

The cult of Athena Alea at Tegea and its transformation over time

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Introduction

AS A RESULT of the recent Norwegian excavations at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (1990–1996), we are better able to understand the developments at this site over a period of many centuries from the tenth century onwards (fig. 1). Although there are still gaps in our knowledge as well as tantalizing evidence of even earlier activity at the site, we can now, in any case, draw some more specific conclusions about developments at Tegea and the deity honored there over the centuries.

In this paper, I propose that one can distinguish four main phases of development at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea:

Phase I: an early Iron Age phase, which spanned the period from the late tenth century through the mid-eighth century and was most likely a pre-architectural stage.

Phase II: a Geometric expansion phase from the late eighth through the mid-seventh centuries BC, during which time two consecutive apsidal buildings were built and masses of votives dedicated.

Phase III: the first monumental phase in the Archaic to Classical periods (600–395 BC), when a monumental stone temple was built and in use.

Phase IV: a late Classical phase when the second temple was built, designed by Skopas of Paros, and in use from *ca.* 350 BC till the end of antiquity. It was no doubt the most impressive monument erected at the site.¹

The results of the Norwegian campaign at Tegea are currently being prepared for final publication. The author is responsible for the publication of the majority of small finds uncovered in these excavations; the other principal investigators and specialists are in the process of writing their respective sections as well. It is therefore conceivable that some of the conclusions presented in this paper will ultimately be changed or modified in the final publication. It is the author's inten-

tion, however, to take a broader view of the cult over time and to synthesize the developments at the site against the backdrop of our knowledge of other Greek sanctuaries. A general model of sanctuary growth is thus presented, one that is flexible enough to allow for any fine-tuning in the conclusions of the final report on Tegea.²

In the analysis below, evidence for cult activity is presented for each of the phases. The author uses the following definition of *cult*: 'a system or community of religious worship and ritual, especially one focusing on a single deity or spirit.'³ It is important to keep in mind, however, that while a cult may focus on a single deity, the evidence suggests that a deity is typically not static over time at any given site. Rather, the nature or perception of the god is fluid and tends to undergo transformations over the centuries. The cult at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea reveals such development and may provide a model of cult development to be applied to the study of other Greek sanctuaries.

Phase I: the Early Iron Age

The recent Norwegian excavations at Tegea have brought to light this very important phase, which up until recently was essentially unknown at the site. We can now date the earliest secure evidence for cult activity at Tegea to the late tenth century and possibly even earlier. Although Mycenaean evidence has been uncovered at the site (both in the bothros and in the eighth century temples), this analysis begins with the early Iron Age Phase at Tegea, since the Mycenaean remains are invariably mixed with later material. It is thus not yet clear what sort of activity was going on at Tegea in the Late Bronze Age.⁴

- 1 The Germans were the first to excavate the site in the 1880s, Milchhofer 1880:52–69, Dörpfeld 1883:274–285. The French took over the site *ca.* 1900 in a couple of campaigns by G. Mendel and Ch. Dugas. See Mendel 1901:241–281, Dugas 1921:345–445. The site was briefly excavated by the Greeks in 1908 (Romaos 1909:303–316) and then again, more recently in 1976–1977 (unpublished). Since 1990, the Norwegian Institute at Athens has been carrying out an international excavation project at Tegea. This project has been funded by various agencies to whom we are most grateful, including the Norwegian Research Council and the Swedish Research Council of Humanities, the Norwegian Institute at Athens, the National Geographic Society, the University of Arizona, and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. For a more complete history of the investigations at Tegea, see Voyatzis 1990:20–28, Østby 1986:75–102, Østby *et al.* 1994:89–94 and Nordquist and Voyatzis forthcoming.
- 2 The results of the Norwegian campaign will be published in the *Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* in two volumes: Volume I deals with the excavation of the temple and Volume II focuses on the excavation of the northern sector.
- 3 The definition comes from the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (Boston 1981).

The earliest stratified evidence from Tegea was found in the bothros, or sacred pit, located in the pronaos area of the later fourth century temple, and sealed below the metal workshop of late eighth century date (fig. 1). Underneath the surface layers of the bothros, eight distinct strata have been identified. They contain masses of pottery sherds, some miniature pots, as well as small bronzes (discs, rings, sheets), terracottas (wreaths, figurines, *etc.*), glass beads, a bit of gold, and animal bones, both burnt and unburned, mixed in with the finds.⁵

The ceramic remains from the bothros range in date from Protogeometric/‘Laconian Protogeometric’-Late Geometric (*ca.* 925–750 BC). The strata of the bothros allow for the reconstruction of a stratigraphical sequence in this area.⁶ In the lowest level (Layer 8), the material consists primarily of Late PG/early EG sherds with some Mycenaean material mixed in as well. There is also a fair amount of ‘Laconian Protogeometric’ (or ‘Laconian PG’) in this layer (fig. 2). Layer 7 consists mostly of EG and ‘Laconian PG’ sherds, with some PG and Mycenaean mixed in. Layer 6 contains EG, MGI, and ‘Laconian PG,’ with some earlier material as well. The layers continue to include later material as they proceed to the top of the bothros, with the topmost level (Layer 1) containing a small amount of LGI-II material.

Of particular note is the large amount of ‘Laconian PG,’ which had previously been found almost solely in Lakonia. This distinctive type of ceramics, best represented at Amyklai (in Lakonia), spans the later tenth, ninth and early eighth centuries and is characterized by horizontal ribs or grooves, distinctive rectilinear ornament, often in two superimposed registers, an unusual repertoire of shapes, and often a shiny, metallic glaze. The discovery of this material at Tegea in association with standard PG-LG, allows for an analysis of the development of Laconian PG from *ca.* 950–750 BC.⁷

The finds from the Early Iron Age Phase at the sanctuary are significant because they indicate that cult activity was in all likelihood taking place in this vicinity from the late tenth century. This is reflected in the pottery, small finds, and animal

4 For Mycenaean pieces from the temple area, see Voyatzis 1990:64–65, Voyatzis 2002, Østby *et al.* 1994:117–119. For Mycenaean remains from the bothros, see the forthcoming publication (*supra* n. 2).

5 Burnt bones begin in Layer 4 (dated to 875–800 BC) from what we can tell. For a general description of the bothros, see Voyatzis 1997:349–350.

6 *Ibid.* Dr. G. Nordquist is responsible for publishing the results from the excavations of the bothros (and the pronaos and cella areas generally) in the forthcoming NIA publication (*supra* n. 2). Dr. Nordquist believes that the material was dumped in the bothros periodically from somewhere nearby, presumably from the early altar, which has not yet been found.

7 Coulson 1985:29–84, Cartledge 2002:71–77, Coldstream 1968:213–215. We are unable to trace the development of ‘Laconian PG’ from Laconian sites in the same way since it is essentially the only type of pottery found in the region till the eighth century.

bones, and also in the oily nature of the soil. The particular identity of deity is rather more difficult to infer for this period, however. Indeed, it is doubtful that one can see a clear correlation between the small finds and the nature of the deity worshipped at any early Iron Age site. In any case, it appears that the cult was probably expressed in the open air during this phase. Much of the ceramic material is Lakonian in style, indicating strong connections with this southern region during the early Iron Age. It is even conceivable that the region of Lakonia (informally) extended this far north to include Tegea in the Early Iron Age.⁸ The possibility for earlier (Mycenaean) activity at the site is also strong, though further excavation is needed to confirm this suggestion. Continued excavation would also serve to enhance our knowledge of the nature and extent of early Iron Age activity at the sanctuary.

Phase II: the Geometric expansion

During this phase, we have the earliest architectural evidence from the site. Excavations inside the cella of the fourth century temple have yielded the remains of two, superimposed, apsidal buildings of wattle and daub of eighth century date (fig. 1).⁹ On the basis of the associated finds, the earlier building can be dated to 720–700; it is small, narrow, apsidal, wattle and daub, and has no stone foundations. The later one can be dated to 700–680/670; it is a longer, wider, wattle and daub structure and also lacks a stone socle. The remains of its northern anta wall were found as well as evidence for several phases of use. During the last season of excavation, in a trial trench, evidence for the surface of a third, even earlier building, possibly of mid-eighth century date, was uncovered. There is also the possibility of some sort of a transitional temple, dated to 675–625. The evidence for this building is meagre, however, consisting only of a stone platform in the apse area on top of the latest Geometric temple and below the Archaic temple, and some distinct cuttings in the northern section wall.¹⁰

In addition to the temples, there is evidence for a metal workshop, used in conjunction with the late eighth century temples. The workshop was found in the pro-naos area of the fourth century BC temple, on top of the bothros (fig. 1). The remains consist of a series of clay-lined pits, soot, charcoal, and scraps from bronze working. An analysis of these bronze scraps is currently being carried out at the Demokritos Laboratory in Athens.¹¹ The finds from the workshop consist of Late

8 Voyatzis 1999:144.

9 Nordquist 2002, Østby *et al.* 1994:98–107, Biers 1996:20, fig. 1.5, 116–117.

10 Østby 1997:79–107, Østby *et al.* 1994:103.

11 For a preliminary account, see Østby *et al.* 1994:103–104.

Geometric-Early Protocorinthian pottery, and various small objects. It is interesting that the location of the bronze workshop is situated directly on top of the sealed bothros and in front of the eighth century temples. The location of the workshop so close to the temples indicates that the manufacture of small bronze objects occurred within the sacred precinct and suggests that this activity must have been an integral part of the cult in the eighth century.

The votive material from Phase II comprises an extensive collection. The bronze objects are the most abundant of all categories of votives and include animal and human figurines, jewellery (pins, rings, beads, fibulae, pendants, *etc.*), sheets, shields, plaques, *etc.* (figs. 3–4). There are also objects of iron, gold, other metals, terracottas, glass, bone/ivory, and other materials.¹²

The ceramic evidence from Phase II consists primarily of sherds of Late Geometric through Middle Protocorinthian date (*ca.* 750–660 BC). The late eighth century pottery now reveals a stronger Argive character and the Laconian influence/imports appear to be less than in Phase I (fig. 5). There are many distinctive miniature vessels found in the phase as well.¹³ One sees a growing amount of Corinthian influence in the pottery in Phase II, with respectable amounts of EPC through MPC imports and imitations found inside the apsidal temples.¹⁴

During this phase, the cult reveals more recognizable and tangible elements, such as the two modest, apsidal temples, masses of votives, and a local bronze workshop. The evidence reflects greater wealth in the community and suggests a unity of purpose among its worshippers, with a more coordinated effort to honour the deity in a visible way. I maintain that the identity of the local goddess, Alea, is also becoming clearer in this phase. I have argued elsewhere that votive objects may reflect something about the nature of the deity worshipped at a given site, and in particular at this site. In the main, the dedications suggest that the local deity possessed attributes of a goddess of fertility, a mistress of animals, and, also, a protectress of the town.¹⁵

Increased economic development is suggested by the existence of an on-site metal workshop, where small bronze votives were manufactured to supply worshippers with gifts for the goddess. The apparent increase in Argive connections, reflected in the LG pottery (as well as in the other finds), could suggest a conscious movement away from association with Lakonia, which was becoming an increasingly powerful and aggressive neighbour.¹⁶

12 *Ibid.*, 117–119, Voyatzis 1990:Chs. 4–6, 2002.

13 Hammond 1998.

14 For the eighth and seventh century pottery from Tegea, see Østby *et al.* 1994:126–131, Voyatzis 1990:Ch. 3, 2002.

15 Voyatzis 1990:269–73, Østby *et al.* 1994:134, Voyatzis 1998:133–147.

Phase III: the Archaic-Early Classic period

During Phase III, the first monumental stone temple was built and in use at the site. Our knowledge about this phase has been greatly enhanced by the work of Erik Østby, who, in 1986, identified the remains inside the cella as belonging to the Archaic temple, and not a Byzantine church, as the early French excavators had thought.¹⁷ Subsequent excavations at the site, under Dr. Østby's direction, have served to confirm his identification of these remains as the two rows of foundation walls of the interior colonnade of the late seventh century temple (fig. 1). This temple was probably built around 625–600 and had a long life, until 395, when it burnt down. Its construction represents a major transformation of the site, since it was the first monumental building at Tegea. Østby offers a reconstruction of it as an early Doric temple, made of wood, mudbrick and some Doliana marble. It rested on stone foundations with the same East-West alignment as the earlier eighth century temples and the later fourth century temple. It probably had a peristyle of 6 x 18 columns and a double row of columns on the inside of the cella. When it was erected, this building must have been considered 'state of the art,' but, by the end of the fifth century, it may well have seemed somewhat old-fashioned in terms of its size, proportions, and materials.

The votives dating to this phase were found primarily in the area to the north of the temple, where the Norwegian team also conducted extensive excavations. They consist of an abundance of bronze and lead jewellery items and statuettes, bone and ivory pendants, terracotta figurines, miniature vessels, and pottery of Archaic and Classical date (figs. 6–7).¹⁸ In the Archaic period, the sanctuary extended into the region to the north of the temple, where there is considerable evidence for offerings, animal bones, and simple, modest architectural constructions, such as huts. This material is currently being evaluated and we hope to learn more about the use of the northern area when the study is completed.¹⁹

In terms of the worship of Athena Alea, one could argue that the cult was now expressed in a more impressive and tangible form in this phase, with the erection of a monumental temple, and an apparently greater connection between the local goddess, Alea, and the Panhellenic deity Athena.²⁰ The dedication of the late sixth century bronze figurine of an armed Athena at the site could be seen to represent

16 Voyatzis 1990:144.

17 Østby 1986:75–102, Østby *et al.* 1994:89–141.

18 *Ibid.* 117–139, Voyatzis 1990:Chs. 4–6, 2002, Hammond 1998.

19 This region was excavated by J.-M. Luce, C. Tarditi, and K. Ødegård. See preliminary report in Østby *et al.* 1994:107–117. It appears that when the fourth century temple was being constructed at the site, large amounts of fill from the Archaic temple were dumped in the northern area.

20 Jost 1985:368–70, Voyatzis 1990:269–273.

this synthesis (fig. 7).²¹ It is also arguable that in this phase Tegea comprised a united community (a *polis*), responsible for building the temple and maintaining the cult place.²² The sanctuary would thus have provided a major economic, political, social, and religious focus for community as a whole.

Phase IV: the Late Classical period (350 BC–end of antiquity)

During the early part of this phase, *ca.* 350 BC, the famous marble temple in honour of Athena Alea was built at Tegea, replacing the Archaic structure, which burnt down *ca.* 395 BC. Skopas is credited with designing the building, and, since he was one of the most famous sculptors/architects of the period, it may have been considered a major triumph to commission him for this project at Tegea. According to Pausanias (8.45.5), this was the greatest temple in the Peloponnese in terms of its size and its entire construction. It must have been thought another ‘state of the art’ building at the site, with internal Corinthian capitals, Doliana marble, elaborate sculptural decoration, *etc.*²³ The remains of this building can be seen at the site today, though they clearly do not do it justice.

On the basis of the many studies on the Classical temple, we know a number of facts about this building. It had a front ramp, facing east, and a rather unusual side ramp, facing towards the north. Its superstructure was built entirely of Doliana marble; it had a peristyle of 6 x 14 Doric columns, which reveal *entasis*. There were two rows of Corinthian half columns inside the cella. The building had a low entablature and was longer than most fourth century temples, probably because it incorporated basic elements of the plan of the Archaic predecessor, on top of which it was built.²⁴

The construction of the fourth century temple coincided with the flourishing of the *polis* of Tegea. Around the same time, there is also evidence for the building of the city walls, *ca.* 370, the *agora*, the theatre, the stadium, and various other buildings typical of a Classical Greek city. Scholars tend to agree that the sanctuary of Athena Alea was included inside the city walls when they were constructed.²⁵

In terms of cult practices, we assume that there was a continuation of earlier ritual practices based on the established formula. From what we can tell, this phase had a long life, extending into the early centuries of the Christian era, when the

21 Dugas 1921:359–63, no. 58.

22 Heine Nielsen 1996, Voyatzis 1999:143.

23 Dugas *et al* 1924, Norman 1984:169–194, Pakkanen 1998:8–9.

24 *Ibid.*

25 For the *polis* of Tegea, see Heine Nielsen 1996:280–285. For the location of the city walls see Voyatzis (1999:143) *contra* Callmer (1943:115).

temple fell out of use. What is important for us to keep in mind is that the elaborate fourth century temple represents the culmination of many centuries of developments at Tegea. As we saw above, the site began as a modest local cult place in the early Iron Age and was transformed over the centuries. By the Archaic period, it had become a major regional shrine with a fine, monumental temple, and, by the late Classical period, it must have been one of the premiere sanctuary sites in the Peloponnese. The building of the fourth century temple coincides with the flourishing of the city-state of Tegea and, in many ways, symbolically expresses the achievements and status of this *polis* in tangible and monumental form.

Other Greek sanctuary sites

The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea is located in the Peloponnese in the region of Arkadia. In this section, we briefly examine how other sanctuaries in this region compare to Tegea in terms of developments over time. We also look at Greek sites generally, to see if we can determine any pattern for the Phases I–IV, as identified at Tegea. One wonders if sanctuary development in the Greek world was so idiosyncratic at each site that no overall patterns can be discerned, or if it is conceivable that Tegea could provide something of a model for helping us to understand developments at other Greek sanctuaries as well.

Tegea is a rather unusual site in Arkadia in terms of its evidence for early cult activity.²⁶ Very few other sites have yielded early Iron Age (Phase I) remains. Most Arkadian sanctuaries reveal evidence for modest cult activity in the eighth or seventh century at the earliest (*i.e.*, Phase II), in the form of votive offerings. These include Lousoi, Mavriki, Gortsouli, Asea, Petrovouni, Alipheira, Orchomenos, and Bassai. There are as yet no examples of architecture from eighth through early seventh century Arkadian sanctuaries besides Tegea. Temples typically begin to be constructed in Phase III in Arkadia. In the late seventh century we have examples from Gortsouli, Asea, and Bassai, and in the sixth century, from Mavriki, Lousoi, Orchomenos, Pallantion, Kotilion, Petrovouni and Gortsouli (second temple). During Phase IV, there is rebuilding of older structures at some sites, such as at Bassai, Lousoi, and Petrovouni; there is also occasionally some new building, where previously there had been no evidence for earlier temples, such as at Alipheira (the Asklepeion) and Lykosoura. Tegea thus seems advanced in terms of architectural developments compared to other sites in Arkadia, but this may be due in part to its location, on a fertile, mountain plateau in southeast Arkadia, its proximity to Argos and Sparta, and its growth in relation to these major *poleis*.²⁷

26 For developments at Arkadian sanctuaries generally, see Voyatzis 1990:28–61, 1995:271–283, and 1999:132–140.

Viewed within Greece overall, Tegea's development seems more typical, although one continues to see a great variety of patterns in the excavated remains of sanctuary sites. Phase I is the most elusive but probably existed at more sites than we know. Early Iron Age activity is becoming increasingly better documented and understood as investigations continue in the Greek world. During this period, there was likely cult activity in open-air altars at Samos, Amyklai, Olympia, Isthmia, the Argive Heraion, and other sites.²⁸ Phase II is well-represented at most major Greek sanctuary sites and reflects a period of significant expansion throughout the Greek world. Recent scholarship by A.M. Snodgrass, F. de Polignac, C. Morgan and others show the importance of this formative phase in the development of Greek society.²⁹ There are masses of eighth century votives and pottery uncovered at these sites and often, early, modest temples, most of which are tied to a community of sorts. Evidence for activity in this phase can be seen at many sites, such as Artemis Orthia (Sparta), Argive Heraion, Samos, Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Eretria, Thermon, Perachora, Tiryns, *etc.* Those sanctuaries which develop into panhellenic sites (*i.e.*, Olympia, Delphi, and Delos) tend to be slower in acquiring temples, but they still yield large numbers of votives.

During Phase III we typically see the erection of the first monumental temples in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world. This construction is often linked to political developments in communities (such as the rise of the *polis*, *etc.*) or, in the case of panhellenic sanctuaries, to exceptional religious importance. Examples of early monumental temples are found at Corinth, Isthmia, Thermon, Argive Heraion (Argos), Artemis Orthia, (Sparta), Olympia, Samos, Corfu, Athens Acropolis, *etc.* Phase IV is often characterized by a rebuilding at sites for various reasons (destructions, natural catastrophes, enlargements of sanctuaries, *etc.*) in the Classical-Hellenistic periods, but, sometimes, temples are built for the first time in this period. Phase IV sites include Nemea, Argive Heraion, Epidauros, Olympia (temple of Zeus), Athens Acropolis, *etc.*³⁰

Although the exact dates for these phases vary from site to site, and in some cases, not every phase is present, one can still see a relatively consistent pattern of development at all of them. In terms of growth, the typical model at most Greek sanctuaries is that of a *temenos* and simple altar at first, and later, an expansion of the sanctuary to the west, with the addition of a temple in this western part.³¹

27 Voyatzis 1999:150–153.

28 Coldstream 1977:317–340; see now also Mazarakis Ainian 1997. In some cases there is also evidence that modest buildings were associated with early Iron Age cult activity (*i.e.*, Nichoria).

29 Snodgrass 1980, de Polignac 1995, Morgan 1997:168–198.

30 Lawrence 1996:106–150.

31 Bergquist 1967:112–114.

There are also indications that the manufacture of bronzes (and objects of other materials) was occurring within sanctuaries from the Bronze Age onwards, suggesting that there was an important link between cult activity and production of offerings at many sites.³²

Perhaps the clearest distinctions can be seen between *polis* and panhellenic (or interstate) sanctuaries.³³ The latter frequently had a much wider clientele and attracted pilgrims for a variety of reasons (athletic contests, oracles, or specific festivals), but one can, in any case, observe similar stages of development as at the *polis* sanctuaries. In the case of the state sanctuaries, important components for their growth as well as for the growth of the community were the laying claim to land and the unification of people around a common deity, who protected their interests. In both state and panhellenic sanctuaries, however, we often see the evolution from a modest local shrine to a very visible, monumental and tangible cult by 600 BC or so (Phases I–III). The strength and importance of the cult must have played a role in this development, as did the needs of the worshippers, the geographical location of the site, and the political setting. The nature of the deity also seems to evolve and to acquire more recognizable, uniform traits during these early phases. By the Classical period (Phase IV), the purpose of building (or rebuilding) was to create a temple that would impress and endure, and many of the temples did both long after they fell out of use. Even as ruins, these structures have continued to impress and inspire people through the ages.

Conclusions

As we saw above, the cult of Athena Alea was expressed in different ways over the course of 1000 years, probably beginning as a cult primarily of a local fertility deity at a modest site, and evolving into the worship of a Panhellenic city goddess at a monumental sanctuary. Similar sorts of developments can be observed throughout the Greek world, though, as we saw, there is great variation.

In general, we could say that Phase I began sometime after the eleventh century, following the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, when religious developments appear to have been much more regional and idiosyncratic than in the Late Bronze Age. In this period we have limited evidence for small-scale, local cult activity at a number of sites in the Greek world. By Phase II (in the eighth century), sanctuaries were being established or enlarged, and modest temples were being erected at many sites. The poems of Homer and Hesiod were composed and provided a clas-

32 Rutkowski 1986:194–195, Mattusch 1977:357, Huber 1991:137–154, Rostocker and Gebhard 1980:347–363, Risberg 1992:33–40.

33 Snodgrass 1980:55–58, de Polignac 1995.

sification of the gods, indicating a divine nature or essence. The archaeological evidence from the early sanctuaries, however, suggests that the religious world of eighth century Greece was more complex in nature, blending old and new elements in a variety of ways. In Phase III we see the construction of the first monumental temples all over the Greek world. In Phase IV we have the rebuilding of these monumental temples on an even grander scale at many sites, but, in a few cases, temples were being acquired for the first time in the Classical to Hellenistic periods.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the perception of the deity worshipped at any given site changed over time. This evolution was expressed in the physical layout of the sanctuary as well as in the nature and extent of the votive offerings. Ultimately, the expression of the cult was shaped by the needs of the worshipping groups, exposure and adherence to panhellenic models, and the endurance of local religious beliefs and requirements.

In sum, while it is clear that there is no 'one size fits all' formula or model that can suit all Greek sanctuaries, it is important to note that these religious sites underwent transformations over the centuries and that the cults were expressed differently at different times. These expressions reflect, to a certain extent, the customs dictated by the times, the varying degrees of conformity to panhellenic models, and the existence of regional preferences. Despite these variations and the resulting idiosyncrasies evident in the cults, there are some common patterns. The most basic pattern discernable at the majority of Greek sites is a development, in various phases, from a modest shrine on honour of a broadly defined deity into a monumental sanctuary in honour of a specifically defined deity, over the course of many centuries. I thus conclude that the recent Norwegian excavations at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea provide us with ample evidence to create a good working model of Greek sanctuary development during the first millennium BC.

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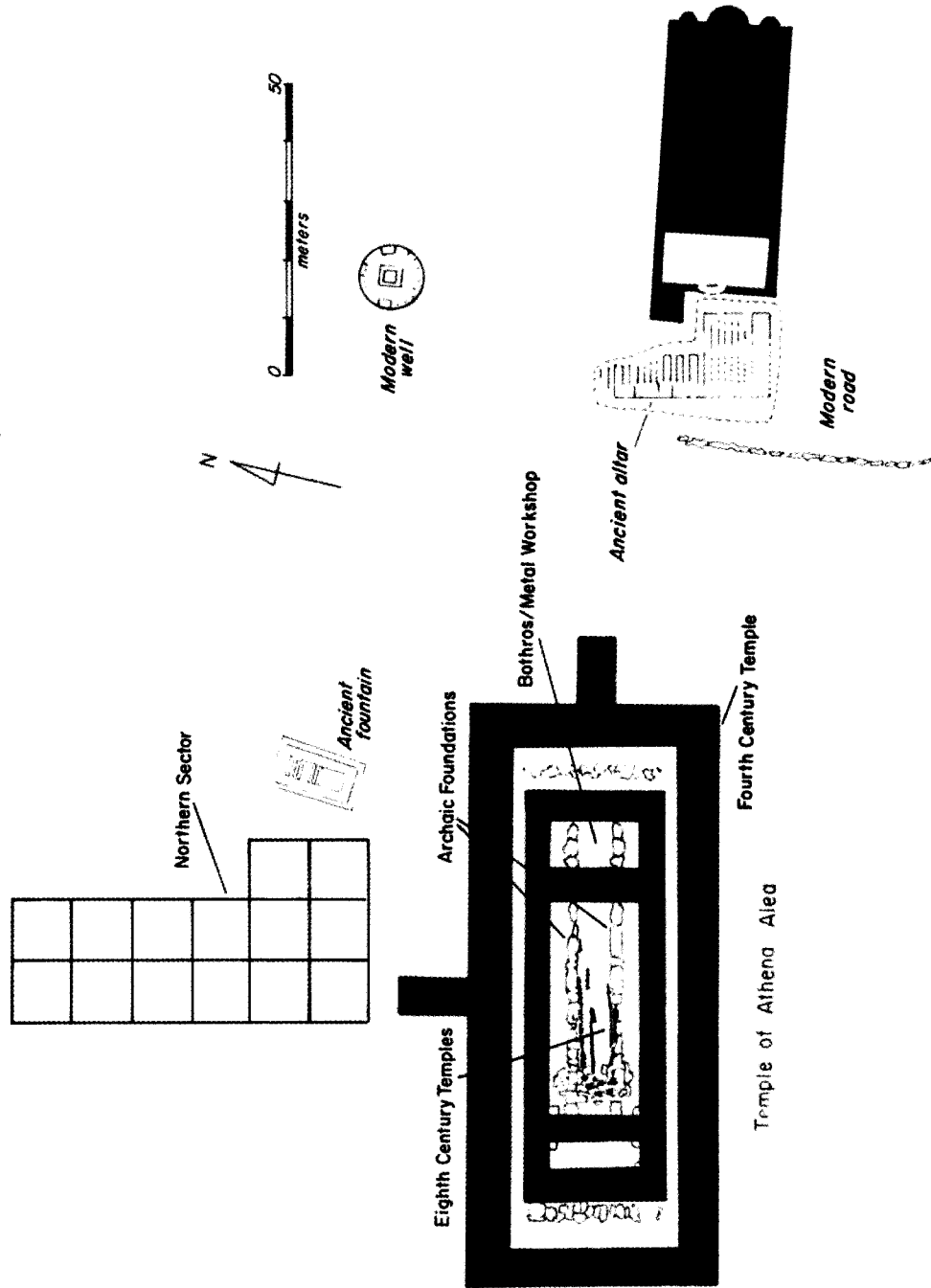


Fig. 1: Plan of the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea with the remains of the two eighth century temples indicated inside the fourth century cella (drawing: L. Kain).

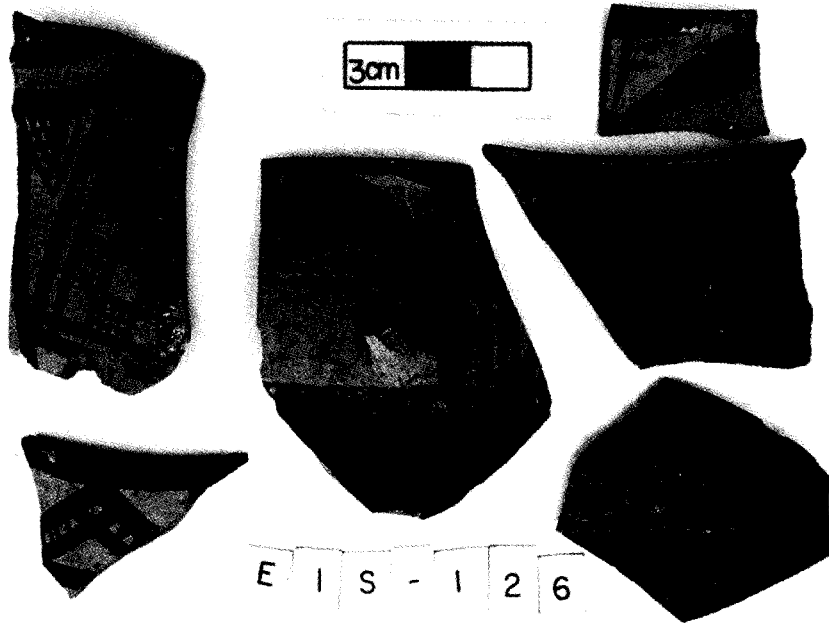


Fig. 2: Laconian Protogeometric sherds from the bothros within the pronaos (photo: D. Carlson).
The Tegea Museum.

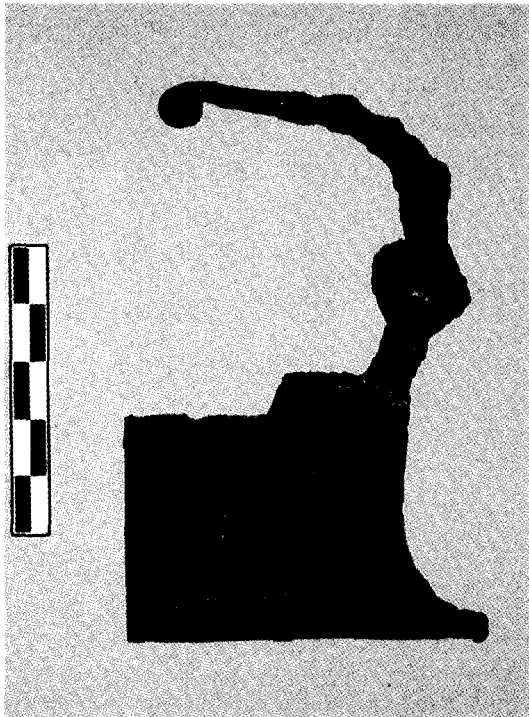


Fig. 3: Geometric bronze fibula from the cella (photo: D. Carlson).
The Tegea Museum.

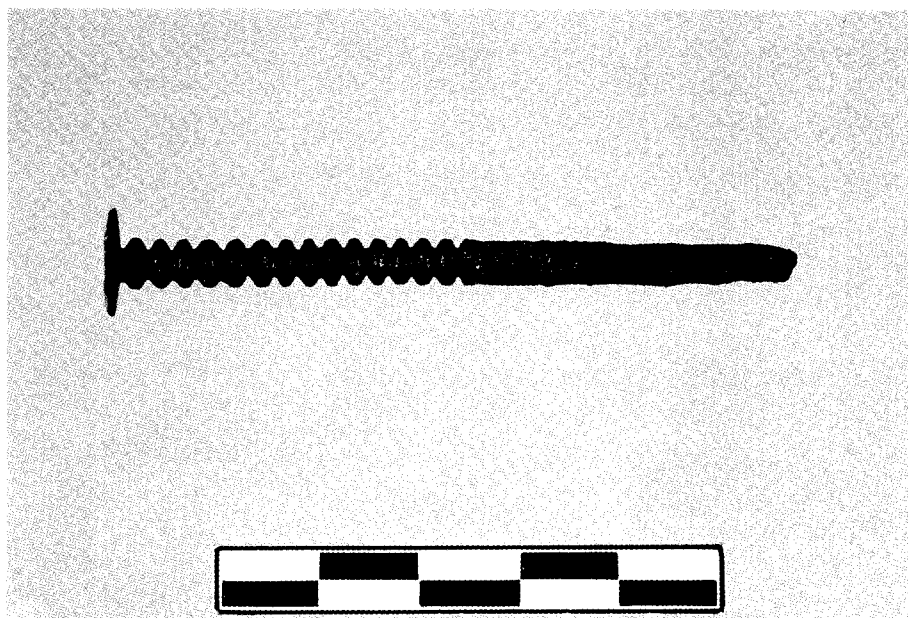


Fig. 4: Geometric bronze pin from the cella (photo: D. Carlson). The Tegea Museum.

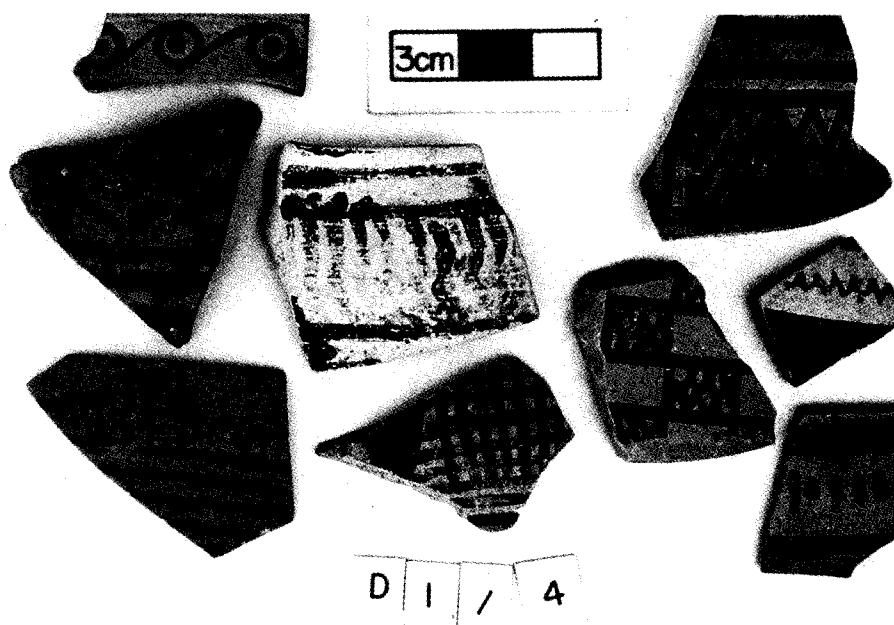


Fig. 5: Late Geometric sherds from the cella (photo: J. Bakke). The Tegea Museum.



Fig. 6: Archaic lead female figurine from the northern sector (photo: D. Carlson).
The Tegea Museum.



Fig. 7: Archaic bronze figurine of Athena (photo: M.E. Voyatzis; see Dugas 1921:359–363 no. 58.). National Museum of Athens.

DISCUSSION

D. Handelman: I'd like to come back to the very beginning: the use of cult. Your use of cult seems to presume community, and I would think that community presupposes social organization. So I would like to know what the evidence is for social organization, community, and therefore cult. Or is the social construction you're using one that assumes that given a temple, in order to support that temple in various ways there had to have been a community and therefore social organization? What is the logic of your thinking?

M. Voyatzis: In the eighth century we start to see a movement towards the *polis*, the city-state. We can actually see a number of sanctuaries. Not all sanctuaries are connected to a *polis*. Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia, Delphi and Delos do not have *poleis*— and often they do not have early temples at all. The places where a *polis* is established—in later periods very clearly with stoas, a stadium, and temples, and so on—there are often signs of cult activity already in the eighth century. We can trace that pretty well to Argos, Sparta, Corinth, where there is also evidence from cemeteries and other constructions that there was a city-state of some sort. Tegea is in an interesting position because it is in Arkadia, which is not thought to be a center of *polis* development. However, it is on the crossroads between Lakonia and Argos, it is on the eastern frontier, and it seems to have been more advanced than some of the western parts of Arkadia. Tegea was exposed to more standard conventions. I think that the early appearance of temples and the community are very closely linked—regardless of whether you call the community a *polis* or a town or whatever. You need to have a certain amount of community involvement. Alternatively, if you have a Panhellenic sanctuary, you could have a number of different communities being responsible. In those cases we usually see only later architectural development.

D. Handelman: But in the case of Tegea, do you have direct evidence for the existence of a *polis*?

M. Voyatzis: At this stage we do not have eighth century evidence anywhere else than around the temple, but we have not excavated anywhere else. However, as we speak there is a survey project [the Norwegian Arcadia Survey, directed by Dr. K. Ødegård] planned for the summer, which will be looking for this kind of evidence: the *polis*, the people who are using the sanctuary. We want to go beyond our focus on the temple and find out who were the people frequenting the site. From the later period we have remains of the town wall, the *agora*, etc.

D. Handelman: What you might find then is the development of what you're calling a cult along the way, and not necessarily early evidence for the existence of it.

M. Voyatzis: I think the cult was there before there was a formal community. In Phase I there was a small cult. As we continue we have the community becoming more closely knit.

D. Handelman: In the initial phases of the temple it attracted a variety of worshippers, but that doesn't then presuppose a cult. It presupposes a collection of worshippers without any necessary social relationships between them in the early phase.

M. Voyatzis: I think we can tell from the material remains—especially in the early phase—that it is consistent.

D. Handelman: Okay.

S. Georgoudi: Many years ago I studied the sacred cattle of Athena Alea on the base of a fourth century inscription in the local dialect. It contains the expression *ἱερά πρόβατα* but not in the sense only of sheep. There are officials such as the *ἱερομένεμοι* who organize all of that. I studied this inscription in the context of transhumance. This inscription, and others, show a pastoral activity not only of the sanctuary (these animals are the property of the sanctuary), but also economic activity in the sense that other, profane, cattle could pass on the sacred land on the payment of a fine. I would like to know if we have found any traces capable of showing this kind of activity of the sanctuary.

M. Voyatzis: At the moment I can't think of any relevant evidence.

M. Jameson: I did not hear mention of cattle bones.

M. Voyatzis: There are cattle bones. In the bothros deposit I'm not sure, I would have to check my notes, but in the cella there were cattle bones.

M. Jameson: It would be surprising if there were none.

A. Peatfield: I was very struck by the tremendous evidence you have for Lakonian connections in your material. Do you think that in light of E. de Polignac's suggestions about territorial definition and so on that we may be perceiving here a Lakonian territorial definition behind part of the foundation of the sanctuary?

M. Voyatzis: I think that de Polignac is absolutely on target with his discussion about sanctuaries being located on the edge of territories. I don't know about the Tegea sanctuary being an original Lakonian foundation—that I would have to think about some more—but I think that it lay on the frontier of these two areas, and that in the eighth century it became clearly more separate from Lakonia. There was a conscious effort to distinguish themselves. Throughout history we have the evidence for battles between Sparta and Tegea. I think that in the earlier stages it was not clear and that Tegea may even have lain in Lakonian territory. This needs to be further explored—this is why Phase I is just so fascinating.

C. Sugawata: In the Phase II you have a female deity, abundant jewellery votives, and also nude female figurines. In Phase III there suddenly appears a fully armed goddess. What do you think about this shift?

M. Voyatzis: My personal opinion is that we have a local deity who becomes associated with Athena, possibly because of shared traits going back at least to eighth century, and possibly earlier. By the sixth century we have a visible connection between Athena and Alea, if not before. We do have other evidence of local deities being merged with Panhellenic deities, for example in Sparta Artemis Orthia—although that merger may be later, and Aphaia on Aigina. I think there was a desire to conform, to become more standardized so that people would understand and recognize, identify the code, the message being given when they came to visit. From the eighth century we have evidence for the armed male figure, shields, and so on. But if we trace Athena back to the Bronze Age, I am not sure we can say she is armed all the way back.