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TEGEA I

**INVESTIGATIONS IN THE TEMPLE
OF ATHENA ALEA 1991–94**

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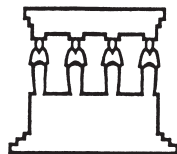
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Erik Østby: THE SANCTUARY OF ALEA AT TEGEA IN THE PRE-CLASSICAL PERIOD

Origin and early development of the sanctuary

According to the review of Arcadian origins provided by Pausanias, Tegea was founded as a community and owed its name to Tegeates, one of the many grandsons of Pelasgos who created such communities in Arcadia in the third generation after the mythical ancestor of the Arcadian people. This Tegeates, probably an eponymous figure created from the toponym and not based on genuine, old traditions, was said to have created eight out of the traditional nine districts or δήμοι where the inhabitants of Tegea were settled.¹ (*Fig. 1*) Three more generations were to pass, however, before Aleos, son of Apheidas who had created the ninth deme,² chose Tegea as his residence and the centre of his Arcadian kingdom and established the sanctuary of Athena Alea; elsewhere in the same text he is also proclaimed as “the founder of the present-day city” (τῆς δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν πόλεως οἰκιστῆς).³ His daughter Auge became the

first priestess of the goddess, was seduced or raped by Heracles at the fountain in the sanctuary, and gave birth to their son Telephos; he was then miraculously saved from the king’s attempts to eliminate him, and in some way or other emigrated to Asia Minor, where he was later claimed by the Pergamene kings as the mythical ancestor of their community. For this reason his story became a favourite subject in Pergamene official art.⁴ (*Fig. 2*) The story as such is best known from late sources, when it had gained notoriety because of the Pergamene interest in it; but Auge’s fate was exploited in lost tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides. Pausanias twice cites Hekataios as a source for her affair with Heracles, and there is even earlier evidence for the story in a fragment of Hesiod.⁵ Evidently it had ancient origins, and it would take the foundation of the city, as well as the sanctuary, back to three generations before the Trojan War according to the Arcadian genealogy exposed by Pausanias; his text states that the great-grandson of Aleos, Agapenor, had brought the Arcadian contingent to Troy and afterwards, prevented by violent storms from returning, landed in

¹ Tegeates as first founder: Paus. 8.3.4, as responsible for the eight δήμοι (with their names): 8.45.1. (See below, p. 21 with note 82, for the mid-8th century as a probable date of these developments.) Funerary monuments (μνήματα) for Tegeates and his wife Maera were seen by Pausanias on the agora: 8.48.6; cp. Casevitz and Jost 2002, 278–9, Moggi and Osanna 2003, 512, and for the late invention of the figure Pretzler 1999, 91 and 112. On the topographical distribution of the demes: Callmer 1943, 128–31; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 157; Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 10–1, fig. 2 (here, *Fig. 1*); Casevitz and Jost 2002, 269–70; but see note 54 below for the problem concerning the Apheidantes. The early Arcadian king list is provided by Paus. 8.1.4–5.13; see Casevitz and Jost 2002, xx–xxii and 161–8, Moggi and Osanna 2003, 291–317 (292 for references to recent discussions on this unusual document), and Heine Nielsen 2002, 45–6, and Burelli Bergese 1995, 28–9, for early sources (Pherekydes, Hekataios, Ephoros and others) where the early kings were mentioned. Burelli Bergese considers Pausanias’ list a trustworthy source, while J. Roy, “The sons of Lykaon in Pausanias’ Arcadian king-list,” *BSA* 63, 1968, 287–92, sees it as pieced together by the author himself from scattered, probably oral sources; they cannot be considered as chronologically reliable.

² Paus. 8.45.1; see last note. The demes were nine also according to Strabo, 8.3.2, who does not name them. Another organization of the population in four tribes (φύλα) is attested by Paus. 8.53.6 and inscriptions, and is probably later; see Callmer 1943, 131–5, Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 143 and 148, Casevitz and Jost 2002, 288, Heine Nielsen 2002, 595–6, and below.

³ Aleos’ position and activity at Tegea: Paus. 8.4.8 (residence and centre of the Arcadian kingdom); 8.45.1 (founder of the city) and 8.45.4 (of

the sanctuary). His presumed residence was seen by Pausanias (8.53.10, without topographical indications). On the traditions concerning Aleos *RE* I.1 (1893), 1365 (Thrämer); *LIMC* I.1 (1981), 482–4 (Bauchhenss-Thüriedl). See pp. 53–4 for a more extensive discussion of the events ascribed to him.

⁴ For the myth and its usage in ancient art see H. Heres and M. Strauss, in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 856–70, s.v. Telephos, and Chr. Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst*, Würzburg 1971. The most ambitious representation is certainly the “small frieze” from the Pergamon altar, thoroughly discussed in the exposition catalogue W.D. Heilmeyer (ed.), *Der Pergamonaltar, Die neue Präsentation nach Restaurierung des Telephosfrieze*, Berlin 1997, particularly in the contribution by H. Heres, 99–120. On the painting from Herculaneum reproduced as *Fig. 2*, see e.g. L. Curtius, *Pompeianische Malerei*, Leipzig 1929, 5 fig. 2, 229–38; M. Robertson, *A history of Greek art*, Cambridge 1975, 577–8, pl. 187.d.

⁵ There are allusions to this story in Paus. 8.4.9, 8.47.4 (both with the reference to Hekataios) and 8.48.7, but it is more completely narrated by Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.4 and 3.9.1. See for the different traditions concerning Auge *RE* II.2 (1896) s.v. Auge, 2300–6 (Wernicke), and on Telephos at Tegea *RE* V A.1 (1934) s.v. Telephos, 362–3 (Schwenn); *LIMC* III.1 (1986), 45–6, s.v. Auge (Bauchhenss-Thüriedl); Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 372–3 and 376–8; Pretzler 1999, 91–2 and 113–4; Casevitz and Jost 2002, 166 and 276. The fragment of Hesiod: Merkelbach and West 1967, 80–1 no. 165.

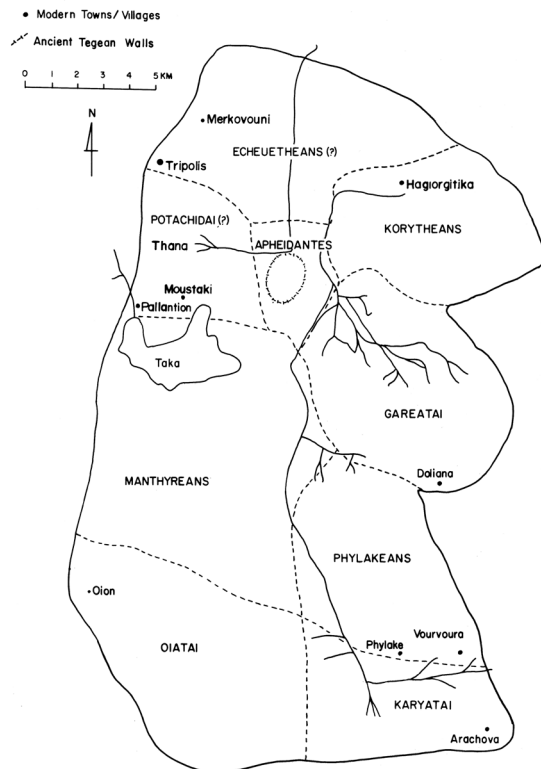


Figure 1. Presumed territorial distribution of the demes of Tegea. (After Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, fig. 2)

Cyprus and settled there at Paphos with his Arcadians.⁶ This tradition provides a mythical explanation for the close relation which doubtless exists between the Arcadian and the Cypriot-Greek dialects and must have a historical reason; their common origin in a pre-Doric, Peloponnesian version of the Greek language is indicated by their close, linguistic relation to the Greek of the Linear B-tablets.⁷ At a mythological level the ancient origin of the Tegeans, and Arcadians in general, was supported by the story of Echemos, king of Tegea and Arcadia before Agapenor, who fought a duel at the Isthmos with Hyllus, son of Heracles, and thus blocked his attempt

⁶ Paus. 8.5.2. Agapenor as leader of the Arcadian group against Troy: *Il.* 2.609; see also Pretzler 1999, 92 (and Paus. 8.28.4, commented by Casevitz and Jost 2002, 225, and Moggi and Osanna 2003, 427, for a different tradition ascribing the leadership to a certain Teuthis from the community with the same name). There are serious inconsistencies in the chronological and genealogical system here; see Moggi and Osanna 2003, 312–3, and *ibid.*, 313–4, on the connections with Cyprus. For these connections, discussing traditional, linguistic and archaeological evidence, Voyatzis 1985 provides a useful summary.

⁷ For the dialect and its connections with Cypriot and Mycenaean Greek, see Burelli Bergese 1995, 10–1; L. Dubois, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, Louvain 1986; and sections in the general manuals on Greek dialectology (C.D. Buck, *The Greek dialects*, Chicago 1955, 7–8 and 144–7; R. Schmitt, *Einführung in die griechischen Dialekte*, Darmstadt 1991², 82–7, 114, 122–33). See also J.M. Hall, *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity*, Cambridge 1997, 153–70, for a recent discussion of the historical implications of this picture, and Heine Nielsen 2002, 74–6, for the dialect as a criterion for Arcadian ethnicity.



Figure 2. Heracles discovering Telephos being nursed by a deer, in front of the personification of Arcadia. Wall painting from Herculaneum, reflecting a Pergamene original; now in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico in Naples.

to invade and settle in the Peloponnese.⁸ Like the other Arcadians, the Tegeans claimed to be autochthonous, never replaced by foreign invaders.⁹ Pausanias' lengthy descriptions of ancient cults and primitive myths, which still existed in Arcadia in the 2nd century A.D., provide a good impression of the degree of cultural continuity which must have existed here and seems to go unusually far back in time.¹⁰

Taken at face value, these traditions might take the history of Tegea as well as her principal sanctuary far back into the Mycenaean era, and they have actually been

⁸ Hdt. 9.26; Diod. Sic. 4.58; Paus. 8.45.3. The return of the Heraclids was thus delayed by 100 years according to Herodotus, by 50 according to Diodoros. Echemos was mentioned as king of Tegea and all Arcadia in a fragment from the *Ehoiai* by Hesiod (Merkelbach and West 1967, 14 no. 23.a vv. 31–33); see Heine Nielsen 2002, 94 with notes 33–34. See also *LIMC* III.1 (1986), 675–6, s.v. Echemos (U. Kron); Burelli Bergese 1995, 18–22; Pretzler 1999, 94–5 and 116–7. A relief found at Tegea (*LIMC* III.2, pl. 533) depicts this fight and may be from the monument to Echemos seen by Pausanias; see Y. Pikoulas, “Τεγεατικά, Ἐχέμος,” *Archaiognosia* 2, 1981, 283–6.

⁹ See Burelli Bergese 1995, 61–89, for a thorough discussion of this tradition and its background; it may go back at least to Hesiod, and is repeatedly referred to by Herodotus (*ibid.* 62–4). See also *ibid.*, 80–1, for a discussion of a fragment of Aristotle (fig. 591 Rose), apparently the only place in ancient literature which seems to convey the idea that there had been an early invasion in Arcadia.

¹⁰ For an extensive, general treatment of these traditions, see Jost, *Sanctuaires*; Casevitz and Jost 2002, and Moggi and Osanna 2003, for detailed commentaries to the text by Pausanias.

used to support a theory of a strong Mycenaean kingship covering all or most of Arcadia, based at Tegea.¹¹ The traditions reported by Pausanias and others can hardly be accepted as historical evidence for such a hypothesis, but the important position of Tegea and her rulers in the Arcadian context which they imply for early times is to some degree supported by the passage on the Arcadian contingent against Troy in the Catalogue of Ships in the Iliad, led by Agapenor. Admittedly he is not explicitly defined here as ruler of Tegea; but the toponym appears here for the first time in a Greek text, as one of the nine Arcadian communities participating in the expedition.¹² Written evidence for the name may reach even further back, if Tegea actually is one of those Aegean place-names mentioned in a famous inscription from the funerary temple of Amenophis III at Kôm-el-Hettan in Egypt. If this is correct, Tegea already had an importance sufficient to deserve this kind of international recognition as early as the 14th century B.C.¹³ This is admittedly one of the most discussed names in this exciting text, but given the context in which it appears, implying some Aegean and preferably Peloponnesian name, it seems difficult to avoid the identification.

Tegea has no monumental Mycenaean remains of the type associated with the palace sites elsewhere in the Peloponnese, which is one reason why the hypothesis of an Arcadian kingdom based on Tegea in the Mycenaean period is difficult to maintain. But there is sufficient archaeological evidence from prehistoric times in the Tegean territory to demonstrate that there was human settlement there far back in time, and that the site was settled and was of considerable importance in the Mycenaean period; some of these remains, such as the tholos tombs with luxury goods at Analipsi, are of a type to suggest that there existed, at least at a local level, a state with the necessary resources for quite impressive, common enterprises.¹⁴ Such a state could hardly

have survived the transition to the Iron Age without disintegrating.¹⁵ But the geographical position of Tegea, controlling a well-watered plain on the easiest travelling route from the Argolid to Messenia and Laconia, was in any case one which the Mycenaean rulers in these two districts would hardly have found it possible to ignore. Throughout its history this position always made Tegea a particular case in the Arcadian context, more closely connected than the rest of the region with political and cultural developments elsewhere in Greece – for better, and for worse.

As for the sanctuary of Athena Alea, the tradition that it was founded by Aleos, as transmitted by Pausanias, might seem to carry its origin back into the same Bronze Age period if his life and activity are correctly to be located before the Trojan War. The notice by the same author that the altar for the goddess was founded or even constructed by the mythical Argive seer Melampous would point in the same direction.¹⁶ Such a date for the origin of the sanctuary can certainly not be taken at face value, at least at the present stage of our knowledge of the site, which does not provide positive evidence for its function as a sanctuary earlier than the 10th century B.C.¹⁷ Neither can its origin be linked up with the foundation of the city, not if this is to be understood as the establishment of the demes attributed to Tegeates, and far less if the unification of the nine demes is meant, as Pausanias does in his text; already the former development is

¹¹ This hypothesis was argued by B. Sergent, "Le royaume d'Arcadie à l'époque mycénienne," *Index* 9, 1980, 77–97; see Burelli Bergese 1995, 14–6, for a useful, critical discussion.

¹² The section on the Arcadian contingent: Hom. *Il.* 2.603–611. Recent discussions tend to consider the catalogue as integrated part of the epos as created probably in the 8th century B.C. (so e.g. E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe*, Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997, 532–54 on the Arcadian contingent; and J. McInerney, *The folds of Parnassos: land and ethnicity in ancient Phokis*, Austin 1997, 120–7; cp. also G. Kirk, *The Iliad: A commentary* I, Cambridge 1985, 170–7 and 217–8); but it remains likely that the author was using traditions going back to Mycenaean times, as argued from an archaeological perspective particularly by J.F. Lazenby and R. Hope-Simpson, *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford 1970, 153–7 (92 and 94 on the evidence for Tegea and Arcadia).

¹³ See Burelli Bergese 1995, 13, with literature on this issue n. 16. The doubts on the identification with Tegea expressed by P.W. Haider, *Griechenland – Nordafrika. Ihre Beziehungen zwischen 1500 und 600 v.Chr.*, Darmstadt 1988, 4 with n. 11, seem unfounded since the name appears in a context of certainly Peloponnesian place-names; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979, 31, accepts the identification.

¹⁴ On Mycenaean Arcadia in general, see Burelli Bergese 1995, 10–7, and for the archaeological evidence the recent inventory by E. Salavoura,

"Μυκηναϊκή Αρκαδία, αποτίμηση των γνώσεών μας," in Østby (ed.), *Arcadia*, 35–48; for a general survey of prehistoric material from the region R. Howell, "A survey of Eastern Arcadia in prehistory," *BSA* 65, 1970, 79–127 (88–96 on Tegean territory). Some important Mycenaean monuments and sites in the neighbourhood are discussed by J. Knauss, "Der Damm der Takka-See beim alten Tegea (Arkadien, Peloponnes)," *AM* 103, 1988, 25–36, and by K. Kalogeropoulos, *Die frühmykenischen Grabfunde von Analipsi (südöstliches Arkadien)*, (*BiblArchEt* 175), Athens 1998. Petrakis 2002 is a useful publication on the abundant prehistoric material going back to the Early Neolithic from pre-war excavations at Hagiorgitika, 6 km north of Alea; for an updated review of prehistoric sites in the area of Tegea, see p. 13 and figs 2–3 there. See p. 15, with notes 34–35, for Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean material from the sanctuary; more information will be forthcoming with the publication of the Norwegian survey of the years 1999–2001 in *Tegea III*.

¹⁵ There is a possibility that the demes, a word for local, administrative units attested at village level in the Linear B tablets from Pylos (J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean world*, Cambridge and New York 1976, 76–7; *id.*, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1973², 233–5), may go back to a Bronze Age origin, but hardly without important changes which cannot now be traced. In Arcadia, where there is little evidence for strong breaks from the Bronze to the Iron Age, such continuity may be more likely than elsewhere.

¹⁶ See pp. 50–4 for a more likely date of the events ascribed to Aleos. On Melampous, *RE* XV.1 (1934) s.v. Melampous, 392–9 (Pley); for a recent discussion, see M. Jost, "La légende de Mélampous en Argolide et dans le Péloponnèse," in M. Piérart (ed.), *Polydipsion Argos* (*BCH* Suppl. 22), Paris 1992, 173–84 (182 on his connection with Tegea). Ancient genealogy made him son of Amyntaon, half-brother of Pelias, and thus an approximate contemporary of Agapenor. He was frequently cited as a founder of cults and sanctuaries. On the altar, see Paus. 8.47.3; see pp. 48–9 for the early altars and the problems connected with them.

¹⁷ See pp. 18–9.

probably later than the first evidence for cult in the sanctuary, the latter certainly is.¹⁸ The demes may have a background in Mycenaean territorial organization, and the unification or political synoecism at Tegea may go further back in time than generally admitted, but in the 10th century B.C. any political organization here as elsewhere in the Peloponnese must have been on a very simple, probably quite informal level. Essentially, this tradition reflects the importance of the sanctuary as the principal religious site in the Tegean territory during the historical period. As such it is clearly defined by the space allotted to it in Pausanias' description of Tegea, and by the impressive archaeological remains which can still be admired there and which are unparalleled elsewhere in the city. Nonetheless, this position was clearly the result of developments which can hardly go as far back as the first centuries of the sanctuary's existence, when its physical structure seems to have been quite modest. There may be a core of historical truth in the connection between the creation of the city as an organized polis and the important, later developments in the sanctuary, perhaps even connected with a man whose name is so clearly derived from the name of the goddess; but if this is the case, events of a later period have been pushed back to mythical times perhaps in order to increase their prestige.¹⁹

There is no reason to doubt that the cult in the sanctuary concerned the purely local goddess named Alea from the outset. In the pan-Hellenic pantheon she has no place, but she was also known elsewhere in eastern Arcadia and even gave name to one of the smaller settlements there.²⁰ Outside Arcadia she is attested only as a marginal figure at Sparta and, as an epiklesis of Hera, at Sikyon;²¹ in the latter case the context makes it likely that the name was somehow connected with the concept of protection or asylum, a function for which the sanctuary at Tegea had some renown in the Classical period and later.²² The

name is first attested on an inscription from Tegea of the later 6th century B.C.; in texts it appears only in the 5th.²³ As far as it is possible to make out from the scarce sources and from the character of the early votive objects, she seems to have been essentially a fertility goddess, apparently somehow connected with water,²⁴ which may contribute to explain the position of her sanctuary near a natural spring and, in the early periods, within a westward loop of the river which ran close by the sanctuary to the south, west and north and frequently flooded its lower parts.²⁵ Early dedications of miniature weapons from contexts of the 8th and 7th centuries suggest that there was also a martial aspect to her character, as would befit a goddess concerned with defence and protection, even before she became associated with Athena.²⁶ She may thus from the outset have had some common ground with this other locally important goddess, which created the basis for that association with her which took place later, in the 6th or possibly the late 7th century.²⁷ Athena had an ancient cult and a sanctuary of her own elsewhere at Tegea, where she was worshipped with the epiklesis Poliatis and considered protectress and bulwark (ἔστυμα) of the city. According to Pausanias, this sanctuary would also go back to mythical times before the Trojan War, since it had allegedly been founded by Kepheus, son of Aleos. Ancient traditions stated that a magical talisman, a lock of Medusa's hair, had been given by Athena as a guarantee for the city's freedom and kept in that sanctuary; the story is reflected on Tegean coins.²⁸ Since

U. Sinn, "Greek sanctuaries as places of refuge," in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Greek sanctuaries: New approaches*, London and New York 1994, 88–109 (reprinted in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford readings in Greek religion*, Oxford 2000, 155–79).

²³ The inscription: *IG* V.2, 75; Jeffery 1961, 215 no. 5, pl. 40; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 369. See below, note 27, for the earliest texts, where the name is already joined with Athena's.

²⁴ Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 373–4, focuses particularly on these two aspects, using some early votive objects as evidence; but she also discusses a possible connection with sun and heat. She takes a position against Stiglitz 1967, 90, who saw a πότνια θηρῶν-aspect in her character. Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 269–73, and again *ead.* 1998, 138–41, attempts to sketch her character through early votive objects from Tegea. Possibly the frequent use of pyxides as votive objects indicates a particular female interest in the cult (see section iii, Voyatzis, 204 with note 43; also *ead.* 1998, 140), but this was hardly exclusive; see note 26 below.

²⁵ See *Tegea* II, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe); also Ødegård 2010, 11.

²⁶ Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 378–81, sees her martial character as a consequence of the assimilation with Athena, but it is likely to be original. See Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 198–200 for models of weapons and armour from the early votive deposits, and 270 (and *ead.* section vii, 495, 499 and 503); no such material is reported from the bothros, however.

²⁷ See Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 368–70 (now also *ead.*, "The religious system in Arcadia," in D. Ogden (ed.), *A companion to Greek religion*, Malden, Oxford and Carlton 2007, 270–1) for this process, for which there are indirect indications from the 6th century and textual evidence (beginning with Hdt. 1.66 and 9.70) from the 5th. It is noteworthy, however, that the name Alea frequently appears isolated until Roman times, and that Alea when linked with Athena regularly comes first (with Pausanias as the only significant exception).

²⁸ The basic source for the sanctuary and its traditions is Paus. 8.47.5, but Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.3, has a different version of the myth where

¹⁸ These points will be further discussed below, pp. 15–8 and 51.

¹⁹ This possibility will be further discussed pp. 50–1. See note 1 above for the problematic nature of Pausanias' sources.

²⁰ For her character and the traditions concerning her, see conveniently Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 369–78, where the evidence for cults at Alea is discussed (only known from Paus. 8.23.1), Mantinea (inscriptions *IG* V.2, 262 and 271, with some evidence for an oracular function) and Tegea. She rightly takes position (p. 375) against the old idea that she was a figure introduced from Argos by immigrants taking refuge from Dorian invaders (so Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 1–5, and others), and (pp. 376–8) against a recent hypothesis (Stiglitz 1967, 86–90) seeing her as a development from or a substitution of Auge as an earlier goddess in the Tegean sanctuary.

²¹ Sparta: Paus. 3.19.7 and Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.27 (a cult at Therapne, near Amyclae). Sikyon: Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9.30 (ed. Drachmann), usefully referenced and discussed by Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 371. In both places the irproximity to Arcadia explains this presence, which also seems to show that the goddess had sufficient potential for a certain expansion beyond Arcadia.

²² The principal source for this aspect of the sanctuary is Paus. 3.5.6. For the discussion concerning the etymology of the name, see conveniently Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 370–2, where it is shown that the "asylum"-etymology was known also in antiquity; see also Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 1–2. On the asylum-function of Greek sanctuaries in general:



Figure 3. Fragment of Mycenaean figurine (Tc 7; LH II) from the temple excavation, unit B1Sc/6. (Photo: Østby)

the priest of this sanctuary was eponymous in the Tegean calendar,²⁹ it is clear that it had a significant, official status also in later periods. Athena's general function in the overall cultic apparatus of the city was clearly her usual one as a conventional acropolitan or poliad deity, frequent in Arcadia as elsewhere.³⁰ It is also for this reason likely that her sanctuary was located on one of the low hills north of the plain.³¹ Although there is at

Kepheus received Medusa's lock from Heracles. The coins: Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 367–8, pl. 36.3–4. For the cult and traditions concerning Athena Poliatis, see conveniently *ibid.* 146–7, 157 and 364–8; cp. also Casevitz and Jost 2002, 276, Moggi and Osanna 2003, 508–9, and Pretzler 1999, 93–4.

²⁹ The inscription IG V.2, 10, of the 3rd century B.C., is generally understood in this way; see Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 365, for the discussion. Against normal rules the priest was male, which also seems at least in certain periods to have been the case in the sanctuary of Athena Alea (Paus. 8.47.3; but cf. the passage by Statius, note 50 below); the reasons for this departure from normal practice are unknown. (See Casevitz and Jost 2002, 275, for a similar case near Elateia.) Stiglitz 1967, 87, suggests that the sanctuaries for Athena Alea and Athena Polias shared the same priest; for this statement the evidence is clearly insufficient.

³⁰ See Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 361–4, for a convenient, general survey of her cults in Arcadia.

³¹ This has mostly been assumed (for a general, but inconclusive discussion see Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 156), although another location in the plain, near the agora, has also been proposed on the basis of a relief connected with Athena found there (K.A. Rhomaios, “H

present no archaeological evidence for this sanctuary,³² the traditions connected with it indicate that it was old, perhaps as old as the sanctuary for Alea, and hardly less important originally. But the same lack of archaeological evidence also makes it abundantly clear that its material and architectural aspect must always have remained at a far more modest level than the other sanctuary. The sanctuary of Alea also had a modest origin, but was selected for an ambitious, monumental development at a moment and for reasons which will be traced below.³³

The early origin of human activity at the site is archaeologically demonstrated by prehistorical finds, which includes some Final Neolithic and Early Helladic material³⁴ and a fair quantity of Late Helladic objects, mostly pottery sherds, but also a few terracotta figurines; pieces of flint and obsidian found in later contexts may perhaps be reused objects of prehistoric origin, found at the site.³⁵ (Fig. 3) There are also a couple of Submycenaean objects, which, few as they are, help to bridge the gap between the Bronze and the Iron Age.³⁶ These objects come from secondary contexts and provide no evidence for the character or function of the site, apart from the fact that some sort of human activity took place here at least from the 3rd millennium B.C. and possibly even earlier. This is further confirmed by preliminary test drillings which took place in 1994 and indicated deep archaeological layers under the levels which have so far been reached both in the temple and in the northern sector.³⁷ The material from the Mycenaean

‘Αθηνᾶ Πολιάτις ἐν Τεγέᾳ,’ *Journal International d'Archéologie et Numismatique* 14, 1912, 49–54). But the cult was certainly older than the agora, and a relief referring to such a socially significant cult found at the administrative centre of the town is in any case easy to explain even if the sanctuary was not located nearby. See Callmer 1943, 122–4, for a good discussion of the question; also Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 272.

³² It could hardly have consisted only of an altar and a statue in the open air, as suggested by Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 147. The precious talisman, and the notice that it could be entered only once a year, would seem to require a temple, however modest; but Stiglitz (1967, 87) may have a point when he suggests that by Pausanias' time the cult had decayed.

³³ See pp. 50–4.

³⁴ For the sherds, see the catalogue section **iv** (Forsén); add to this a few Early Helladic bronze pins from the northern sector (*Tegea* II, section **vii** (Voyatzis): **BrN-P 1–4**). Some Middle Helladic sherd material was observed in the field, although none of this was catalogued; see sections **ii** (Nordquist) and **iv** (Forsén, 394 note 17).

³⁵ For the stone objects, see sections **iii** and **vii** (Voyatzis; **C-LH 1–16, Tc 1–5**), **v** (Hammond; **C-MinMyc 1–5**), and *Tegea* II, section **x** (Bakke-Alisøy). For such material from earlier excavations, see conveniently Voyatzis 1985, 156, pls 19–20 (pottery and bronze objects), and *ead.*, *Sanctuary*, 64–5 and 82–3 (Late Helladic pottery), 210 (fibulae), 240 (a terracotta figurine). A special case is a naked female bronze figure holding her breasts, with affinities to Late Bronze Age figurines from Cyprus (Voyatzis 1985, 158–60, pl. 20.1–3; *ead.*, *Sanctuary*, 123–4, 305 no. B8, pl. 60).

³⁶ Only one sherd from the recent excavation (**C-LH 17**, section **iii**), but somewhat more from earlier excavations: Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 65, 83 (pottery) and 210 (a fibula).

³⁷ Not included in the excavation report. See *Tegea* II, section **iv** (Tarditi), 83 and 85 for a limited sounding in the northern sector, with material going back to the Late Geometric period.



Figure 4. View of the Tegean plain north of the sanctuary, towards the hill of Hagios Sostis and the Mainalon mountains. (Photo: Østby)

period is actually quite abundant, although out of context, and confirms the general impression from other sites on and near the Tegean plain that the area was important in that period.³⁸ The possible existence of a sanctuary at the site as early as the Mycenaean period has been cautiously approached before, based mostly on a few figurines from the early excavations;³⁹ more terracotta figurines have now been found, and the case for a Bronze Age sanctuary is to some extent strengthened by a few Late Helladic miniature pots, objects made for votive purposes without any evident, practical use.⁴⁰ So far, however, the material is insufficient as anything more than a vague indication that human activity at the site before the Iron Age may have been connected with religious cult, perhaps a sanctuary, and the limited documentation for the Submycenaean period remains an important obstacle for any hypothesis on full continuity. At present, the continuous thread of archaeological documentation can carry the religious activity at the site no further back than the contents of the votive pit in front of the Geometric temples allow: the Protogeometric period, or the late 10th

century B.C.⁴¹ But even so, the material from this pit, when taken together with early votive objects discovered by previous explorations, makes this one of the earliest sanctuary sites in the Peloponnese where a religious function is supported by archaeological evidence.⁴² The limited extent of our excavation provides no guarantee that the earliest material from a certainly religious context has yet been found. Only further excavation will allow these problems to be approached on a safer basis.

In a wider geographical context, the sanctuary is located at the southern extremity of the large and fertile plain in the south-eastern corner of Arcadia, well-watered to the point of becoming swampy, at about 675 m above sea level.⁴³ (Fig. 4) It is also located on a route of communication which must have been important from early times, the paths or roads connecting Corinth and Argos in the east with Sparta (whether directly, or over the Megalopolis basin) and Messenia to the south and west. Cultural influences from these two centres were clearly felt at Tegea from very early times, as the pottery found in the sanctuary demonstrates.⁴⁴ The road

³⁸ See above, p. 13 with note 14. Petrakis 2002, 13–4 and fig. 2, counts 12 identified Late Helladic sites in the Tripolis basin, in comparison to 2 from the Protogeometric, 6 from the Geometric and Archaic periods, and 17 from the Classical times.

³⁹ See the cautious discussions by Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 270–1 and *ead.*, section **iii**, 197. The clearest indication is probably still the female figurine mentioned note 35, but like all this material it was found in a later context; another figure type of a female riding side-saddle, represented also in the material from Tegea, may be understood as iconographic evidence for such links (so M.E. Voyatzis, “Votive riders seated side-saddle at early Greek sanctuaries,” *BSA* 87, 1992, 259–79). For recent, general discussions of the continuity problem in some Early Iron Age sanctuaries on the Greek mainland, see Morgan 1996 and *ead.* 1999, 295–8, both with ample references; also Dickinson 2006, 231–5, and for sanctuaries in the Protogeometric period the recent survey by Lemos, *Aegean*, 221–4. The sanctuary at Tegea has so far had no significant place in this discussion.

⁴⁰ See note 35 above. There is a thorough discussion of miniature pots as religious objects in Hammond, *MVV*, 206–35.

⁴¹ See sections **ii** (Nordquist), 191–2, **iii** (Voyatzis), 359–60, and below, pp. 18–9.

⁴² Other Peloponnesian sanctuaries of a similar or earlier age were established at Amyclae, Olympia and Isthmia, and perhaps also the Heraion at Argos. See discussions in Morgan 1996, 46–55, and *ead.* 1999, 378–94 (and 298–304 for a useful discussion of the criteria for identifying a sanctuary site).

⁴³ This information is taken from the Greek military map 7302.3 (1 : 5,000), and is confirmed by the recent Norwegian survey investigations. See *Tegea* II, section **ii** (Ødegård and Klempe), for the surrounding landscape.

⁴⁴ See section **iii** (Voyatzis), with a brief summary p. 361; see also *ead.* 1999, 144, and 2005, 469–71, on the shifting influences and presence of material from these two important centres. For the routes connecting Sparta and Argos, passing Tegea, the old paper by W. Loring, “Some ancient routes in the Peloponnese,” *JHS* 15, 1895, 47–60 with the map pl. I, is still useful; for the difficult stretch between Tegea and Hysiai see also the documentation presented by Pikoulas 1999, 258–60, and the recent discussion by A. Petronotes, “Ἡ τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος (Pausanias 8.54.5) in Arkadia,” in Østby (ed.), *Arcadia*, 185–96.

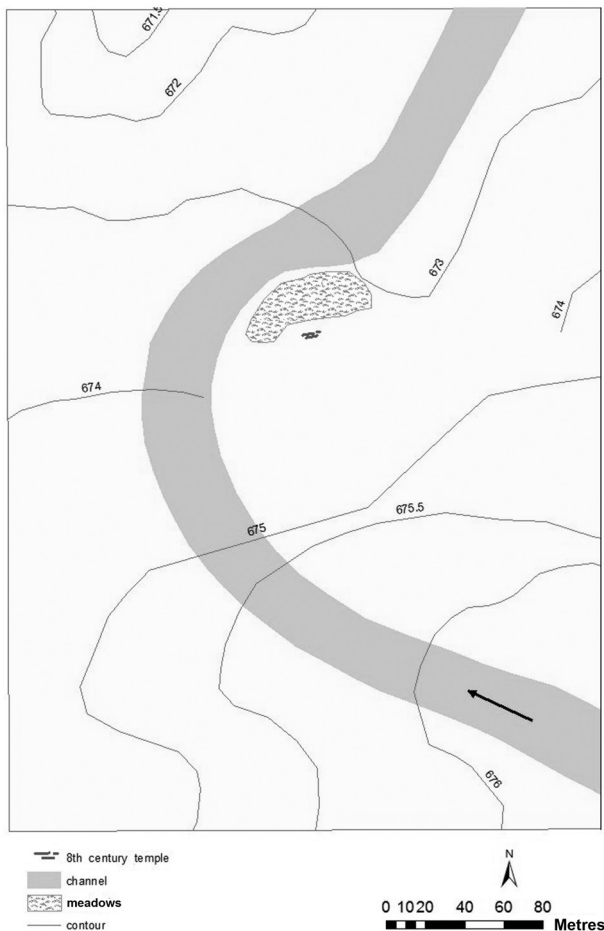


Figure 5. Topographical sketch of the site of the sanctuary and its immediate surroundings in the Geometric and Archaic periods, with the course of the river as indicated by recent geological investigations. (Drawing: H. Klempe)

connects here with other paths going northwards, toward Mantinea and Orchomenos, and westward, toward the Megalopolis basin, Messenia and Elis, making the place one of the most important pivotal points of overland communications in the Peloponnese.⁴⁵ There is some evidence to suggest that these very early sanctuaries tended to grow up at natural meeting-points at or near important routes of communication,⁴⁶ and the sanctuary

The more difficult routes through the Thyreatis, avoiding Tegea, are described by J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias' description of Greece* III, London and New York 1898, 305–9.

⁴⁵ For the geographical and geological context, see the useful discussion by A. Philippson and E. Kirsten, *Die griechischen Landschaften* III.1, Frankfurt a.M. 1959, 255–8; for the road systems in Arcadia Pikoulas 1999 (with a convenient summary 299–302) presents basic evidence. Adshead 1986, 13–4, probably underrates Tegea's importance as a transit point from the north-east Peloponnese towards the west and south in his discussion of the early road-network in the Peloponnese. In a recent study of Peloponnesian communications as documented by the Peutinger table and the Gennadius map of the early 19th century (G.D.R. Sanders and D.I. Whitbread, "Central places and major roads in the Peloponnese," *BSA* 85, 1990, 333–61), Tegea (or Tripolis) is identified as a particularly important node both in ancient and in more recent times.

⁴⁶ See Morgan 1996, esp. 57, who cites the early sanctuaries at Kalapodi, Isthmia and Olympia as examples; also Lemos, *Aegean*, 224.

at Tegea would be no exception to this pattern. Apart from any other function it may have had, the spring would have made it a convenient resting place for travellers. Another, and still more important topographical feature of the site, which can hardly have been irrelevant for the establishment of the sanctuary here, is the curious U-loop which the river Alpheios (the Sarantapotamos of today) made for a long time to the south, west and north of the sanctuary before continuing northwards.⁴⁷ Since the speed and force of the waters would have had to slow down considerably in such a situation, this would then have been a convenient place to cross the river; but this situation would also have left the sanctuary and the plain north of it very exposed to flooding. (Fig. 5)

There is reason to believe that the focus of the cult was from the beginning located where the temples later rose, on what was then a low hillock located inside the U-loop of the river, and near a natural spring of water which was later connected with the myth of Heracles and Auge.⁴⁸ The stones discovered underneath the "platform" from the probable 7th-century B.C. temple, which seem to be resting on earlier levels than those of the Late Geometric cult buildings, may possibly go back to the earliest times of the sanctuary; but it is at present impossible to know if they were at first a point of focus in an open-air cult, or if they were enclosed by some small, simple buildings from the outset.⁴⁹ Indications in ancient sources that there was a wood or a grove here may not stand up against criticism,⁵⁰ but a famous inscription of the 4th century B.C. demonstrates that by that time at least there was ample pasturage in the immediate neighbourhood of the sanctuary; this was certainly so also earlier.⁵¹ Clearly this

⁴⁷ See Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 18–20, for a survey of previous studies on the course of this river, and *Tegea* II, section iv (Tarditi), 80–3 for recent evidence of what appears to be protective measures from the excavations north of the temple. Ødegård 2005, 214, presents preliminary results from the recent survey investigation; more information is now offered in *Tegea* II, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe). That the river in ancient times regularly ran west of the watershed between the villages Alea and Stadio and emptied into Lake Takka has been argued particularly forcefully by W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in ancient Greek topography* I, Berkeley 1965, 122–31, but the recent Norwegian investigations have not confirmed this; see Ødegård and Klempe, 27–8.

⁴⁸ For the myth see p. 11 with note 4 above, and *Tegea* II, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe) for the geological situation of the successive temples.

⁴⁹ See pp. 23–5 for a discussion of possible, earlier buildings at the site, and section ii (Nordquist), 146–9 with Fig. 69, for the stones. Further excavation will be needed to establish the precise stratigraphical context of these stones, but they were certainly visible in Buildings 1 and 2. See also Papapostolou 2012, 37–9 and 116–20, for a similar unworked stone with a probable sacral function in the sanctuary at Thermon and a general discussion of such features in Early Iron Age contexts.

⁵⁰ This seems to emerge from Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.52: "aut Aleae lucis vidit Tegeaea sacerdos"; see Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 145. But the grove is not mentioned by Pausanias, and has not been confirmed by the preliminary analysis of pollen samples so far; see *Tegea* II, section xxiii (Bjune, Krzywinski and Overland). Statius probably never saw the place.

⁵¹ *IG* V.2, 3. See also Fr. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, 135–7 no. 67; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 382–4. The preliminary results of the pollen analysis support this picture; see *Tegea* II, section xxiii (Bjune, Krzywinski and Overland).



Figure 6. View across the central axis of the Classical temple, from south towards the Lyrkeion mountain in the north. (Photo: Østby)

may have been from time immemorial a convenient point for the pastoralists from the hilly territories to the south to come to water their flocks, and for informal gatherings.⁵² Further north, in the plain where the urban centre of Tegea later was established, these conditions no longer applied. The recent Norwegian survey investigation on the Tegean plain has provided no evidence whatsoever for any kind of settlement, neither as villages nor as isolated farmsteads, north of the sanctuary in these early periods until the late 6th century B.C.; and even then, only the more hospitable northern part of the plain near the agora appears to have been settled, not the area closer to the sanctuary which always remained marshy, unhealthy and particularly exposed to floodings from the river.⁵³ In this situation the sanctuary must have been more easily accessible from the south than from the north, and for this reason it is not likely that it was established or initially much used by a deme or demes settled on the plain or north of it.⁵⁴ It seems more reasonable to assume that the prehistoric material from the site relates to settlements or demes in the low hills to the south and west, in the directions where the Tegean territory extended furthest.⁵⁵

⁵² There is archaeological evidence that the place was used again in this way in Early Medieval times; see *Tegea* II, section **iii** (Luce), 48–9.

⁵³ For these conclusions, see *Tegea* II, sections **ii** (Ødegård and Klempe), 32–3. We have been told by the locals from the village that this situation still existed in the 19th century A.D. See *Tegea* II, section **iii** (Luce), 47–9 for archaeological evidence of such floodings during the Early Medieval period.

⁵⁴ Occasionally it has been assumed that the Apeidantes, the ninth deme, settled on the plain and founded the sanctuary (Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 3–4; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 157). The settlement is possible, if understood as the less exposed northern part of the plain, but the foundation of the sanctuary is even in that case unlikely. Callmer 1943, 131, usefully observes that there is no evidence in relevant sources for the location of that deme.

⁵⁵ According to the map *Fig. 1*, which involves several uncertainties, six of the eight original demes were located in the south and west,

The northern demes, probably also the Apeidantes if settled in the northern, more hospitable part of the plain, may have had a similar, early religious focus point at the sanctuary of Athena Poliatis, which most relevant hypotheses tend to locate in that part of the territory.⁵⁶ The sanctuary of Alea was established at a point where the hilly grazing areas for the livestock of the southern demes gave way to the marshland on the plain. It would in this way define itself as a typical borderline sanctuary, located at the transition from one kind of natural environment, available for human exploitation, to another, less so;⁵⁷ but, as other very early sanctuaries, it would also be a natural meeting point for a scattered population which moved with their flocks. The plain itself was probably not useful neither for agriculture nor to pastoralists, since it was swamped and flooded by the river at irregular intervals. Other topographical considerations which may have influenced the choice of the site are the open view towards Mount Lyrkeion, almost precisely to the north, and the equally open view toward Mount Parthenion slightly north of exact east, which was sacred to Hermes, and where the tradition located important events in the Telephos-Auge myth.⁵⁸ These views are now blocked by modern buildings, but could have been enjoyed from the two projecting ramps or platforms connected with the Classical temple.⁵⁹ (*Fig. 6*)

The topographical evidence for the sanctuary in its earliest period is limited to the votive pit found in the pronaos area of the Classical temple, beneath the metallurgical workshop which was established there in the Late Geometric period.⁶⁰ The pit and its contents are thoroughly discussed elsewhere in this publication; it contained mostly broken pottery from the Protogeometric to Late Geometric periods; there are also objects of metal and terracotta and some animal bones,⁶¹ but the pottery clearly dominates. The considerable quantity of the distinctive Laconian Protogeometric fabric was a particular surprise, and is a clear indication of close contacts with the neighbours to the south in this early period; the period when this pottery was produced, about 950 to 750 B.C., coincides quite precisely with the life of the pit, and it is found in all its levels.⁶² (*Fig. 7*) The Late

covering about 2/3 of the total Tegean territory. See notes 1 and 54 for the location of the demes.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 15 with note 31.

⁵⁷ A typical situation for the establishment of early sanctuaries, as argued by F. de Polignac, *Cults, territory and the origins of the Greek city-state*, Chicago and London 1995, 33–41.

⁵⁸ There is no mention anywhere of cults or a particular status connected with Mount Lyrkeion. On Mount Parthenion see Paus. 8.54.6–7, and Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 159. On sacred mountains in Greek culture generally: R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece, the contexts of mythology*, Cambridge 1994, 81–96.

⁵⁹ See *Tegea* II, section **xvi** (Østby), 340–1, for the function of the northern projection as some kind of platform.

⁶⁰ See the excavation report section **ii** (Nordquist), 178–95.

⁶¹ See for this material sections **iii** (pottery; Voyatzis), **vii** (small objects; Voyatzis), **v** (miniature pottery; Hammond) and **ix** (animal bones; Vila).

⁶² See on this pottery section **iii** (Voyatzis), 224–31, with essential references note 60.

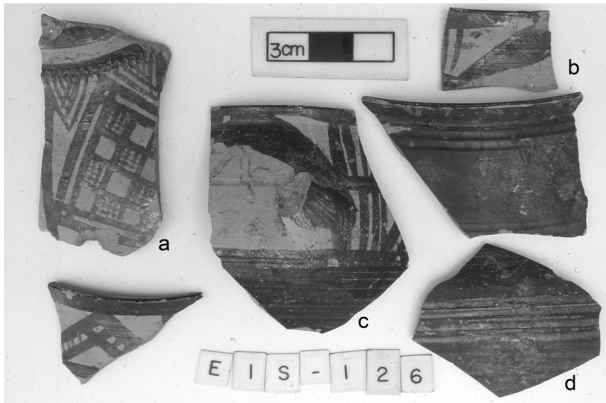


Figure 7. Samples of Laconian Protogeometric pottery from the bothros (Level B-6, stratigraphical unit E1S/126). Catalogued pieces: a, C-LacPG 140; b, C-LacPG 36; c, C-LacPG 35; d, C-LacPG 59. (Photo: J. Bakke)

Geometric material in the top level provides a fairly safe indication that the pit was abandoned and closed early in the second half of the 8th century B.C., shortly after the transition from MG II to LG I.⁶³ Its beginning is less easily established, not least because the excavation did not arrive at its bottom. The modest quantity of Late Mycenaean material found in it⁶⁴ can hardly by itself be taken as an indication that the pit, and thus the sanctuary, dates as early as LH IIIC; for such a conclusion the material is too limited, and might already have been old when deposited. Similar considerations must also be made about the even more limited quantity of Submycenaean material: there is only one safely identified sherd, from a low level in the pit.⁶⁵ But the abundant Protogeometric material can leave no doubt that by the second half of the 10th century B.C., at least, the sanctuary had been established and was functioning, and that for the considerable period of about 200 years the bothros collected material from discarded votive objects and refuse from sacrifices and ritual meals, on repeated occasions so that an approximate stratigraphy was created.⁶⁶ Material from these periods has also been recovered from other, later contexts; early objects from the Late Geometric cult buildings, from the votive pits discovered by previous excavations, or from the northern sector of the sanctuary, may have ended up in them hundreds of years after they were produced.⁶⁷

Until the relevant archaeological strata are investigated, it is impossible to guess whether the sanctuary of the

Early Iron Age had other fixed installations apart from the votive pit, or whether a tradition of simple, sacred buildings had already been established when these objects were first dedicated. The stones which became cultic symbols of importance in the apses of the Late Geometric cult buildings, and preliminary observations of a surface with postholes below Building 2, offer only a glimpse of such possibilities.⁶⁸ The votive pit can hardly have been a focal point for later developments of the sanctuary, and was perhaps not the only one on the site, but it was probably located not far from such a focus. Rich material of burnt animal bones from the immediate surroundings⁶⁹ supports the notion that an early altar existed somewhere close by, just as later votive pits in the sanctuary also seem to have been located near the altars. The altar itself may have been too simple for an archaeological identification; quite probably it was an ash altar as at Olympia, Mount Lykaion, and elsewhere in the region.⁷⁰ The spring is an obvious natural feature of the site and must have had some religious function or significance even in the earliest stages of the sanctuary's life, although it is impossible to say anything precise about the ideas which may have been connected with it then. Another such focus, whatever its form, may have coincided with the apsis areas of the Geometric temples, or possibly something located just behind them – perhaps in the form of a holy tree or some other natural feature with religious significance. At any rate, it seems likely that the stone platform in the presumed 7th-century building still carried a memory of it as a holy spot.⁷¹ The adyton that probably existed in the Early Archaic temple⁷² may also perhaps be understood in this light.

The Late Geometric sanctuary and the early cult buildings

The first clear indication of a break in the development of the sanctuary comes with the closure of the votive pit, made by a solid layer of yellowish clay and clearly intentional. This seems to have happened early in the second half of the 8th century B.C., shortly after the transition from Middle to Late Geometric, to judge by the

⁶³ See below, with note 73.

⁶⁴ Catalogued Mycenaean material from the bothros: sherds C-LH 4, 7–9, 12–13 (section iii, Voyatzis); terracotta figure Te 5 (section vii, Voyatzis); miniature vessels C-MinMyc 1–3 (section v, Hammond).

⁶⁵ See note 36 above. The context, Level B-5, dates to the 9th century (MG I): sections iii (Voyatzis) 359–60, and ii (Nordquist), 187–9.

⁶⁶ For the stratigraphy of the bothros, see sections ii (Nordquist), 178–95, and iii (Voyatzis), 359–60.

⁶⁷ This would be the situation, for instance, for such material from the important “Couche B” recovered by the French archaeologists at the north-eastern corner of the Classical temple; probably it replaced the early bothros. See below, p. 30 with note 147 and Fig. 11.

⁶⁸ Called “Surface/Building 3”. See section ii (Nordquist), 146–9.

⁶⁹ See section ix (Vila), 549 and 557.

⁷⁰ The tradition, preserved by Pausanias (8.47.3), that the altar of the sanctuary at Tegea was created by the Argive seer Melampous (see note 16 above) cannot in any case refer to the Classical altar seen by him; as explained below, an altar in that position cannot go further back than the late 7th century. Only very occasionally has it been possible to identify archaeological traces of altars from this early period. For discussions, see Şahin 1972, 16–35; D. Rupp, “Reflections on the development of altars in the eighth century B.C.,” in Hägg (ed.) 1983, 101–7; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 287–90; Kyrieleis 2006, 39–41. Quite recently traces of such an early altar have been identified in the sanctuary at Hagios Elias near Asea: Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 178–9. For early altars, see also below, pp. 49–50.

⁷¹ See section ii (Nordquist), 74, 137 and 154, and pp. 27–8 below.

⁷² See below, pp. 39–41.

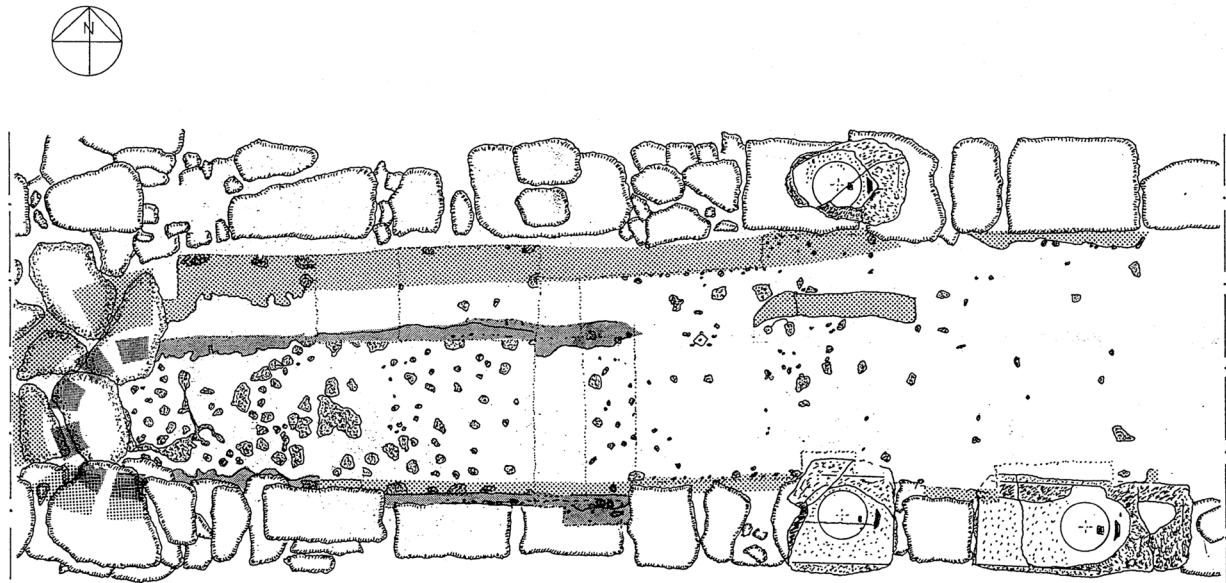


Figure 8. The approximate plans of the two Geometric cult buildings, as indicated by the actual remains, Building 1 (lighter) and Building 2 (darker), between the foundations of the Archaic inner colonnades. The full length of Building 2 has not been excavated. (Drawing: Østby)

sherd material from the uppermost level in the bothros.⁷³ The same place was later used for a simple, metallurgical workshop, set up in front of the first of the two cult buildings which have so far been identified, Building 2; its lifetime seems to coincide with the two buildings 1 and 2.⁷⁴

These changes seem to indicate that some general reorganization of the sanctuary took place at this time. If this meant that the votive pit was no longer used, another one must have been set up elsewhere, and this may also have been the case for the altar. This break also coincides with a marked change in the ceramic material from the sanctuary, where the Laconian element now appears to be much reduced, giving way to an Argive influence;⁷⁵ this suggests that there was also a general change in the political and/or cultural orientation of the community. A similar change can be noted in the character of the miniature votive pottery, where the transition from Hammond's Phase I to Phase II at the same time is clear and significant.⁷⁶ Whether these developments reflect a more general, political or social development at Tegea, is impossible to say; but they coincide with that moment of great, general change in the Greek world which has deservedly been termed "the Greek Renaissance", with

the development of the polis-state, colonization in the western Mediterranean, and the many new sanctuaries which now become archaeologically visible for the first time.⁷⁷ These developments may not have been immediately felt in much of the Arcadian territory, where the polis-state was a limited and late phenomenon; but archaeological evidence for sanctuaries appears no later than elsewhere, although in modest forms.⁷⁸ But at Tegea, which was in a position where contacts with the Argolid and Laconia were easy, inevitable, and are clearly reflected also in the early votive material from the bothros,⁷⁹ the atmosphere could not have remained untouched by such a landslide of changes elsewhere in the Peloponnese. If anywhere in Arcadia some initial steps towards a more developed political structure were taken in this period, this would naturally have happened here. Such steps would hardly be much delayed after similar developments in the neighbouring districts of Laconia

⁷³ Admittedly, this presumes that the few Early Protocorinthian sherds found in the upper level are correctly considered as intrusive (see section ii, Nordquist, 180). Apart from them, the latest material seems to be MG II-LG I (section iii, Voyatzis, 359–60).

⁷⁴ See the report by Nordquist, section ii, 157–78.

⁷⁵ See section iii (Voyatzis), 361; also *ead.* 1999, 144, and 2005, 470–2. It is interesting to observe that at the same time pottery in Laconia itself changes character and becomes heavily influenced by Argive models: Cartledge 2002², 94–6; Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 159; *id.*, *Greek Geometric pottery*, London 1968, 215–8.

⁷⁶ See section v (Hammond), 402–9 and 419–23.

⁷⁷ The standard discussions of this period are Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*; Snodgrass 1971; and the rich harvest of important papers in Hägg (ed.) 1983, with the pregnant expression coined in the title. See also Snodgrass 1981, 28–42, and for two different approaches to the character and the development of the polis-state M.B. Sakellariou, *The Polis-state, definition and origin (Meletemata 4)*, Athens 1989; M.H. Hansen in *id.* and Heine Nielsen (eds) 2004, 3–153 (the introduction). Good, recent summaries of the problems: A.M. Snodgrass, "The rise of the polis. The archaeological evidence," and K.A. Raaflaub, "Homer to Solon: The rise of the polis, The written evidence," both in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The ancient Greek city-state* (Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1), Copenhagen 1993, 30–105; and Hansen 2006, 39–47.

⁷⁸ For early sanctuaries in Arcadia, see Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 46–8, updated by *ead.* 1998, 141–3, and 1999, 140–50; and Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 549–50, who mentions evidence from 11 sanctuaries going back to the 8th and 7th centuries. Useful survey also in Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 326–7. See Heine Nielsen 2002, 159–228, for the development of polis-communities in Arcadia in the Archaic period.

⁷⁹ See above, p. 16 with note 44.

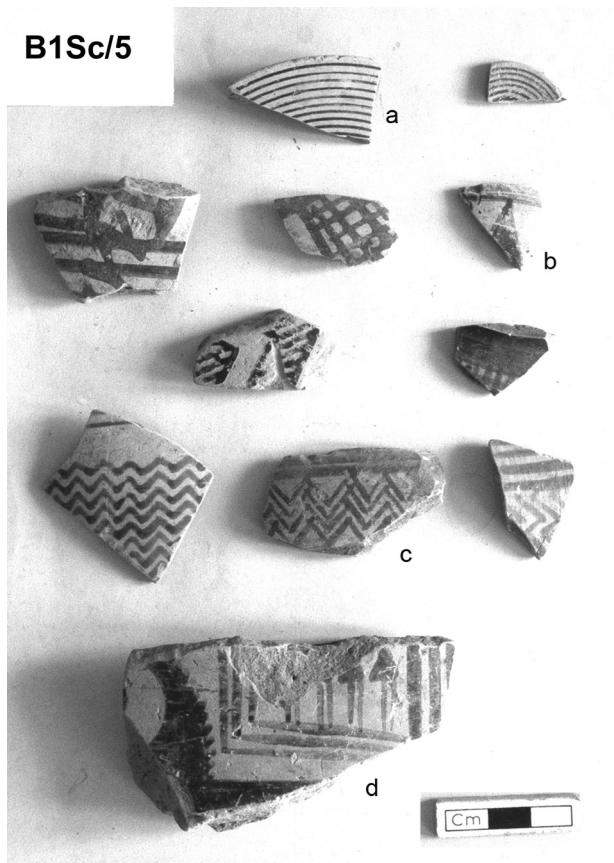


Figure 9. Samples of votive pottery from the inner surface of Building 1 (stratigraphical unit B1Sc/5). Catalogued sherds: a, C-PC 32; b, C-PC 52; c, C-MG 48; d, C-LG 200. (Photo: Østby)

and the Argolid had established actively expansionistic states and brought them into their first conflicts in the late 8th century; Tegea, because of its position between the two, could hardly have avoided getting involved in those conflicts.⁸⁰ In this period, such developments at Tegea may not yet have gone beyond some sort of consolidation of cooperating demes, perhaps establishing something like the “ethnos” or “tribal” state attested in Arcadia from later periods;⁸¹ it is not unlikely that Tegea also passed through a similar stage. These may be the developments which were still vaguely remembered in Pausanias’ days, connected by him (and his sources) with the clearly artificial name of Tegeates and pulled too far back in time, by him or them.⁸² If the presumed

⁸⁰ On these developments in Sparta and Argos, see Cartledge 2002², 88–111; Tomlinson 1972, 73–8; Kelly 1976, 60–72. Evidence for conflicts between them seems to begin in the late 8th century, with the destruction of Asine and a first conflict over the Thyreatis; see below, p. 31 with note 158, for developments in the 7th century.

⁸¹ See Heine Nielsen 2002, 271–307, on tribal or *ethnos* states in Arcadia. His thesis that these were organizations of fully developed polis-states may be correct in some cases, hardly in all, and is hardly relevant for Tegea if organized in this way in an early period. For the phenomenon in general, see: Snodgrass 1981, 42–7 (who connects it particularly with pastoral economies, relevant in Arcadia) and Morgan 2003 (38–44 on Arcadia).

⁸² See p. 11 with note 1, and the discussion below p. 53 with note 307.

8th-century author of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships had a precise knowledge of the contemporary situation in Arcadia and had it in mind when composing his text,⁸³ this is probably the kind of society he would be referring to in his section on the Arcadian contingent: a loosely organized, territorial state, ruled by kings or chieftains who could also, at least in certain situations, claim a general leadership in Arcadia.⁸⁴

This reorganization of the sanctuary may also have involved the construction of the first two cult buildings called Building 1 and 2 at the site of the later temples, although we cannot exclude that even earlier buildings, not yet identified, existed in lower levels.⁸⁵ It is possible that there was a third building before them, which would in that case probably precede the closure of the bothros and Building 2; but these are very preliminary considerations.⁸⁶ It is certain, however, that the two small, apsidal structures which have so far been discovered under and between the foundations of the Early Archaic temple were cult buildings, the earliest so far discovered anywhere in Arcadia. (Fig. 8) The two clearly identified buildings can be safely dated by the accompanying, abundant pottery sherds and other votive material to the late 8th (Building 2) and the early 7th centuries (Building 1; Fig. 9),⁸⁷ and demonstrate that at least at this moment, when so much attention and resources everywhere in the Greek world were concentrated on the sanctuaries, this general trend was not ignored at Tegea. The buildings discovered there reflect these developments in some respects, in others they stand out as unusual and special.

The apsidal shape is frequent for cult buildings and other structures in the Early Iron Age, and has been frequently discussed.⁸⁸ The shape has a long tradition, far back into prehistoric times, and was extensively used for dwellings in the Middle Helladic period; but it almost disappeared from the Mycenaean architectural repertory, where it is mostly confined to geographically or culturally marginal contexts.⁸⁹ The reappearance of

Moggi and Osanna 2003, 498, also connect the organization of the demes ascribed to Tegeates with this period.

⁸³ See p. 13 with note 12. There is certainly no reason to presume that the mention of Tegea here necessarily implies a fully synoecized polis-state, as Callmer 1943, 69, states.

⁸⁴ For discussions of the kingship in early Arcadia, see Burelli Bergese 1995, 29–31, and other references in notes 8 and 11 above. In addition to Homer, a fragment from Hesiod (see note 8 above) can also be considered as contemporary evidence for such a situation.

⁸⁵ See below, pp. 23–5, for a discussion of such possibilities.

⁸⁶ See section ii (Nordquist), 146–9: “Surface/Building 3”, for preliminary evidence which may imply the existence of a third cult building below Building 2.

⁸⁷ See section ii (Nordquist), 118 and 141.

⁸⁸ General discussions of apsidal buildings in the Early Iron Age: Drerup, *Baukunst*, 25–9 (catalogue) and 92–3; Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 321–4; Fagerström, *Architecture*, 106–10; Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 116–9; Hiller 1996; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 43–86 (catalogue), 98–9, and 111–3, n. 688; Lang 1996, 78–86; Lemos, *Aegean*, 149–50. See also section ii (Nordquist), 150–2.

⁸⁹ For discussions, see Sinos 1971, 21, 36–7, 81–3, 88–90, 109–10; Mazarakis Ainian 1989, and *id.*, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 98 n. 555. J.

this shape in the Early Iron Age, when it occasionally reached monumental dimensions in such buildings as the Toumba at Lefkandi, and later in the first Hekatompedon at Eretria, has been explained as a part of that conscious return to ancient, pre-Mycenaean traditions which also otherwise seems to characterize the period.⁹⁰ This attitude would be easier to understand if at least at some sites, which were known and visited, pre-Mycenaean buildings or building remains with this shape were still preserved in the Early Iron Age and could be taken as models; there is nothing impossible about this, and there is at least one site, Thermon, where there seems to exist some positive evidence for it.⁹¹ In this case it seems likely, even if it has been discussed, that some kind of ideological significance was associated with the shape; it seems to have been used more frequently in sacred or public contexts than for ordinary dwellings, although never exclusively so, and the first securely attested Iron Age buildings with cult functions or special status had this shape.⁹² It is attractive to believe that the shape was used preferentially for other than practical or functional reasons also because its practical value is limited; it is not space-efficient,⁹³ it is difficult to insert into larger complexes, and the curving walls are convenient only for very elastic and amorphous types of building materials: mud-brick or still better pisé in the walls, rubble and unworked stones in the socles and foundations, and thatch for the roof. For tiled roofs,

when they appeared, the shape would be decidedly inconvenient. Throughout the Iron Age, as long as such simple materials still dominated, the apsidal shape was used, but always as a distinctly rarer alternative to the more frequent, rectangular structures,⁹⁴ which would be more convenient also when plain mud-brick was used as building material. Even before the development and general introduction of ashlar masonry and similar building techniques in and after the 7th century, the evidence for apsidal buildings appears to have been strongly reduced; not only the general convenience connected with building materials and techniques, but also an increased ideological value of the rectilinear and rectangular Mycenaean architecture toward the end of the Geometric period, may be responsible for this.⁹⁵ On the basis of these developments, it is easy to understand that the apsidal shape was maintained in later periods only as a rare alternative for particular purposes, where the ancient shape remained important because of its ideological connotations.⁹⁶ To some degree this is likely to have been so from the outset.

The apsidal shape may not necessarily have had ideological messages whenever it was used, as for normal secular or residential buildings; but if it ever did, this is likely to have been so in cases such as the Tegean buildings, whose exclusively cultic function is a fully and independently established fact. This message may even have been additionally emphasized by the unusual and old-fashioned building technique, which until recently was almost completely unknown in Greek Iron Age architecture and for which the Tegea temples now provide undisputed evidence: the wattle-and-daub walls, constructed on a skeleton of reeds and branches perhaps on a bed of pebbles and gravel for drainage purposes, but without a stone socle.⁹⁷ These flimsy walls were supported by vertical, wooden posts certainly on

Forsén, *The twilight of the Early Helladics* (SIMA-PB 116), Jonsæter 1992, 197–203, summarizes the evidence from the Early Bronze Age.

⁹⁰ Hiller 1996, 29; Mazarakis Ainian 1989, 287–8; *id.*, *From rulers' dwellings*, 98–9 (monumental examples listed n. 555); Papapostolou 2012, 80–7. The issue is touched already by Drerup, *Baukunst*, 82. Hiller 1991 discusses it in the context of general reappearance of pre-Mycenaean cultural elements in the Early Iron Age.

⁹¹ See Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 44–5 and 132–3, fig. 40, and *id.* 1989, 273–5, for a Middle Helladic apsidal house at Thermon (“Megaron A”) which was still standing in the Early Iron Age.

⁹² Hiller 1996, 31. The problems involved in defining “sacred” and “secular” functions in this period do not allow any absolute conclusion, and are reflected in the opposite positions taken by Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 11 n. 688 (more frequently sacred than secular) and Lang 1996, 82–4 (more frequently secular). It may be relevant that the apsidal shape was occasionally also used for tombs (Snodgrass 1971, 171–2 and 408). The apsidal building ΣΤ' at Posido in the Chalkidiki (Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 43–4, figs 26–27; Lemos, *Aegean*, 248; Dickinson 2006, 232–3), seems now to be the earliest known cult structure with this shape in the Greek world if correctly dated to the 11th century B.C. The so-called “temple of Hera Akraia” at Perachora should now be disregarded, since it is probably of Early Helladic date (so B. Menadier, *The sixth century BC temple and the sanctuary and cult of Hera Akraia, Perachora* (PhD diss. Cincinnati University), Ann Arbor 1996, 77–8; still accepted as Geometric by Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 63–4, figs 186–187), but the house models from the site (Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 33–9 nos 6–9) remain valid evidence. The precise function of the Toumba at Lefkandi is hotly discussed (see Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 48–57, Lemos, *Aegean*, 140–6, and Hellmann 2006, 47–8, for updated reviews), but its special status is clear enough also from its dimensions. It is likely that the large Unit IV-1 at Nichoria was also apsidal from the beginning; see Fagerström, *Architecture*, 34–5, Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 77–8, and *id.*, “Nichoria in the south-west Peloponnese: Units IV-1 and IV-5 reconsidered,” *OpAth* 19, 1992, 75–81.

⁹³ A useful point made by Lang 1996, 85–6.

⁹⁴ See Fagerström, *Architecture*, 106–13 (on both shapes); Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 111–3 (apsidal) and 257–9 (rectangular buildings).

⁹⁵ This explanation is offered by Hiller 1991.

⁹⁶ This is the convincing conclusion drawn by Hiller 1996. The Bouleuterion at Olympia is one obvious example (Mallwitz 1972, 235–40). Apsidal buildings in 7th-century architecture are discussed by Kalpaxis 1976, 81–2 and 105–6; he argues that the drop in the evidence is casual, which does not seem likely.

⁹⁷ On the wattle-and-daub technique in the Iron Age, see Coulton 1988 (who states, p. 59, that it “has not yet been attested in this period” (*i.e.* Early Iron Age)); Drerup, *Baukunst*, 85–7, who discusses it as a hypothetical initial stage of Iron Age architecture (“Pfostenbauweise”; but see note 102 below); Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 133–4 n. 145; Fagerström, *Architecture*, 100; Lang 1996, 79 n. 439; Drerup, *Baukunst*, 9–10 and 11–3. Compare Warner 1979, 139–40 with n. 20, on the widespread early use of this technique in Asia Minor, and 143–6 for the Balkans and south-eastern Europe. On the Neolithic origins see Sinos 1971, 10–3, and L. Perlès, *The Early Neolithic in Greece*, Cambridge 2001, 180–93; Petrakis 2002, 26, mentions evidence for such structures from Early Neolithic contexts at Hagiorgitika near Tegea. The technique is common in the Early Iron Age huts in central Italy; see L. Quilici, *Roma primitiva e le origini della civiltà laziale*, Rome 1979, 136–47, for a convenient presentation. On the wattle-and-daub technique in later architecture, see P. Sunshine, *Wattle and daub*, Princes Risborough 2006.

the inside and probably also on the outside, although for the moment there is only limited evidence for this.⁹⁸ This is a building technique used already in Early Neolithic times, but even in the Neolithic period it was largely replaced by mud-brick walls on stone socles, and stone socles were probably used also in some cases with walls of wattle-and-daub.⁹⁹ Such stone socles are far more easily identified in an excavation, which may be part of the reason why the older technique without them is so rarely attested; it can be discovered only by refined excavation techniques. Apart from Tegea, certain evidence for such walls has been obtained from the excavations at Kastanas, a marginal, but well excavated site in Northern Greece, where this technique replaced the normal mud-brick structures of the late Mycenaean period in small buildings dated to the 10th and 9th centuries, after the transition to the Early Iron Age, and was again replaced by mud-brick after about 800 B.C.¹⁰⁰ Wattle-and-daub structures have been proposed at a few Early Iron Age sites in southern Greece, but mostly as hypotheses which remain controversial.¹⁰¹ This limited and uncertain evidence is hardly enough to support a thesis that this technique was regularly used at the beginning of Early Iron Age architecture,¹⁰² or that this is the reason why so few buildings have been identified from that period; more material from the period is now known.

In an age when even modest cult buildings were everywhere built with mud-brick on stone socles, and at a site where the number, character and quality of the votive offerings (including even some gold objects¹⁰³) indicate a

cultural and economical level not inferior to what we find at more famous, Peloponnesian sanctuaries, it is difficult to avoid the impression that a special message, a claim of ancient origins and traditions, was expressed by this combination of an ancient building type raised in a still more ancient and primordial material technique. If the intention was to convey the impression of a simple hut, there may even be a connection with local lore here, since Pausanias probably refers to an ancient, local tradition when he states that in Arcadia Pelasgos had first taught mankind to build huts.¹⁰⁴

To the two suggestions of old traditions, the shape and the building technique, a third may perhaps be added at least for the older Building 2: the dimensions. The approximately 4 × 12 m external dimensions which can be calculated for the later Building 1 have parallels with some modest temple structures elsewhere from the 8th–early 7th century. Both geographically and typologically the early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta is probably the closest example;¹⁰⁵ this building is also a useful parallel for the external proportion 1 : 3, which is well attested also elsewhere, although it is not particularly frequent.¹⁰⁶ (*Fig. 10*) It is likely, although the final confirmation of its length has yet to be obtained, that Building 2 also had this general shape. However, there are few contemporary parallels for the extremely modest width of the early Building 2, whose inner width between walls goes from 1.70 m to a maximum of 2 m can hardly have allowed for any significant activity inside it. An external width of more than about 3 m is unlikely. Apart from the small, apsidal temple at Mycenae, which for this reason becomes a particularly valuable parallel,

⁹⁸ See below, p. 25 with note 111, for the limited evidence from Building 1. Posts on the outside are likely there for static and constructional reasons; see note 112 for the evidence elsewhere for such double supports.

⁹⁹ This point is made by Fagerström, *Architecture*, 100; see note 101 below for such possible cases at Eretria, Nichoria and Asine.

¹⁰⁰ See Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 124–5, figs 19–22; B. Hänsel, *Kastanas, Die Grabung und der Baubefund (Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa 7.1)*, Berlin 1989, 214–20 and 223–32. Wattle-and-daub construction at the site of Assiros in the 8th century is only offered as a very vague hypothesis (K.A. Wardle, "Excavations at Assiros Tomba 1986. A preliminary report," *BSA* 82, 1987, 317).

¹⁰¹ It has been proposed for the so-called "Daphnephorion" at Eretria in an initial phase by Drerup, *Baukunst*; the hypothesis is considered positively by Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 60, but Fagerström, *Architecture*, 55–6, and Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 132 n. 143 and 133–4 n. 145, argue against it. See section ii (Nordquist), 150–1. At Nichoria it is probable in the first phase of Unit IV-1 according to the first publication (Coulson *et al.* 1983, 31; but Mazarakis Ainian, 76–8, and Fagerström, 35, both argue against this). Fagerström, 23–4, argues for another case at Asine, but cp. Lemos, *Aegean*, 138. Some less ambiguous evidence has been reported from Naxos: G. Gruben, "Naxos und Paros I," *AA* 1982, 162–3, fig. 4.

¹⁰² As proposed by Drerup, *Baukunst*, 85–7. Good arguments against the hypothesis were given by A. Mallwitz, "Kritisches zur Architektur Griechenlands im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert," *AA* 1981, 601–4.

¹⁰³ Gold objects from the recent excavation are listed and discussed in section vii, 500–2, and in *Tegea II*, section ix, 208 (both Voyatzis); see Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 427–8 nos 364–369 and Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 247–8, for earlier such finds in the sanctuary. No such material has been reported from other Arcadian sanctuaries (Voyatzis, *ibid.*), but there are

gold objects from the Menelaion and the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman jewellery*, London 1980², 101–4; R.M. Dawkins in *id. et al.*, *The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (JHS Suppl. 5)*, London 1929, 381–4, pls 202–204) and Isthmia (I. Raubitschek in Morgan 1999, 157–8 nos M3, M9 and M10, pl. 65). No such material is mentioned from Olympia.

¹⁰⁴ Paus. 8.1.5.

¹⁰⁵ Dimensions, if correctly reconstructed with only one row of inner supports, ca. 4.50 × 12 m: Kalpaxis 1976, 77, fig. 61; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 166, figs 275–276. (See for the possibility of a wider building, with two inner colonnades, p. 33 with note 167 below.) Other, less clear examples: Building D at Asine (ca. 4.50 × more than 11 m: *ibid.* 107, figs 222, 229); buildings at Eretria, P (4.50 × 15 m: Kalpaxis, 71), and Θ (4.60 × 12.00; Mazarakis Ainian, 101, fig. 77); Agios Andreas at Siphnos (ca. 4.50 × ca. 12 m; *ibid.* 171, fig. 294). Of interest is also the unusual building at Porto Cheli, only 4.50 m wide and 28 m long, also of early 7th-century date (Kalpaxis, figs 5 and 77). In buildings of such limited size, only this and the temple at Sparta seem to have had inner columns.

¹⁰⁶ Useful examples apart from those mentioned last note: the early megaron/temple at Tiryns (6.90 × 20.90 m; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 159–62, figs 218–219) and a rectangular building at Emporion, Chios (6.40/6.85 × 18.05 m; *ibid.* 197–8, figs 372–373); and apsidal structures at Poseidi in the Chalkidiki (ca. 5.40 × 14.00 m; *ibid.* 43, fig. 27), Antissa on Lesbos (6.50 × 17.75 m; *ibid.* 84, fig. 358), Priniias on Crete (Temple B. 6.50 × 18.50 m; *ibid.* 224, fig. 477), Paralimni in Boeotia (ca. 6 × 16 m; *ibid.* 46–7, figs 71–72), and Mycenae (ca. 3.50 × 9.00 m; *ibid.* 67–8, figs 202–204; here, *Fig. 10*). These examples are very scattered and are only in exceptional cases precisely constructed to fit this proportion.

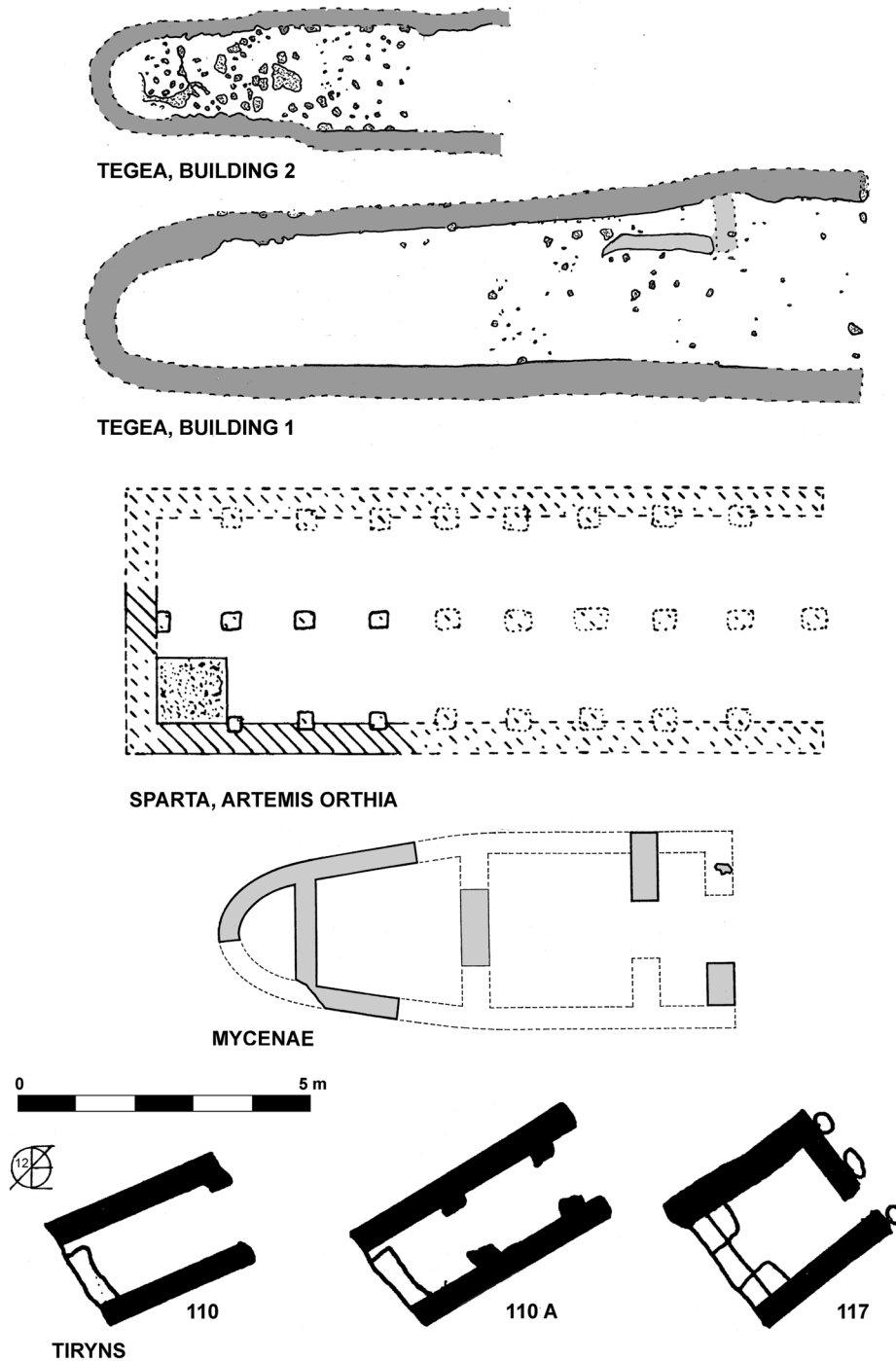


Figure 10. Compared plans of small cult buildings of Late Mycenaean (Tiryns) and Early Iron Age date. Scale 1 : 125. (Drawing: Østby)

most early buildings of such tiny dimensions belong in the Cretan-Aegean cultural sphere.¹⁰⁷ It can more

¹⁰⁷ The apsidal building at Mycenae (see the references in the last note) is now reconstructed with two prostyle columns; objects found inside suggest that it was a temple, perhaps for a chthonian cult. The so-called temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora, which might otherwise be a useful parallel also because it is apsidal (3.50 × 7.50/8.00 m; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 63–4, figs 186–187), must be disregarded since it has been identified as an Early Helladic structure (see note 92 above). The tiny Aegean buildings are well exemplified by

easily be compared to such Mycenaean structures as the simple, small cult buildings on the “Unterburg” at Tiryns, of LH IIIC date, which also have open fronts in some cases (but they are built of mud-brick on stone socles, and have slanted, but rectilinear rear outlines,

two buildings at Delos, Building Γ (3.55 × 7.95 m; Mazarakis Ainian, 179, fig. 313) and the early temple of Hera (3.40/2.77 × 2.85/2.87 m; *ibid.* 182–3, fig. 319).

not apsidal ones).¹⁰⁸ There is at present no evidence for such buildings in Bronze Age Arcadia, but the general impression of cultural continuity from the Bronze Age in this region might indicate that this similarity was not a casual one. For such a connection to be confirmed, it would obviously be necessary to establish whether the earliest building which has so far been investigated, Building 2, was also the first one of this type at the site – in which case it should rather be considered as an initial, modest and tentative reflection of the late 8th-century B.C. wave of temple building in sanctuaries elsewhere in Greece – or if it had similar forerunners, for which the postholes and other possible building traces discovered in the levels below Building 2 for the moment provide only a suggestive, but so far inconclusive clue.¹⁰⁹ If a building tradition at the site goes back to the beginning of the Iron Age, or possibly even earlier, it would have to be represented by a considerable number of successive buildings, since such simple structures must have been renewed at fairly frequent intervals; the lifespans of Buildings 1 and 2 were hardly more than a quarter of a century for each, and it is not likely that earlier buildings of the same type had longer lives. Building 2 must in this case provide a fairly precise idea of what such earlier structures would have looked like: they might have been shorter, but could hardly have been narrower, and materials and building technique could not possibly have been simpler or less pretentious. But if Building 2 is the final product of a long, architectural continuity for simple cult buildings at the site, rather than an initial attempt to put up such a building through a conscious return to early architectural models (which must, in this case, have survived somewhere else), there ought also to have been a cultic continuity from prehistoric times, connected with specific cult buildings in a way for which there is very limited evidence elsewhere in Greece.¹¹⁰ There is in any case a significant development in the transition to the larger and more normally dimensioned Building 1, where the influence from the early temple structures in other parts of Greece is felt, though the traditional building technique is still maintained. If this is not just a further step in the direction which was initiated with Building 2, this could be a first indication of an old tradition breaking down, initiating a process of

assimilation towards more normal forms and functions of temple buildings as they were then being developed elsewhere in Greece. These hypotheses are mutually exclusive, and only further investigation in the lower strata underneath Building 2 can show which one is more likely to be correct.

The walls constructed with a mixture of thin reeds and branches covered with amorphous clay could only have a limited supporting capacity, even compared with walls of mud-brick, which are actually capable of carrying quite heavy loads when carefully constructed. Thus it is reasonable to suppose, even if it has not so far been possible to investigate the external surface of these walls, that the carrying structure of the roof would have been based on posts that supported the wall from the inside and the outside, perhaps disposed in pairs.¹¹¹ Several contemporary buildings (at Eretria, Nichoria, Kastanas, and elsewhere¹¹²) have this feature; but apart from Kastanas, where the system (as here) appears in connection with a wattle-and-daub wall (but where the posts are arranged rather casually on either side of the wall, not in pairs),¹¹³ the coupled posts of these buildings are connected with sturdy mud-brick walls on stone socles. In such contexts these posts, or at least the external ones, would not seem to be structurally necessary. It is certainly worth considering, even if proving it is impossible, that these external posts which divided the wall surfaces into sections in an aesthetically pleasing way may have been taken over from the earlier technique, the wattle-and-daub walls, where those posts were structurally far more essential. At Tegea there is positive evidence for such beams in the outer face of the wall on the Archaic temple,¹¹⁴ and vertical beams in the wall structure, that project slightly away from it (but mostly on the inside), are safely attested in the early

¹⁰⁸ External dimensions: 1.40 × 3.20 m (Building 110), 1.40 × 3.60 m (Building 110a), 2.00 × 2.60 m (Building 117), 3.70 × 3.70 m (Building 119); here, Fig. 10. See K. Kilian, “Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausübung in Tiryns,” in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Sanctuaries and cult in the Aegean Bronze age* (*SkrAth* 4^o, 28), Stockholm 1981, 49–58, esp. 53–8; *id.* AA 1978, 460–5, and 1979, 389–97; B. Rutkowski, *The cult places of the Aegean*, New Haven and London 1986, 185–9; G. Albers, *Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer* (*BAR-IS* 596), Oxford 1994, 104–10; H. Whittaker, *Mycenaean cult buildings*, Bergen 1997, 180–3, figs 6–9; Mazarakis Ainiian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 259–60 n. 2095, and 429 tab. l.c. Of the same type, but with the open front in the broad side, is the presumed cult-room in the palace of Pylos, 3.40 × 3.10 m (Rutkowski, 193; Whittaker, 179–80).

¹⁰⁹ See section ii (Nordquist), 146–9: “Surface/Building 3.”

¹¹⁰ Two possible cases of such continuity at Eleusis and Tiryns have now been discussed by Østby 2006, 12–9.

¹¹¹ Only for a very short stretch of the northern wall of Building 1, the outside and a few postholes connected with it (*BINb/4b*, 110, 111) have been exposed. They do not seem to be connected with postholes on the inside, but the evidence is as yet too meagre for any conclusions. For Building 2 there is no such evidence. See section ii (Nordquist), 82–5.

¹¹² See section ii (Nordquist), 150. Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 131–2 n. 143, conveniently sums up the evidence for such arrangements, with double posts (outside and inside) in Unit IV-1 at Nichoria, the “Daphnephorion” at Eretria, and at the apsis of the Heroon at Lefkandi (these are also mentioned for this feature by Fagerström, *Architecture*, 107); posts only on the inside of the building in the early temple at Halieis, the early prostyle temple at Kalapodi, and the forge near the end of the “Hekatompedon” temple at Eretria; only on the outside of House 74N at Asine. See Warner 1979, 145, for wattle-and-daub houses with paired posts from Early Bronze Age contexts at Sitagroi and Vucedol. An interesting parallel, contemporary with the buildings at Tegea, has been discovered at Francavilla Marittima in Southern Italy, with double postholes framing what is probably a mud-brick wall: M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, “Religious activities on the Timponella Motta, Francavilla Marittima, and the identification of Lagaria,” *BABesch* 68, 1993, 14–6, figs 13–14.

¹¹³ For Kastanas, see note 100 above.

¹¹⁴ Østby, *Temple*, 88–90; see also below, pp. 39–40. It is attested for the rear wall, and must consequently be considered probable also for the lateral ones.

temple of Artemis Orthia (about contemporary with Building 1) and remained a fairly common feature in early Peloponnesian architecture.¹¹⁵ It is certainly possible to argue here for a heritage from the primitive wattle-and-daub architecture, where such posts first would have been introduced as a structural necessity. The possible influence from such rhythmically organized, external wall faces on the later development of peripteral systems should not be ignored; the monumental building of the Toumba at Lefkandi, where the astonishing forerunner to the Classical peristasis seems to have been created simply by separating the external wall-posts from the wall-face and moving them slightly away from it, lends force to such speculation.¹¹⁶

The central line of supports in the later Building 1 is a frequent feature in contemporary structures of slightly larger dimensions, but would hardly have been structurally necessary in an ordinary mud-brick structure of similarly modest size,¹¹⁷ and should be viewed in connection with the limited carrying capacity of the wattle-and-daub walls.¹¹⁸ Tiled roofs could hardly have been carried by such walls, even with the support of coupled posts on both sides of the wall, and the apsidal shape is not convenient for such roofs.¹¹⁹ A clear indication that the roof cannot have been heavy is provided by the face of the anta, which was covered only by a thin wooden board, not by a full-sized post as one would expect if it was intended to take a heavy load; that was clearly not the case here.¹²⁰ Most of the tile fragments from the temple excavation come from the disturbed, upper layers and have been authoritatively identified as later intrusions.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ The Orthia temple: Kalpaxis 1976, 77, fig. 61; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 166, figs 275–276. Østby, *Temple*, 90 n. 46 and 98, provides some other examples, to which the early temple of Apollo at Corinth should be added: H.S. Robinson, "Excavations at Corinth: Temple Hill, 1968–72," *Hesperia* 45, 1976, 227; R.F. Rhodes, "The earliest Greek architecture in Corinth and the 7th-century temple on Temple Hill," in C.K. Williams II and N. Bookidis (eds), *Corinth XX, The centenary 1896–1996*, Athens 2003, 88–9 with fig. 6.10.

¹¹⁶ Similar considerations have been expressed by Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 278–9. For the origin of the peristasis, see now the discussion by Østby 2006, 25–9.

¹¹⁷ The only relevant parallels seem to be the temple of Artemis Orthia and the building at Porto Cheli: see note 105 above.

¹¹⁸ On this issue Fagerström, *Architecture*, 99, has some useful comments.

¹¹⁹ See section ii (Nordquist), 114. See Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 258 and 278 n. 46, on early tiles; now also Winter 1993, 12–8, and the important paper by Ö. Wikander, "Archaic roof-tiles: The first (?) generation," *OpAth* 19, 1992, 151–61. At the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta an early roof of simple material was apparently replaced by a tiled roof either toward the end of the 7th century (Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 166, referring to Rose 1929, 400) or in the third quarter of the century (Winter 1993, 98–100).

¹²⁰ See section ii (Nordquist), 87–8 (unit D1/33), and H.D. Brockmann, *Die griechische Antike*, Marburg 1968, 20–32, for the evidence for antae in Geometric architecture (as known at the time).

¹²¹ This was established by an inspection carried out by N. Winter in 1998. See section ii (Nordquist), 114.

The front of the building, with its wooden anta and trace of a vertical, wooden beam close to it, but not on the prolongation of the central colonnade itself (posthole D1/32), suggests that some importance beyond the purely structural may have been attached also to the beam: its position close to the anta is not structurally convenient, as it would have been if it had been used to divide the modest span of the front into two or three equally large spaces.¹²² As it stands, it seems instead to frame or announce the central, inner colonnade, which would have been easily visible from the outside through the wide gap between the front supports, thus giving to these vertical posts a significance beyond the purely structural. (Unfortunately, the southern part of the area has been so disturbed by earlier excavations that it is impossible to establish if a similar beam existed near the southern anta; but this is a possibility to consider for the possible posthole D1/41.) The vertical beam or post as a religious symbol is probably relevant for the development of column architecture in general,¹²³ and such ideas can easily be presumed in Arcadia as well, where the tradition of aniconic cult symbols was maintained for a long period and considered to be a specific, local custom.¹²⁴

The exclusively cultic function of the buildings is established beyond doubt by the votive material,¹²⁵ and provides the only acceptable explanation for several of their features. The open front of Building 1 (probably to be assumed, but not yet confirmed, also for the older Building 2), and the total lack of hearths or fire-places inside both, make them absolutely unsuitable for any kind of habitation or practical function in the harsh winter climate of Arcadia. The dimensions of the later building might be sufficient for some kind of practical function, but the extremely modest size of the older one hardly permits any such explanation. The open front, which left the interior of the building exposed to view, is a feature which the buildings share with several Geometric cult structures and harks back to the

¹²² The posthole D1/39 is in an approximately central position in the front, but is too modest for such a function; it belongs with a group of similar postholes (D1/66, /38, /40) which may be connected with some sort of fence in the front of the building. See section ii (Nordquist), 98–108.

¹²³ See Østby 2006, 25–7, with references.

¹²⁴ This was observed by Paus. 8.48.6. On the archaeological evidence for these ideas in Arcadia, see M. Iozzo in *Scavi di Pallantion, ASAtene* 68–69, 1990–91, 123–8, and E. Østby, *ibid.* 298–9; G.E. Mylonas, "The Lykaian altar of Zeus," in *Classical studies in honor of W.A. Oldfather*, Urbana 1943, 122–33 (on the columns in the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios); N. Yalouris, "Problems relating to the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai," in J.N. Coldstream and M.A.R. Colledge (eds), *Greece and Italy in the Classical world* (Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology), London 1979, 100–3 (on the isolated Corinthian column in the temple of Bassai; on this see also J. Fink, "Klassik in Arkadien, vom Wandel des griechischen Götterbildes," *Antike und Abendland* 11, 1962, 43–61); and K.A. Rhomaios, "Ἀρχαϊκοὶ ἔργα," *ArchEph* 1911, 149–59. See also the general discussion in Papapostolou 2012, 116–20.

¹²⁵ This is accepted also by Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 80–2. See section ii (Nordquist), 153–4.

late Mycenaean shrines at Tiryns and elsewhere.¹²⁶ This system is obviously convenient if such visibility from the outside was considered important, and it is often, though not always, found in small buildings with limited depth, which would also support such concerns.¹²⁷ But it is definitely surprising, and to my knowledge without parallel, to find this feature linked with a clear attempt to establish a normal bipartition of the interior between pronaos and cella as in an ordinary anta building, without using a divisory wall. This is what the excavation seems to have established, clearly for the later Building 1, where there is a clear contrast between an open pronaos or porch area with a succession of clearly defined and heavily frequented floor levels, and an interior behind it without clear levels of regular usage. In Building 2, whose front part has not been excavated, the evidence for a bipartition of the interior is more ambiguous.

In Building 1 it is clear that this bipartition was obtained without a clear, architectural definition of the transition between the two parts of the building, apart perhaps from a short screen wall projecting from the north wall (unit C1d/14), covering the “bench” C1b/50, which has left some vague evidence.¹²⁸ The limit of the lime-covered surfaces is clearly and precisely defined towards the interior (also in the front), but not by any archaeologically visible arrangement apart from that possible, short wall tongue. It remains possible that a material separation between the porch and the inner part of the building was created with means so modest that it is not now possible to recognize them, such as a wickerwork fence (which might not have left even postholes if it only rested on the floor), a curtain, or nothing more than one or more ropes tied between the two side walls. But even so, it seems inevitable to conclude that keeping an easy visibility of the interior from the outside must have been an important concern, rather than accessibility.

The vague and unobtrusive bipartition of the interior was in both buildings emphasized by one feature for which no contemporary parallel can be found elsewhere: a slightly increased width of the frontal part. In Building 1 this increase clearly regards the porch area, which evidently was more accessible, but it is far too modest (ca. 0.20 m) to be explained by functional considerations.¹²⁹ It was probably sufficient, however, to introduce an easily visible break in the external face of the lateral wall. It might seem that an important aspect of the building’s functionality, connected with this division into two spaces, was brought to the attention of the spectator by this unusual feature which could also have been visible if he approached the building from the rear or the side. The more precise evidence for a similar

feature in Building 2¹³⁰ suggests that there was a local tradition for this feature; the break coincides here with the eastern end of what appears to have been a fairly open area in the centre of the building, in front of the semicircular groups of postholes discussed below. In this building there is also, about 1 m in front of this break, a line of postholes stretching across the interior (*BISc/29, /27, /31, /32, /35, /33*) which might indicate that a division existed of the interior at this point. In either case the pronaos area would have been very deep in comparison to the later Building 1, and it would have included several postholes in its surface, which has no more evidence of regular use than the surface behind them. For the moment, these postholes are our only indications for supposing that a similar division between a porch area and the interior was applied also here.

In both buildings the absence of identifiable surfaces of usage is a striking observation, suggesting that they were not, or only to a very limited extent, walked upon.¹³¹ From Pausanias we learn that the sanctuary of Athena Poliatis somewhere else at Tegea was entered by the priest only once a year,¹³² and some similar rule might contribute to explaining the curious absence of regular surfaces or floors inside these buildings. They were intended as religious showpieces, important for their existence rather than for any functional use involving the regular movement of people inside them. Even if they were not generally accessible, the inner parts of the buildings were also left open to view the outside (or, in Building 1, from the more accessible porch area).

If it was considered important to leave the interior arrangements of these buildings open to view in this way, it is all the more unfortunate that it has not been possible to reconstruct these arrangements with any certainty. It seems clear, however, that the buildings were not meant to shelter cult images in the way Classical temples did; cult figures were at any rate a late and intrusive element in the specific, aniconic traditions of Arcadian sanctuaries, as still Pausanias knew and commented upon.¹³³ Cult symbols, if such existed, may have taken aniconic form, as simple poles; some of the otherwise unexplained postholes inside the buildings may have been understood in this way. The poles set up in the open area in front of the semicircular group of poles in Building 2 (*BISb/13, /15, /16*) might be likely candidates for such a function, if these were genuine postholes and belonged to this

¹²⁶ See note 108 above for Mycenaean cult buildings with such open fronts.

¹²⁷ A convenient presentation of buildings with such open fronts is provided by Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 429 tab. I.A–C (but the open fronts are not safely established in all of these cases).

¹²⁸ Units C1d/11 and /14. See section ii (Nordquist), 86–7.

¹²⁹ See section ii (Nordquist), 85.

¹³⁰ See section ii (Nordquist), 139.

¹³¹ See section ii (Nordquist), 154–5.

¹³² Paus. 8.47.5. The same rule applied to the sacred area of the sanctuary of Mount Lykaion (Paus. 8.38.6; also in the small appendix sanctuary at Megalopolis, 8.30.2) and to the sanctuary of Eurynome near Neda (Paus. 8.41.5), apparently also to the ancient temple of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea, where the entrance was blocked by a rope (Paus. 8.10.2–3). See Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 89, 132–3, 221–2, and 255.

¹³³ See note 124 above.

building. Unfortunately, neither is certain,¹³⁴ but some cultic arrangement of this type may have been set up in the apsis area of Building 2, where there is evidence for a fenced area enclosing a group of postholes (B1Sa/11, with B1Sa/12 – /22). This feature seems irrational if the interior itself, and particularly this innermost part, was not considered to be universally accessible.¹³⁵ The probable object of this attention, rather than the poles placed apparently at random behind the fence, may quite likely have been the stones which have been partially exposed in the innermost part of the apsis area, covered by the later “platform”.¹³⁶ With this position it is clear that they were considered particularly important, but it is an open question whether they were at all visible from the outer parts of the buildings – or even if anyone, apart from a few specialists, was aware of their existence. They seem to rest on a surface below that of Building 2, so they probably precede it, but they were certainly included in the inner arrangements of both buildings – not, however, in the later, intermediate temple, where the “platform” covered and replaced them.¹³⁷

It seems reasonable to connect also the semicircular arrangement of posts in front of this innermost area with this presumed complex of particular cultic importance, since a structural motivation seems impossible. They are set in two lines, one behind the other, and spaced so tightly that moving between them to the innermost part of the room would have been downright impossible, except perhaps through a 10–15 cm wide passage near the southern wall (between the postholes B1Sa/75 and /78). Merely glimpsing the interior through the gaps in this wooden curtain would also have been difficult, since even the gap between the somewhat aligned posts B1Sa/41, /42 and /56 was then blocked by B1Sa/40. These posts were probably meant to make the innermost part of the room appear concealed as some sort of adyton; it was not to be approached through an interior which cannot in any case have been regularly accessible, nor was it to be glimpsed through the intervals between the poles. It seems likely, however, that this complex of poles was set up in order to remain visible from the outside, as the innermost focus of a dark and narrow, but not very deep interior, concealing to the profane the view and perhaps even the existence of the space behind. If correctly understood in this way, the arrangement is an interesting forerunner to those adyton spaces which also occurred in the same environment in Arcadia in later periods.¹³⁸ The situation is less clear in Building 1; the

central line of supports would not have obstructed the vision of the innermost, apsidal area in the same way, and since in this building that part of the interior has been heavily disturbed, no similar evidence for special arrangements in front of it has been identified there. But the evidence from the excavation opens up the possibility that the complex from Building 2 was maintained in the later building, and even that the adyton area was to some extent respected by the stone platform which cut off the apses of both buildings in the 7th century.¹³⁹

The abundant remains of drinking vessels and animal bones found inside the buildings prove that cult meals were an important part of the rites in the sanctuary, but the tiny dimensions of the older building, and the lack of clear floor surfaces in both, exclude the possibility that such meals could actually have taken place inside them. They were, however, certainly used for depositing the finely decorated pottery that had been used, together with rich votive offerings of pottery, metal objects and jewellery. In the later building this seems to a large extent to have taken place in the porch area, which is consistent with the idea that the inner part was not considered generally accessible. The so-called “bench” (unit C1b/50) just inside the partition line, which may have served as the front support of slabs or boards bonded into the wall behind it in order to create a larger and more convenient surface reaching back to the wall, may most easily be understood in this context: it provided a favourable position for better votive gifts in the inner, reserved part of the temple, which was perhaps even concealed from view from the porch by the possible screen wall covering it.¹⁴⁰ It is less difficult to explain why so few objects appeared in its immediate surroundings if the bench was reserved for valuable gifts which would easily have disappeared when the building was abandoned. The posts C1b/49, /43 and C1c/23 placed in front of it may also have served to give it a special emphasis, since they do not seem to have a structural function.¹⁴¹

More clearly than most contemporary temple buildings, which tend to be vaguely and ambiguously defined against alternative or secondary functions such as banqueting rooms, meeting halls, ruler’s residences etc., these emerge as unconditionally defined temples without any secondary, functional purpose. Not even the widespread, ritual as well as practical function of sheltering a cult image seems to be relevant here; rather, the buildings seem to have fulfilled themselves the same function as later cult statues, as visible representations or embodiments of the divine forces active in the sanctuary. Such ideas certainly remained attached

¹³⁴ See section ii (Nordquist), 111–2 and 132.

¹³⁵ See section ii (Nordquist), 137–40.

¹³⁶ For these stones, see section ii (Nordquist), 146–9 with *Fig. 69*, and above, p. 17 with note 49.

¹³⁷ See below, pp. 33–4.

¹³⁸ See Østby 1990–91, 294–6, for adyton arrangements in the 6th-century temples B and C at nearby Pallantion. See S. Kallemeyn Thalmann, *The adyton in the Greek temples of South Italy and Sicily* (PhD diss. Berkeley 1976), Ann Arbor 1980, 100–15, for a useful survey of adyta in early temples in Greece. See also above, with note

132, for the severely limited accessibility which is attested for other Arcadian temples and sanctuaries.

¹³⁹ See section ii (Nordquist), 154.

¹⁴⁰ On such benches: Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 280–1; Fagerström, *Architecture*, 133–7; Drerup, *Baukunst*, 121–2. Similar arrangements can somewhat later be observed in Temple B at Pallantion (Østby 1990–91, 64–6, *fig. 25*), and possibly at Gourtoulia, Mantinea (Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 167–9, *fig. 281*).

¹⁴¹ See section ii (Nordquist), 110–1.

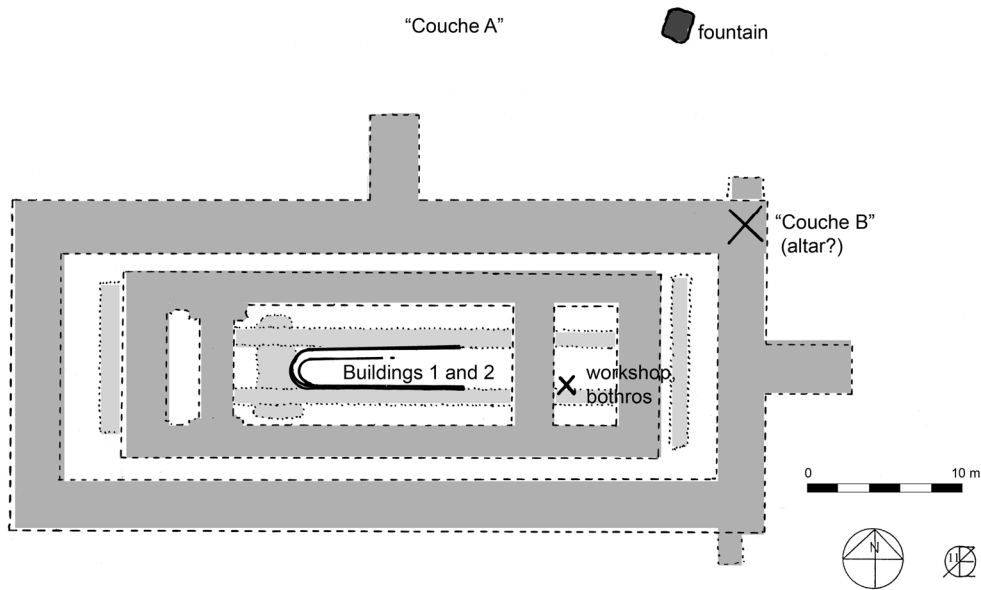


Figure 11. The spatial organization of the sanctuary in the Geometric period, with the two cult buildings, the bothros and the workshop, and the fountain, with the early find concentrations Couche A and B from the French excavations. The outlines of the Archaic and Classical temple foundations are also indicated. (Drawing: Østby)

to temple buildings also in later periods, but they are brought home to us, with unusual emphasis, in these early buildings from a region where temple architecture has often been considered a late and foreign intrusion. The building models which were dedicated in the sanctuary in the 7th century and have left some fragments, may be understood as a further indication that in this environment special, religious ideas were attached to the buildings as such.¹⁴² For the moment it is impossible to trace such ideas back further than the Late Geometric period, but the possibility of recovering earlier evidence for them at this site is intriguing and certainly should encourage further archaeological investigation there.

No hearth, fire-place or traces of fires have been found inside the buildings, and the lack of floor-surfaces excludes the possibility that even portable altars or other installations for regular sacrificial rites can have existed here. Neither have any indications of an altar connected with these buildings been found where they might be expected, in the area of the pronaos of the Classical temple. The large altar with an elaborate, sculptural decoration which was seen and described by Pausanias, and whose foundations were uncovered in front of the village church by the French excavators,¹⁴³ was attributed

by Pausanias to the mythical seer Melampous and thus associated with the same mythical past as the origin of the sanctuary itself; but, as it was seen and described by Pausanias, it was certainly contemporary with the Classical temple, as the workmanship of the preserved foundations adequately demonstrates. The distance to the front of the Classical and Archaic temples, ca. 26 m, is close to the probable length of the altar, but it is slightly more than the width of the temples, about 20 m and 16 m respectively. It would be appropriate for the situation when they were functioning,¹⁴⁴ but it seems highly unlikely that an altar for the tiny, Geometric cult buildings would have been located as far as about 45 m from their fronts, when they were themselves no more than about 3–4 m wide.¹⁴⁵ If an altar was connected with them, as seems inevitable since no such function can be attached to the buildings themselves, it must have been located far closer. Almost certainly it was an ash altar which, together with a later altar where the Classical altar was built, was responsible for the heavy layers of black

¹⁴² See section viii (Nordquist); also *ead.*, “A house for Athena Alea? On two fragments of house models from the sanctuary at Tegea,” in Østby (ed.), *Arcadia*, 152–66.

¹⁴³ Paus. 8.47.3; Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 66–9, fig. 24; Norman 1984, 190–1; Casevitz and Jost 2002, 275; Moggi and Osanna 2003, 506–7. The foundations were observed already by A. Milchhöfer before 1880 (*id.*, *Untersuchungsausgrabungen*, 53–4, pl. 2.1; reproduced in *Tegea II*, section i, 13 Fig. 1), but he did not realize their character. See *Tegea II*, section i (Østby), 18–20, for a discussion of the Classical altar.

¹⁴⁴ This situation conforms with the general observation by Bergquist 1967, 79–80, that the distance tended to be greater in early periods. For this rule, see also the remarks by A. Bammer, “Zum jüngeren Artemision von Ephesos,” *ÖJh* 47, 1964–65, 143. For the probable dimensions of the altar, see the discussion in *Tegea II*, section i (Østby), 18.

¹⁴⁵ The observations by Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungsausgrabungen*, 66, of a black layer with Early Archaic material near the site of the altar, do not suffice to support this, as assumed by Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 27 and 46–7 (apparently followed only by Moggi and Osanna 2003, 506). It seems clear from the more precise information by Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 338, that the black layer near the altar had later material of 6th–5th century date, when the altar had been moved to that position: see below, pp. 49–50 with note 268.

ash reported at the site by the early excavators.¹⁴⁶

A likely position for this altar might be sought somewhere near the north-eastern corner of the later Archaic and Classical temples, at a point where the foundations for the Archaic building would at least have covered it; those for the Classical temple certainly destroyed it. (See *Fig. 11*) At this point, a significant concentration of early votive material of appropriate date (mostly 8th and 7th centuries, nothing later) was discovered by the French archaeologists on both sides of the Classical foundation.¹⁴⁷ Its position is about 20 m away from the front of Building 1, at some 25° to 30° north of due east. It is closer, about 12 m, to the sacred spring, which is visible at twice that angle and almost twice the distance: about 60° north of due east from the temple front, and about 25 m distant from it. It may not be irrelevant that in this position the altar, when seen from the entrance to Building 1, is on the same line of vision as the sacred Mount Parthenion in the background.¹⁴⁸

If this actually was the position of the altar in the 8th and 7th centuries, the distance from the temple front remains more considerable than one might expect, and the comparative closeness to the spring gives an indication of its probable importance in the function of the sanctuary, which is reflected in its topographical organization. But it should be emphasized that these considerations must remain at a very hypothetical level, as long as no more positive evidence for the position of that altar is available.

After the votive pit was closed – and hardly a long time afterwards, so the former use of the spot was probably remembered – a simple, metallurgical complex, surrounded and defined by a low, circular clay frame, was installed, about 6.5 m in front of the southern wall of Building 1 and apparently at a slightly lower level.¹⁴⁹ It was used during the same period as the early cult buildings; the datable material to establish this is not very precise, but seems to cover, as they do, the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th centuries.¹⁵⁰

There is evidence for such activities also from other early Greek sanctuaries, but in most cases it is limited to slag, misshapen casts, or other discarded materials from the production.¹⁵¹ In Greece the closest parallel

seems to be from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria from the late 8th century, where a small, but properly constructed building apparently was used as a bronze workshop; but it was located in a far more modest position beside the early “Hekatompedon” temple of Apollo, near its apsidal end, and its activity was probably connected with metal objects for the buildings and other practical functions, rather than for the production of votive objects.¹⁵² The large sanctuary of Astarte at Kition on Cyprus has exciting evidence for metalworking in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, both from the late Bronze Age and from the Archaic period, suggesting that there may have been a long tradition for such connections there; there is also evidence for such activities at other early sanctuaries in Cyprus.¹⁵³ The prominent position chosen at Tegea for such an installation, in front of the cult buildings in the prolongation of their southern wall, has no known parallel elsewhere; it would seem to be more suitable for an altar. This fact, and the position immediately above an earlier deposit of sacred, votive objects which could hardly have been forgotten, suggest that an unusually high degree of ideological content was connected with this feature at Tegea. The religious and magical aspect of the blacksmith’s trade has a long tradition back in prehistory, and has also been observed in traditional societies in recent times.¹⁵⁴ In the sanctuary of Alea he must have had a significant position working in the service of the goddess, preparing for her worshippers the small metal objects which could not leave the sanctuary once they had been made there, but had to be left there as gifts in her honour. The question arises whether Alea had a special connection with such activities, which might perhaps be easier to understand if her name was somehow derived from or associated with the concept of heat and fire.¹⁵⁵ Such a connection might also, later on, have helped to prepare the ground for the amalgamation with Athena, whose connection with all kinds of crafts was one of the principal aspects of her character.

(on the evidence from Olympia); *ead.* 2003, 152–5; T.K. Andrews, *Bronzecastings at Geometric period Olympia and early Greek metal sources* (PhD diss. Brandeis University 1994), Ann Arbor 2004; and section ii (Nordquist), 177 note 204.

¹⁵² Risberg 1992, 37–9, fig. 5; S. Huber, “Un atelier de bronzier dans le sanctuaire d’Apollon à Eretrie,” *AntK* 34, 1991, 137–54 (148–54 on the metallurgical activity); *ead.*, “Activités métallurgiques dans le sanctuaire d’Apollon à Érétrie,” in C. Gillis, Chr. Risberg and B. Sjöberg (eds), *Trade and production, production and the craftsman* (Proceedings of the 4th and 5th international workshops, Athens 1994 and 1995; *SIMA-PB* 143), Jonsæred 1997, 173–83; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 103–4, fig. 105. Other metal workshops lodged probably in open-air precincts, as at Oropos (*ibid.* 100–1, fig. 77), were not connected with a sanctuary.

¹⁵³ See L. Steel, *Cyprus before history*, London 2004, 178–9; J.M. Webb, *Ritual architecture, iconography and practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age* (*SIMA-PB* 75), Jonsæred 1999, 300–2, for a convenient summary of Bronze Age evidence; and for Kition V. Karageorghis, *Kition*, London 1976, 72–6 and 113–4.

¹⁵⁴ See for a recent study of these aspects S. Blakely, *Myth, ritual and metallurgy in ancient Greece and recent Africa*, Cambridge 2006.

¹⁵⁵ See p. 14, note 24 above.

¹⁴⁶ See last note, and below, p. 49 with note 265.

¹⁴⁷ See Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 337–8, for the deposit which he calls “Couche B”, and which he explicitly connects with an altar. The finds from this area are summarily described in his article, and have been more thoroughly studied by Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, but together with other early material from the French excavation; they cannot now be distinguished among it. For further information, see p. 49.

¹⁴⁸ See above, p. 18 with note 58.

¹⁴⁹ See section ii (Nordquist), 157–78.

¹⁵⁰ See section ii (Nordquist), 177.

¹⁵¹ For surveys of our evidence, see Risberg 1992; G. Zimmer, *Griechische Bronzegusswerkstätte*, Mainz 1990 (16–25 on evidence from the Geometric period, from Pithekoussai, Lefkandi, Akovitika and Olympia); C. Morgan, *Athletes and oracles. The transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the eighth century B.C.*, Cambridge 1990, 35–8

No other Arcadian sanctuary can at present trace its building activity back to such early and simple beginnings, but it would certainly be premature to conclude from this that the sanctuary already now presented itself as something special or outstanding. Cult buildings of such simple and cheap material execution would have been within the range of the economical and material possibilities of any Arcadian community, however modest; but hardly any other such site has been excavated in such a way that similar remains would have a chance to be discovered. For the same reason, since we have no knowledge of the aspect and character of other Tegean sanctuaries which may have existed in the same period (such as the undoubtedly old and important sanctuary of Athena Poliatis¹⁵⁶), we cannot assume that the sanctuary already then had any such particular rank or status within the Tegean environment as it certainly received later. The votive material indicates that the sanctuary was well frequented by people with a reasonably established economical and social status, perhaps to a large extent by travellers on the principal routes between the Peloponnesian landscapes where the crossing of the Alfeios was a natural pivot; it had already more of a status than an ordinary countryside sanctuary. However, the cult buildings do not imply that this was already considered a high-status sanctuary. The heyday of the sanctuary was yet to come.

The intermediate 7th-century phase: a trench, and a platform

The later Geometric Building 1 was destroyed by fire, probably about 680–670, as usefully demonstrated by a Middle Protocorinthian I aryballos which had fallen into one of the postholes of the building after the pole had been removed, but before the hole was filled.¹⁵⁷ (Fig. 12) This destruction may equally easily have been a casual event as caused by an episode of war or unrest; neither historical sources nor the archaeological material can provide an answer to this question. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the position of Tegea on the natural route between Sparta and Argos may have become uneasy when the conflicts between those two powers flared up in the early 7th century, culminating in the severe defeat inflicted by the Argives on the Spartan army at Hysiai in 669 B.C.¹⁵⁸ In order to reach that battle-

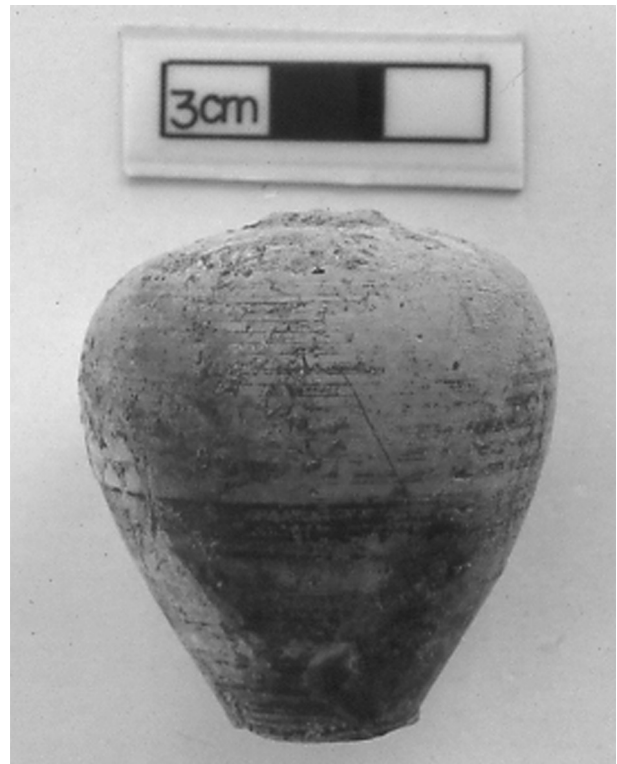


Figure 12. MPC I aryballos C-PC 70 found in posthole D1/60 in Building 1, gives a *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the building about 680–670 B.C. (Photo: J. Bakke)

site, at the border between Tegean and Argive lands, the Spartan army would have to pass through Tegean territory – with an agreement, or by force. Nothing is known about the position taken by Tegea in this situation, but if her political orientation coincided with her cultural one, it was probably then leaning toward the Argive side. This, however, would hardly have been much of a problem for the experienced Spartan army if the Tegean social and military organization was still at a rudimentary level. In any case, the safely dated destruction of Building 1 coincides eerily closely with the date of this important event, which is generally considered reliable although it rests on only one source.

If these events were somehow connected with an interruption of activity in the sanctuary, this would have been no more than a short episode. The archaeological strata of the 7th century, in between the Geometric and the Early Archaic temples, were unfortunately totally removed by earlier excavators in the temple sector,¹⁵⁹ and in the northern sector they have not yet been reached. But the numerous stray finds of 7th-century date, many of which are of high quality,¹⁶⁰ are sufficient to demonstrate that this

where the historicity of the battle is challenged. The only source for it is Pausanias (2.24.7), but the unusually precise chronological information given by him indicates that at this point he used a reliable source.

¹⁵⁹ These are the “black layers” further discussed below, pp. 49–50 (with note 265).

¹⁶⁰ Such material has been found both in the temple trench and in

¹⁵⁶ See pp. 14–5, with note 28.

¹⁵⁷ See section ii (Nordquist), 99–100 with Fig. 36 for the discovery, and section iii (Voyatzis), 346 (Fig. 34) for the vase, C-PC 70. Strictly seen, this is only a *terminus post quem*, since the vase may have been in use for some time before ending up in the hole, but it coincides nicely with the character of the other material connected with the building. The fire is evidenced by the destruction layers D1/14, /15 and /17 east of Building 1; see section ii (Nordquist), 112–3.

¹⁵⁸ For discussions of this important event, see Cartledge 2002², 109–10; Adshead 1986, 26–8; Tomlinson 1972, 79–83; Kelly 1976, 86–8, and extensively *id.*, “The traditional enmity between Sparta and Argos: The birth and development of a myth,” *AHR* 75, 1970, 971–1003,



Figure 13. The trench wall under the northern Archaic foundation, with incised lines showing the outlines of the trench for the presumed earlier temple. (Photo: Østby)

could not have been a period of decline. In the period covering approximately the second and third quarters of the 7th century, after the destruction of Building 1 and before the construction of the large, Archaic temple, a site of this quality would certainly not have been left without a new temple building to replace the old one and carry on whatever functions and associations were connected with it.

Although limited, there is some positive evidence for a temple building at the site in the mid-7th century. One part of this evidence consists of a trench going north–south, about 1 m wide and 0.20 m deep, which is visible in the northern and southern trench walls of the cella excavation; it is located about 1 m in front of the later Building 1 (between $x = 18\text{--}19$ m), at a higher level, but safely below the colonnade foundation of the Archaic temple.¹⁶¹ (Fig. 13) It must then by necessity be from the period between the Geometric temples and the Early Archaic building, and can most easily be explained as the foundation trench for the eastern front of such an intermediate building. A transversal wall between its pronaos and cella is another possibility to be considered, also because its immediate predecessor apparently had a specially defined pronaos; but a pronaos in front of the trench would reduce the space between the temple front and the altar, which seems to have remained in its old position at the north-east corner of the later temples until the late 7th century.¹⁶² In any case, it is a useful indication

that such a building did exist. The discovery of an isolated piece of mud-brick in this trench¹⁶³ may indicate what would at any rate be expected: the wattle-and-daub construction of the earlier period had now been replaced by the more normal mud-brick material. A trench of this kind would hardly be needed for a wattle-and-daub structure as used in the older buildings, and thus it is likely that the trench was made for a stone socle; if so, these stones were completely removed afterwards.¹⁶⁴ It is also possible that a heap of mud-brick material, some with preserved traces of painted plaster, which was found in a context of late 7th-century date in the northern sector may derive from the destruction of this building.¹⁶⁵

One contemporary structure of the early 7th century which had a similar function, the early temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta,¹⁶⁶ may indicate what the building was like. The comparison suggests that its dimensions need

the northern sector; see section **vii** (Voyatzis) and *Tegea* II, section **ix** (*ead.*). Much of the material presented by Dugas, *Sanctuaire* and studied by Voyatzis, *Sanctuary* is from this period.

¹⁶¹ See section **ii** (Nordquist), 73–4, with the stratigraphical sections of the two trench walls Figs 16–17. The cuttings have the unit nos D1/50 and /55.

¹⁶² This is what seems to emerge from the unfortunately very short

description by Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 337–8, of the materials from his “Couche B” (an expression which defines not a stratigraphical context, but a concentration of objects). See above, pp. 29–30 with notes 145–146.

¹⁶³ See section **ii** (Nordquist), 73; it is illustrated there, Fig. 19.1.

¹⁶⁴ The conglomerate foundations for the inner colonnades in the Archaic temple includes some blocks with very marked anathyrosis on the lateral surfaces, useless in that context, but perhaps an indication that they were reused from an earlier building; see pp. 40–1 with Fig. 20.

¹⁶⁵ See *Tegea* II, section **iv** (Tarditi), 79–80. On decorated external walls in early Greek architecture, see Schattner, *Hausmodelle*, 138–40, with an extensive survey of the evidence n. 163.

¹⁶⁶ On its shape and dimensions: Drerup, *Baukunst*, 19–21; Kalpaxis 1976, 77, fig. 63; Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 166–7, figs 275–276. See also next note. The date of the building at or immediately after 700 is implied by Kalpaxis and Mazarakis Ainian, from the revised chronology of the sanctuary as published by J. Boardman, “Artemis Orthia and chronology,” *BSA* 58, 1963, 1–7. The roof-tiles and architectural terracottas, now dated to the third quarter of the 7th century (Winter 1993, 98–100, fig. 11), are doubtless a later replacement of an earlier roof of simpler materials; see above, p. 26 with note 119.



Figure 14. The “platform” underneath the Archaic foundations in the rear part of the cella, probably from an earlier temple structure. (Photo: Østby)

not have been much increased beyond those of Building 1: the external dimensions of the temple at Sparta have been calculated as about 4.50×12 m, very close to those which have been quite safely established for Building 1.¹⁶⁷ The precise dimensions of the 7th-century building at Tegea are impossible to establish, apart from the fact that it must have been at least somewhat wider than its Geometric precursor, since there is no indication that new walls were built above the lateral walls of that building; any such traces would have been visible in the southern trench wall, under the Archaic foundations. It must then have been at the very least about 5 m wide. Since no investigations have so far been made in the narrow areas between the Archaic foundations for the cella colonnades and the side-walls of the Classical cella, it is still possible that traces of those side-walls may be discovered if they were located there. In that case, the Archaic cella was probably built around it. If one or both side-walls coincided more or less precisely with those of the Archaic cella foundations, those would inevitably have destroyed them; but if both walls had this position, the width of this structure would have reached about 9–10 m, 10.00–10.08 m being the reconstructed external width of the cella in the Archaic temple.¹⁶⁸ In that case, inner supports would be needed, as they were in the Archaic cella, and should have left some evidence. The length would in any case have been increased beyond the ca. 12 m of Building 1, for reasons of proportion, even if the pronaos alternative is disregarded; but any such increase would have to be

fairly substantial in order to enclose within the interior another important item left by this building phase.

The second feature to be linked with this hypothetical structure is the “platform” or paved area of large, unworked fieldstones in the rear part of the cella, which was explained by the French excavators as the foundation for the cult statue in the Classical temple, and apparently considered contemporary with it.¹⁶⁹ It was reported to be about 0.32 m deep,¹⁷⁰ and is of a fairly precise, rectangular shape, about 8 m long and 2.5 m wide. (Fig. 14) The platform passes underneath the two parallel colonnade foundations of the Early Archaic temple, and must consequently precede it; but it also cuts off the rear part of the apses of the two Geometric buildings, and must consequently be later than them. The intermediate date in the mid-7th century is then an inevitable conclusion, for the same reasons as for the transversal trench in the front. If there was a temple at this site in this period, the platform must have been located inside the building, almost certainly in the rear part of the interior as in the later, Archaic temple.

Located inside the temple building, the feature is surprising and has no clear parallels. There can certainly be no question of understanding it as the foundation for a cult statue, as the French excavators did; the Late Archaic ivory statue by Endoios could not have been large nor heavy, and would certainly not have needed such fussy foundations.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ See last note. The width is calculated under the condition that the Orthia temple had one, not two inner colonnades, making it three-aisled; this is possible, but not likely, since it would probably make it the first known example of this type. It would in this case have been about 6.5–7 m wide. See Drerup, *Baukunst*, 20; Kalpaxis 1976, 77 (with incorrect dimensions for the two alternatives).

¹⁶⁸ Østby, *Temple*, 93, fig. 29.

¹⁶⁹ In Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 11, it is explained it as a lower preparation, not as a true foundation, because of the rough character of the stones. See Østby, *Temple*, 85 with n. 39.

¹⁷⁰ Østby, *Temple*, 85; Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 11. For this platform, see also section ii (Nordquist), 73–4.

¹⁷¹ See Østby, *Temple*, 85, and below for the statue. See also N.J. Norman, “Asklepios and Hygieia and the cult statue at Tegea,” *AJA* 90, 1986, 428–9. There was no particular foundation for the base of the cult statue in the Heraion at Olympia; see H. Riemann, “Die Bauphasen des

It is at any rate unlikely that another, large cult statue would have preceded it. Moreover, no evidence exists or has ever been reported for any structure covering the gap between the level of the platform and the floor level of the Archaic cella as indicated by the surface of the stylobate blocks (the difference is considerable, about 0.85 m¹⁷²); where the colonnade foundations pass over the platform there is only ordinary soil in the interval between them, no structure or solid material. Nor can it be explained as a hearth or as a depository area, since neither ashes nor votive objects have been mentioned in connection with it.

Stone-paved areas of circular shape in large houses (at Nichoria¹⁷³), in funerary buildings (at Lefkandi¹⁷⁴) or connected with funerary cult in necropolis areas (at Asine¹⁷⁵) do not seem relevant to the explanation of this feature inside a temple building, for which parallels are conspicuously absent. It is probably relevant that the platform was located immediately above the innermost, apsidal parts of the Geometric buildings, which were certainly considered an important cult focus, and even seems to have preserved the inner cult complex of the older Building 2 in a sort of niche.¹⁷⁶ The stones which were partially exposed underneath the platform, inside the apsis areas of Buildings 1 and 2, may be understood as aniconic cult symbols of considerable antiquity and importance, and probably give a clue to these ideas.¹⁷⁷ Because it replaced these stones, the platform must be understood as a transposition and continuation, in a different material and form, of the functionality and ideas connected with that innermost precinct. The precise form of the rituals and cultic ideas connected with it was probably defined by local traditions, and remains inaccessible to us; those traditions may, however, have had a decisive influence also on the later architectural developments at the site.

As sketched in these pages from admittedly very limited evidence, the cult complex of the sanctuary in the middle of the 7th century seems to demonstrate a steady development from its older, very simple physical form toward a more updated organization better aligned with general Peloponnesian trends. This may particularly be

Heraions von Olympia," *Jdl* 61-62, 1946-47, 52-3, and A. Mallwitz, "Das Heraion von Olympia und seine Vorgänger," *Jdl* 81, 1966, 354-7.

¹⁷² Østby, *Temple*, 85. The difference to the floor of the Classical temple would be even greater, 1.84 m (level of the Classical cella floor above the euthynteria, 1.17 m; level of the Archaic stylobate blocks above the Classical euthynteria, 0.18 m; difference 0.99 m, to be added to the 0.85 m).

¹⁷³ Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 76-9 (discussing a possible function as an altar); Coulson *et al.* 1983, 29-30, 38.

¹⁷⁴ Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 50.

¹⁷⁵ R. Hägg, "Funerary meals in the Geometric necropolis at Asine?," in Hägg (ed.), 1983, 189-93, discusses such examples at Asine and elsewhere and connects them with funerary cult. Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 122, adds to the material. See also C.M. Antonaccio, *An archaeology of ancestors*, Lanham 1995, 199-207.

¹⁷⁶ See section ii (Nordquist), 154.

¹⁷⁷ See section ii (Nordquist), 147 with *Fig. 69*; and above, p. 26 with note 124.

the case for the new temple, if the scarce indications of its presence and character have been correctly interpreted by us. The possible comparison with the temple of Artemis Orthia should not, however, be taken as a sign of renewed Laconian influence; similar temples may also have been far more frequent elsewhere in the Peloponnese than it is now possible to establish. Quite probably, moreover, the temple at Tegea was larger. The character of the votive pottery and other objects still exhibits evidence of Laconian contacts, but as in the preceding period the principal cultural orientation seems to have been directed toward the Argolid instead.¹⁷⁸ Strong local elements certainly remained in undocumented, cultic traditions, but changes may also have occurred at this level without necessarily being caused by influences from elsewhere; this possibility is revealed to us most clearly by the strange platform which apparently replaced an older cultic focus of a different type inside the new temple. The continuity from the earlier period is adequately demonstrated if the altar remained in the same position as before.¹⁷⁹ The activity in the metallurgical workshop seems, however, to have been discontinued, at least in the particular and unusual location in front of the temples; if it continued elsewhere in the sanctuary, evidence for this has yet to be found.

More information about the physical situation in the sanctuary in the 7th century can be expected from further investigation north of the temple, where the relevant stratigraphical contexts are still preserved beneath the level which has so far been reached. Some preliminary evidence has already been observed for repeated episodes of flooding from the Sarantapotamos river, and a sequence of possible fences or border structures which had to be replaced after each such episode.¹⁸⁰ Clearly the river was a troublesome neighbour in this period, probably also before, and the coexistence with it must have created some worries for the authorities responsible for the activity in the sanctuary. It would also have been in an exposed position if Tegea became in any way involved in the conflicts between Sparta and Argos in this period, since the main road or path connecting them probably passed nearby. The site would, if only for those reasons, not seem to be an obvious choice for the prestigious, principal sanctuary of the entire Tegean community, if social or political developments were now reaching a level where such a thing was needed. The evidence from the votive material does not indicate that the status of the sanctuary suffered from these problems; it may rather have drawn some profit from its position

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 20 with note 75.

¹⁷⁹ See above, pp. 29-30 with notes 145-146.

¹⁸⁰ See *Tegea II*, section iv (Tarditi), 58. It is now clear that the pebble layer observed and mentioned by Mendel, *Fouilles*, 244, and Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 337-8 ("terre rougeâtre, mêlée de cailloux de rivière"), is not the virgin soil, as they thought, but evidence for such episodes in the 7th century. See p. 17 with note 47 above for previous discussions concerning the course of the river, and the contribution on the issue in *Tegea II*, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe).



Figure 15. Marble block from the stylobate of the Early Archaic temple, reused as building material in the foundations of the Classical temple. (Photo: Østby)

near an important line of communication. This provides an easy explanation to the many fine votive objects of clearly Laconian and Argive character. There is, however, no indication yet of a radical break or leap of quality from the status of an adequately prosperous, rural sanctuary in a position presenting some advantages and some problems. That leap of quality was, however, now approaching.

The Early Archaic temple and the reorganization of the sanctuary

The investigation in the temple area has brought conclusive evidence for the Early Archaic date of the foundations which were used as basis for the reconstruction of the Archaic temple, which were mentioned by Pausanias and were according to him destroyed by a fire in 395 B.C. The temple was also known to Herodotos, who describes ancient objects kept inside and almost certainly had visited it.¹⁸¹ The alternative interpretation offered by the French excavators for these remains, as an Early Christian or Byzantine building constructed after the Classical temple had been destroyed down to its present level, has not to my knowledge been repeated since the first studies explaining these remains as Early Archaic were published.¹⁸² The marble stylobate block of the same

type as those still preserved *in situ* on the foundations inside the cella, which was reused as building material in the Classical foundations (*Fig. 15*), provides sufficient proof that those foundations are earlier, not later, than the Classical temple.¹⁸³ A new, more precise plan of the remains is presented on *Pl. 1*.¹⁸⁴

A late date for these remains is even more definitively excluded by the stratigraphical situation in the trench walls underneath the colonnade foundations. The foundations are of irregular depth, with additional supporting blocks underneath the points where columns were to be raised (incidentally demonstrating a considerable level of preliminary planning), but they rest all the way on homogeneous soil, without any indication that a trench had been excavated into the old soil as would have been necessary if this were a structure built after the destruction of the Classical temple. The soil consists of disintegrated debris probably from earlier buildings, heaped up as the construction proceeded to the level which was considered appropriate for each section of the colonnade foundation.¹⁸⁵ The trench walls of this debris have not, however, produced any precisely datable, archaeological material, and the colonnade foundations still resting on it do not allow any extensive investigation of the debris itself; so any precise indication of the date of the temple must, as before, be based on a comparative and typological analysis involving other Early Archaic structures in the Peloponnese. Fortunately, the remains are sufficient for a fairly precise reconstruction of the plan as a basis for such an analysis; since no trace of the peristasis is preserved, its existence and shape must remain

¹⁸¹ Paus. 8.45.4. Hdt. 1.67.1 and 9.70.3 mentions the chains from the Spartan defeat and the mangers from Mardonios' camp at Plataiai. The chains were later seen by Pausanias in the new temple (8.47.2), but he does not mention the mangers; they may have been lost in the fire of 395 B.C.

¹⁸² Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, 11–3. See Østby, *Temple*; also *id.*, "The Archaic temple of Athena Alea at Tegea," *AAA* 17, 1984, 118–24. Independently Norman 1984, 171, had reached a similar conclusion, without pursuing it. D.I. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1973*, Città del Vaticano 1977, 180 no. 89.A, seems to be the last case where the old interpretation has appeared.

¹⁸³ See Østby, *Temple*, 77.

¹⁸⁴ It is based on fieldwork carried out by D.I. Sonerud in 1996, and replaces the earlier, less precise plan in Østby, *Temple*, fig. 2.

¹⁸⁵ See section **ii** (Nordquist), 71–3, with the illustrations *Figs 15, 55* and 57.

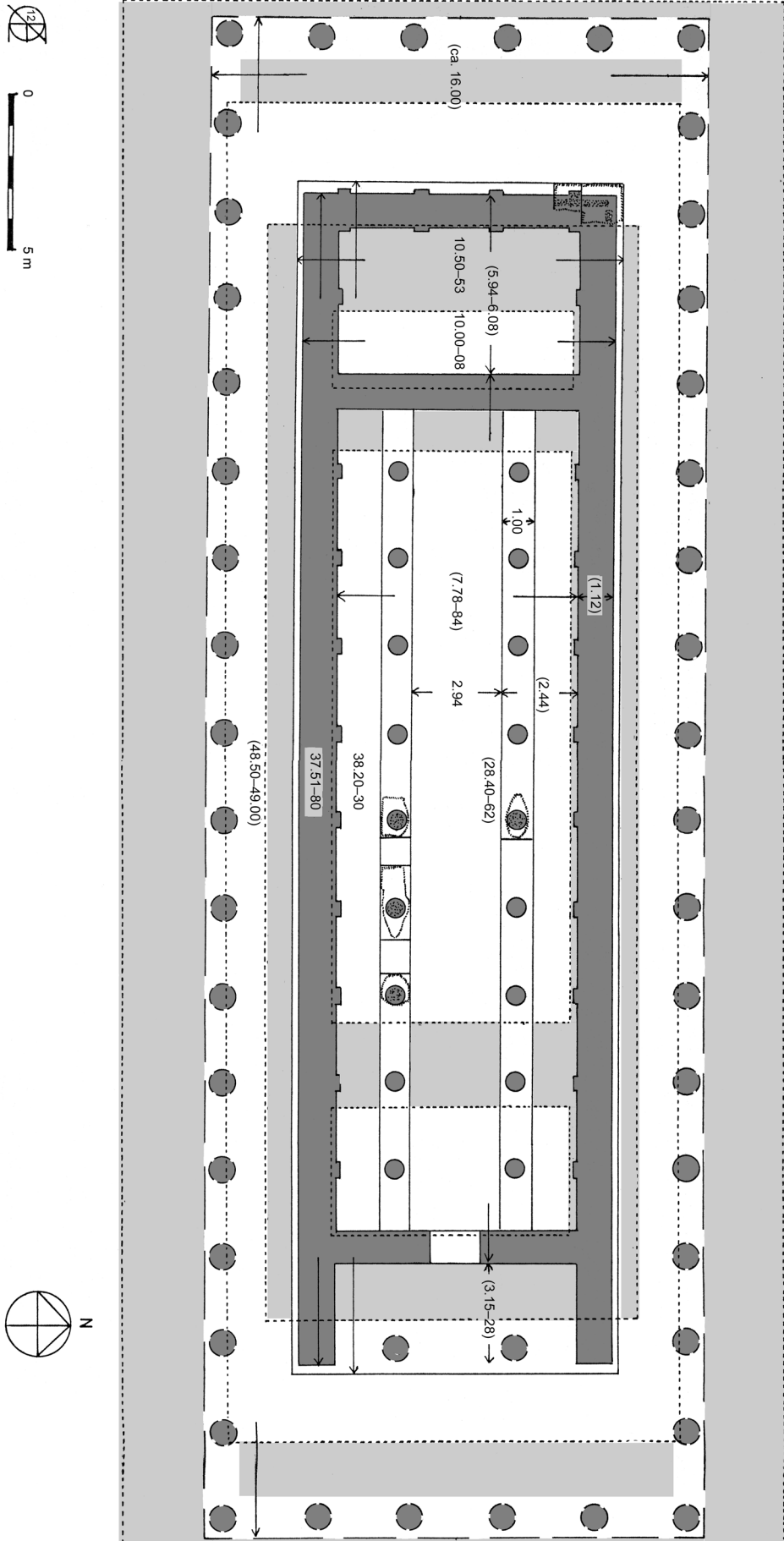


Figure 16. Reconstructed plan of the Archaic temple, in dark shading; the lighter shading indicates the foundations of the Classical temple. Documented dimensions are set without parentheses, reconstructed or hypothetical dimensions in parentheses. Scale 1 : 200. (Drawing: Østby)



Figure 17. The stylobates and stylobate foundations for the inner colonnades of the Archaic temple. Three stylobate blocks of marble are preserved from the southern colonnade (right), one from the northern (extreme left). (Photo: Østby)

hypothetical, though likely.¹⁸⁶ The plan is presented as *Fig. 16*.¹⁸⁷

Although some doubts have been expressed,¹⁸⁸ the arguments used to date the temple later than the early temple of Hera at Argos and earlier than the temple of Hera at Olympia, in an intermediate position between them, seem to remain valid. While the date of the temple at Olympia in the early 6th century has never been challenged and can be considered definitive,¹⁸⁹ there has been considerable discussion about the early Argive temple. This discussion, however, has limited importance for the temple at Tegea. Even if the Argive temple should prove as early as the late 8th or early 7th century, which seems likely,¹⁹⁰ a similarly early date for the Tegean building is excluded by the safely

established *terminus post quem* of about 680–670 for the destruction of Building 1, and by the evidence, vague though it is, for an intermediate temple building after this event and before the construction of the Archaic temple.¹⁹¹ A date before the second half of the 7th century can for those reasons be excluded *a priori*, and would in any case appear to be unlikely because of the close contacts with the temple at Olympia. A later date for the Argive Heraion, in the second half of the 7th century,¹⁹² would still leave sufficient time for the construction of the Tegean temple in the late years of the century, a few decades before the Olympia temple was built. The date of the Argive Heraion is of some importance for estimating the speed of development from Argos to Tegea, but not for the relative chronology of the two buildings, and it has only limited importance for the date of the latter; it would provide a useful *terminus post quem* only if its own date were better established.

The earlier date of the Tegean temple, as compared to the Heraion at Olympia, seems equally clear – in spite of certain features, such as the unusually early use of marble in stylobates and toichobates, which has been used to argue for a later date for Tegea.¹⁹³ (*Fig. 17*) It is explained, however, by the comparatively easy access to the quarries at Doliana; the same material was widely used for temple building in Arcadia later in the 6th century.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁶ See Østby, *Temple*, for a full presentation of the material and the reconstruction based on it; *ibid.* 94–5, and *id.* 2005, 495 with n. 10, for the question of the peristasis. See *Tegea II*, section *xvi* (Østby), 317, for arguments from the dimensions of the Classical temple which seem to give additional support to the reconstruction. See also below, with note 197.

¹⁸⁷ Replacing Østby, *Temple*, fig. 29, but the dimensions are unchanged.

¹⁸⁸ Most clearly by F. Felten, *Arkadien* (*AntW* 18, 1987, Sondern.) 32, who proposes a date in the 6th century, mostly because of the use of marble. Gruben 1996, 409, suggests ca. 600; Felsch 2001, 7, hesitates between dates in the late 7th or in the 6th century. Strøm 1988, 187, and Billot 1997, 26 n. 142, only refer to the proposed dates without taking position.

¹⁸⁹ After the date was established in the important paper by H.E. Searls and W.B. Dinsmoor, “The date of the Olympia Heraion,” *AJA* 49, 1945, 62–80, it has been regularly repeated – last in A. Mallwitz, “Ergebnisse und Folgerungen,” *OIBer* 11, 1999, 219–24, and Kyrieleis 2006, 51–3 – and is supported by additional arguments by Felsch 2001, 9–11.

¹⁹⁰ Østby 2006, 30 and 34, argues for this date; Strøm 1988, 187, and 2009, 139–40, for the early 7th century. We both see the temple as immediately connected with the construction of the terrace. See Billot 1997, 23, for a useful, recent survey of the various proposals; also Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 157 with notes 1108–1111.

¹⁹¹ See above, pp. 31–5.

¹⁹² Proposed in several works conveniently surveyed by Billot 1997, 23. This date implies, however, a chronological gap between the construction of the terrace and the temple which is difficult to defend or explain; see note 190.

¹⁹³ See note 188 above. Marble was also used in other early building material from Tegea; see pp. 48–9.

¹⁹⁴ See Østby 1990–91, *passim*. The series was introduced by the small prostyle temple at Mavriki, near the Doliana quarries: *ibid.* 309–27.



Figure 18. Two marble blocks from the rear end of the naos of the Archaic temple, with markings probably for orthostates, for a vertical, wooden pole with a rectangular section, and for mud-brick walls resting on the inner part of the surface. (Photo: Østby)

The reconstruction of the naos, with an adyton¹⁹⁵ instead of the opisthodomē which first appears at Olympia, is a strong argument for the earlier date of the Tegea temple. Apart from the technical arguments which will be discussed below, at Tegea the opisthodomē is unlikely also because it was only exceptionally used in other Arcadian temples from the Archaic period;¹⁹⁶ otherwise, the model force of this earliest and largest, monumental Arcadian temple would certainly have favoured imitations. The earlier date of the Tegea temple would be still more clearly underlined if positive evidence could be obtained for the longer peristasis with 6×18 columns, which is admittedly a hypothetical reconstruction, but based on observations from the organization of the cella which are difficult to account for otherwise; it remains more probable than other, suggested alternatives and has been widely accepted.¹⁹⁷ The development of stone technique certainly has not reached the level exhibited by the naos socle at Olympia, where solid ashlar shifts

¹⁹⁵ As explained in Østby, *Temple*, 88–91, and 99 for the parallels. See note 205 below for the alternative proposal of an opisthodomē.

¹⁹⁶ Used only in the Late Archaic temple of Poseidon and Athena at Vigla, and perhaps in the early temple at Bassai. See Østby 1990–91, 347 with n. 633 and 287 with n. 341, figs 174 and 172; *id.* 2005, 499, fig. 1; and below, with note 206.

¹⁹⁷ R. Felsch in AA 1987, 21 n. 41; Gruben 1996, 409, and *id.* 2001, 136. B.A. Barletta, *The origins of the Greek architectural orders*, Cambridge 2001, 39, is sceptical but does not take an explicit position. Most emphatically this reconstruction has been rejected by F.E. Winter, “Early Doric temples in Arcadia,” *EchCl* 35, 1991, 199–200 (also *id.*, “Arkadian temple-designs,” in Østby (ed.), *Arcadia*, 486 n. 19); but his proposed shorter peristasis with 6×16 columns would either lack the correlation with the inner colonnades, or leave the pterā in the two fronts less deep than on the sides. A secondary addition of the peristasis in the late 6th century (*ibid.*) cannot be disproved, but would remove the temple from the also otherwise well established connections with the temples at Argos and Olympia; in those cases there is no reason to believe that the peristasis was a later addition. The added peristasis is not likely for the temple at Alipheira, cited by Winter as a parallel (see for this question Østby 1990–91, 364–81, esp. 372–3 and 381), but it can be demonstrated for Temple C at nearby Pallantion (*ibid.* 109–18), where it surrounds a simple *oikos* of earlier date.

behind the orthostates carried the upper part of wood and mud-brick. At Tegea it seems more likely that the orthostates covered courses of mud-brick in a wooden framework going down to the toichobate level; this is doubtless an older technique, developing a system which can be observed already in the early temple for Artemis Orthia at Sparta.¹⁹⁸

These differences gain particular weight if the proportions and dimensions of the naos buildings are compared. In the temple at Olympia it seems to cite and outdo on purpose the naos in the slightly earlier building at Tegea, with a modest, but precise increase of dimensions (from $10.00\text{--}08 \times 37.51\text{--}81$ m to 10.72×40.21 m), and identical proportions, 4 : 15.¹⁹⁹ This must be understood as a conscious citation, of a type which was widespread in Greek temple building.²⁰⁰ A similar concern at Olympia to outdo the older building can be found in the dimensions of the peristases: although the flank with 16 columns was two columns shorter than the presumed peristasis flank at Tegea, the length of the stylobate, 50.01 m, goes safely beyond the 48.50 to 49.00 m calculated for Tegea. This was possible because the axial spacings had been sufficiently increased, probably for this purpose (3.26 against $2.79\text{--}2.80$ m: proportion 7 : 6).²⁰¹ If the width of the

¹⁹⁸ Østby, *Temple*, 88–91, and 98 for the parallels. The Archaic temple of Apollo at Bassai is also supposed to have these building materials; Cooper 1996, 95.

¹⁹⁹ Østby, *Temple*, 93, where the dimensions of the naos at Tegea are calculated. The early temple at Bassai was smaller, ca. 7.50×26.10 m; Cooper 1996, 95–6.

²⁰⁰ See for some such cases E. Østby, “Chronological problems of ancient Selinus,” in T. Fischer-Hansen (ed.), *Ancient Sicily (Acta Hyperborea 6)*, Copenhagen 1995, 97–9 (competition between Selinus and Akragas); *id.* 1990–91, 361, and *id.* in Forsén, Forsén and Østby 1999, 175 (competition between Arcadian communities). A systematical search would certainly reveal several such cases.

²⁰¹ For the calculation of the stylobate dimensions in the Tegea temple, see Østby, *Temple*, 94–5. The width was also there calculated as near or slightly above 16.00 m, but with different criteria.



Figure 19. The foundations of the rear wall of the naos in the Archaic temple, with three blocks from the toichobate zone on the upper level (in the upper left corner). Photo: Østby

stylobate front at Tegea, as at Olympia, closely reflected the proportion between the number of columns on the two sides, and for that reason was 1/3 of the length, there would be an even more substantial difference between the widths of the two buildings: 18.75 m at Olympia, against approximately 16.15 to 16.35 m at Tegea. The connections between the naoi of the two buildings demonstrate most clearly the prestige of the temple of Tegea as a model for the new structure at Olympia, which was now becoming the most important sanctuary of the Peloponnese and had to have its most impressive temple.

The preserved traces of the temple at Tegea are sufficient for a satisfactory reconstruction of the naos, although some problems must remain open. There is very limited evidence for the reconstruction with a conventional pronaos, and that pronaos would have to be unusually shallow; several Early Archaic temples (also, most likely, the immediate predecessor discussed above) might offer parallels for an alternative reconstruction with an open naos front, without any divisory wall separating pronaos and cella,²⁰² and this possibility cannot be rejected out of hand. But there is a difference between the levels of the foundations for the naos front and those for the inner colonnades of the cella, which clearly indicates that there was a difference between the floor levels in these two spaces; the same difference can be seen at the rear end of the naos, where it can be established quite precisely as 0.26 m between the levels of the toichobate at the rear end and the stylobates in the cella.²⁰³ The same feature recurs in the Heraion at Olympia, but it is otherwise unknown in early temples on the Greek mainland,²⁰⁴ and is one of several indica-

tions that these two buildings were closely connected.

The two remaining marble blocks at the rear, north-western corner of the cella can only be understood as the toichobate of a closed wall, and are not from the corner of an open opisthodom as has recently been suggested.²⁰⁵ (Fig. 18) At Tegea it would precede the opisthodom in the Heraion at Olympia, where it is usually considered an innovation; but an opisthodom may already have existed in the early Heraion at Argos, and other earlier examples probably exist as well.²⁰⁶ With this interpretation, the 0.20–0.24 m wide recessed and coarsely tooled surfaces on the corner block would have to be understood as evidence for an anta, which might at a pinch be possible; those surfaces would in that case still be understood as supports for some sort of orthostates, although one would expect a more precise definition of the corner. But the rectangular area which interrupts the groove, before it continues onto the next block, does not make sense in this context – it would have to be understood as support for a vertical beam, leaning to the inside of the anta for no clear reason – and an entirely different interpretation would have to be sought for the continuation of the recessed area. A balustrade covering the interval up to the first column has been proposed,²⁰⁷

Samos, and in several temples in Sicily and Southern Italy: see Østby, *Temple*, 99 n. 110.

²⁰⁵ Gruben 1996, 409; also *id.* 2001, 136. An opisthodom was also presumed by Norman 1984, 171 n. 12, but for no precise reason. See Østby, *Temple*, 88–90 with fig. 25, for a precise documentation and analysis of the evidence.

²⁰⁶ Billot 1997, 67, discusses the alternative reconstructions with opisthodom or adyton for the early temple of the Heraion at Argos, without taking position; but Strøm 1988, 182 and fig. 7, and *ead.* 2009, 135–7, gives good reasons for preferring the opisthodom. The temple at Thermon also had an opisthodom, if the Hellenistic plan precisely repeated the Archaic one; see Kalpaxis 1976, 100–1. The strange case of the early temple at Bassai, where there may have been an opisthodom apparently without a peristasis (*ibid.* 62–3, fig. 38, and Kelly 1995, 240), can probably be explained by the influence from the Heraion at Olympia.

²⁰⁷ This is the explanation offered by Gruben 1996, 409.

²⁰² Østby, *Temple*, 79–81. See above, p. 27 with note 127, for early temples with open fronts.

²⁰³ See Østby, *Temple*, 80, and fig. 2 for the levels; also *id.* 2005, 494.

²⁰⁴ For Olympia, see p. 43 with note 229. Other parallels exist on Corfu,



Figure 20. Two conglomerate blocks in the southern colonnade foundation of the Archaic temple. They have anathyrosis on the side surfaces, and were probably taken from an earlier building. (Photo: Østby)



Figure 21. Stylobate block on the southern colonnade foundation, with markings for the wooden column and for the plug securing the column in its correct position. (Photo: Østby)

but such a balustrade would make sense only if drawn further back to coincide with the presumed column axis, which certainly would not coincide with the front of the presumed anta. The markings are far more easily and economically explained as an anathyrosis preparation for orthostate blocks which covered the lowest part of a mud-brick wall. This marking was crossed by an additional, rectangular depression for a vertical and rectangular, wooden post inserted between those blocks and projecting out slightly in front of them, so that it would remain visible as a sort of pilaster, with a decorative as well as a structural function.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ As argued by Østby, *Temple*, 88–90; see notes 46 and 97 there, and pp. 25–6 with note 115 here, for parallels with this system.

According to this interpretation, the naos must be reconstructed with a closed adyton at the rear, but there is no clear indication of the level of its floor. Certainly the floor in this adyton could coincide with the level in the cella, 0.26 m higher than the toichobate surface visible on the outside; the coarse, rear edge of the toichobate blocks would then be covered by that floor and not left exposed to view. This simple and obvious solution is also supported by the conglomerate block which lies next to the second marble block, at the same level, but drawn inwards; it seems to be in its original position, and in that case was certainly covered by a structure such as a wall or a floor, and not left exposed to view.²⁰⁹ (*Fig. 19*) As an alternative, the floor in

²⁰⁹ See Østby, *Temple*, 88 fig. 23. The block is included in the state plan

this rear space, the presumed adyton, might coincide with the surface of the toichobate, and this might superficially seem to support the interpretation as an opisthodom. But it could also indicate that there was direct access from the adyton to the pteron, probably – also because it would be reflected in the northern side entrance of the Skopadian temple – in the form of a door or an opening in the northern side wall; such an arrangement would have a precise parallel in the early temple at Bassai.²¹⁰ It is in this case even conceivable that the adyton remained physically separated from the cella and was accessible only from the pteron, but the total destruction of the relevant area where the separation wall might be located makes further speculation on this point fruitless.

The reconstruction of the interior of the cella as a tripartite space, with a central nave and two lateral aisles separated by the two parallel colonnades, is certain. These three spaces are 2.44, 2.94 and 2.44 m wide (proportioned as 5 : 6 : 5, a total of 16 units each of 0.489 m, very likely 1½ Doric feet) if the colonnades with their stylobates are included in the width of the aisles. (See the plan *Fig. 16*) The colonnades rest on the two parallel foundations of conglomerate blocks carrying four well-preserved stylobate blocks of local marble, three on the southern foundation and one on the northern.²¹¹ Some of the conglomerate blocks have a lateral anathyrosis, which seems superfluous in the positions they now have; they may have been taken from an earlier, dismantled structure with at least some stone architecture, possibly the intermediate temple discussed above. (*Fig. 20*) The markings on the stylobate blocks, with trapezoidal cuttings for supporting the column while it was lifted into position (*Fig. 21*), instead of the segment-shaped ones used in other cases,²¹² raise the question whether these columns were perhaps carved into a polygonal shape, without concave fluting, similar to a block of octagonal section found during the excavation in the northern sector.²¹³ If the 0.14–0.15 m width of the shorter side of the cutting corresponded to the width of one side on such a polygon, there would have been 12 sides. (Early capitals with 12 flutes have been observed at Tegea.²¹⁴) The circular, slightly recessed surfaces for the columns, similar to those on the stylobate of the early temple in the Heraion near Argos,²¹⁵ indicate the precise positions of four columns,

three on the southern and one on the northern stylobate. This evidence is supplemented by the additional, deeper foundations underneath the continuous conglomerate blocks which are also preserved where the stylobate blocks themselves are missing.²¹⁶ These deeper foundations, which could be observed particularly under the southern colonnade, confirm that the columns were all set with a regular spacing, 2.79–2.80 m. The diameter of the columns, as given by the recessed circles, was only 0.55 m, or 1/5 of the axial spacing. For that reason, the columns could not have been very high. If the proportion of approximately 1 : 5 between lower diameter and height, which seems a valid maximum for the columns in the wooden peristasis in the Heraion of Olympia,²¹⁷ was applied also here, their height would coincide quite precisely with the axial spacing – an absolutely exceptional occurrence. For that reason, it seems likely that these columns were somewhat higher – perhaps closer to 6 than 5 times the lower diameter, between 2.80 and 3.30 m.²¹⁸ If such a spacious and flimsy colonnade does not seem very useful for carrying heavy loads, such as the tiled roof which the building almost certainly had, it is even less convincing as a support for complicated constructions such as the addition of a second tier of columns above the lower ones, as recently proposed.²¹⁹ For that reason, the reconstructed and in many ways hypothetical section of the temple in *Fig. 22* depicts the inner colonnades only with one tier.

The reconstruction of only one tier of inner columns has consequences also for the reconstruction of the presumed peristasis, for which there is admittedly no direct evidence (any remains would be located where the deep foundations for the peristasis of the Classical temple must inevitably have destroyed them), but which the interior arrangement of the naos seems to require. The very wide spacings in these interior colonnades provide another argument: they are even wider than in the peristasis of the Heraion at Argos (where axial spacings of 3.50 m and lower column diameters of 0.80 m form a proportion 1 : 4.4²²⁰), and

Amandry, "Observations sur les monuments de l'Héraion d'Argos," *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 223–5 with n. 14, and Kalpaxis 1976, 47 with n. 202; and Østby, *Temple*, 90 n. 2, for other parallels and references.

²¹⁶ See p. 35 with note 185.

²¹⁷ Where the columns were 5.21 m high, with a proportion of 8 : 5 to the axial spacing 3.26 m. The lower diameter of the wooden columns is indicated by the segment-shaped cavities on the stylobate, but has been difficult to establish with precision: it has been variously identified between a minimum of about 1 m, certainly not less (Mallwitz 1972, 142: "nicht unter einem Meter") and larger figures up to about 1.16–1.28 m (so Kalpaxis 1975, 84, after Dörpfeld and Schleif 1935.I, 183; but Kalpaxis 1976, 53: ca. 1.00–1.20 m) which almost coincides with the diameter of the stone columns (1.00–1.25 m on the flanks: Dörpfeld and Schleif, 165). Probably the lower diameter was not severely standardized in this temple. See the references Kalpaxis 1975, 88 n. 26, and *id.* 1976, 53 n. 252. The diameter of the inner columns, 0.88 m, is certain: Kalpaxis 1975, 83; Dörpfeld and Schleif, 183.

²¹⁸ Apart from the special case of the Heraion at Olympia, where the original column height must be the same as the later stone columns, there is no good evidence for the proportions of early wooden columns. Kalpaxis 1975, 86, assumes proportions up to 1 : 6.5.

²¹⁹ Gruben 1996, 409, and *id.* 2001, 136.

²²⁰ Billot 1997, 57–8; Strøm 1988, 180–1 with fig. 6, and 185; Kalpaxis 1976, 42.

Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, pl. 3-5 (reproduced *Tegea* II, section i (Østby), p. 13 *Fig. 2*), in the same position as today.

²¹⁰ Østby, *Temple*, 78 and 86. For Bassai see Kelly 1995, 240–3, and Cooper 1996, 95–6.

²¹¹ Østby, *Temple*, 81–6, figs 8–17, and p. 95 for the proportional arrangement of the interior.

²¹² In the Heraion at Olympia, and on blocks from the early temple of Apollo at Delphi (see Østby, *Temple*, 84–5 with n. 34). Recently such markings have been observed on blocks from other early temples at Kalapodi, Mycenae and Kyrene; see Felsch 2001, 6–15. See Mallwitz 1972, 142 fig. 113, for an illustration of the lifting procedure.

²¹³ See *Tegea* II, section xv (Østby): 307, ArchN-St 3. See also Østby, *Temple*, 85 with n. 35, where more or less certain evidence for polygonal columns from Argos, Corinth and Olympia is discussed.

²¹⁴ Mentioned, *en passant*, by Dörpfeld 1883, 284.

²¹⁵ For these depressions, see the discussions in J.L. Caskey and P.

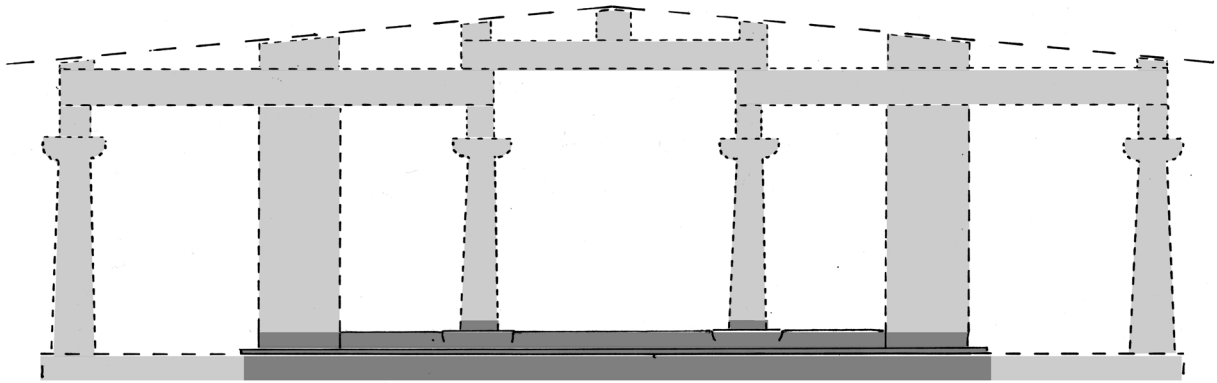


Figure 22. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Tegea temple, in section. Certain elements and dimensions in dark, hypothetical elements in light shading. (Drawing: Østby)

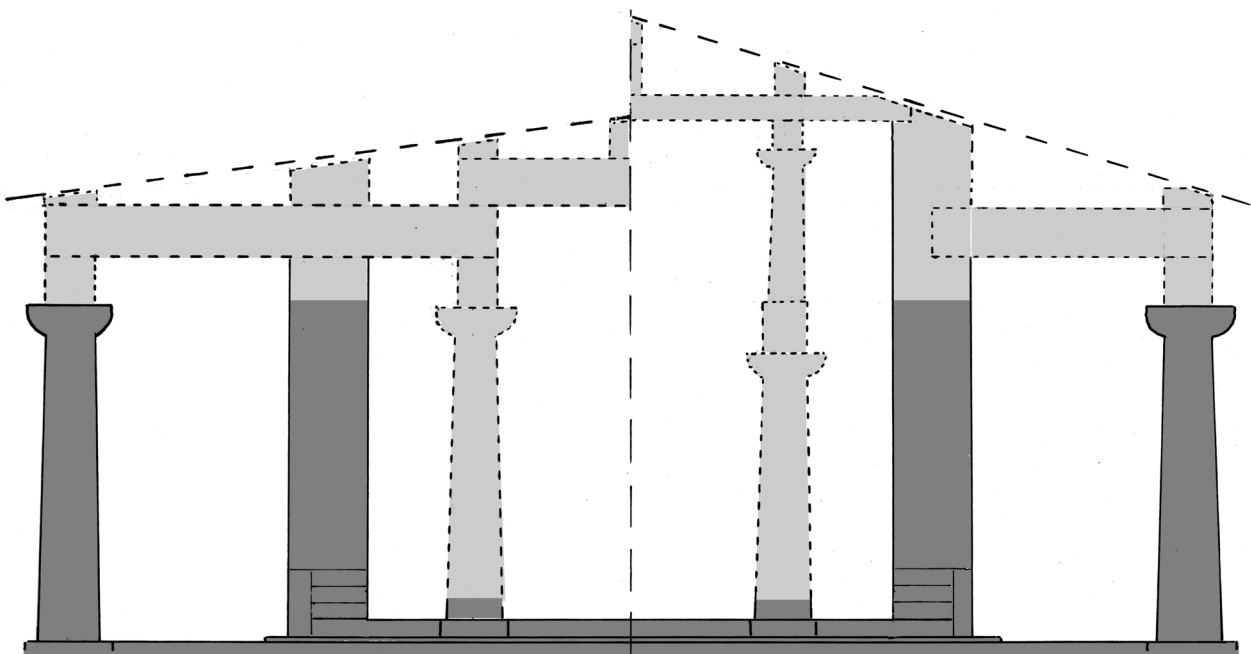


Figure 23. Sections of the Heraion at Olympia, as reconstructed with inner colonnades in one tier (left) or two tiers (right). (Drawing: Østby, after Kalpaxis 1975, 89 fig. 5 and 92 fig. 6)

are understandable only if derived from a more normal disposition of the external colonnade.²²¹ In the peristasis the columns could be thicker and consequently higher, but if transverse, horizontal roof beams connected the outer and inner columns (as illustrated by the section *Fig. 22*), they could not go higher than the level reached by the inner colonnades.²²² They could in that case not be more than about 0.25 m higher than the inner columns, or enough to compensate for the higher level of the floor inside the cella. With this increase of height, the lower diameter could also be somewhat larger. If at Tegea the

²²¹ See the discussion in Østby, *Temple*, 94–5, and for the position of the peristasis colonnades the plan *Fig. 16* here. The evident concerns of the builders of the Heraion at Olympia to outshine the Tegea temple may provide another argument.

²²² Small adjustments would be possible in the height of the architraves, but only within very narrow limits.

axial spacing of 2.80 m is assumed also for the external colonnade (at least in the flanks), and if the proportion between lower diameter and axial spacing is there reduced to 1 : 4.4 (as in the Heraion at Argos) so that a lower diameter of about 0.63–0.65 m can be calculated as a result, the column height would vary between 3.15 and 3.90 m if a height between 5 and 6 times the lower diameter is assumed also here. For the upper levels to coincide with the inner colonnades a height between 3.15 and 3.55 m would be adequate; within these parameters a lower diameter 1/5 of the height (as with the minimum dimension at Olympia) could reach a maximum of ca. 0.70 m, with a proportion 1 : 4 between the lower diameter and the axial spacing in the external colonnade. This is a maximum figure, and still far closer to the colonnade at Argos than to Olympia, where the relation between axial spacing and column diameter is somewhere between 1 :

3.25 and 1: 2.5 (3.26 / between 1 and 1.30 m).²²³ In the temple at Olympia, it is clear that the proportional system of the colonnade was already approaching the rules of stone architecture;²²⁴ at Tegea this was definitely not the case.

Although a good case can be made for such a system at Tegea, and perhaps also at the Heraion near Argos,²²⁵ the only early temple where the exact correlation between external and internal colonnades is safely attested remains the Heraion at Olympia; it is never repeated in the later stone temples.²²⁶ For that reason, it is disappointing that the arrangement of the inner colonnades there, in one or two tiers, is so uncertain. Recent discussions tend to lean towards the two-tiered solution, perhaps because this is the only system attested in the early stone temples.²²⁷ Whatever reconstruction is preferred at Olympia, the original purpose of that kind of correlation could hardly have been any other than securing support for both ends of long beams which crossed the cella wall and carried the roof construction,²²⁸ and this purpose would also at Olympia be better served by one-tiered inner colonnades. The height of the inner columns had to reach the level of the external columns with the subtraction of the raised level of the floor inside the cella, as explained above (0.25–0.30 m at Olympia,²²⁹ almost identical to Tegea), and since the height of the external columns is known (5.22 m), the height of those in a one-tiered inner colonnade can in this case be quite precisely calculated as about 4.95 m. This is about 5.6 times the lower diameter of those columns, 0.88 m,²³⁰ perfectly aligned with the proposed height of the inner columns in the temple at Tegea. Thicker columns were certainly used in the exterior, but this is irrelevant as long as they

reached the same height as the inner columns. But with the two-tiered inner colonnades, where lower columns would be necessary in the lower tier (in order to leave sufficient space above it and below the roof construction for the next colonnade),²³¹ the horizontal connection with the external columns is no longer possible. The higher floor level inside the cella could in this case only increase the problem, instead of reducing it. (See *Fig. 23*, right) If such a solution was used at Olympia, the correlation between external and internal colonnades can only be understood as a no-longer-functional relic from earlier systems. (See the presentation of the two alternatives, *Fig. 23*.²³²)

If single beams were used to span the distance between the outer and inner colonnades in these temples, they must have been long. At Tegea, these beams would have been about 6.5 m long, about twice the presumed height of the column shafts, while 5 m would have sufficed for the beams spanning the nave.²³³ Timbers of such dimensions would not have been difficult to obtain from the forests of Arcadia. With such reconstructions, the self-evident position of the beams connecting the internal and the external colonnades falls in the level of the frieze, which coincides perfectly with the explanation of the Doric frieze as given by Vitruvius. His explanation of the triglyphs, as decorative covers of the end-surfaces of these transverse beams, makes perfect sense in this context.²³⁴

With only one tier in the inner colonnades the temple must have been low, considerably more so than the successor at Olympia. There would also have been a very low inclination of the roof, unless it was increased by complicated constructions raising the ridge beam to a higher level; in this early period, at the very beginning of monumental architecture in Greece, this does not seem likely. Although hypothetical, the reconstructed section in *Fig. 22* may give a general idea of the low and squat appearance of the temple. At Olympia the slope of the roof could to some extent be increased simply by moving the inner colonnades closer to the walls, creating a wider nave and narrower aisles than at Tegea (proportions 3 : 5 : 3 against 5 : 6 : 5; see *Fig. 23*, left), and such a development seems to be confirmed by the inclination

²²³ See note 217 above for the dimensions.

²²⁴ This is one point usefully made by Kalpaxis 1975; but it is not necessarily also valid for the arrangements of the interior.

²²⁵ For the proposed reconstructions of this temple, see below with note 237. Even with the narrower, pentastyle plan a central, inner colonnade would have been needed to support the roof covering the 7 m wide naos; this span could have been covered with a single beam, but two would be needed to cover the total width, including the peristasis, of about 15 m (Kalpaxis 1976, 44–5; Strøm 2009, 135). A precise correlation between outer and inner colonnades would in that case be an obvious requirement.

²²⁶ See note 239 below for the evidence from the early stone temples. Only the temple of Artemis at Corfu can be considered an open case, with no evidence for either solution.

²²⁷ See Kalpaxis 1975 for a convenient survey of the previous discussion, concluding for the two-tiered colonnades as the more likely solution, but without convincing arguments. Gruben 1996, 409, and H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia, Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, Munich 1972, 96, endorse this solution without discussion; Mallwitz 1972, 137–49, and Kalpaxis 1976, 52–6, do not address the issue.

²²⁸ Early reconstructions of the temple structure normally applied this principle. See Kalpaxis 1975, 84–6, for a brief discussion; he does not pay much attention to this aspect of the problem. Gruben 2001, 53, and Mallwitz 1972, 140, loosely consider it.

²²⁹ See Dörpfeld and Schleif 1935.II, pls 9 and 14, where the height quotes indicate differences of respectively 0.22–0.25 m (pl. 9) and 0.30 m (pl. 14). Kalpaxis 1975, 91–2, reports the latter dimension.

²³⁰ See note 217 above.

²³¹ They must in any case have been more than 4 m high, because of the 3.72 m high statue of Hermes and Dionysos which was found between two of these columns: Kalpaxis 1975, 92 with n. 41.

²³² Based on Kalpaxis 1975, 89 fig. 5 and 92 fig. 6, using the same hypothetical, but reasonable, approximate dimensions for the wooden elements in the elevation.

²³³ These approximate dimensions can be read from the reconstructed plan *Fig. 16*. The 5 m long beams would correspond to the height of the wooden columns in the Heraion at Olympia (see note 217 above). At Olympia the beams would have to be about 7 and 6 m long.

²³⁴ Vitr. 4.2.2–4. The endless discussions of this passage and the problems it poses cannot be treated here. For a general survey, see N. Weickenmeyer, *Theorienbildung zur Genese des Triglyphen. Versuch einer kritischen Bestandaufnahme*, Darmstadt 1985; for an extensive commentary to the passage A. Corso, *Vitruvio. De architectura* I, Turin 1997, 441–56; and for later contributions Østby 2006, 20–2 with n. 43. I will return to this question in a separate paper.



Figure 24. The rear part of the cella after the French excavations. The platform from the pre-Achaic temple is in the foreground, and behind it is the crosswise foundation from an unexplained arrangement in the Archaic temple. (After Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, pl. 84.a.)

of 8.5° that can be measured on the geison tiles from the building at Olympia, compared to just 4° at Tegea.²³⁵ Even so, the slope remains low when compared to the roofs of later stone temples (normally 12–14°),²³⁶ and this gives some support for the reconstruction of one-tiered inner colonnades in this temple as well; as demonstrated on *Fig. 23*, right, with two-tiered colonnades the slope of the roof is likely to have been rather steeper than normal.

In the temple at Tegea the low slope should probably be seen as a consequence of another, equally important innovation: it may be one of the first, or perhaps even the very first, of Doric temples where the single, central colonnade which is familiar from earlier temples (and which must probably be assumed also for the early Heraion at Argos²³⁷) was replaced by the alternative, more advanced solution with two parallel inner colonnades. This seems to have been known somewhat earlier in the Ionian environment, which may have inspired this innovation.²³⁸ There is no reason to

believe that those single inner colonnades had more than one tier of columns, and thus it seems logical that, at first, this would be the solution used also for double colonnades. The next step, to construct those double colonnades in two tiers in order to increase the height of the building and the slope of the roof, would then follow as a later stage. If this step had not already been taken at Olympia, it was certainly taken slightly later with the first Doric stone temples where that system is safely attested, at Kyrene, Syracuse, and Aigina. At the same time, and probably as part of the same process of transition from wood and mud-brick to stone, the coordination between inner and outer colonnades was immediately abandoned.²³⁹ The abnormal height of the entablatures, particularly the architraves, in at least some of those temples²⁴⁰ may to some degree have been caused

²³⁵ The geison tile from Tegea: **ArchN-Tc 1**. See *Fig. 26* below, and the discussion in the catalogue *Tegea II*, section **xv** (Østby), 300, where the tile from Olympia (Heiden 1995, 67, fig. 36.4) is also discussed. Unfortunately, the monumental acroterion from the Heraion at Olympia is broken underneath and gives no separate indication of the pediment angle (Kalpaxis 1975, 90 n. 29, and *id.* 1976, 56; see also N. Yalouris, “Das Akroter des Heraions in Olympia,” *AM* 87, 1972, 92–3, with updated information on the connection between the acroterion and the roof).

²³⁶ See Kalpaxis 1975, 90 with n. 29, for some examples. His estimate for the temple at Olympia is about 1 : 3.30 (17°), but the geison tile which is the only piece of evidence does not support this; see last note.

²³⁷ This was reconstructed with two inner colonnades and a tripartite interior in the hexastyle reconstruction offered by Billot 1997, 65–6; but Strøm 2009, 135–6, fig. 10, puts forward good arguments for pentastyle fronts, in which case a central, inner colonnade seems probable.

²³⁸ See Kalpaxis 1976, 101, for this development. There is early evidence for such solutions from the Cycladic islands (Andros, Delos, Naxos); see Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers' dwellings*, 171–6, figs 304, 307, 309 (Zagora, Andros); 180–3, figs 313–315 and 318 (Delos); 190–1, fig. 337, and Gruben 2001, 375–80 (Iria, Naxos). See p. 33 with note 167 above for the possibility of a three-aisled interior in the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

²³⁹ Kalpaxis 1975, 95 also mentions the temple of Artemis at Corfu: but the existence of two inner colonnades is demonstrated only by the foundation trenches (from the section G. Rodenwaldt and H. Schleif, *Korkyra I, Der Artemistempel*, Berlin 1940, 18 fig. 6), nothing is preserved of the stylobate or the columns, and there is no evidence for their dimensions or their disposition. Consequently, it is not known whether there were one or two tiers, or whether the interior and exterior colonnades were coordinated. In the temple of Apollo at Kyrene there is certain evidence for the two-tiered arrangement as early as the first, non-peripteral phase of the temple, although it is an open question whether it should be dated to the beginning or the middle of the 6th century: see L. Pernier, *Il tempio e l'altare di Apollo a Cirene*, Bergamo 1935, 21, 34–6, pl. 8; S. Stucchi, *Architettura cirenaica* (Monografie di archeologia libica 9), Rome 1975, 16–8, fig. 9. For two tiers in the early, non-peripteral temple of Aphaia at Aigina see Schwandner 1985, 67–72, 98–101 and fig. 68. For the temple of Apollo at Syracuse see now D. Mertens, *Städte und Bauten der Westgriechen*, Munich 2006, 104–8; there were two tiers, and no coordination with the peristasis.

²⁴⁰ Certainly at Aigina (Schwandner 1985, 120–3 and 132), probably at Syracuse (see now D. Mertens, “Die Entstehung des Steintempels in Sizilien,” in E.-L. Schwandner (ed.), *Säule und Gebälk* (Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung 6), Mainz 1996, 26–30, figs 2–3; see also *id.*, last note); there is no evidence for the architrave at Kyrene. See E. Østby, “Corinto e l'architettura dorica dell'Occidente,” *AttiTaranto*

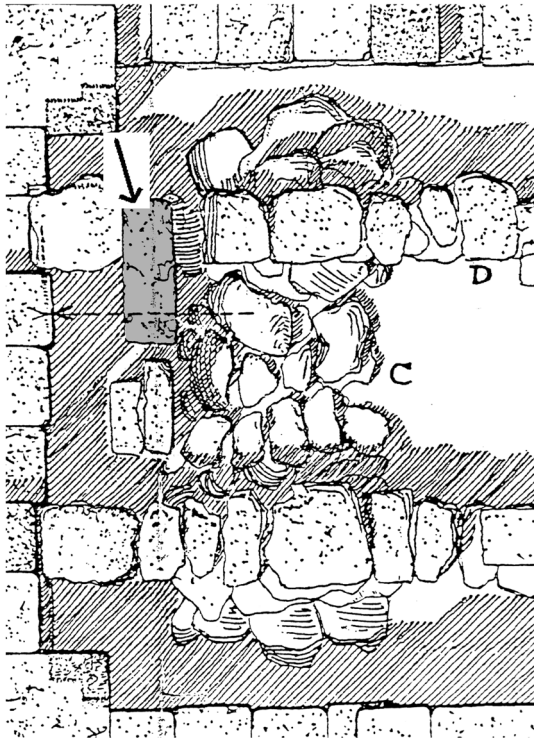


Figure 25. A detail from the state plan of the Classical temple (Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, pl. 3-5); the pre-Archaic platform, the inner part of the Archaic colonnade foundations and (shaded with grey and indicated with an arrow) the block from the transverse foundation behind the platform which has disappeared.

by this problem of reaching a level of the outer epistyle convenient for the correlation between outer and inner colonnades; the same problem may also have triggered the transposition of the transverse beams from the frieze level to the geison, as all the preserved evidence from early stone architecture shows.²⁴¹ Already at Tegea this may have been necessary in the front, if there was a frieze above the presumed columns in the pronaos front; beams connecting that front with the peristasis would, in that case, have had to go at a higher level, perhaps providing the inspiration for the same process all the way around the temple when the connection between the peristasis columns and the interior colonnades was broken.²⁴² The geison would then be supported on smaller, independent blocks, decorated with triglyphs in the same way as the beam-ends in the earlier system; such a solution would already from the beginning have been necessary at and near the corners of the peristasis. This process would also release the frieze elements from

34, 1997, 217–20, for some preliminary considerations on this problem, including a short discussion of the situation in the temple at Corfu.

²⁴¹ This change of levels has always been considered a basic obstacle for accepting Vitruvius' explanation of the origin of the Doric frieze. See note 234 above.

²⁴² See Kalpaxis 1975, 90–1, for a discussion of this problem at Olympia. The solution sketched here is rejected there because the level of the ceiling goes higher at the fronts than the sides of the pteron; but there is no reason why this should be considered a problem in early wooden architecture.

the strict dependance on the natural dimensions of the wooden beams, which would have been the rule at Tegea as elsewhere in early wooden architecture.²⁴³

In the Tegean temple there may have been a particular reason for adopting the tripartite interior: the need to preserve and emphasize on the axis of the building a sacred spot in the inner part of the cella, where the apses of the early cult buildings had afterwards been replaced by the enigmatic “platform” discussed above. To the right and the left the edges of this platform were covered by the foundations for the inner colonnades, and its surface remained ca. 0.85 m below the floor level of the building, so it was probably covered by the slabs of the new pavement; there is no indication that it remained visible in the new temple, although this cannot be totally excluded. There is one precise indication that this area remained crucial for the interior: the foundation blocks which seem to frame it from behind in a transversal line joining the two colonnade foundations. The three blocks which are now preserved are fairly small and lie at a slightly lower level (a few cm) than the adjoining blocks in the colonnade foundations; but originally the framing must have been quite emphatic, since the documentation from the French excavation shows that one quite large and apparently regularly worked block (which has later disappeared²⁴⁴) then rested with its northern end on the northern colonnade foundation, at the level of the stylobate blocks, and stretched onto the first block of the transverse foundation which is now preserved, covering it entirely. (See Figs 24–25) The block must have interrupted the stylobate of the colonnade, creating a problem for the last, ninth column on the northern stylobate; this column must either be omitted from the reconstruction of the plan,²⁴⁵ which would create problems for the construction of the roof at this point, or as an alternative be located on the higher level of the stylobate which becomes necessary at this point because of the block. From the published photograph the block seems to be of conglomerate, and consequently it is not a part of a structure of marble or some other, similarly representative material, although it appears at the same level as the marble blocks of the stylobate which it must have interrupted; but it would certainly have been part of the foundation for some such structure which must have stretched from one colonnade to another, interrupting them at this point at a level higher

²⁴³ See Kalpaxis 1975, 87, for an attempt to reconstruct the dimensions of the epistyle of the Heraion at Olympia based on such considerations. Similarly E. Østby, “Delphi and Archaic Doric architecture in the Peloponnese,” in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes cent ans après la Grande fouille, essai de bilan* (BCH Suppl. 36), Paris 2000, 256, for the early temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi. I will return to these developments in a later paper.

²⁴⁴ Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, the plan pl. 3-5 (reproduced in *Tegea* II, section i, 13 Fig. 2) and the photo *ibid.* pl. 84.A (here, Fig. 24). These blocks are not mentioned in the text.

²⁴⁵ In which case there would only have been eight columns on each stylobate, as in the Heraion at Olympia. Whether this situation would have affected only the northern colonnade, or both, is impossible to decide.

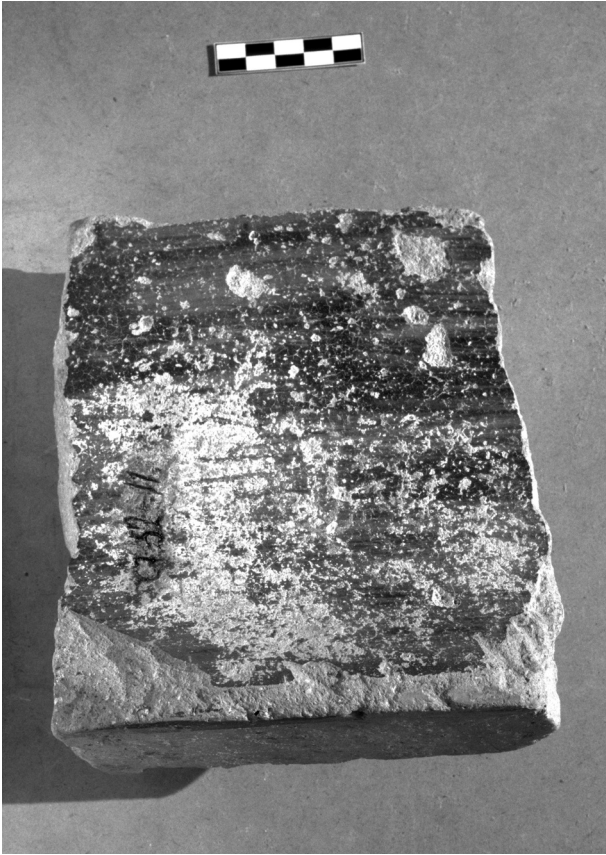


Figure 26. The geison tile **ArchN-Tc 1** probably from the Archaic temple. (Photo: Østby)

than the level of the floor – as indicated by the stylobate blocks carrying the colonnades. Consequently, a special structure of some kind must have been located in this inner part.

A raised dais or platform in the innermost part of the central nave, behind the transverse foundation (which would then coincide with its front), may be one possible explanation. This could have been a convenient place for the cult image by Endoios, when this was added to the interior probably in the late 6th century;²⁴⁶ but the platform cannot be understood as a later addition to the original project, since the block which has disappeared was structurally connected with the northern colonnade. The platform might have carried some cult symbol perhaps in the shape of a free-standing column or a herm – hardly, in this environment and in this early period, anything like a statue or a human figure, although this cannot be totally excluded.²⁴⁷ At any rate, it is clear that

²⁴⁶ This is the generally accepted date for his activity; see the discussions e.g. by W. Deyhle, “Meisterfragen der archaischen Plastik Attikas,” *AM* 84, 1969, 25–6 (active ca. 540–500); D. Viviers, *Recherches sur les ateliers de sculpteurs et la cité d’Athènes à l’époque archaïque*, Bruxelles 1992, 98–102. Deyhle sets his Tegean cult-figure after Viviers before his activity in Athens. See also Østby, *Temple*, 75 n. 2, and next note.

²⁴⁷ For aniconic cult-symbols in Arcadia, see p. 26 with note 124 above. The early, enthroned cult statues from Hagiorgitika and Asea demonstrate, however, that anthropomorphic cult figures were not

for a structure of this kind to be visually effective in the interior, it must have been located on its central axis, making a tripartite distribution of the interior an obvious solution. For the same reason, no door or opening for access to the adyton can have been located on the axis of the room; if such access existed, it must have been asymmetrically located at the end of the side aisles, one or both.

No tile fragments have been reported from the Heraion at Argos, and a type of early antefixes tentatively ascribed to it must remain entirely hypothetical;²⁴⁸ if this temple had tiles similar to those “Protocorinthian” tile types attested from Corinth, Isthmia and Delphi, and recently also from the early temple at Mycenae,²⁴⁹ it is difficult to believe that they could have passed unobserved during the excavation. It is not to be excluded that the rim of the roof, possibly with a line or two of tiles immediately behind, could have been executed in terracotta, perhaps only after some time had passed; but most probably this building, which remained committed to the building materials from Geometric times – wood and mud-brick –, would have been covered by a roof of thatch, quite likely until the fire in 423 B.C. since no later tiles have been reported from the site either. At the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta the original, simple roofing was apparently replaced with a tiled roof towards the end of the 7th century,²⁵⁰ and at the Heraion at Olympia the tiled roof had certainly been introduced,²⁵¹ although wood and mud-brick remained the basic materials of the elevation above the stylobate and orthostate levels.

The excavation at Tegea has now provided one important piece of evidence for a similar development there: a fragment from a geison tile of a type very close to those from the Heraion at Olympia, which has been authoritatively assigned to a 7th-century date, and of dimensions which would hardly be suitable for any building other than the large temple.²⁵² (Fig. 26) This important piece does not prove that the temple had a tiled roof from the very beginning; but if it replaced an earlier, thatched one, this cannot have happened a long time after the construction of the temple. Tiles would, moreover, be

unknown in Arcadia; for these, see e.g. P. Krantz, “Frühe griechische Sitzfiguren,” *AM* 87, 1972, 24–5, pls 13–14, and B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic style in Greek sculpture*, Princeton 1977, 123–4. The early cult statue in the Heraion at Olympia was of the same type: Paus. 5.17.1.

²⁴⁸ Cautiously proposed by Chr.A. Pfaff, “Three-peaked antefixes from the Argive Heraion,” *Hesperia* 59, 1990, 149–56. M.-Fr. Billot, “Terrescutes architecturales d’Argos et d’Epidaure, notes de typologie et d’histoire,” *ibid.* 102–4, fig. 1, presents a late 7th-century acroterion from the Heraion, but without connecting it with any specific building. Strøm 2009, 135 with n. 541, shares my scepticism of these attempts to provide the temple with a tiled roof.

²⁴⁹ For these tiles, see Winter 1993, 12–8. The fragment from Mycenae: N.L. Klein, “Excavation of the Greek temples at Mycenae by the British School at Athens,” *BSA* 92, 1997, 288 and fig. 11 p. 272.

²⁵⁰ Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings*, 166, referring to Rose 1929, 400. See also p. 32 with note 166.

²⁵¹ Winter 1993, 135–7; Heiden 1995, 65–8 with pls 35–37.

²⁵² **ArchN-Tc 1** (Østby, *Tegea* II, section xv, 300); see the discussion there.

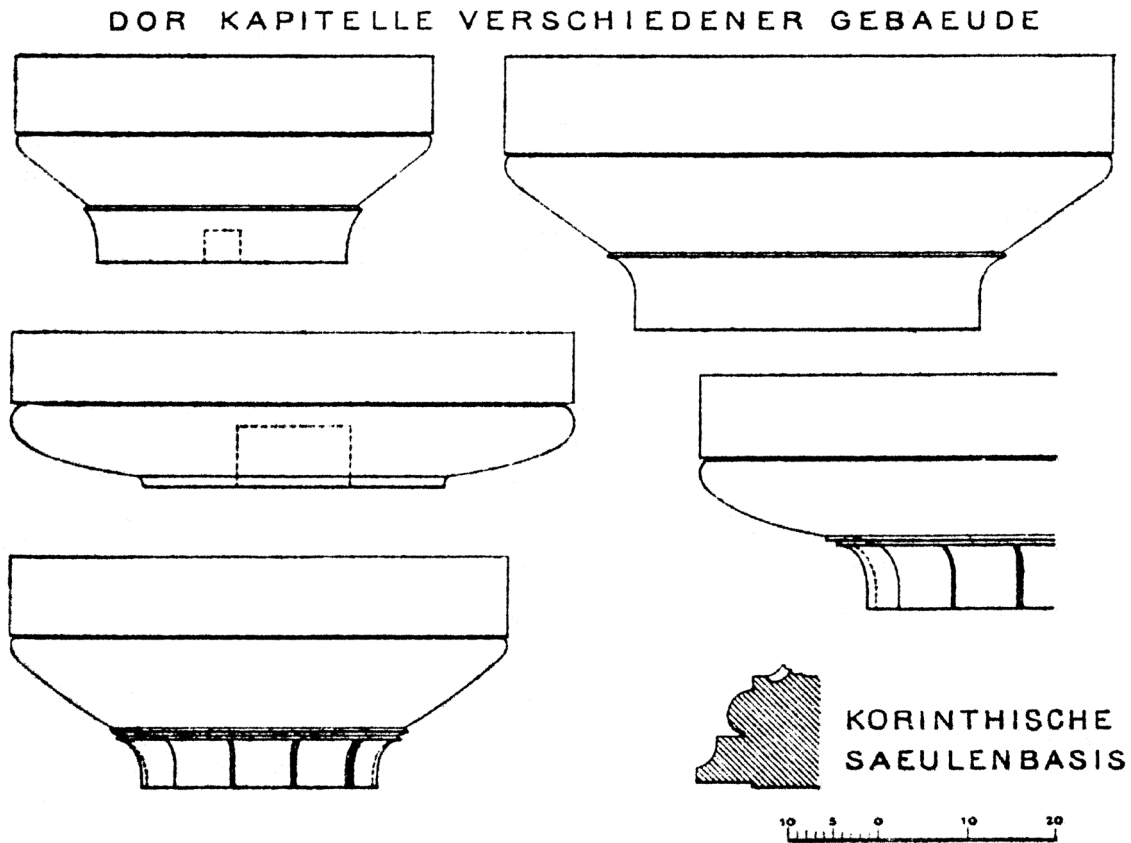


Figure 27. Doric capitals observed and recorded by W. Dörpfeld at Tegea, before 1883. The early Archaic capital discussed in the text is central, left. (After Dörpfeld 1883, pl. 14)

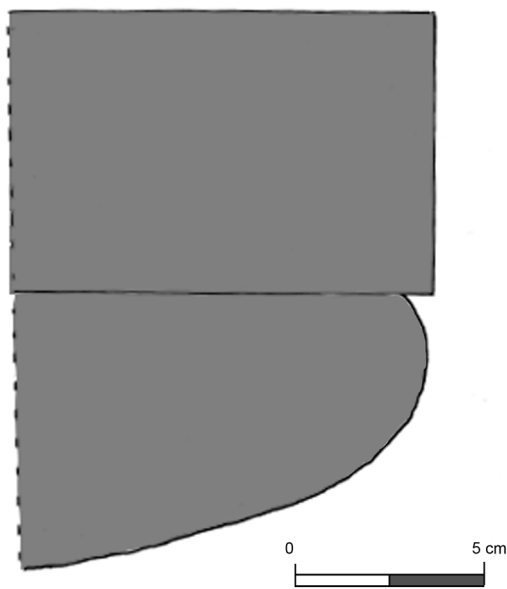


Figure 28. Section of a fragment of an Early Archaic Doric capital, discovered at Tegea in 2000. (Drawing: Østby)

better suited to a roof with such a low inclination as the one-tiered reconstruction of the inner colonnades seems to imply.

There is every reason to assume that the temple was Doric, although not one single element of the typical Doric elevation is preserved or has been safely identified,

executed as they almost certainly were of perishable materials.²⁵³ The conclusion is based on circumstantial, but strong evidence. The close relationship with the Heraion at Olympia, which is Doric in its present state and was certainly so from the outset if some of the earliest capitals from the building are correctly ascribed to its initial phase with wooden columns,²⁵⁴ is a heavy argument, as are the connections with the early temple of Hera at Argos where precise evidence for the Doric formal system is equally lacking, but where it nevertheless seems possible to pin-point the very origin and birth of the Doric temple style.²⁵⁵ Early Archaic building material of Doric type found at Tegea on various occasions confirms that the style entered the architectural repertoire here at a very early moment. One capital which was discovered and published in a small drawing by W. Dörpfeld (now apparently lost) is clearly very early; it can be understood as a connecting link positioned between early capitals from the Heraion at Argos and others from the temple of Hera Olympia. As those, it had a very

²⁵³ With a possible exception for the capitals, of columns and antae; see below.

²⁵⁴ See Kalpaxis 1975, 95–6, and C.K. Williams II, “Doric architecture and early capitals at Corinth,” *AM* 99, 1984, 68–9, for the early capitals from Olympia. Kalpaxis uses their dimensions as an argument for two-tiered rather than one-tiered inner colonnades, which does not seem necessary.

²⁵⁵ As argued by Østby 2006, 29–34.

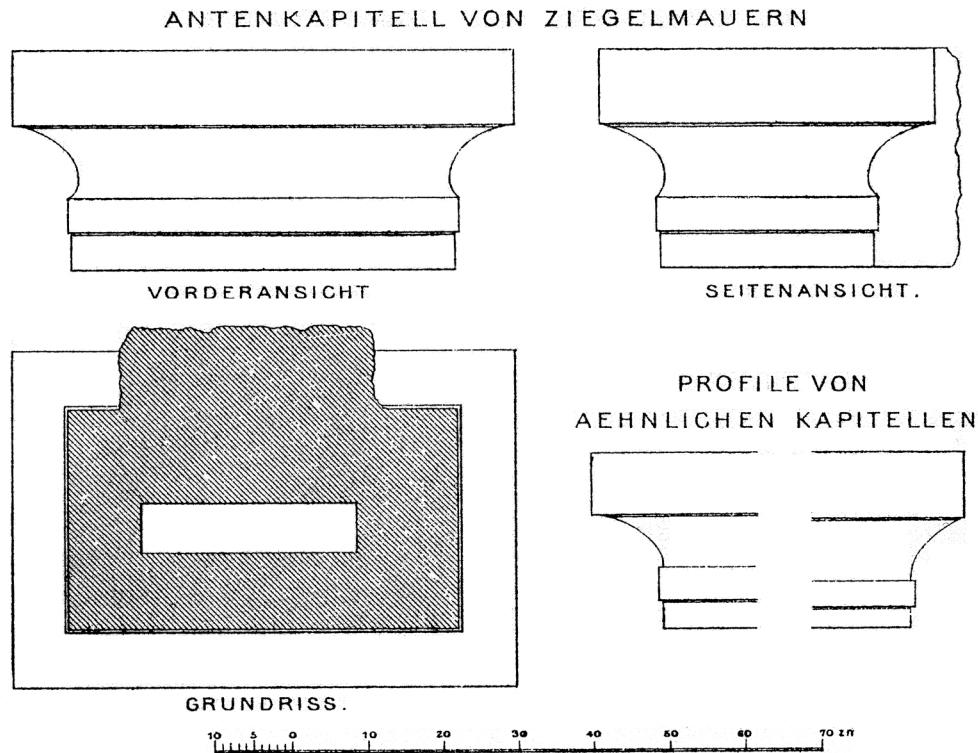


Figure 29. Drawings of anta capitals of “sofa” type, seen by W. Dörpfeld at Tegea before 1883. (After Dörpfeld 1883, pl. 14)



Figure 30. Anta capital of the “sofa” type, which was until recently in the park at Palaia Episkopi at Tegea. (Photo: Østby)

low hypotrachelion tapering from above downwards, without fluting.²⁵⁶ (Fig. 27) According to Dörpfeld the capital was made of marble, which confirms that the locally available marble from Doliana was used for such purposes, as early as in the toichobate and stylobates of the temple.²⁵⁷ Unfortunately Dörpfeld’s drawing does not

include precise measurements, but it presents the capital as about 0.63 m wide on the abacus and 0.18 m high, abacus and echinus as both of equally height, about 0.08 m. Both the strongly curved, bun-shaped echinus and the unusually high proportion of about 2 : 7 (1 : 3.5) between height and width link it with some very early capitals elsewhere,²⁵⁸ but it is of some interest that echinus and abacus are equally high, which is unusual in these early capitals; normally the abacus is higher.²⁵⁹ The same bun-shaped echinus, and the same equal height of abacus and echinus, which is here slightly increased (ca. 0.11 m), appears again on the fragment of a very similar marble capital discovered and documented by the Norwegian Arcadia Survey in 2000; unfortunately it was broken above the hypotrachelion, which was not preserved, so the total height of the capital is unknown.²⁶⁰ (Fig. 28) The two capitals, although of slightly different size, are nevertheless so similar that they may easily belong to two different colonnades of one, fairly large building, and our present knowledge of Tegea in the late 7th century can offer no better candidate for such a construction than the temple of Alea. The smaller capital should in this case go on top of the wooden columns inside the cella, as some

²⁵⁶ On Fig. 27 this capital is in the centre left. See Østby 1990-91, 303–5, fig. 175, for the connection.

²⁵⁷ See for the material Østby, *Temple*, 97–8 with n. 92, and *id.* 1990-91, 303 n. 455. Attempts to downdate the temple because of the use of marble (see note 188 above) can also for this reason be rejected. Almost equally early marble was used for statues in Arcadia: see Østby, *Temple*, 98 with n. 93.

²⁵⁸ As the capitals from the first temple at Aigina and certain capitals from the Heraion at Olympia: Østby 1990-91, tab. I.

²⁵⁹ See Østby 1990-91, tabs I–II, for a survey of such capitals.

²⁶⁰ Only a preliminary documentation is available for this piece, but it will be published in *Tegea III*. There is also a second, smaller fragment possibly from the same capital. See Ødegård 2005, 216.

early capitals from the Olympia temple probably did; its diameter on the hypotrachelion, about 0.35 m according to Dörpfeld's drawing, would suit the lower diameter of the columns, 0.55 m, nicely.²⁶¹ But if the larger capital is from an external column, the difference in dimensions is so slight that a reconstruction of the temple along these lines can only be made with single-tier colonnades inside the cella, as proposed here.

In addition to these capitals, attention should be paid to a group of anta capitals of the so-called "sofa" type, with a characteristic concave moulding between a square abacus above and a simple fillet below. Such pieces are known from Argos and Sparta and are well attested at Tegea in later periods. They were also mentioned by Dörpfeld, who claimed to have found no less than 11 such pieces; his drawing includes three.²⁶² (Figs 29–30) The coarse execution of the rear attachment surfaces of these pieces suggested to him that they were intended for stone antae connected with mud-brick walls. This explanation is probably correct, and might certainly apply to the early temple of Alea. If similar anta capitals were used already there, the obvious model value of this temple would contribute to explain the extensive use of this otherwise rather unusual type at Tegea in later periods. It is, however, impossible to make even a tentative, direct connection between any of the attested pieces and the temple.

The radically increased size of the new temple implies a very thorough reorganization of the entire sanctuary, and a substantial increase of its area must have been necessary. From the northern sector there is some preliminary evidence that in this direction the border line of the sanctuary remained almost untouched, at least initially,²⁶³ possibly because of the proximity here to the slope where the river occasionally made a more or less destructive appearance. Since the original course of the river appears to have encircled the sanctuary also to the west and the south, increases in these directions would have been limited or impossible.²⁶⁴ But, an extension to the east was in any case inevitable, because this was the direction where the altar would have to be moved, and this was also the direction where such an increase would not have found obstacles. If the previous position of the altar is correctly identified at or near the north-east corner of the later temple buildings, it would have been destroyed already by the Archaic temple if this had a peristasis, as seems likely. Probably this destruction was followed by the final dispersal of the ashes from what may have been a

plain ash altar, which would already have created a layer of black soil mixed up with ashes from the sacrificial rituals over a wide area from inside the east front of the later temples up to the neighbourhood of the Classical altar. This so-called "black layer", which contained large quantities of early votive material, was observed during the early investigations at the site; at certain points it is said to have reached a thickness of about 0.50–0.80 m.²⁶⁵ The situation would be similar to what has been observed in the sanctuary at Olympia, where there is evidence for a similar relocation of the ash altar which had created a black layer of large extension over time, and contained a huge quantity of early votive material stretching back to the 11th century, in the northern part of the sanctuary. This relocation is supposed to have taken place in the late 7th century, probably in order to avoid a conflict with the Heraion which was then being constructed. The parallel with the presumed process at Tegea is obvious.²⁶⁶

The new altar should, according to general rules, be located at a distance from the temple front approximately equal to the width of the temple, which is 21 m for the Classical temple, but no more than about 16 m for the Archaic precursor.²⁶⁷ The distance of about 26 m between the temple and the remains of the altar is not unreasonable for the Classical temple; it seems large for the Archaic one, though not impossibly so. The existence of an Archaic altar here is clearly indicated by more black soil with an unusually deep votive deposit containing material from the 6th and 5th centuries which was discovered immediately north of the church by the French archaeologists.²⁶⁸ It is not proof, but a clear indication that the altar for the Archaic temple was located at the same site as its Classical

²⁶¹ Proportion 2 : 3. See note 254 above for the stone capitals connected with wooden shafts at Olympia, where the proportion would be slightly lower, about 3 : 4 (0.63–0.65 / 0.88 m).

²⁶² Dörpfeld 1883, 284–5, pl. 14; Østby 1990–91, 305–9 with references n. 464, fig. 176. Recently the group has been re-studied by Th. Karageorga-Stathakopoulou, "Αρτέμιδος φίλος," *ArchDelt* 54 Mel., 1999, 124–7 and 146–52, and *ead.*, "Τα επίκρανα της Τεγέας," in Østby (ed.), *Arcadia*, 131–8.

²⁶³ See *Tegea* II, section iv (Tarditi), 75–6, 80–3 and 85.

²⁶⁴ See above, p. 17 with *Fig. 5*.

²⁶⁵ According to Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 337–9, where the layer is described without precise indications of its extension. It was also observed by Mendel, *Fouilles*, 244, who gives its depth as 0.40–0.50 m, and by Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungsausgrabungen*, 57 and 66, who observed it at the site of the altar and collected votive objects there. This does not suffice, however, to presume a pre-Archaic altar at this site (so Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 27; see also *ibid.* 23). For other examples of ash altars, mostly documented only by similar layers of black ash with votive objects, see Şahin 1972, 16–35, where the evidence from Tegea is also discussed (21–2); and Papapostolou 2012, 33–6 (on Thermon) and 106–12 (general discussion).

²⁶⁶ For the "black layer" at Olympia, see Kyrieleis 2006, 27–35, with useful discussion of similar situations in other, early sanctuaries; 35–47 for the early ash altar and 50–5 for the later one. Earlier discussions of the "black layer": A. Furtwängler, *Olympia IV, Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia*, Berlin 1890, 1–4; Mallwitz 1972, 85–7; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Frühe olympische Tonfiguren (OIForsch 7)*, Berlin 1972, 3–6; H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia, Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, Munich 1972, 56–7.

²⁶⁷ See p. 29 with note 144 for this rule. The Classical temple was 21.20 m wide in the foundations, 21.04 m on the euthyteria: Dugas *et al.*, *Tégée*, pls 3–5 and 9–11, reproduced in *Tegea* II, section xvi (Østby), *Pl. 1* and 319 *Fig. 2*). See p. 38 with note 201 for the calculated width of the Archaic temple.

²⁶⁸ Called "Couche C" by Dugas, *Sanctuaire*, 338 and 340; it is said to be up to 1.35 m deep. Particularly useful is the bronze statuette of a warrior goddess (*ibid.* 359–63, fig. 18; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 379–80, pl. 37.4), which is clearly of 6th-century date, although the connection with Endoios' cult statue is not above discussion (see the account given by Jost).

successor, which Pausanias saw and described and connected with the mythical seer Melampous. A thorough investigation of the site of the Classical altar might also bring forth evidence for its Archaic precursor, but it could also, as at Olympia, have been another ash altar which left no traces of construction.

If this is a correct interpretation of the development, the normal pattern in a Greek sanctuary – to keep the altar in its original position and instead move the temple if the need arose – was reversed in an unusual, although not completely unique way in this sanctuary.²⁶⁹ This may actually have happened twice, if the first altar had been located somewhere near the bothros.²⁷⁰ Possibly, if the available surface on the hillock to the west of the early temples was limited (and the river must have been quite close in that direction), there might not have been sufficient space to allow the normal procedure of pulling the new, large temple building further back so that its front remained at approximately the same position as the front of the earlier cult buildings. This was probably the course taken by the hypothetical 7th-century building discussed above, whose front seems to have been located just in front of Building 1.²⁷¹ In this case there would not have been any need to move the altar. But a completely different action had to be taken when the first monumental, Doric temple was built in the late 7th century, covering an extensive area beyond the earlier temple fronts, obliterating the site of the metal workshop (which does not seem to have been used after the destruction of Building 1²⁷²) and almost certainly covering also the position of the early altars. The reason for this unusual choice is probably to be found in the sacred spot that is marked by the stone platform, and corresponds to the apsis area (which was identical in Buildings 1 and 2) with the sacred stones and the area immediately behind the two buildings. As previously mentioned, this spot must have remained important also in the new, larger temple.

If this explanation is accurate, we can trace a serious concern for maintaining continuity from the older phases of the sanctuary, even in a situation where the radically increased dimensions of the new temple created problems for the altar. The construction of the new temple, on a scale far more magnificent than anything formerly seen in the sanctuary, certainly represents a significant break in the local development which is very clearly reflected by this break in the topographical relation between temple and altar. This break certainly provides evidence for radically improved financial resources and closer contacts with cultural and architectural developments elsewhere in the Peloponnese, particularly the Argolid. But, at the same time, it offers a glimpse of a local desire to maintain

the continuity of specific, local traditions established when the place was first conceived and venerated as sacred – whenever this may have happened. It also implies an investment of the community's resources in the development of the sanctuary far beyond what could be observed in previous stages, and this break cannot be viewed independently from important developments in the Tegean community which may quite likely coincide with the break in the sanctuary, in the late 7th century.

Sanctuary, synoecism, and enemies from the south

There is no doubt that in the Classical period and later Tegea was a polis state, acted as one and was considered as one.²⁷³ Although in much of Arcadia the political organization remained at the level of tribal or *ethnos* communities until quite late,²⁷⁴ Tegea appears in the Classical period as a fully fledged polis; it had certainly become one by the time of the Persian wars, when it participated at the battle of Plataiai along with the Spartans. If the capability to conduct a conscious and reasoned foreign policy and conclude treaties with other states is used as a criterion,²⁷⁵ this leap of quality could hardly have taken place later than the treaty with Sparta, if this has been correctly dated to the mid-6th century.²⁷⁶ Another criterion, which is often privileged because it is as a rule archaeologically visible (and often datable), is the presence of an organized, urban centre, which Tegea had in the Classical period with an agora, a theatre, and walls; for the walls, in addition to the archaeological evidence, there is written documentation from the early 4th, perhaps already in the late 5th century or even earlier.²⁷⁷

By that time Tegea must also have passed through

²⁷³ On the definition of the concept: Heine Nielsen 2002, 26–30; Hansen and Heine Nielsen (eds) 2004, 23–7 and 42–5, extensively; Hansen 2006, 56–61; Hall 2007, 67–70. On the evidence for Tegea, see Th. Heine Nielsen *s.v.* Tegea in Hansen and Heine Nielsen (eds) 2004, 530–3; also Heine Nielsen 2002, 592–6. Pretzler 2008 independently presents a line of reasoning close to mine, without fully coinciding with it.

²⁷⁴ See p. 21 with note 81.

²⁷⁵ For Tegea, the point is made by Heine Nielsen 2002, 35–6.

²⁷⁶ See for this discussion conveniently Heine Nielsen 2002, 188–92; also below, p. 54 with note 315.

²⁷⁷ For a general survey of Tegean topography and monuments, see conveniently Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 10–7. The texts, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.8 and 7.4.36–37, provide a *terminus ante quem* for the walls at about 370 B.C. Other text passages (Diod. Sic. 12.79.3; Thuc. 5.62.2) concerning a siege about 418 imply that walls existed by then (see Heine Nielsen in Hansen and Heine Nielsen (eds) 2004, 522), and recent survey investigations seem to confirm this. Possibly, walls existed already in the 6th century: F. Winter, *Greek fortifications*, London 1971, 33 n. 60. The basic work on the 4th-century walls is V. Bérard, “Tégée et la Tégéatide,” *BCH* 17, 1892, 547–9 with pl. 13, but see also Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 12–3, for a summary of later discussion; Winter, 33; and Ødegård 2005, 211–4, *id.* 2010, 10–1, and *Tegea* II, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe), 33, for updated information which makes it clear that the sanctuary remained outside, not inside the walls; so already Callmer 1943, 112–3. See also Pretzler 2008, 150–1.

²⁶⁹ Bergquist 1967, 88–9, mentions some such examples, and Kyreleis 2006, 50, adds some more as parallels to a similar process at Olympia, where it has recently been established; see above, with note 267.

²⁷⁰ See p. 19.

²⁷¹ See p. 32.

²⁷² See p. 30.

the ambiguous process called *synoikismos*, a term which normally implies either the creation of an organized state of polis type from previously scattered, more or less independent local units, or the creation of an organized, urban centre, or both. Our sources use the term with an inherent ambiguity which easily creates confusion.²⁷⁸ A political unification could take place without the creation of a common, urban centre – Sparta is the obvious example; but such a centre could hardly be created unless it was based on a political synoecism, either contemporary or previous. 4th-century Megalopolis is a good example of a situation where the two aspects of the *synoikismos* coincide.²⁷⁹ But essentially, archaeological evidence for an organized urban centre provides no more than a *terminus post quem non* for the political process on which it depended.²⁸⁰ Consequently, although recent fieldwork seems to indicate that the process of creating the urban centre at Tegea may go as far back as the second half of the 6th century,²⁸¹ this does not exclude the possibility that the political unification of the demes may have been even earlier. In Arcadia this seems to be the general rule rather than the exception, since there is little evidence (apart from Tegea) of urban structures until the 5th century, but substantial evidence for political structures of polis type since the 6th century at least.²⁸²

Our two sources for this process at Tegea, Strabo and Pausanias,²⁸³ agree that Tegea was synoecized out of nine demes which covered the quite extensive Tegean territory, but there is no mention in either source of any urbanistic initiative in this connection. Strabo mentions this event in a context which has been assumed to indicate a moment after the Persian wars, since it is included in a list of examples of this process where also the Elean *synoikismos*, safely dated about 470, is mentioned;²⁸⁴ but Strabo's interest in this passage was purely typological, not chronological, and there is nothing in it to indicate

that those Arcadian *synoikismois* which he mentions there, were to be considered as contemporaneous with the Elean one. Pausanias' information is of a different nature: he pulls the foundation of Tegea back to mythical times, and ascribes the creation of a unified polis out of nine demes to king Aleos three generations before the Trojan War.²⁸⁵ His synoecism seems to be a purely mythical one, but Pausanias clearly had in mind a process based on those nine demes which he saw as an earlier stage of the historical development. He names and to some extent helps to locate those demes, which clearly still existed as local units in his time.²⁸⁶

That the narrowly chronological reading of Strabo's text was misdirected, can now be considered proven by the results of a survey project supplemented by geomagnetical investigations carried out in recent years by the Norwegian institute at Athens. It is now clear that about 1–1.2 km north-east of the sanctuary, where remains of the theatre can still be seen and where also, according to Pausanias' statements, the agora must be located,²⁸⁷ there existed an urban centre of a settlement which was planned and organized on the *per strigas* system.²⁸⁸ Datable material from the surface survey, and from a recent, unpublished Greek excavation near the theatre, pushes the activity in this area back to the second half of the 6th century B.C., but there is no indication of any human settlement or activity before this.²⁸⁹ That there was no such earlier settlement on the plain is a conclusion *ex silentio*, with all the inherent risks of such conclusions as long as they lack the confirmation of a controlled, focused excavation. But it does imply that an urban centre was created apparently by the mid-6th century or slightly later, surprisingly early if this date also holds for the *per strigas* urbanistic pattern, and

²⁸⁵ See p. 11, note 3 above.

²⁸⁶ See pp. 11, notes 1–2, and 18, notes 54–55 above.

²⁸⁷ Theatre and agora were close to one another (Paus. 8.49.1), but not on the same axis as at nearby Mantinea according to the recent Greek-Norwegian investigations; see Ødegård 2006-07 (next note), and *Tegea* II, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe), 32–3, *Fig. 5*. The agora was not where recent (unpublished) Greek excavations claim to have located it, but close by. See Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 13–4, and for the theatre still best the old publication by R. Vallois, "Le théâtre de Tégée," *BCH* 50, 1926, 135–73; recent Greek work on this monument has remained unpublished.

²⁸⁸ Preliminary accounts of these results have been given by K. Ødegård in *AR* 53, 2006-07, 23–4 with a plan *fig. 23*; see also *id.* 2010, and *Tegea* II, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe), 32–3, *Fig. 5*. The final publication is in preparation as *Tegea* III. Surprisingly early evidence for such plans is now forthcoming also from another Arcadian settlement: A.V. Karapanagiotou, "Preliminary notices on the discovery of a planned, classical town near Kyparissia, Gortynia," in Østby (ed.), *Arcadia*, 331–50 (336–7 for similar cases elsewhere in Greece). The plan seems also at Kyparissia to go back to the late 6th century (*ibid.* 340).

²⁸⁹ This is the result which seems to emerge from the recent survey investigations in the area; a few scattered, prehistoric sherds from surface contexts cannot be taken as evidence for settlement. See Ødegård 2005, 216–7, for a preliminary account, including the only available information from the Greek excavation near the theatre; also *id.* 2010, 19–20, and *Tegea* II, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe), 32–3.

²⁷⁸ For this slippery concept, see the sound remarks by Snodgrass 1981, 34–5, and the unusually clear discussion by M. Moggi, "Strabone interprete di Omero," *AnnPisa* S. III.21, 1991, 545–51. Following the strictly urbanistic understanding of the term by M.H. Hansen in Hansen and Heine Nielsen (eds) 2004, 115–20 and 138–44, Heine Nielsen's discussion of Arcadian synoecisms (2002, 171–5) concentrates on this aspect (but he pays attention to both in his discussion of the polis concept, p. 34); Pretzler 2008 uses the term in the same way.

²⁷⁹ Recent works on this event: Heine Nielsen 2002, 414–42; J. Roy, "Synoikizing Megalopolis: The scope of the synoikism and the interests of local Arcadian communities," in Østby (ed.), *Arcadia*, 261–70.

²⁸⁰ There could admittedly have been an earlier settlement from which an urban project might have developed, but not an urban complex with walls, an agora, and an organized road-network. I understand Heine Nielsen 2002, 172–3, in these terms.

²⁸¹ See below, with notes 283–284.

²⁸² A point made by Heine Nielsen 2002, 34.

²⁸³ Strabo 8.3.2; Paus. 8.45.1, where the demes are named. See p. 11 with note 1 and *Fig. 1* above.

²⁸⁴ This is the view of M. Moggi, *I sinecismi interstatali greci I: Dalle origini al 338 a.C.*, Pisa 1976, 131–9, with a useful review of the different opinions; also Burelli Bergese 1995, 93–4, and Heine Nielsen 2002, 171–5. An earlier date, in the late 7th century, has been argued particularly by Callmer 1943, 67–70.

more or less coincided with the end of those long-drawn hostilities with Sparta which seem to have covered the first half of the 6th century.²⁹⁰ This implies that a political *synoikismos* of those nine demes later than this can be safely ruled out. It might even be earlier, and the question immediately arises whether such an event may be connected with one of those two clear breaks which have been identified in the early development of the sanctuary for the local, purely Arcadian goddess Alea.

Admittedly, we are speaking here in terms of probabilities, not of certainties. But it has already been explained why the first, fairly modest reorganization of the sanctuary, by the mid-8th century, can hardly be considered a likely moment for a general *synoikismos*, understood as the reorganization of the Tegean demes into a state of polis type. This was the period when the polis was finding its form, and there is no reason to believe that this process saw Arcadia or Tegea at the forefront.²⁹¹ If this reorganization reflects any political development at all, it is more likely to have concerned those demes to the south and the west of the plain whose population naturally gravitated toward the sanctuary, on the border toward the plain and near the highway between Sparta and Argos.²⁹² It is clear from the survey that even in later periods the area between the sanctuary and the centre of the town remained marshy and exposed to flooding from the river; it does not seem to have ever been included in the urbanistic organization.²⁹³ It is not likely that the people who had settled in the territory north of the plain would have found the sanctuary south of it useful or interesting as long as this marsh separated them from it; they would probably have focused instead on the old sanctuary of Athena Poliatis, which was probably located on one of the hills north of the plain.²⁹⁴

The second break in the Alea sanctuary in the late 7th century, with the construction of the first, large temple and the extensive reorganization of the sanctuary itself, is both more impressive and more interesting for its social and political implications. This enterprise is on a scale which must have involved the resources of the entire Tegean community, and could hardly have been carried out without a decision taken within a political structure of polis type. Such a structure must then have been created, and was perhaps even celebrated in a monumental fashion, visible to everybody, by the extensive and ambitious reorganization of the sanctuary which took place at this time. If this is correct, the political *synoikismos* can hardly be dated any later than the late 7th century B.C., when the temple was constructed. This date has also been proposed

by others,²⁹⁵ and falls at least half a century earlier than the creation of the urban centre. If the approximate date for the centre as provided by our preliminary evidence turns out to be correct, these two events did not coincide.

The decision to use a sanctuary for this tangible manifestation of the new political structure is perfectly aligned with general practice in Early Archaic states, also in the very traditional cultural atmosphere in Arcadia,²⁹⁶ and might be all the more natural in a conflict situation where enemy raids and destructions had to be expected; generally, at least in this early period, sanctuaries were respected in such situations, secular structures were not. But the choice of the sanctuary of the little known, local Arcadian goddess Alea for this monumental expression of common identity may not have been obvious; other choices would have been possible and might even have seemed more natural, such as the sanctuary of Athena Poliatis as divine protectress of the city, or the open-air sanctuary for the typically Arcadian god Zeus Klarios, probably a reflection of the ancient cult of Zeus on Mount Lykaion, which Pausanias still saw on one of the hills north of the city.²⁹⁷ At least one of these is likely to have been a conventional acropolis sanctuary, such as those which early polis states normally used as a focus for their religious identity; Athena Poliatis, who had ancient legends connected with her sanctuary and whose priest was eponymous in the local calendar still in Classical and later periods, clearly maintained a certain status and might seem to be the more likely candidate.²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Alea and her sanctuary were preferred for further development in a monumental direction when the choice was made. The abundance of good votive material from the earlier periods proves that her sanctuary had been well frequented and was probably considered important from quite early times, but the physical aspect of the modest, early cult buildings and the humble position near the marsh and surrounded by the river – certainly nothing remotely like an acropolis site – do not seem to make it an obvious choice for the principal sanctuary of the recently established polis community. But there can be no doubt that this was precisely what the sanctuary had become from this point on, and that it kept this position for the rest of Tegea's history; nothing else was ever built at Tegea that might have competed with this temple and its Classical successor. This is as clear from Pausanias' description of Tegea in his days as from the archaeological evidence of today.

²⁹⁰ See below, with note 299.

²⁹¹ See pp. 20–1.

²⁹² See pp. 16–8.

²⁹³ Ødegård 2005, 214, and *id.* 2010, 11–2. It is also uncertain how much of this area was included within the walls. See p. 17 with note 47 above for the changing course of the river, and the contribution on the issue in *Tegea II*, section ii (Ødegård and Klempe).

²⁹⁴ See pp. 14–5, with notes 28–29.

²⁹⁵ Particularly by Callmer 1943, 67–70, with arguments aligned with the reasoning applied here: after the end of the Messenian wars, but ahead of the defence against Spartan aggression.

²⁹⁶ See Adshead 1986, 21–2 and 26–32, for an interesting sketch of the early atmosphere in Arcadia; Voyatzis 1999 and Heine Nielsen 2002, 176–84, for the importance of temple building for the development of political structures there; and Snodgrass 1981, 33, for cults and religion as a generally fundamental element in the early development of Greek polis states. This is also the general thesis of the important work by de Polignac 1995, but see Hall 2007, 83–7, for a critical approach.

²⁹⁷ Paus. 8.53.9; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 271.

²⁹⁸ For this cult, see pp. 14–5 with notes 28–29.

Looking for some driving force behind these developments, one can hardly be overlooked: the menace from Sparta, which by the late 7th century had concluded the second Messenian war victoriously and was now directing her attention precisely toward Arcadia and Tegea. The stories about the repeated attacks during the early 6th century and the resourceful and successful resistance put up by the Tegeans, best known from Herodotos' accounts written only a century or slightly more after these events,²⁹⁹ are well known and contribute toward the conclusion that the city must now have possessed a quite efficient, political structure in order to handle this situation. As an ideological rallying point for this resistance, the purely local goddess Alea may have been considered more appropriate than the more obvious polis-protectress Athena who had an important cult at Sparta as well.³⁰⁰ Alea could fill this function, not only because she was closely connected with local identity, but because there was also a martial aspect of defence and protection in her character; this is demonstrated not only by the assimilation with Athena, which is not safely attested before the 5th century (although possibly a good deal earlier),³⁰¹ but also by the small models and items of weapons and armour among the early votive material from the sanctuary.³⁰² The challenge to Sparta is expressed very clearly by the temple itself, which stands squarely in the tradition from the early temple of Hera at Argos, Sparta's mortal enemy during those years.³⁰³ As the focus of national pride and identity this was also where the trophies from the victories against the Spartans, such as the famous fetters brought by the invading Spartans and which they were themselves forced to wear after their defeat, were dedicated and put on show. Herodotos saw them in this temple, when they were monuments of fairly recent history, and Pausanias could still see them in the new temple, six centuries later.³⁰⁴

It seems that Pausanias' connection of the synoecism

of the nine demes with the foundation of the sanctuary can be maintained if the "foundation" is understood not as the first establishment of the cult at this site, but as that ambitious reorganization which may well have been understood as a re-foundation on a new and larger scale. His sources may have been confused on this point. If this is how his text is to be understood, he or his sources make the mistake of pushing events of the late 7th century B.C. back into the period before the Trojan War. But in the historical situation of the late 7th century, under the looming threat from Sparta, these two processes, the unification of the demes cemented by the reorganization and amplification (rather than the foundation) of the sanctuary, make sense.

In Argos as well as at Sparta the development of the polis state took place within the framework of a traditional monarchy, and there is reason to believe that this was the case at Tegea as well; the rare references to the rulers of Tegea in the Homeric poem and in fragments from Hesiod even seem to imply that these rulers had a claim to lordship over all Arcadia, at least in certain situations.³⁰⁵ A late source mentions a reigning queen of Tegea named Perimede during the wars with Sparta in the early 6th century,³⁰⁶ which may indicate that this constitutional framework remained unchanged after the reforms of the late 7th century. It can hardly have lasted into the 5th century, since no king of Tegea is mentioned in connection with the battle at Plataiai where the Tegean participation was important. But in the late 7th century this kind of political structure was a normal one and must be assumed, and it would also make sense if the reorganizations carried out then were connected with the initiative of a strong, local personality in a situation which called for forceful action. One would, however, in that case expect a name connected with these events to have been preserved in later traditions. This is apparently not the case, neither Herodotos – our principal source – nor any other text has preserved such a name.

In spite of this apparent lack of evidence, the sources seem to offer one possible identification. The principal events of early Tegean history which were recorded by Pausanias, with names attached to them, were first the organization of the demes (Tegeates), then the foundation of the city and the sanctuary (Aleos), and both were pushed back to mythological times before the Trojan War. But if the organization of the demes was an event of the mid-8th century, as suggested above,³⁰⁷ the events attributed to the later ruler Aleos must be later than this. It may be of some relevance that Aleos was explicitly recorded by Pausanias as "founder of the present-

²⁹⁹ 1.66–68. For discussions, see Callmer 1943, 72–7; Jeffery 1976, 121; Adshead 1986, 28–9; Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 267–9; Burelli Bergese 1995, 50–3, with extensive references n. 47; Cartledge 2002², 118–20; and Pretzler 1999, 95–6 and 114–8, for the importance of these events for Tegean sense of identity.

³⁰⁰ A possible connection between the construction of the temple, a political process and the aggression from Sparta has also been touched on by Voyatzis, *Sanctuary*, 11–2 and 271. See now also Pretzler 2008, 148–9. The temple of Athena Poliouchos (also called Chalkioikos) on the acropolis of Sparta: Paus. 3.17.2.

³⁰¹ See p. 14 with note 27. The reorganization of the sanctuary might certainly have been a convenient occasion for this step to be taken.

³⁰² See p. 14 with note 26.

³⁰³ On the conflicts between Argos and Sparta before the 6th century see Cartledge 2002², 107–10 and 121–3; Tomlinson 1972, 79–84, who tends to see the attacks against Tegea as part of the same conflict; and Kelly 1976, 49–50, 73–7 and 86–8, who tries to dismiss their importance. See p. 31 with note 158 for the battle at Hysiai, and Østby, *Temple*, 102, for some tentative considerations on the link between Tegea and Argos in the late 7th century, as demonstrated by the Archaic temple. There is nothing to my knowledge to suggest that temples of this type were ever built at Sparta.

³⁰⁴ Hdt. 1.67.1; Paus. 8.47.2.

³⁰⁵ See pp. 11–2 with notes 6 and 8, and Burelli Bergese 1995, 26–31, for a general discussion of the evidence for an early kingdom in Arcadia.

³⁰⁶ Burelli Bergese 1995, 51; *FGrHist* frg. 306 F 4 (a fragment of Deinias from Argos); also Adshead 1986, 28 with n. 84.

³⁰⁷ See p. 11 with note 1, and p. 21 with note 82, for the possible connection between the mythical and probably artificial figure Tegeates and events which may be located in the 8th century.

day city” (8.45.1: τῆς δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν πόλεως οἰκιστῆς ἐγένετο Ἄλεος); this can only be understood as somehow distinguished from the earlier “foundation” by the creation of eight demes, ascribed to Tegeates, and can hardly refer to anything other than the synoecism which we have reason to date to the late 7th century.³⁰⁸ In the same passage he is the founder of the sanctuary, which according to the archaeological evidence stretches back in time a good deal further than the mid-8th century. But this part of the text also makes sense if the reorganization of the sanctuary at the end of the 7th century is meant, and attributed to the same ruler.

In spite of the mythological trappings surrounding his name, it may in that case be worthwhile to consider if there could be a genuine tradition behind Pausanias’ connection of both events with the same person, a person (quite possibly not the only one in early Tegean history³⁰⁹) with this name which is so obviously derived from the name of the goddess. He was in that case, by some later confusion which is not too difficult to explain if only oral traditions existed for this early phase of Tegean history,³¹⁰ not only connected in a somewhat imprecise way with the 7th-century synoecism, but also with the first foundation of the sanctuary of the goddess whose status in the community he so effectively promoted, rather than with that reorganization and an emphatical increase of its importance for which he could, in that period, have been responsible.³¹¹ A man with this name would then have brought decisive changes both to the Tegean political system and to its religious and ideological identity, thus facing the critical situation of the late 7th century in a way not entirely unlike how the Spartans had shaped their identity in a critical situation earlier in the same century.³¹² If this is his correct, historical context, there may be a place for king Aleos along with

other semi-mythical figures of this foggy period of early Peloponnesian history, such as Lykourgos of Sparta and king Pheidon of Argos – both, as he, almost certainly figures of the 7th century if they were anything other than purely mythical.³¹³ But if their chronological contexts are vague and unclear, this is still more so for this Aleos whose date has in this case been more violently distorted. This may even be the reason why his name was not in later traditions also connected with the resistance against Sparta; his name does not to our knowledge appear among those known in local tradition for that part of Tegean glory.³¹⁴

Whoever was the driving force behind the initiative of organizing the defence also at an ideological level against the dangerous neighbour in the south, he was to a large extent successful: the Tegeans, and the Arcadians, did not share the fate of the heloticized Messenians as the Spartan intentions originally must have been, but became the first link in the network of political and military alliances which the Spartans then started constructing in the Peloponnese, probably by concluding some sort of treaty with the Tegeans as the first step.³¹⁵ This the Tegeans could accept with their political and social structures intact, and were then free, at last, to carry on their own process of unification by the creation of a new, urban settlement on the plain.³¹⁶ This success had consequences far beyond Tegea itself; by blocking the Spartan ambitions in their initial form and securing for themselves more reasonable terms, they had created an acceptable model which other Peloponnesian states could also claim when they had to join the Spartan network.³¹⁷ The building whose modest stone foundations can still be seen in the sanctuary today might also have a share in this success.

³⁰⁸ Except possibly the creation of the urban centre in the 6th century. But this event, about half a century later than the reorganization of the sanctuary with the Archaic temple, is not mentioned or referred to by Pausanias or any other preserved source.

³⁰⁹ The Auge tradition was known already to Hesiod, but Aleos’ name is not preserved in the fragment of his poem; see p. 1 with note 5. Confusion between a mythical figure with this name and a man with the same name living in the late 7th century may provide a possible explanation for the confusion concerning this person.

³¹⁰ There is no evidence for inscriptions from Arcadia and Tegea until the late 6th century: see Jeffery 1961, 206–16. Aristotle wrote a treatise called *Τεγεατῶν πολιτεία*, but only a few fragments connected with the presumed treaty with Sparta are preserved (Plut. *Mor.* 277c and 292b = frgs 608–609 Bekker–Gigon) and nothing is known about his sources. See note 1 above for the problematic nature of Pausanias’ sources on early Arcadian history.

³¹¹ Apparently Pausanias was aware of the impossible chronological distance between his date for the reign of Aleos and the date of the early temple, since he states that the temple was built *χρόνον δὲ ὕστερον* (8.45.4). Since the sanctuary existed already in the Protogeometric period, and possibly even earlier, it is most unlikely that a genuine record of its original foundation ever existed.

³¹² See e.g. Jeffery 1976, 111–20, or Cartledge 2002², 113–7, and *id.*, *Spartan reflections*, London 2001, 21–38, for general surveys of Sparta’s political development in this period and the traditional connection with the name of Lykourgos.

³¹³ For Lykourgos, see the excellent survey of previous opinions by P. Oliva, *Sparta and her social problems*, Prague 1971, 63–70, and the substantial defense of his position as a true protagonist in Spartan history of the early 7th century by W.G. Forrest, “The date of the Lykourgan reforms in Sparta,” *Phoenix* 17.3, 1963, 157–79; but see e.g. Hall 2007, 186, for a brief, updated presentation of the problem. On Pheidon the discussion seems to concern his date rather than his real existence; see the recent summary *ibid.*, 145–54.

³¹⁴ This lore is conveniently assembled and discussed by Pretzler 1999.

³¹⁵ Generally presumed, but not free from problems. See Heine Nielsen 2002, 188–92, for the sources (see note 310 above; also H. Bengtson and H.H. Schmidt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* vol. 2, Munich and Berlin 1962, 11 no. 112) and a recent, critical discussion. See also Adsheed 1986, 29–30 with n. 90; R. Osborne, *Greece in the making 1200–479 BC*, London and New York 2009², 271–5.

³¹⁶ See Ødegård 2005, 216–7, for a slightly different reading of the connection between the urbanization and the relations with Sparta. Pretzler 2008, 154–9, opts for an explanation close to mine after a lengthy discussion, explaining why an urban centre at Tegea might actually have been in Sparta’s interest at the time.

³¹⁷ For this poorly documented process, see e.g. the summaries Jeffery 1976, 121–3, Adsheed 1986, 30–2, and Cartledge 2002², 119–27; but observe Heine Nielsen 2002, 188–92, for the uncertainties involved in this reconstruction.

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