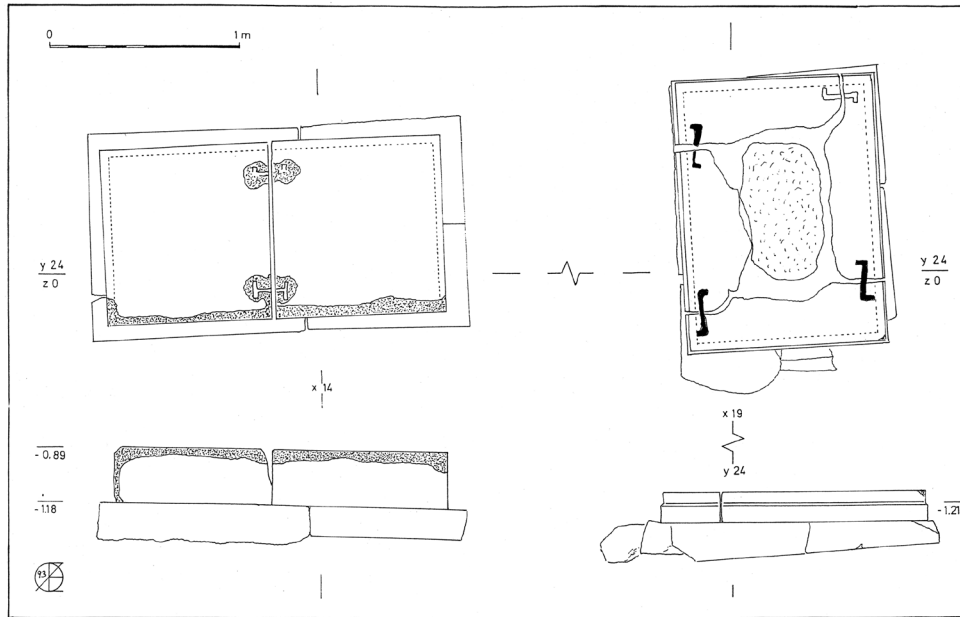


Figure 10. Base 1 (left) and Base 2 (right), plan and section. (Drawing: Østby)

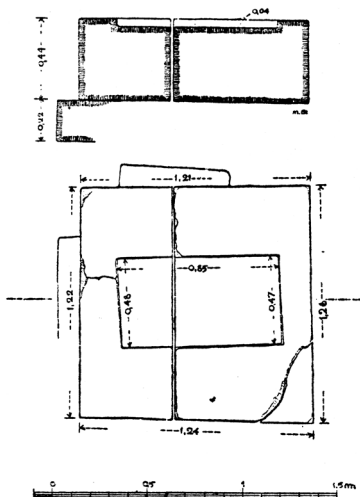


Figure 11. Base 3. (After Dugas et al., *Tégée*, 72 fig. 30)



Figure 12. Base 4. (Photo: Østby)

and into lower layers in a way that the foundations for the two preserved bases do not. If a base was located there, it was removed already in antiquity.<sup>60</sup>

One more monument base (Base 3) was reported by the French mission in the south-eastern corner of the exposed area (in our grid square K06). It consisted of a somewhat irregular, approximately square conglomerate block (external dimensions of the four sides 1.21, 1.22, 1.24 and 1.26 m), broken in two pieces, with a slightly recessed, rectangular area (0.47 × 0.48 m, 0.04 m deep)

for a stela or another monument base on the surface. (Fig. 11) It was considered a late addition by the French archaeologists,<sup>61</sup> and has later been removed or destroyed.

Another, smaller base in that part of the sanctuary was not observed by them. It is located in square I05, about 15 m south-east of the south-eastern corner of the temple, and could conveniently be called Base 4. (Fig. 12) It consists of a block of white marble (probably Doliana), with a coarse and irregular euthyteria at ground level (projecting 0.10 m at the north-west corner, not at all in the south-east), above which it is carved in two regular

<sup>60</sup> This pit and its stratigraphical context are discussed in section iv (Tarditi), 63; for the position, see the plan *ibid.*, Fig. 12.

<sup>61</sup> Dugas et al., *Tégée*, 72, fig. 30.



**Figure 13.** The northern monument base (Base H) attached to the front of the Classical temple. (Photo: Østby)



**Figure 14.** The southern monument base (Base G) attached to the front of the Classical temple. (Photo: Østby)

steps,  $0.88 \times 0.895$  m on the lower and  $0.84 \times 0.83$  m on the upper level. The two steps are respectively 0.05 and 0.04 m high. In the centre of the upper level there is a square hole for fixing the statue or some other monument,  $0.12 \times 0.12$  m and 0.08 m deep, to which a channel for pouring the molten lead to encase the dowel leads from a point 0.035 inside the edge of the upper surface. A square area on that surface, measuring  $0.71 \times 0.71$  m, carried either the base of the statue or another separately worked block to lift it further above the ground in the manner of the bases north of the temple. However, the presence of the dowel suggests that a statue probably stood directly upon the preserved block; it was then raised above the ground only by about 10 cm.

To the same group of structures belong the two rectangular foundations attached to the peristasis foundations of the Classical temple, close to its north-eastern and south-

eastern corner (squares G3-H3 and G-H02-03 respectively; called H and G on the French state plan *Fig. 3*).<sup>62</sup> They are built with conglomerate blocks of the same type used in the temple foundations and are probably contemporaneous with the temple and certainly not earlier, since the eastern fronts of their foundations coincide so closely with the eastern front of the temple foundation; each foundation has an immediate contact with the foundations of the temple flanks, but without binding into them, and the joints between the shifts do not coincide. Three shifts of the northern base (*Fig. 13*) are visible above the ground, to a height of about 0.90 m; the base is about 2.35 m long (in east–west direction) and about 1.65 m wide. Of the southern base (*Fig. 14*) two shifts are visible, the lower one has smaller blocks along the outline (about 2.90 m towards

<sup>62</sup> Rhomaïos 1909, 306; Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 65.

the south, 2.45 m width), and two larger conglomerate blocks resting side by side on the central part of the base, 0.40 m high, about 1.60 m long and 0.73 m wide. As they are now preserved, neither base quite reaches the level of the uppermost shift in the conglomerate foundations of the temple. Nothing of what these foundations carried above ground can be identified with certainty; the hypotheses involve votive columns (perhaps the Ionic columns which Pausanias mentions outside the temple, thus causing some confusion for the reconstruction of the interior of the cella<sup>63</sup>), or statues, perhaps, according to some, the one from which the famous head of the so-called Hygieia might come.<sup>64</sup> But there are no clear indications of what they may have carried, apart from the fact that the careful foundations indicate objects of considerable size and weight. Moreover, the different size and construction of the two foundations suggests that they carried different objects.

There are no remains of buildings or other structures from the Roman period, although the evidence from Pausanias and other authors leaves no doubt that the sanctuary was functioning at the time.<sup>65</sup> We owe to Pausanias (8.46.1, 4–5 and 8.47.2) our knowledge of a difficult situation at the beginning of the Roman Imperial period, when Augustus brought to Rome the ancient cult statue of the goddess and certain objects which had been kept in the temple, such as the tusks of the Calydonian boar. These objects were on show in Rome in his time, respectively in the forum of Augustus and in the imperial gardens on the Palatine.<sup>66</sup> The cult statue which Pausanias saw in the temple was a statue of Athena Hippias, brought there as a replacement from a temple at nearby Manthureia. It was flanked by two statues of Asklepios and Hygieia, made by Skopas according to Pausanias (8.47.2) and evidently not removed by the Romans; they must then be another product of this artist's activity at the site in the second half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>67</sup> Votive reliefs to

Asklepios and Hygieia found at the site confirm that they had some cultic connection with the sanctuary. Since statues of them existed at least since the 4th century and could hardly, if they were life-size or larger, have been put up next to the venerable, but certainly not very large ivory statue of Alea by Endoios, it has been suggested that there must have been a small, separate temple close by for those deities, and those statues. If this was the case, a location near the fountain has been suggested, since such fountains are regularly connected with the cult of Asklepios.<sup>68</sup> If these considerations are correct, such a building may have been located under the recently demolished Demopoulos house, where marble blocks in the cellar have been reported by a former inhabitant.<sup>69</sup>

The *trenches excavated by the French mission* are indicated on the state plan of the French publication (Fig. 3), but are described in the text only when they exposed some monument.

In addition to the large trench right in front of the church (A on their plan), which exposed the remains of the altar, the following trenches in the public square north and east of the church are included on it:

– B, slightly further north, stretching about 10 m north from the north-western corner of the church (exposing some more blocks of the altar) and then turning east in a 13 m long and about 3 m wide finger. This trench finger could have touched the Byzantine walls reported by Milchhöfer, but no such discovery was reported;

– C, further north, just south of the well-head which is still in place. The rectangular part of the trench is oriented east–west, about 12 × 5 m. One finger protrudes to the east, about 4 m long and 2 m wide, and another to the south-southwest, in front of the Konstantinopoulos house, about 9 m long and 3 m wide. The latter finger should have exposed the northern end of the altar as it was exposed by Milchhöfer, but those blocks had apparently been removed for building purposes after his departure, since no structures are reported there. There is, however, a precise description in another French publication<sup>70</sup> of a layer of black earth in this trench, reaching up to 1.35 m depth, with Archaic votive material including a bronze statuette of the armed Athena (or Alea).<sup>71</sup> The material was dated to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., and is correctly considered to be a valid indication that an altar existed nearby in that period;

– D, a small, rectangular trench with an approximate north-west to south-east orientation, near the north-

<sup>63</sup> For the problem, see section xvii (Pakkanen), 353 with notes 4–5. One fragment from a column with Ionic fluting (ArchN-MT 2) cannot be connected with the Corinthian half-columns in the interior, and might come from such a column monument – but not necessarily from one standing on one of these bases. See section xv (Østby), 309 for this piece.

<sup>64</sup> It was found 2 m from the base according to Rhomaios 1909, 306–7, who thought that it might come from the cult statue of Hygieia in the temple. See Mendel 1901, 260–1, pls 4–5; Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 117–23, pls 113–115; and the references in section xiv (Sande), 294 note 23. A possible origin from the sculptural decoration of the altar (statues of the muses) was suggested by Waywell 1993, 83–4.

<sup>65</sup> The sanctuary is explicitly mentioned as active also by Strabo, 8.8.2. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 7.3 has a curious mention of a kind of excavation in the sanctuary during the reign of Vespasian, when a sherd with a figure similar to the emperor was found. See section iv (Tarditi), 60 with note 20, for our very limited archaeological evidence from this period.

<sup>66</sup> For commentaries to these interesting passages, see Casevitz and Jost 2002, 273–5, and Moggi and Osanna 2003, 504–6.

<sup>67</sup> Commentaries by Casevitz and Jost 2002, 274; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 505. A fragmentary, female marble torso in the museum of Tegea has been claimed as a fragment from the statue of Hygieia: A. Delivorrias and A. Linfert, “SKOPADIKIA (II). La statue d’Hygie dans le temple d’Aléa à Tégée,” *BCH* 107, 1983, 277–88, figs 1–2. See also G. Calcani, *Skopas di Paros*, Rome 2009, 38–40, and Stewart 1977, 83–4, and 104–7, pl. 44.A, for a possible replica of the Asklepios statue.

<sup>68</sup> These hypotheses are presented by N.J. Norman, “Asklepios and Hygieia and the cult statue at Tegea,” *AJA* 90, 1986, 425–30.

<sup>69</sup> I owe this information to Mr G. Demopoulos, now living in the USA, who grew up in this house.

<sup>70</sup> Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 338 (“Couche C”).

<sup>71</sup> The statuette is illustrated and discussed *e.g.* by Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 359–63, fig. 18, pl. 13; Jost 1985, 379–80, pl. 37.4; B. Alroth, *Greek gods and figurines (Boreas 18)*, Uppsala 1989, 46–8, fig. 21. It has frequently been interpreted as a reflection of the Archaic cult statue by Endoios; see the references in *Tegea I*, section i (Østby), 46 note 246.



**Figure 15.** Byzantine capital found in the sanctuary (Block 256). (Photo: Østby)



**Figure 16.** Byzantine twin half-column block, found in the sanctuary (Block 625). (Photo: Østby)

eastern corner of the square. No structures are reported. Dimensions about  $7 \times 3$  m;

– E, a larger, rectangular trench with the same orientation, located near the north-eastern corner of the church. No structures reported. Dimensions about  $13 \times 3$  m;

– F, a smaller, rectangular trench with north–south orientation, behind the apse of the church. No structures reported. Dimensions about  $8 \times 3$  m;

– G is the trench north of the temple, where the two bases 1 and 2 were exposed. It was about 2.5 m wide and extends for about 10 m length, through our grid

squares C5, D5 and E5-E6, with the bases in a central, symmetrical position. Where the trench ends in C5 and E5 it was certainly touched by the Greek excavations in the 1970s (squares A1 and A3);<sup>72</sup>

– H is the trench mentioned above (p. 16) almost 55 m west of the temple, with dimensions about  $4 \times 5$  m, where some marble blocks on conglomerate foundations from a small building were discovered;

– I is a long, slightly curved trench with an approximate north-west to south-east orientation through the plot owned at the time by the Savopoulos family, beyond the south-eastern corner of the regularly excavated area. The trench is about 20 m long and between 4 and 2 m wide. No structures were reported.

*Byzantine structures* at the site were observed and to some extent recorded by the German investigators around 1880; today, Milchhöfer's plan from 1879 (here, *Fig. 1*) is the only graphic record for most of them.<sup>73</sup> They include, indicated as VI in his plan, a complex of walls about 5 m in front of the entrance ramp to the temple, from a building of rectangular shape and with a north–south orientation. This complex is about 6 m wide and preserved to about 10 m length; inside, it is divided into small, square units by a set of criss-crossing, thin walls. Here Milchhöfer found a pavement made of slabs of marble from the temple. Another wall is indicated directly north of this structure, but apparently not connected with it and most probably later. After an interruption the same wall could be followed for a stretch of about 7 m from the north-east corner of the ramp in front of the temple, before turning south for a couple of metres above the better preserved building underneath. The walls were exposed again in the early phase of the French excavation, and described (unfortunately without plans) by G. Mendel in his report from 1901; he was able to report very thick and deep foundations obviously for a large and impressive structure. The same foundations were also identified in a small sounding underneath the church.<sup>74</sup> Since building material and sculpture fragments from the temple were used for these walls, those in front of the temple were dismantled by Rhomaïos in 1909.<sup>75</sup>

The remains of one or possibly two substantial constructions, probably from the same complex, were identified immediately north of the village church. One set of foundations for a rectangular building, about 10 m wide and preserved to a length of about 8 m, emerged under the western part of the church, stretching north–south. Another wall with the same orientation emerged

<sup>72</sup> For the Greek excavations, see the introduction, 1 with *Fig. 1*; and for the investigation of the area between the two bases during our excavation, see section iv (Tarditi), 58–9, and 56 *Fig. 1* for the exact position of the French excavation.

<sup>73</sup> See also his short commentary, *Untersuchungsausgrabungen*, 53–6.

<sup>74</sup> Mendel 1901, 244–5. A full transcription of a particularly important passage is found in section iii (Luce), 45.

<sup>75</sup> Rhomaïos 1909, 307.

under the eastern end of the church for about 4 m in length, then turned west and continued in that direction for about 16 m across the other structure just mentioned.

The size and apparent care in the execution of these walls suggest that they belonged to a building or buildings of some status and importance, whose more important parts are probably concealed under the modern church. The side porch of the church includes blocks with incised symbols which are clearly medieval, of a kind which has also been found on one of the blocks from the temple which was reused in a medieval context north of the temple.<sup>76</sup> Numerous small marble blocks with medieval carvings can be seen in the apsis wall of the church. Probably this material was taken from the construction underneath the church, which had monumental dimensions and has been claimed as a palace, or a monastery.<sup>77</sup> A few Byzantine building blocks of status character (a capital, one double column and two fragments; *Figs 15–16*) have been identified among the building material from the temple site, and a large door of iron, now in the Byzantine museum at Athens, also comes from the site.<sup>78</sup> This material supports the notion that some important building, probably of an ecclesiastic character, existed in the immediate neighbourhood.<sup>79</sup>

Milchhöfer's plan indicates modest remains of late walls, possibly connected with the same structure, on the foundations for the southern peristasis flank of the temple, and where later excavations identified the pronaos area of the temple. Another wall is recorded above the foundations of the Classical altar, going east–west across it in front of the south-eastern corner of the Konstantinopoulos house. According to Milchhöfer's text there were three such walls, but only one is indicated on his plan.

In the excavated area immediately north of the temple foundation and east of the projecting foundation, in our squares C–F 3–4, the French state plan (*Fig. 3*) indicates two apparently independent walls with slightly different alignments which do not coincide with the orientation of the temple. One wall runs for about 5 m north–northwest to south–southeast close to the projection and turns eastwards at a right angle close to the temple before it

disappears. The second wall starts close to the temple, slightly further east, and runs for about 9 m in a slightly more eastern direction before it vanishes. These walls are not mentioned in any text and have now disappeared, but they were probably considered historical since they were included on the French plan of the excavated area.

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<sup>76</sup> For these symbols, see the contribution section **xxi** (Nicolardi).

<sup>77</sup> Mendel 1901, 245.

<sup>78</sup> Blocks **256, 366, 375** and **625** in the catalogue section **xix** (Pakkanen). The large door of iron: A.K. Orlandos, "Παλαιοχριστιανικά και Βυζαντινά μνημεία Τεγέας," *Αρχαίον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* 12, 1973, 8, fig. 3.

<sup>79</sup> For a possible identification of this building, see section **xx** (Drocourt), 418–20.