

## Gullög C. Nordquist: TWO FRAGMENTS OF HOUSE MODELS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA ALEA

During the excavations below the Skopadian temple foundation in the sanctuary of Athena Alea a number of terracotta fragments were found, some of which may have had an architectural function, but which are difficult both to identify and date securely.<sup>1</sup> Among these fragments were also two of terracotta house models. Fragment 1 was, unfortunately, found in layers disturbed during the excavations of the early 1900s, while Fragment 2 comes from an early context outside Building 2.<sup>2</sup>

### *Fragment 1*

Cat. no. **Tc 39**, F. no. D1/4-19; Tex no. 288, inv. no. 3754. (*Figs 1–2*)

Terracotta fragment consisting of the solid part of a pitched roof with incised decoration marking the roof beam.

*Material:* Semi-coarse and well-fired, reddish clay.

*Size:* Preserved length 7.7 cm, preserved height 5.6 cm.

*Description:* The roof beam of the steeply pitched roof is marked as a ridge, which was added as a rolled band of clay, with cuttings. Shallow incisions moving downwards from the roof beam seem to mark some kind of structural detail, such as the rushes and straw which formed the roof cover.

*Find context:* The fragment was found in grid square D1, in the mixed stratigraphical unit D1/4 beneath the Classical temple. This unit seemed to be a fill in a trench from the early excavations.<sup>3</sup>

*Comment:* A close parallel is a fragment from Perachora

of Payne's Group B, dated by him to the first half of the 8th century.<sup>4</sup> (*Fig. 3*) Like in our fragment, the roof beam in the Perachora piece is marked as a ridge with the same slanted incisions, but it is more rounded in cross-section. This beam seems to have consisted of two strands of clay that were twisted together to form the ridge. The fragment is also said to have traces of an attachment for the side wall, as well as a prostyle support.

Compared to this, our fragment is smaller and represents only the very top of the roof. Not enough of it remains to allow for any reconstruction of the lower part of the building.

### *Fragment 2*

Cat. no. **Tc 41**; from stratigraphical unit B1T/21, no F. no. or Tex no.<sup>5</sup> (*Figs 4.a–c, 5*)

Part of a straight-sided, pitched terracotta roof, with parts of the substructure attached. It consists of four joining fragments.

*Material:* Pale and fine clay, light yellowish grey in colour. The surface is smoothly finished.

*Size:* Preserved length 10.4 cm, preserved height 9.8 cm.

*Description:* Parts of a straight-sided roof, with parts of the wall. On the underside of the fragment some details of the modelling of the building can be distinguished in the form of small lumps, and tool marks which indicate that clay lumps had been added to the model while the clay was still wet. (*Figs 4.b, 5*) Two small, round holes in the wall were perhaps used for interior wooden rods or cross beams which would have supported the model; it seems less likely that they are vent holes to prevent the model from cracking during firing, but this cannot be excluded.

A cutting and a wall turned at right angles suggest either a door opening or window in the long side wall,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other possible examples include a strange piece with two surfaces which meet at a blunt angle; there are incised ridges on one of them, possibly imitating a system of roof tiles (**Tc 40**, F. no. D1/4-20; from the same disturbed context as Fragment 1). Another piece is apparently to be understood as the model of a beam of rectangular section with a tooth-shaped projection from one surface (**Tc 37**, F. no. D1/4-21; same context). **Tc 38** may also possibly be a fragment from a model; it comes from a different context (D1/18b: Floor 1 in Building 1). The flat object **Tc 32** (F. no. D1/4-32) with painted decoration mentioned Nordquist 2005, 151 n. 1, has now been identified as a fragment from a stand. For all these pieces, see section **vii** (Voyatzis), 514–6.

<sup>2</sup> In an earlier version of this text (Nordquist 2005, 152) Fragment 2 was ascribed to the disturbed layers in the eastern trench due to a misidentification (see note 5 below). It has now been shown to derive from the B1T sondage in the northern part of the temple trench.

<sup>3</sup> See section **ii** (Nordquist), 70–1, for a description of this unit.

<sup>4</sup> Payne 1940, 35, pls 117.2 and 118; Drerup, *Baukunst*, 72–4, figs 57–58; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 35–6 no. 7, figs 7–8; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 64, fig. 499. The fragment measured 17.9 cm in length, and was found in the so-called sanctuary of Hera Akraia, in the votive deposit by the triglyph altar. It is now in the National Museum, Athens.

<sup>5</sup> The fragment was wrongly identified as Tex 359 in Nordquist 2005, 152. See note 2 above.

<sup>6</sup> For comparanda, see Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 106–8.



Figure 1. Fragment 1 (Tc 39). (Photo: M. Mauzy)



Figure 2. Fragment 1 (Tc 39). (Drawing: L. Kain)

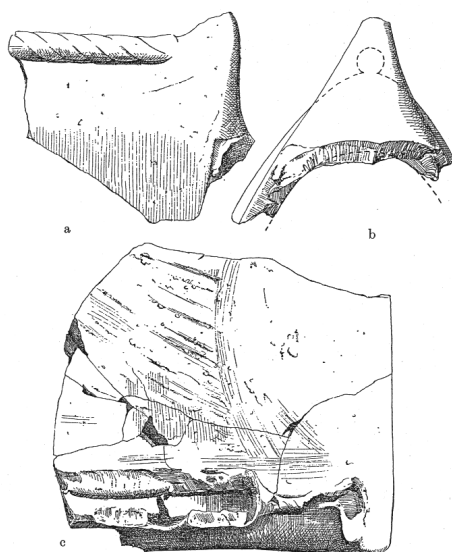


Figure 3. Fragment of a house model from Perachora. (After Payne 1940, pl. 117.2.)



Figure 4.a-c. Fragment 2 (Tc 41). (Photos: M. Mauzy)

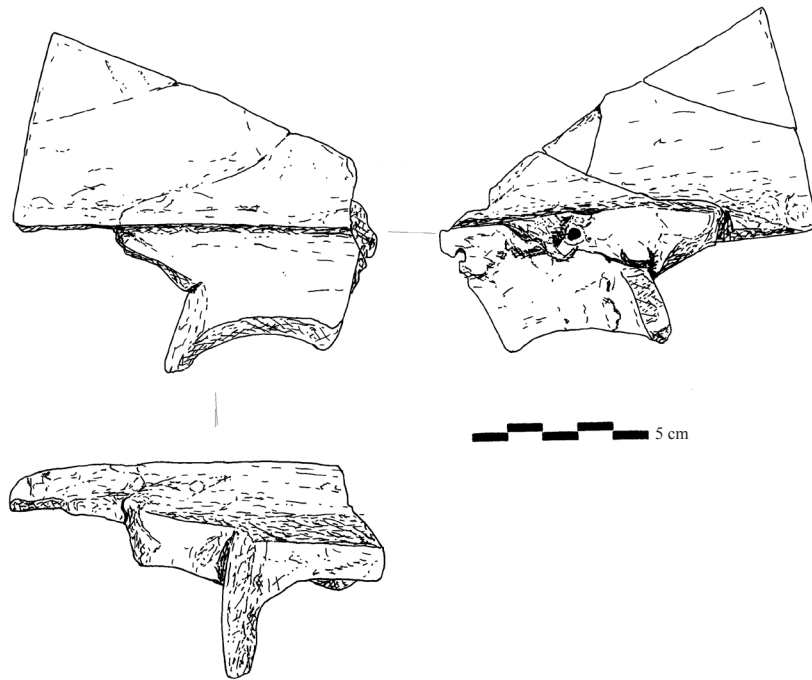


Figure 5. Fragment 2 (Tc 41). (Drawings: L. Kain)

as on some of the models from Samos.<sup>7</sup> It may also be interpreted as traces of a porch, limited by a wall, over which the roof extended.

*Find context:* This fragment can now be shown to belong to the finds from the unit B1T/21 in the northern part of the temple trench.<sup>8</sup>

*Comments:* The closest parallel to this item is the model from the Heraion at Argos. The Tegea fragment has a straight-sided saddled roof, as on the Heraion model, but on the Tegea model the roof extends over the walls to form eaves. The similarity with the Heraion model may tentatively be taken to suggest that the model was rectangular in plan, since the apsidal models tend to have rounded roof profiles, for example the well known Perachora A model.<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 6) Neither fragment has any trace of painted decoration preserved.

### Discussion

In his important study of Archaic building models, Schattner lists about 45 house models from Hera sanctuaries.<sup>10</sup> In the Heraion on Samos remains were

<sup>7</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 78–80 no. 38, fig. 37, pl. 21.1–2.

<sup>8</sup> See the description of this unit in section ii (Nordquist), 143–4 with Figs 59–60.

<sup>9</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 33–5 no. 6, fig. 6, pl. 4, with further references.

<sup>10</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 40–88 nos 10–45, and 97 no. 52, fig. 45, pl. 29.2, with further references. For Bronze Age models, see I. Schoep, “Home sweet home. Some comments on the so-called house models from the prehistoric Aegean,” *OpAth* 20, 1994, 189–210 and *ead.*, “Maquetas arquitectónicas prehelénicas en el Egea,” in *Centre* 1997, 83–9, with further references.

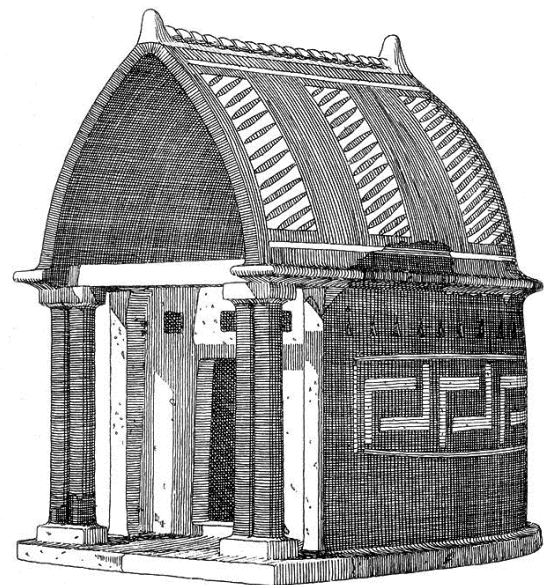


Figure 6. House model A from Perachora, reconstructed drawing. (After Payne 1940, pl. 9.b)

found of at least 35 models, of clay, limestone or poros, dating from the 8th to the 6th century.<sup>11</sup> Four more from the end of the 9th and early 8th centuries appeared in the Heraion at Perachora<sup>12</sup> and one in the Argive Heraion.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Drerup, *Baukunst*, 72; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Payne 1940, 34–51; Drerup, *Baukunst*, 72–4; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 33–9 nos 6–9, figs 6–10, pl. 4, with further references. Mazarakis Ainián, *From rulers' dwellings*, 64, suggests that they are reflections of contemporary buildings in the Corinthia, since their decoration proves that they are of Corinthian manufacture.

<sup>13</sup> Drerup, *Baukunst*, 70–1; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 22–6 no. 1, figs



To these may be added fragments from sanctuaries where the venerated divinity was not Hera, such as the two examples from the Acropolis of Athens.<sup>14</sup> In other cases the deity is unknown. Roof fragments, dated by stylistic criteria to the end of the 8th or early 7th century, were found at the Aetos sanctuary on Ithaca.<sup>15</sup>

Other models are later than these. Three fragments from Skillous in Elis dated 550–525 B.C.<sup>16</sup> are stray finds; a fragment from Nikoleika in Achaia, apparently Late Geometric, was found quite recently.<sup>17</sup> A limestone model from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta has a *terminus ante quem* of 570–560 B.C.,<sup>18</sup> and yet another Archaic stone model comes from the Parthenos sanctuary at Kavalla.<sup>19</sup> Further models are reported from Asia Minor<sup>20</sup> and the islands.<sup>21</sup> To these can be added models found in graves at Chaniala Tekke on Crete from the third quarter of the 9th century B.C.<sup>22</sup> and at Sellada on Thera,<sup>23</sup> from ca. 550–525 B.C.

The majority of the models are thus found in sanctuaries, but the exact find contexts are in most cases unknown. The four pieces from Perachora appeared in the votive deposit in the so-called Hera Akraia sanctuary, by the triglyph altar.<sup>24</sup> The preferred placing of the models in the Heraion on Samos seems to be two rather

limited areas:<sup>25</sup> one group comprising 11 models was concentrated in the north-eastern corner of the sanctuary, close to the altar at Naikos 1,<sup>26</sup> while a second group consists of models that were probably once placed in the South Hall.<sup>27</sup> Three more fragments were found in an area in the south-east that seemed to function mainly for storage of equipment.<sup>28</sup>

One of our fragments from Tegea appeared in the disturbed layers underneath the Classical temple that contained mostly Late Geometric material, but also some objects of later date, such as Archaic and Classical. This area had been cut by a trench (possibly a foundation trench) some time during the 7th century, and had also been further disturbed by the early excavators of the sanctuary. The other piece appeared in the layers found north of Building 2, but below the level of Building 1. The fragments of house models most likely belong to the little known transition between the Late Geometric and Early Archaic phase of the sanctuary, of which relatively few traces remains, but their original location is unknown.

The models found in the sanctuaries represent various house types, from gabled straight-sided to apsidal to flat-roofed houses. They are usually taken to reflect actual buildings of the same period. The features of the models, such as the rather small size, the painted clay walls, saddled roofs, the entrance placed usually in the short side with a porch or courtyard in front, are such as we can observe or postulate at for example Nichoria and in the case of our two early Tegean temples. Indeed, the models have often been used in studies of building typology. Schattner, for example, sees in them a chance to establish a typology of buildings: *oikoi*,<sup>29</sup> *oikoi* with a door in the side wall,<sup>30</sup> with short antae,<sup>31</sup> antae houses,<sup>32</sup> tower houses,<sup>33</sup> apsidal houses with and without short antae,<sup>34</sup> and oval houses.<sup>35</sup> The arrangements of columns, doors, roofs and windows have been studied in order to illuminate contemporary architectural practices.<sup>36</sup>

The function of the building models is more difficult to analyze, since a typology of the buildings seems to provide little information as to how they were used and for what

1 and 2.1–3, pl. 1; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 157–8, fig. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 26 no. 2, pl. 2.1–2, and *id.*, “Las maquetas arquitectónicas de la Grecia Antigua y su relación con la arquitectura de la época,” in *Centre* 1997, 90–4. He also (*Hausmodelle*, 94–6 no. 51) lists the building which is shown on the famous, so-called “Ölbaumgiebel”, found east of the Parthenon (Th. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, Kassel and Leipzig 1904, 197–204).

<sup>15</sup> Robertson 1948, 101, pl. 45; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 28–31 no. 4, fig. 4, pl. 2.5.

<sup>16</sup> Now in the museum at Olympia, inv. nos BE 803 (2553) and BE 1167 (2554), and the National Museum, Athens, inv. no. 11120: N. Yalouris, “Das Akroter des Heraions in Olympia,” *AM* 87, 1972, 92–3, pls 42–43; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 91–2 nos 47–49, pls 25, 26, 27.1–2, with further references; *Centre* 1997, 207–9 nos 52–54.

<sup>17</sup> *AR* 2007-08, 45, fig. 49; dated about 725–700.

<sup>18</sup> R.W.V. Catling, “A fragment of an Archaic temple model from Artemis Orthia, Sparta,” *BSA* 89, 1994, 269–75; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 92–4 no. 50, pl. 27.3–4, 28. Drerup, *Baukunst*, 69, pl. V.a, also mentions a model from Magna Graecia (from Sala Consilina, Lucania).

<sup>19</sup> *Centre* 1997, 212 no. 59; G. Bakalakis, “Νεάπολις – Χριστούπολις – Καβάλα,” *ArchEph* 1936, 28 no. 16, fig. 38. It is now in the Kavalla museum, inv. no. A 12. Similar models are found on Thasos: Ch. Picard, “Bas-relief ionien archaïque de Thasos,” *MonPiot* 20, 1913, 48 n. 1, fig. 4.

<sup>20</sup> For a marble fragment from Sardes: Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 31–2 no. 5, fig. 5, pl. 3.1–2, with further references, as well as for an andesite fragment from Larisa at the Hermos, now in the archaeological museum of Istanbul, inv. no. 72.4.

<sup>21</sup> A probably prehistoric model, said to come from the Agiasmata region, northeast of Zefiri on Melos, is in the Archaeological Museum of Melos, inv. no. 39: *Centre* 1997, 210 no. 56. Cf. Ph. Zappeiropoulou, “A prehistoric house model from Melos,” *AAA* 2, 1969, 406–8.

<sup>22</sup> Drerup, *Baukunst*, 71–2; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 27–8 no. 3, fig. 3, pl. 2.3–4: Protogeometric in date.

<sup>23</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 89–91 no. 46, pl. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Payne 1940, 30–2.

<sup>25</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 192–4.

<sup>26</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 192–3: deposits A, B and K.

<sup>27</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 194 n. 400. Deposits C and D appeared in the northern end of the sanctuary (five to seven models), and E and F to the west of the stream along the western side of the sanctuary (six models).

<sup>28</sup> Deposits J, G, and H, which contained one model each: Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 194. For the excavation, see G. Kopcke, “Heraion von Samos. Die Kampagnen 1961–1965 im Südtemenos, 8.–6. Jahrhundert,” *AM* 83, 1968, 250–314.

<sup>29</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 100–6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 106–8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 109–10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 110–3.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 113–5.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 116–9.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 119–23.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 99–190. See also A.E. Kalpaxis, *Früharchaische Baukunst in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Athens 1976, and Drerup, *Baukunst*,

purpose. As has been pointed out by Hiller and others,<sup>37</sup> the type of long buildings with an entrance on one of the short sides and sometimes an apsidal end, was perhaps established as *one* of the norms for early cult building of temple type during the Late Geometric period, whether we call it “megaron” or not. It is true that several apsidal houses from the Geometric period have been ascribed a cultic function, for example Unit IV-1, phase 2, at Nichoria, the successor to a rectilinear phase I of the same building.<sup>38</sup> Here the Daphnephoreion and other buildings at Eretria<sup>39</sup> and the so-called “temple of Hera Akraia” at Perachora<sup>40</sup> should also be mentioned, as well as the remains of our two early temples at Tegea; but apsidal houses were evidently also used for other purposes.<sup>41</sup>

However, if Mazarakis Ainian is right in seeing the development of the temple as starting from the cult in connection with (and in) the chieftains’ houses,<sup>42</sup> it is meaningless to try to establish an absolute distinction of cultic and secular building types in this early period.

It can therefore be suggested that the variety of types in these models indicates diversity, not necessarily of function, but of house types that were used for the same or similar function.<sup>43</sup> This is probably the underlying reason why no consensus has been reached whether these models symbolized temples of private houses;<sup>44</sup> the functional difference between the two was not expressed through their architectural shape until the later phases of the Archaic period.

<sup>37</sup> S. Hiller, “Apsisbauten in griechischen Heiligtümern,” in F. Blakolmer et al. (eds), *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1996*, vol. 1, Vienna 1996, 27–53.

<sup>38</sup> W.D.E. Coulson et al., “The Dark Age 2. The architecture,” in W.A. MacDonald and W.D.E. Coulson (eds), *Excavations at Nichoria in southwest Greece III, Dark Age and Byzantine occupation*, Minneapolis 1983, 19–42; but see section i (Østby), 22–3 notes 92 and 101, for other interpretations of the development here.

<sup>39</sup> In the so-called Aphrodite sanctuary and the remains of Building 1 in the northern part of the town: A. Mazarakis Ainian, “Geometric Eretria,” *AntK* 30, 1987, 10 and 14–6, fig. 9; *id.*, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 95 and 104.

<sup>40</sup> Temple of Hera Akraia: Payne 1940, 27–34; Drerup, *Baukunst*, 28; Fagerström, *Architektur*, 39–40; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 63–4, figs 186–187. Another example is Room II at Lathourea in Attica, lined with benches and with a hearth in front of it: H. Lauter, *Lathourea. Beiträge zur Architektur und Siedlungsgeschichte in spätgeometrischer Zeit* (Attische Forschungen 2), Mainz 1985, 17–8, fig. 2; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 236–9, figs 149–151; Fagerström, *Architektur*, 48–9, fig. 29 (with a different interpretation of the benches). Because of its large dimensions and its place underneath the temple Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 96, ascribed a cultic function to the large apsidal house (more than 13 m long) underneath the Artemis temple at Eleusis; no finds are reported from it, however. Cf. Drerup, *Baukunst*, 27.

<sup>41</sup> F. Lang, *Archaische Siedlungen in Griechenland. Struktur und Entwicklung*, Berlin 1996, 82. See also section i (Østby), 21–2.

<sup>42</sup> This is the main thesis of Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*.

<sup>43</sup> The fragment from Tegea does not allow any detailed determination as to the house type.

<sup>44</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 212: “Obwohl die Bedeutung der meisten Hausmodelle unbestimmt bleiben muss, meinen einige vermutlich Tempel, andere Wohnhäuser”. See further *ibid.* 210–2.

Of the many interpretations as to what the buildings represent that have been put forward, some are less likely, for example that they are models or maquettes made for building projects or toys or doll’s houses.<sup>45</sup> If both the architectural type and construction method were traditional, building models would have been superfluous. The latter suggestion is challenged by the fact that no finds can be placed in settlement contexts.

House models found in the sanctuaries are, as Schattner has shown, most likely votives – but what is their symbolic content?<sup>46</sup> Fagerström suggested, *à propos* the Perachora models, that they were the dedications of colonists setting out on their journey to the new country.<sup>47</sup> This hypothesis, as Mazarakis Ainian rightly points out,<sup>48</sup> is weakened by the fact that most of the models belong to a period before the peak of the colonization movement, and now also by the finds at an inland site as Tegea – hardly a suitable “Cape Farewell” for early colonists.

I believe that the models should be considered in a wider context and that their contextual content relates to expressions of symbolic behaviour in elite circles in a changing society, reflecting developments which may be distinguished in many ways during the Late Geometric and Early Archaic period. The emerging sanctuaries and the physical manifestations of cults connected with them became more and more important as arenas for symbolic behaviour during this phase. The space, the rituals and symbolic contexts offered by the sanctuaries would have been efficient vehicles for such functions. The manifestations may have taken the shape of cult buildings or temples, or as other monuments or votive objects in the sanctuaries; whatever form they took, they would have filled an important role in the interaction within and between the local elite families and the emerging polis states.<sup>49</sup>

In this context it must be remembered that the term *oikos* designates both the dwelling and the household, the

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of these theories, see Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 195–7 (maquettes), 197 (toys). He also discusses the scanty literary evidence for building models (194–5). No certain depictions of house models are known: *ibid.* 197.

<sup>46</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 210–2.

<sup>47</sup> Fagerström, *Architektur*, 157 n. 188.

<sup>48</sup> Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 64. The placing and the role of early sanctuaries have been much discussed, see e.g. F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, and *id.*, “Mediation, competition, and sovereignty: the evolution of rural sanctuaries in Geometric Greece,” in Alcock and Osborne (eds) 1994, 3–18; Chr. Sourvinou-Inwood, “Early sanctuaries, the eighth century and ritual space. Fragments of a discourse,” in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds), *Greek sanctuaries. New approaches*, London and New York 1993, 1–17; Morgan 1990; *ead.*, “The evolution of a sacral landscape,” in Alcock and Osborne (eds) 1994, 105–42; *ead.*, “The archaeology of sanctuaries in early Iron Age and archaic *ethne*: a preliminary view,” in Mitchell and Rhodes (eds) 1997, 168–98. Cf. also C.G. Simon, “The archaeology of cult in Geometric Greece: Ionian temples, altars and dedications,” in Langdon (ed.) 1997, 125–43.

<sup>49</sup> Morgan 1990; Langdon (ed.) 1997; I. Morris, “The art of citizenship,” in Langdon (ed.) 1997, 9–43. For a discussion of the role of the Dark Age leader or *basileus* and his relation to the *oikoi*, see also W. Donlan, “The relations of power in the pre-state and early state polities,” in Mitchell and Rhodes (eds) 1997, 39–48.

building, as well as the social group of family members and family property that centred on it.<sup>50</sup> Expressed in another way, the *oikos*, the building, can be seen as a physical expression of the *oikos*, the family. The building, especially the monumentalized building, can thus be seen as an expression of a family's social, political and ideological ambitions and identity: the focal point of the *oikos*, the basic social unit that, at least from the Classical period on, came into being through a marriage.<sup>51</sup> Seen in this context, the models found in the graves, as well as those usually identified with grain silos, fall into place, the latter as repositories for the household's produce and property, as expressions of the *oikia*, as well as of the *oikonomia*.<sup>52</sup> Hesiod (*Op.* 30–32) strongly associated the *oikos* as a building with the storage of grain for the family: the good farmer should have a year's supply of grains stored within the *oikos*.<sup>53</sup> The models are the result of one manifestation, among many, of the ambitions of the aristocratic families in the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods.

When these manifestations became important on a human level, the *oikos* of the deity would have been equally important, as a reflection of the human life and society. Within the context of cult, the monumentalization of the *oikos*, now as the cult building or temple, belongs to the same general context of social symbolism: a physical expression of the homes of the deities in a human sphere, and at the same time a visual expression of the process of shaping an identity for the women and men participating in the cult in the sanctuary.

The house models are mostly found in connection with female deities,<sup>54</sup> and Hera is the dominant recipient. Other goddesses may also have received house models, e.g. Artemis, in the shape of the limestone model from the Orthia sanctuary. The finds from Ithaka also come from a sanctuary that has been ascribed to a goddess.<sup>55</sup> A second limestone model comes from the sanctuary of Parthenos in ancient Neapolis, modern Kavalla,<sup>56</sup> and similarly the finds at Tegea come from the sanctuary of a female deity, who we know was later assimilated with Athena.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of the term *oikos* in Hesiod, see Edwards 2005, 35 and 83–9. Hesiod's world is discussed also in Schmidt 2004, 27–104.

<sup>51</sup> Pomeroy 1997, 21–2; W.K. Lacey, *The family in Classical Greece*, London 1968, 127–9. See also L. Foxhall, "Household, gender and property in Classical Athens," *CQ* 3, 1980, 22–44.

<sup>52</sup> Arist. *Pol.* I 1252b, 12–16, sees the *oikos* as a natural grouping; the family with a man and his wife, children and slaves and its *oikonomia* is the building stone for society, cf. Schmidt 2004, 9–10.

<sup>53</sup> See the discussion by Edwards 2005, 86–9.

<sup>54</sup> Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 205–7.

<sup>55</sup> Robertson 1948, 123.

<sup>56</sup> For this piece, see note 19 above.

<sup>57</sup> Athena seems also to have received house models at Athens at a later date; at least Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 94–6, suggests that the building on the famous "Ölbaumgiebel" should be seen as a house model. For further Classical models, see also L. Haselberger, "Semenjanzas arquitectónicas – maquetas y planos en la Antigüedad clásica," in *Centre* 1997, 95–104.

How does this history of female recipients fit into our understanding of the social development of the time? The period is usually perceived as one where members of the elite *oikoi* competed within their local aristocratic groups and between the groups with behaviour such as conspicuous consumption, and displays of wealth and athletic prowess; but within this society the sexes had separate roles to fulfil. Much of the competition seems to have been within the male sphere: the male athletic displays during the games are the best examples,<sup>58</sup> as well as military displays during cult ceremonies, such as can be seen later in the Panathenaia procession. The men's fields of activities and network of contacts extended far beyond the dwelling house, and these aspects have been most studied by modern scholars.

However, the women would also have played a role in the *oikos*, in the elite formation and in the building of aristocratic ideology. Both men and women worked for the *oikos*: even if their spheres differed, they were complementary to each other.<sup>59</sup> The aristocratic wife and mistress of the household received the family guests and had, especially in matrilocal marriages, the authority and security that came with being on her home ground, surrounded by her relatives.<sup>60</sup> Within the elite families, the married woman's sphere would have been the home and the family; her roles were to identify herself with the ambitions of the *oikos*, the family and the building, and to support the family. As Penelope in the *Odyssey*, her role was to keep her house and stores in order and take care of them, as well as her husband and children and other people, including servants and slaves, belonging to the *oikos*. Such a model wife is later the chief administrator of the *oikos* in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and it is a role that became especially evident in Spartan society.<sup>61</sup> A woman's or at least a wife's authority, as far as it existed, was connected with and focused on the house.<sup>62</sup>

Female deities are the supreme, divine women, the female representatives of the divine house, *oikos*; and it is no surprise, then, that it is Hera, the married woman *par excellence* and their protectress, who during the Early Archaic period received so many houses dedicated to her, both in the form of models and as full-scale temples.

The importance of the house of the deity was also expressed in other ways. The epithet *kleidouchos*, "key bearer", used as a symbol of power, may go back to the Bronze Age.<sup>63</sup> The epithet is connected with several deities in the ancient textual material, especially with

<sup>58</sup> For this development, see Morgan 1990.

<sup>59</sup> Naerebout 1987, esp. 117–8; Pomeroy 1997, esp. 22.

<sup>60</sup> Schmidt 2004, 213–7.

<sup>61</sup> Pomeroy 1997, 39–62.

<sup>62</sup> Naerebout 1987. It seems as if this role for the women became, at least in ideology, reduced in Classical Athens, to judge from Ar. *Theism.* 422–423.

<sup>63</sup> The Linear B sequence *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* has been identified with *kleidouchos*: J.T. Hooker, *Linear B. An introduction*, Bristol 1980, 111. See also Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 205–6, n. 453; Mantis 1990, 28 n. 52; Roscher 1218 s.v. *kleidouchos*; *DarSag* s.v. "sera".



Hekate<sup>64</sup> and Persephone<sup>65</sup> as guardians of the door to the House of Hades, but Hera and Athena are also associated with the term.<sup>66</sup> It is also used symbolically: Dike carries the keys as the guardian between night and day according to Parmenides (frg. 1.14). Likewise, the temple of Athena at Troy has a door with a lock and key that was in the hands of the priestess Theano (Hom. *Il.* 6.89), and Iphigenia, in her role as priestess of Artemis at Tauris, is often depicted carrying the temple key.<sup>67</sup> It also appears in the titles of priestesses of goddesses such as Hera and Athena.<sup>68</sup>

Temple keys have been found at many ancient Greek sites. An early bronze key, 50 cm long, comes from the temple of Artemis at Lusoi in Arcadia.<sup>69</sup> The long key to the temple door, depicted as a bar bent twice at right angles, is an important iconographic signifier of priestesses, as the sacrificial knife is for male priests;<sup>70</sup> male key bearers are rare.<sup>71</sup> The key-bearer instead becomes one type of depiction of priestesses on a group of Attic grave stelai of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>72</sup> The type appears also in other media, especially vase painting, from the Late Archaic period onwards,<sup>73</sup> and in the 2nd century B.C. the key was sometimes carved beneath the name on funerary monuments to priestesses.<sup>74</sup> The key to the house became

in this way a powerful symbol for female authority, that is, a priestess's right and duty to care for the house of the deity.

Early keys are also said to appear in women's tombs in Sicily from the 10th century B.C.,<sup>75</sup> and can in such contexts also be seen as a symbol of the married woman's right and duty to care for the household and, as Penelope, to guard the keys (Hom. *Od.* 21.5–7 and 46–49). The term *kleidouchos* may also have had more everyday connotations; in later periods it was used also for "key bearer" in the private life, to judge from the definition in Hesychius.<sup>76</sup> The married women would have been the keepers of the door keys to the *oikos*.<sup>77</sup> Against this argument can be cited the famous text in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae* (422–423), where the women complain over their horrible husbands who locked the storage with Laconian keys; but this text can hardly be taken as typical of daily life. Instead it brings up the gluttony and insobriety of the women's orgies during the Thesmophoria, as perceived by the men. It is also possible that the women's roles as guardians of the family stores may have been lost in the notoriously sexist Classical Athens. It may be argued that, as the women's authority generally became more limited, the priestess's right to carry the key to the divine *oikos* would have had increasing symbolic significance.

The Geometric and Early Archaic finds at Tegea suggests that a female deity was venerated. It seems likely that she had the task of representing in some form a female authority and power, as *despoina* over her house. The parallel finds of house models favour identification of this deity with goddesses such as Hera or Athena. She also had other aspects: military, as suggested by finds of miniature weapons, and fertility aspects, as Mary Voyatzis has demonstrated.<sup>78</sup> The building models also indicate that she had the role as protector of the house or the *oikos*. Later she was assimilated with Athena.

Should then these building models be seen as models of the divine house, in other words the temple, or of its human equivalent? Perhaps the best way of looking at them is: both, or neither. They should be seen as expressions of the increasing concern for family and group identification or identities, the *oikos* both in its physical and symbolic form, and as identification with the divine house and the goddess who holds the power over both.

<sup>64</sup> For deities as *kleidouchoi* in general, see Mantis 1990, 32–9. For Hekate, Th. Krauss, *Hekate. Studien zur Wesen und Bild der Göttin in Kleinasien und Griechenland*, Heidelberg 1960, 48–50; S.I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteira. A study of Hekate's roles in the Chaldean oracles and related literature* (American Classical Studies 21), Atlanta 1990, 39–48.

<sup>65</sup> Mantis 1990, 35–6; Kern, *Orph. frag.* 316.

<sup>66</sup> For Hera, see Mantis 1990, 32–4; for Athena, *ibid.* 36–8 and 74–5; as Pallas, Ar. *Thesm.* 1139–1142. Roscher 1217–8 s.v. *kleidouchos*; Plin. *HN* 34.54.

<sup>67</sup> Mantis 1990, 52–6; L. Kahil, s.v. "Iphigenia," in *LIMC* V.1 (1990), 713–5 nos 14 and 18–25. Iphigenia as *kleidouchos* of Artemis: Eur. *IT*, 131.

<sup>68</sup> For priestesses, see Connelly 2007. Priestesses depicted as *kleidouchos* are discussed by Mantis 1990, 40–65 and Connelly 2007, esp. 14, 92–104 and 229–38. For Io as *kleidouchos*, priestess, of Hera, Aesch. *Suppl.* 291, cf. Phoronis frg. 4, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 974.23, and III 172.7; cf. Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 205, notes 454–455. Mantis 1990, 29, discusses the origin of the title. For Athena, see Aesch. *Suppl.* 291.

<sup>69</sup> H. Wilsdorf, s.v. "Schloss," in *Lexikon der Antike*, Bayreuth 1985 (6th ed.), 504; cf. M. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston 1971, 435 no. 638. An iron chain, said to be part of a locking device was also found by the "Thorgebäude": W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm, "Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lusoi," *ÖJh* 4, 1901, 19 and 59. For further finds of keys, see Mantis 1990, 114–5, with references. Bronze and silver keys were also dedicated as votives by priestesses: Connelly 2007, 93.

<sup>70</sup> Connelly 2007, 14 and 230.

<sup>71</sup> Mantis 1990, 83; Connelly 2007, 93.

<sup>72</sup> Mantis 1990; Connelly 2007, 93–4 and 229–38. *Ibid.*, 93–4, she suggests that the grave reliefs may have been inspired by free-standing bronze sculpture.

<sup>73</sup> Connelly 2007, 93–5, suggests that the iconography was already established by the late 6th or early 5th century, citing Classical Cypriot statues and a statement by Pliny (*HN* 34.76) that Pheidias made a *kleidouchos*, later taken to Rome. For the influence of drama on representations of the *kleidouchos* in vase painting, see Connelly 97–103.

<sup>74</sup> Connelly 2007, 103, 243, 246.

<sup>75</sup> P. James and N. Thorpe, *Ancient inventions*, New York 1994, 469. Keys were also found in female Egyptian tombs: *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> S.v. "kleidouchos". For further discussion, see Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 205–6.

<sup>77</sup> Connelly 2007, 92. For keys in Roman marriage ceremonies, see S. Treggiari, *Roman marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian*, Oxford 1991, 442.

<sup>78</sup> Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*. See also section i (Østby), 14.

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