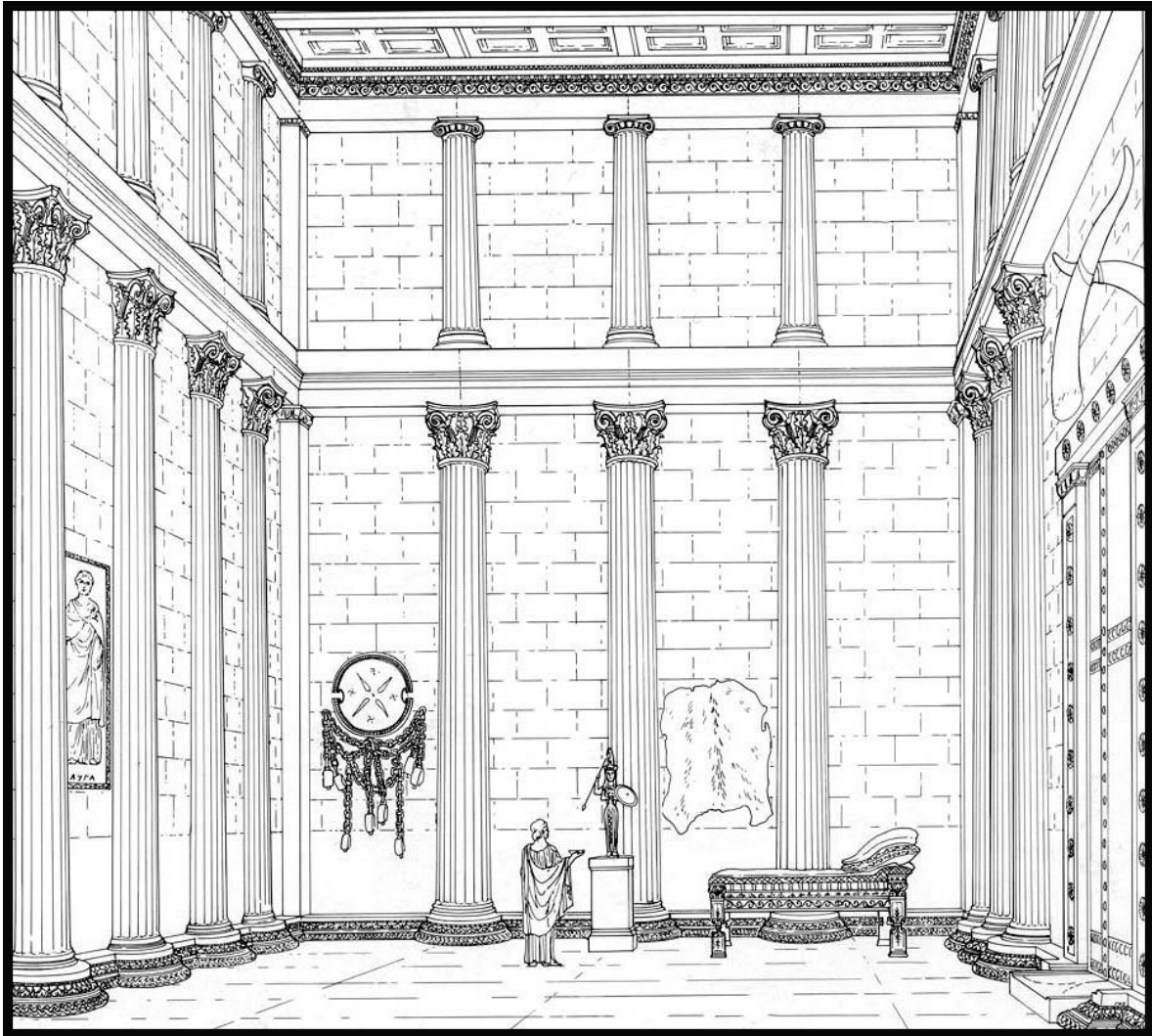


# The Emergence of Ancient Tegea

## *Political Unity, Synoikism and Identity in a Greek Polis*



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September, 2011

**Cover Illustration:**

Reconstruction of the interior of the Classical temple of Athena Alea. (After Stewart 1990: Fig. 541).

## **Preface**

The first time I visited Tegea was in the spring of 2007, when I was attending a course at the Norwegian Institute at Athens. Our professor and guide, Knut Ødegård, mentioned that young archaeologists would be needed at the future excavations in the area, and I remember thinking, “I will be one of them!” When the Hellenic-Norwegian Excavation at Tegea started up in 2009, I was one of the lucky few who were invited to join the project. For three years (and counting) I have been happily swinging the pick-axe in the urban centre of ancient Tegea.

Naturally, my first thanks go to my supervisor, Knut Ødegård, for taking me on the project at Tegea in the first place. He also helped me develop this project and allowed me to make it my own, and never turned me down when I would drop by his office with endless questions.

Other thanks are due: IAKH, for giving me the travel scholarship, the Norwegian Institute at Athens for giving me a room, and the Nordic Library at Athens for providing me with a desk there. Karin Hägg Niklasson for initiating a very fruitful seminar. Linn Solli, Irene Selsvold and Elisabet Janssen for participating, and for being part of our exclusive Classics club. Marianne Hem Eriksen, Amy Donaldson, Vincenzo Cracolici and Rasmus Brandt, who read my project and gave me valuable and encouraging feedback. Jørgen Bakke, for letting me use his beautiful maps. All the people who’ve sat with me in the break room; the forum where one can vent, have silly conversations and some laughs, or exchange precious advice and encouragement. My friends, who (hopefully) have been patient enough to wait for me while I shut myself off from the world during this project. My employers, Peder and Annette Sødem, for a great seven years, and for giving me time off to write and travel which I needed to complete my project.

My parents, who have always supported me, believed in me and who read the final draft of the project.

And the final thanks go to my beloved Jo-Simon Stokke, my everything, who has supported and encouraged me through the highs and lows of this project, and whose love makes me believe I can do anything.

Notes:

The word *synoikismos* means “dwelling together”. But the meaning is ambiguous, as it can be used in the political sense (the acceptance of a single political centre by people living more or less scattered), or in the physical sense (the migration of the population to an existing or newly, purpose-built place of habitation) (Snodgrass 1980:34). In the following study, synoikism will be used in the physical sense (unless otherwise specified).

In this project Greek spelling of names is preferred over the Latinised versions, hence ai instead of ae, kh instead of ch, os instead of us, and so on.

All dates are B.C., unless otherwise specified.

The main premise of this study is that we are in fact dealing with an orthogonal city of the Archaic period. The future seasons of the Hellenic-Norwegian Excavations at Tegea, which started in 2009, will probably provide us with the answer. Only through excavations can the apparent plan, as suggested by the magnetometer survey, be confirmed and dated. Further surveys in the area are also needed to ascertain the form and date of the water management of the Tegean plain.

For now, this present study provides a sketch of the possible development of the early Tegean polis.

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## Abbreviations

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology

BAR = British Archaeological Reports

CPCActs = Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre

CPCPapers = Papers of the Copenhagen Polis Centre

CQ = Classical Quarterly

FGrHist = Die Fragmente der Griechische Historiker

JIntArchNum = Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique, Athènes

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae

KDVS = Kongelige Danske Videnskabers Selskab

MDAI = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athenische Abteilung

NAS = The Norwegian Arcadia Survey

OpAth = Opuscula Atheniensi

RE = Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft



Fig. 1: Map of the Peloponnese.



## ***Introduction and Problem Statement***

The ancient *polis* of Tegea was located on a high mountain plain in the southeast of Arkadia, and positioned at the principal line of communication between the two most powerful Peloponnesian poleis, rivalling Sparta and Argos. This present study will explore how Tegea managed to become a strong polis in the midst of this Peloponnesian power struggle.

The word polis is ambiguous, as it can mean both a state and a city – hence the English translation “city-state”. On one hand it is a political entity, comprised by the male citizens; on the other, a physical entity, comprised by the city and its territory (*asty* and *khora*). One has assumed the polis in both senses developed hand in hand. Recent archaeological investigations at the site indicate that this was not the case at Tegea; the political unification may have predated the physical polis by at least half a century. According to the ancient sources, the creation of an urban centre at Tegea happened as a result of *synoikismos* (Greek “dwelling together”), where several smaller villages move together to form a city.

Tegea apparently diverges from the norm in yet another important way. Where most mainland poleis grew in an organic, disorganised manner, a magnetometer survey conducted at Tegea showed rectilinear streets indicating a regular grid. The layout is reminiscent of the Archaic plans of the Western colonies. Based on the finds made by the Norwegian Arcadia Survey, the plan of Tegea may be dated to the period 550–500. Tegea may consequently be a case of early mainland urban planning. This goes against the assumption that city planning was either a phenomenon of the Western colonies or of the Classical period associated with Hippodamos of Miletos.

The archaeological investigations also confirmed that the perennial river Alpheios (modern Sarandapotamos), had shifted its course on several occasions, and has been responsible for episodic flooding, rendering large parts of the plain less favourable for agriculture and habitation. Consequently, management of the hydrological problems would be a prerequisite for any extensive use of arable land or any urban construction.

The practical and political implications of this early city planning, presuppose a strong cohesion of the Tegean community. That the ancient Greeks consciously manipulated their history and utilised myths, monuments and rituals to bolster civic pride and the unity of their polis is well-documented. The focus of this present study will be how the Tegeans created their identity in order to strengthen their community. Using theories on identity, this present

study will explore how the Tegeans employed myth-history, monuments and the landscape in the creation of the polis.

The development of Tegea, or more precisely the relationship between the emergence of the community and the foundation of the urban centre, will be investigated. This investigation will comprise a specific series of questions:

- How was Tegea's development affected by the political context of the region, in particular, what was the influence of relations with its powerful neighbour Sparta?
- Can the claims of early water management and early urban planning be supported analogically?
- Do the Tegean myths reflect the development of the political community and the urban centre?
- To what extent can these myths be said to have created and bolstered local identity and the role of Tegea in a Panhellenic context?
- And finally, how does the development at Tegea adhere to current theories on the rise of the polis?

## **Notes on the Use of Ancient Sources**

As Classical archaeologists we are fortunate enough to have a wealth of written sources to aid us in our search for the past. There are, however, risks involved in relying to heavily on the ancient written sources. Especially when using Pausanias, who wrote in the second century A.D. – as much as 600 years after the period of interest in this present project –, caution must be exercised. Nevertheless, there are benefits in relying on the descriptions of the ancient *perieget*. The word can be roughly translated to “guide”, and there are few today who doubt that Pausanias actually visited the places he describes (Habicht 1985:17; Andersen 1992:55; Børtnes 1992:11; Østby 1992:154). Pausanias is therefore a valuable source, as long as one is cautious and uses source criticism, in addition to combining and comparing with other written sources and archaeology (Østby 1992:154).

One of the major advantages in using Pausanias is his way of combining landscape, monument, myth and history. In this way he adds a temporal dimension to the spatial dimension; myth-history gives context and depth to the topography he describes (Børtnes 1992:17–18; Elsner 2001:6). This mode of description fits the theme of this project very well.

The other great advantage, which is usually construed as a disadvantage, is the late date of his work. This study is based on the hypothesis that identity is constructed over time, and also that the most powerful tools in that construction is myth and ritual (see Theoretical Framework). Pausanias generally chooses the ancient over the new, the sacred over the profane (Børtnes 1992:14). Pausanias can be said to stand at the end of a line, combining “what is being said” (by the locals) with older authors chronologically closer to the events relevant to the present study (Andersen 1992:57; Eide 1992:72; Jones 2001:39). He is not trying to describe any specific period of time, but at the same time, he seeks to capture the essence of the places he visits (cf. Børtnes 1992:10; Elsner 2001:6). This essence is more often than not connected with the early myth-history and the foundation of a polis and the monuments associated with it. This is why Pausanias is deemed to be more fitting for the theme of this study than many earlier authors.

## **Method and Structure**

In Part I the archaeological material will be presented. The first material group, the archaeology from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, is well known. The urban layout and archaeology associated with water management are the other two material groups which will be considered. As of yet, too little is known about the archaeology of these at Tegea, so better known sites will be utilised for analysis and discussion. Thus, the methodological approach in the latter two chapters is comparative; other poleis will be used as analogies to shed more light on the case of Tegea. .

Alison Wylie’s (2002) definition of formal analogy is a direct empirical comparison of characteristics, transferred from one case to another. Analogical reasoning means assuming other similarities based on the existence of already established similarities between two cases. Although one can never draw conclusions that are absolutely certain, analogy is a viable alternative to the simply descriptive on one hand, or to pure guesswork on the other. (Wylie 2002:154). Many critical voices have been raised against the use of analogy, but Wylie’s conclusion is that these critics have failed in presenting real alternatives, as the solutions offered are in fact themselves analogical (Wylie 2002:136). Wylie instead advocates the use of *criteria of strength* to reinforce analogical arguments, where the argument can be supported by appealing to several similarities (Wylie 2002:149, 150). This study will strive to follow the principal of *criteria of strength*, and analogies displaying numerous relevant similarities will be employed.

A useful heuristic device in the context of analogy is the term *peer polity interaction*. Colin Renfrew (1986:1) defines peer polity interaction as all forms of contact, exchange and influence (including imitation, emulation, competition, war, trade and the exchange of information) between autonomous socio-political units located in the same area. The units have a tendency to be of roughly the same size and have similar institutions, systems of measurement, religious structure, and language, and together make up what we call a civilisation (Renfrew 1986:2). The similarities are the result of interaction between the units, often over a long period of time (Renfrew 1986:5). It is important to emphasise that this is not in itself a method, as that often results in circular reasoning, but a way of understanding how ideas and new influences could circulate and be adopted in the ancient world (Renfrew 1986:7).

In Part II the approach will be different. The theories of identity, landscape and memory will be applied in the analysis of the main themes in Tegean myth-history, as they have been defined by Maria Pretzler (1999). The groups defined by Pretzler will generally be followed, although they have been adapted to include the archaeological material from Part I. While Pretzler analyses the groups based on the model of ethnic identity, in this study the themes have been rearranged in order to better understand their role in the creation of identity and space, following the theories of landscape and phenomenology.

In the last chapter recent discussions on polis theory are presented. These will be applied on the case of Tegea to shed some light on how this polis adhered or diverged from the central points of polis theory.

# **Part I:**

# **Material and Analogies**



## ***The Sanctuary of Athena Alea***

Athena Alea, the principal deity of the Tegeans, was the assimilation of an older, local goddess with the Panhellenic Athena. The goddess Alea was a characteristic of Arkadia, and can only be found in this region (Jost 1985:368–369).

The Classical temple of Athena Alea was described by Pausanias (8.45.4) as one of the largest and finest in the Peloponnese. It was built by the famous Skopas of Paros in the fourth century, a few decades after a fire in 395 destroyed the Archaic building. This Archaic temple was still remembered in the time of Pausanias, and must consequently have been held in high esteem even after its destruction (Østby et al. 1994:94). According to the tradition related by Pausanias (8.45.4), the cult was originally established by king Aleos, the founder of Tegea, two generations before the Trojan War. It was only later that the people of Tegea built a temple, which probably alludes to the cult being an open-air sanctuary for a long period of time (Østby et al. 1994:92).

## **The Early Excavations**

The earliest involvement at Tegea was focused on the temple of Athena Alea. The sanctuary was identified by the Englishman E. Dodwell in 1806 in the village of Piali (now Alea), and the first excavation was initiated by German archaeologist A. Milchhöfer in 1879 (Milchhöfer 1880). The Classical temple was gradually uncovered by German, Greek and French archaeologists in the period 1879 to 1910 (see Østby et al. 1994:n. 3 for bibliography). When Charles Dugas was given the responsibility of the investigations in 1910, he was able to make a theoretical reconstruction of the temple, which is more or less accepted today (Østby et al. 1994:90; Hammond 1998:10, and n. 53). Dugas proposed that the temple of Athena Alea was Doric, 6 x 14 columns, and entirely of the local Dholiana marble (Hammond 1998:10). The temple displays an unusual trait, namely an entrance to the north, accessible from a ramp. The function is as of yet unknown, but it was probably ritual (Østby et al. 1994:96; 140).

Thirty metres to the east Dugas uncovered the foundations of a large Classical altar, which Pausanias says was created by the mythical seer Melampous (8.47.3; Dugas et al. 1924:66–69). A stadion is also mentioned in Pausanias (8.47.4), where the games of *Aleaia* and *Halotia* took place, but its location has not yet been confirmed (Ødegård 2005:213; Østby et al. 1994:92, and n. 13). A temple of this size and importance is bound to be surrounded with buildings associated with the cult activity. None have been found, although architectural fragments indicate that they are yet to be uncovered (Østby et al. 1994:92). A sacred well has

been found in the vicinity of the temple and has been identified by Dugas as the fountain of Auge (Dugas et al. 1924:69–71). It was here that the daughter of Aleos had a clandestine meeting with Herakles, resulting in the conception of Telephos (Paus. 8.47.4). The archaeological finds from in and around the temple likely date from the early Geometric but could possibly be from as early as the Mycenaean Period (Dugas 1921).

There has been some archaeological activity at the sanctuary between the earlier excavations and the Norwegian project, but mostly small-scale or unpublished (Hammond 1998:12).

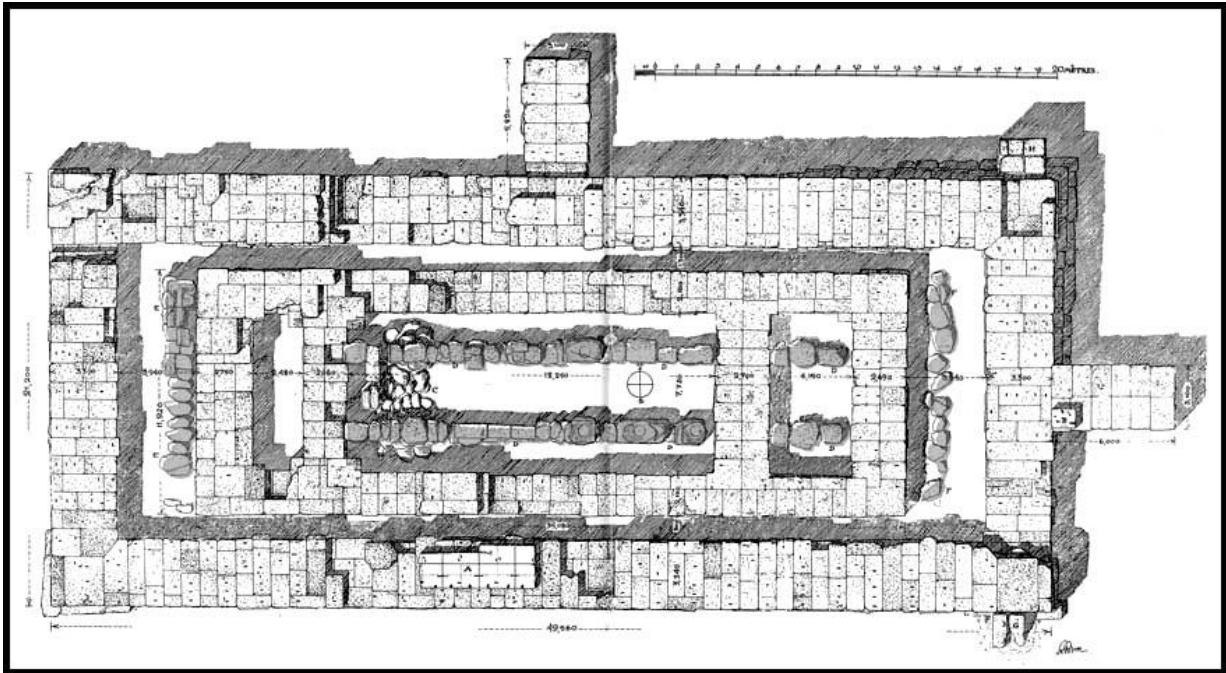
### **The Norwegian Involvement**

In 1990 the newly founded Norwegian Institute at Athens started a five-year archaeological project in collaboration with Greek, Swedish, French and Italian archaeologists. This international team was led by Erik Østby (Østby et al. 1994:89). In addition to the excavations, new studies of the material found in the course of the earlier involvement have also been conducted.

The Norwegian Arcadia Survey ((1998–2001) (henceforth NAS) focused on the urban area, but used the sanctuary as a starting point at the centre of the surveyed area. This interdisciplinary team included archaeology, history, art history, botany, geography and geology, and could consequently draw some conclusions about the immediate surroundings of the sanctuary.



## The Temple Phases



**Fig 2: The foundations of the Classical and Archaic temple (underneath in grey).**

While the French had interpreted the ruins of a smaller building beneath the cella of the Classical temple as the foundations of a Byzantine church, Erik Østby recognised them as the Archaic predecessor (Østby et al. 1994:94). Using the Hera temples at Argos and Olympia as analogies, the temple of Tegea can be dated to the end of the seventh century. The temple was constructed largely by Dholiana marble with 6 x 18 wooden columns (Voyatzis 1999:131). Judging from its dimensions and the rich votive material, the temple was comparable in size and importance to other major sanctuaries in the Peloponnese of the same period (Østby et al 1994:94). Under the rear part of the cella of this Archaic temple, a stone platform was discovered. This could be the remains of an even earlier Archaic cult building, but lacking further evidence it is conjecture at this point (Østby et al. 1994:139).

More certain predecessors of the Archaic temple have been uncovered. These are two apsidal wattle-and-daub structures of successive Geometric dates. They are modest in size and execution and may be the earliest temples of their kind in the Peloponnese (Østby et al. 1994:140). Their cultic function is confirmed by votives and signs of ritual meals and they were in use until the late eighth or early seventh century. Puzzling postholes found inside the structures defy any logical reconstruction, and may be signs of yet an earlier building. Other postholes are proposed by the excavators to be evidence of ritual activity around a non-anthropomorphic deity. Such practice endured for a longer period of time in Arkadia than elsewhere (Burkert 1979:113–142; Østby et al. 1994:140). In front of, and contemporary with,

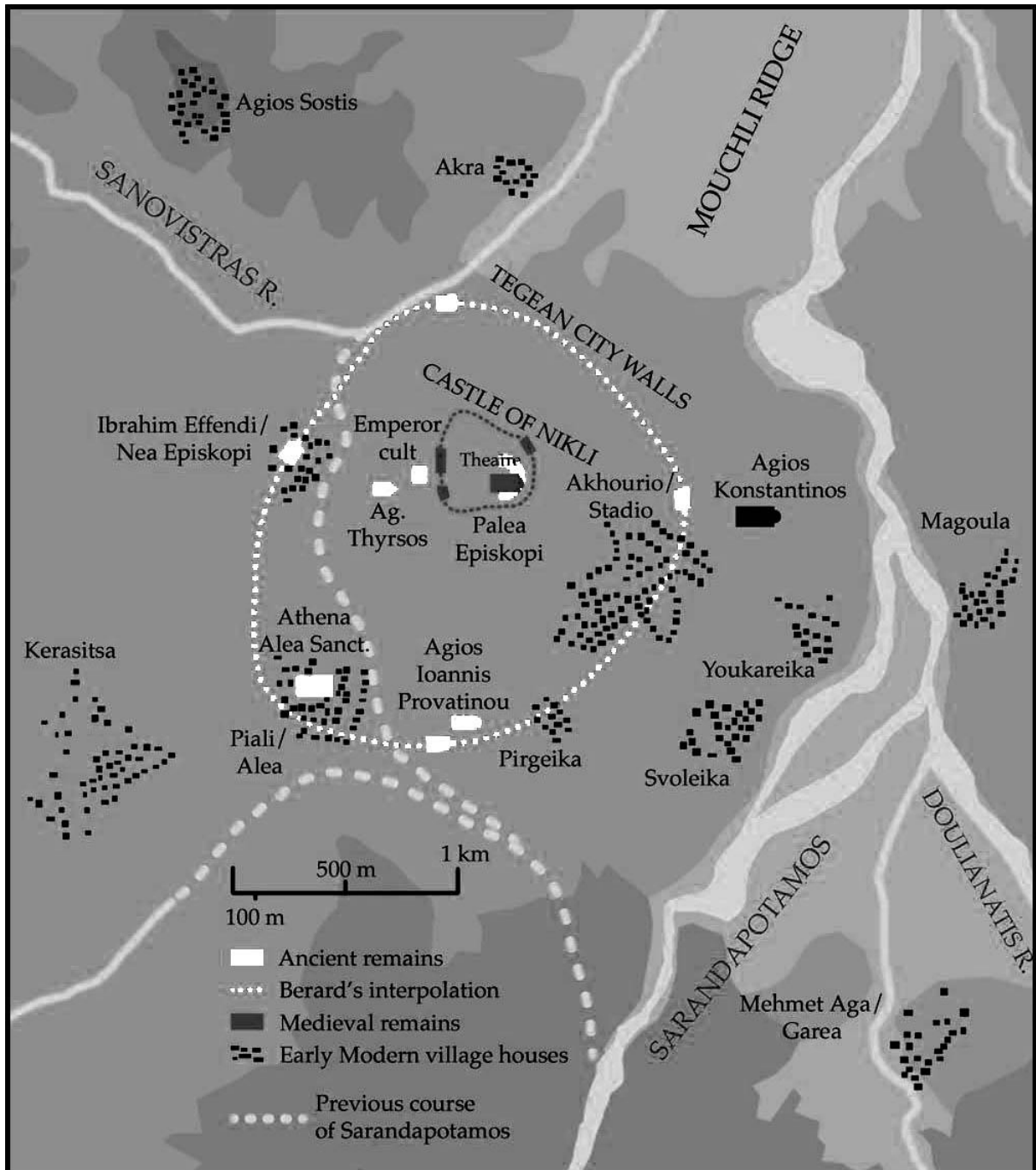
these apsidal structures evidence of metallurgic activity was discovered, indicating a local metal workshop producing votives (Østby et al. 1994:134).

The archaeological finds from the temple area were confirmed to be as early as the Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean periods (Østby et al. 1994:94). The effects of the collapse of the Bronze Age civilisation were not as strongly felt in Arkadia, which makes cult continuity a possibility but due to the modest quantities of the earliest material it cannot be established with any certainty (Østby et al. 1994:93–94). The sudden and substantial increase in votives in the second half of the eighth century is consistent with the development of other early sanctuaries (de Polignac 1995:13–15; Snodgrass (1980:52–62).

### **The Location and Background of the Sanctuary**

There has been some disagreement as to the location of the temple in relation to the urban centre, but thanks to the results of the NAS project, this has now been resolved.

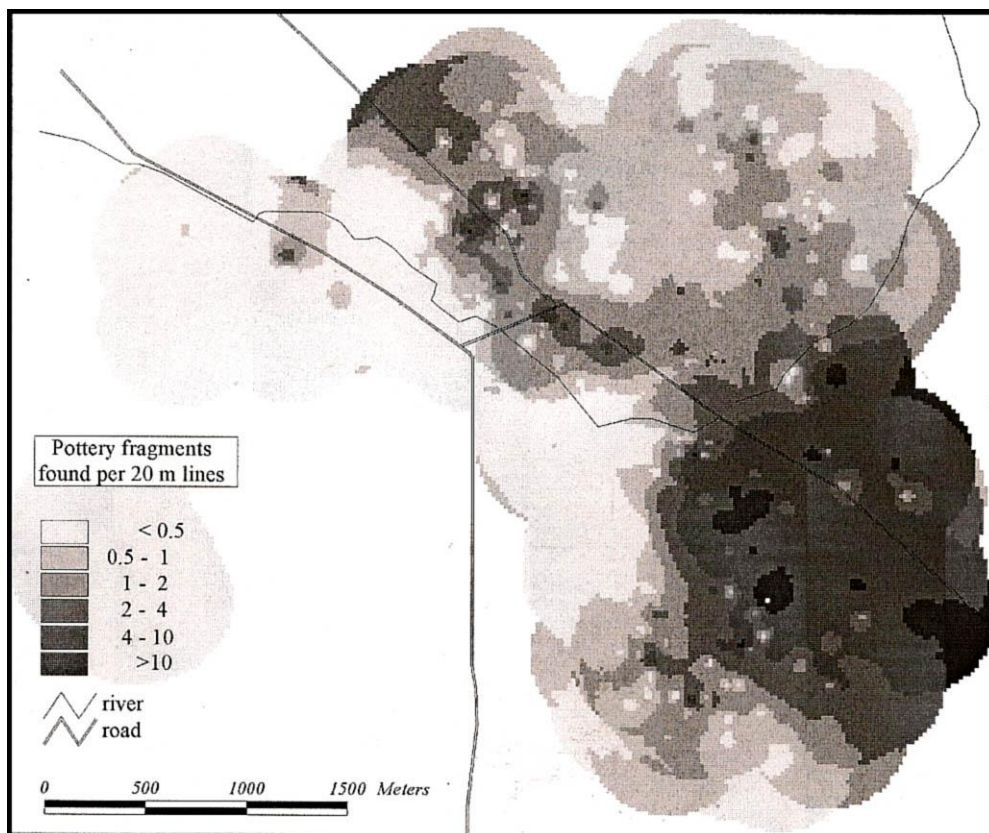
Archaeologist Victor Bérard published a tentative course of the city wall in 1892 (547–549), which included the temple inside the city wall. Bérard had established through trial soundings three certain points to the north, west and east, a more uncertain point to the south of the temple of Athena Alea (Bérard 1892; Ødegård 2005:211). The fourth century date and elliptical shape of the proposed course was analogically inferred from that of Mantinea (Bérard 1892; Ødegård 2005:211). Callmer argued that the southern point was damaged and extremely uncertain, and that Bérard's wall made Tegea larger than Mantinea, which was considered to be the largest Arkadian city after Megalopolis (Callmer 1943:112–113).



**Fig 3: Map of the urban area with Bérard's hypothetical city wall, and the ancient course of the Alpheios.**

As part of the NAS project, the map of Bérard was digitalised and georeferenced. The survey was conducted over an area of 50 km<sup>2</sup> with the sanctuary at the centre (Ødegård 2005:210). The results of the survey showed that the densest distribution of artefacts coincided with the urban area as defined by Bérard, except the area to the south. A map based on a statistical interpolation of the finds shows an irregular circle of about one km in diameter (Ødegård 2010a:199). In addition to the find-density map, the NAS team also employed GPR, core samples and geological interpretation to establish the ancient course of the

Sarandapotamos. These results confirmed the conclusion of Pritchett (1965:122–125), namely that the river flowed on the western side of the city, and possibly between the sanctuary and the urban area<sup>1</sup>. While it might be argued that the low density of surface finds could be due to sedimentation caused by the river, it is more likely that the southern part of Bérard’s map was unsuitable for urban settlement (Ødegård 2005:212, 214). Ødegård (2005:214) proposes that the area in between the urban centre and the sanctuary was dominated by wetland and riverine activity, and that the city wall was located farther to the north and simply did not include the sanctuary. This hypothesis is also consistent with the results of the later magnetometer investigation (Ødegård 2010a:201–202), as we shall see in the next chapter.



**Fig. 4: Map of find density (the urban area of Tegea is the concentration in the lower right corner).**

During the course of the excavations it became evident that the sanctuary itself stood on what was formerly a prominent hillock, which became less conspicuous as a result of the repeated flooding and silting at the end of antiquity and the raising of the area in connection with the construction of the Classical temple (Østby et al. 1994:140). The area slopes towards the north, where the GPR discovered a deep ditch during the NAS project. This was probably a meander-lake left by the river, and Ødegård (2005:214) suggests it may have been utilised

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the results of the NAS remains unpublished and that the map shows one possible course of the river.

as part of the defence of the sanctuary. The impression of the surroundings of the sanctuary is thus a virtual island, enclosed by water and not included in the urban environment.

The evidence of the earlier cult of Alea stems from epigraphic material dated to 525–500 (*IG V2 75*; Jost 1985:369), written sources and archaeological material. Athena became associated with the local goddess in the Archaic period but Alea retained much of her autonomy and character, as suggested by the fact that later writers, such as Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.5.27), use only the name Alea (Jost 1985:369). The objects found at the sanctuary allude to her role as protectress, fertility goddess and possibly as Mistress of Animals (Jost 1985; Voyatzis 1990). At some point the sanctuary became the symbol of the synoikised Tegea, possibly at the end of the seventh century when the Archaic temple was constructed (Voyatzis 1990:271). Strabo (8.3.2) writes that Tegea was synoikised by nine demes, and Pausanias (8.45.1) tells us the ninth deme, Apheidantes, was a later addition to the original eight demes by king Apheidas. Many scholars connect the earliest control of the sanctuary with the deme of Apheidantes (Voyatzis 1999:143, see n. 54 for bibliography). According to Voyatzis this is based on Pausanias' (8.45.1, 8.4.3) description of the deme as being located "in the area of the walls of Tegea and to the north" (Voyatzis 1999:143). However, when reading the cited passages no reference to the deme of Apheidantes being located at the urban centre can be found. Passage 8.4.3 simply states that Apheidas received Tegea and the area around. The word *asty* is not used here, while it is in passages explicitly concerning the city (see for instance 8.44.8). This is not to say that Pausanias is consistent in his distinction between the territory of the Tegeans and the city of the Tegeans, but it is conspicuous that Apheidas' third of the whole of Arkadia only amounted to the small area of what was to become the city area. Since Pausanias is in fact not referring to the walled area, it is more plausible that "the lot of Apheidas" means the whole of Tegea, not the urban centre. Consequently, we do not know which village or deme was the prime mover in the administration of the cult.

What can be concluded from the archaeology is that the construction of the first monumental temple had to be a collective effort, and not the work of a single deme. The extensive use of Dholiana marble in the temple appears to be the first example on the plain and may have necessitated the construction of the first road to the Dholiana quarries (Bakke 2008:115). The monumentalisation of the late seventh-century temple may thus have had wider-reaching implications, making it a vastly larger undertaking than its predecessors. The construction of the monumental Archaic temple is consequently taken to be a manifestation of the creation of the Tegean political community; the unification of the Tegeans in this major enterprise show that they were a state. This happened at a time when there was no Tegean

urban centre, which means that Tegea had become a polis in the political sense, but not yet in the physical sense.

## ***The Urban Layout of Tegea***

### **Earlier Research**

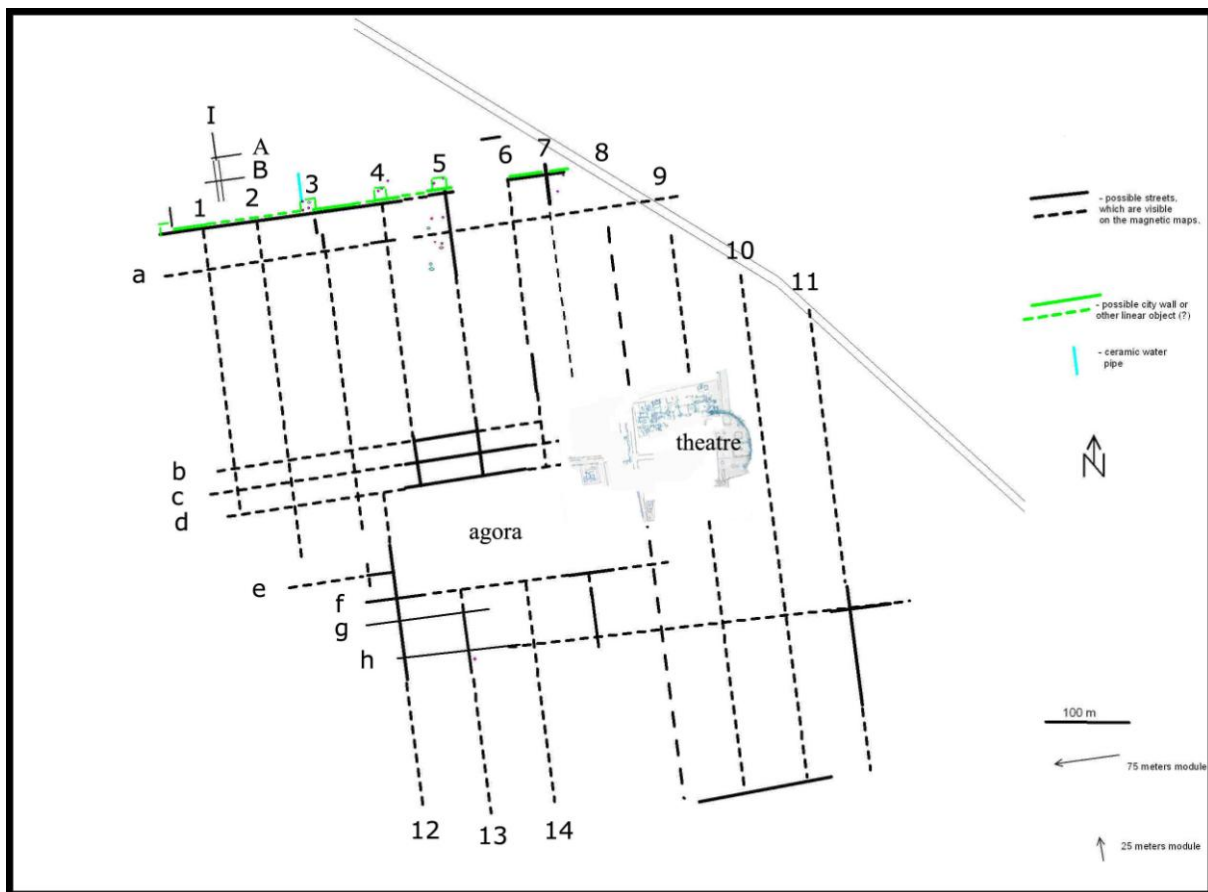
At the end of the nineteenth century A.D., French archaeologists established that the ancient centre of Tegea was located at Palaia Episkopí. The foundations of the ancient theatre were visible beneath the Byzantine church, and based on Pausanias' (8.49.1) statement that the theatre was located "not far from the agora", the general centre of the city was confirmed (Ødegård 2005:211). In the 1980s, the Ephorate of Antiquities of Arkadia and Laconia, led by Dr. Th. Spyropoulos, uncovered a Hellenistic *stoa* and other structures just to the northwest of the church, and they believed they had located the ancient agora (Ødegård 2005:211; Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2000 for a summary). Most of the structures found were of Late Roman or Byzantine date, and from the recent results of the Norwegian involvement it became evident that this area was only a late enlargement of the agora proper (Ødegård 2010a:15–17).

Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Athena Poliatis (8.47.5), but as of yet its location has not been established. Our only physical evidence is a relief found by Rhomaios. The relief shows two animals being led to an altar, behind which the goddess stands (Rhomaios 1912:52). The fact that it was found near the agora led Rhomaios (1912:50) to believe that the temple would be located there, but we do not know if the relief was in fact in situ (Callmer 1943:123)

### **Recent Research**

The sanctuary of Athena Alea has been the main focus of the archaeological projects at Tegea since the late nineteenth century A.D., but around the turn of the new millennia this changed. The aim of the NAS project was to see the landscape as a whole; the sanctuary and the urban area in connection with its surroundings. During the survey surface scatter was registered and diagnostic pieces were collected and dated. The finds were then entered into a GIS database, which allowed a statistical interpolation of the material (Ødegård 2005:210; 2010a:199). The earliest material found in any significant quantities date to second half of sixth century, any older items were single finds only (Ødegård 2008:216, 217). Thus there is a strong indication that the city was founded in the period 550–500 in an area not previously settled (Ødegård 2008:217).

Magnetometer surveys in the area were conducted from 2003 to 2006, yielding surprising results. Using magnetometer to create a map, non-magnetic structures (such as stone) will form negative anomalies on the map, while magnetic ones (such as iron, burnt mud-brick and pottery) will stand out as positive anomalies (Ødegård 2008:217). The most important result was the discovery of an apparent orthogonal city plan (Ødegård 2008:218). What can be seen from the magnetometer results is an almost completely regular plan with modules of 25 x 75 m, creating narrow *insulae* (housing blocks). A rectangular area at the centre, empty of streets, is interpreted as the agora, which to the north is flanked by a long, narrow building believed to be a stoa (Ødegård 2008:218; 2010b:12, 17). To the north of the central area the *insulae* stop against a larger wall, believed to be the city wall contemporary with the housing blocks. On the outside of the wall modules change, and these are possibly of a later period when the urban centre was enlarged, perhaps connected with the fourth-century wall discovered by Bérard (Ødegård 2008:219; 2010b:17).



**Fig. 5: The hypothetical plan of Tegea based on the magnetometer results.**

The similarity of the urban grid of Tegea with those of the Archaic Greek colonies in the West, such as Metapontion and Poseidonia, has already been noted by Knut Ødegård (2008:219, 220; 2010a:202; 2010b:20). One has previously assumed that planned cities were



a phenomenon belonging either to the Archaic cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily or to the Classical period. But, in the same way more recent research has shown that a planned city no longer can be synonymous with Hippodamian, perhaps here we are dealing with a case that will change our perceptions of urban layouts of Archaic mainland Greece. For this study a selection of representative examples of Archaic grid-planned cities in the West have been chosen as analogies for Tegea.

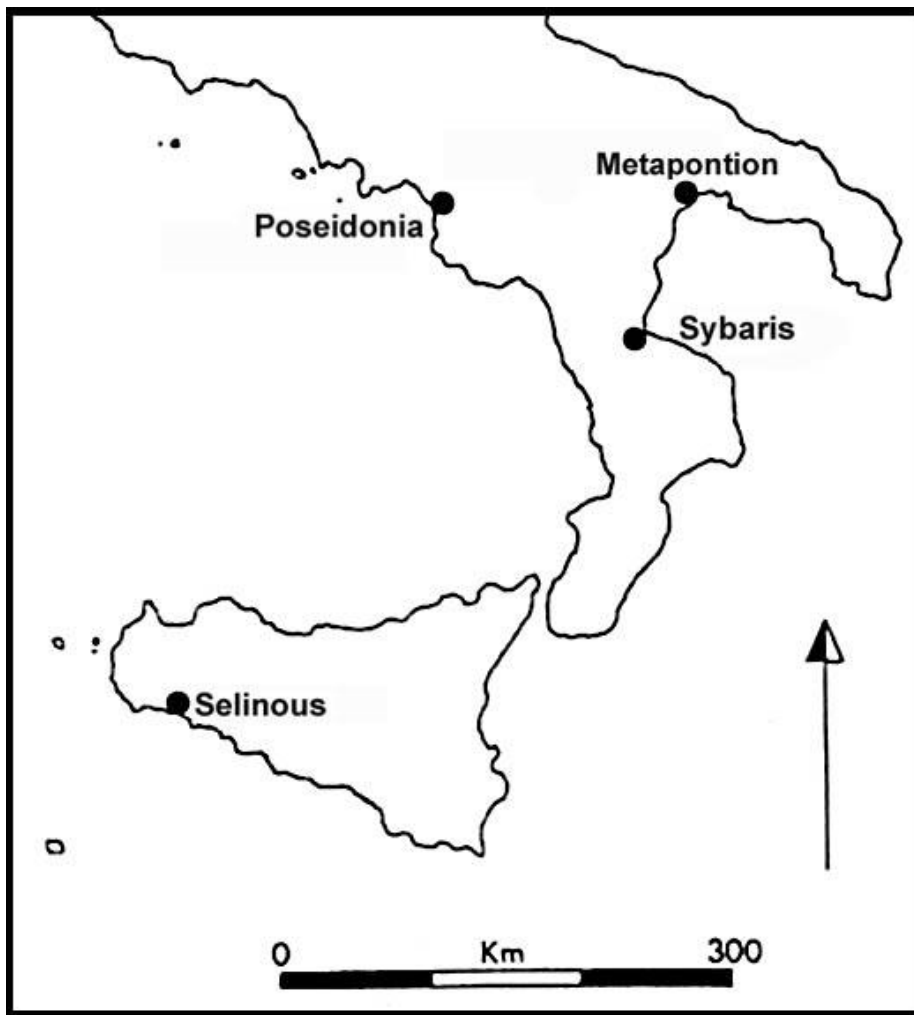


Fig. 6: Map of Sicily and South Italy with the sites discussed indicated.

## The Urban Planning of the Western Colonies

### Selinous

Selinous was founded on the southwest of Sicily by Megarians, possibly from both Megara and Megara Hyblaia, led by the *oikistes* (founder/leader) Pammilios (Di Vita 1996:280). Thukydides (6.4.2) gives the date 627, but the earlier date 650 given by Diodoros (Diod. Sic. 13.59.4) is the closer to the archaeological evidence (Østby 1995:83). The urban area was placed on a ridge connecting the hills the so-called acropolis and Manuzza, and on the plateau

of Manuzza. By the end of the seventh century, the city occupied the area it would hold at its height in fifth century (De Angelis 1994:102). The colony was planned from the beginning, but did not receive its monumental form until later (Østby 1995:84; Mertens 2010:76).

In the years of 580–570 Selinous embarked upon an urban building programme which gave it the appearance of a full-fledged city (Di Vita 1996:282). The main axis of the ridge is oriented north-south, where a 9 m wide *plateia* is flanked by twelve bands of *insulae* (Di Vita 1996:283; Holloway 1991:83). The *insulae* were divided by smaller streets, the *stenopoi*, which varied in width from 3.6 to 6 m (Holloway 1991:83). The orientation on the Manuzza hill itself is 22° off the main axis of the city below, following the topography of the plateau (Di Vita 1996:283; Mertens 2010:78). It seems the *geometres* or chief city planner applied a standard *insula* width of a 100 Doric feet (32.80 m, including the dividing streets), but varied the length after the topography and placement within the urban area (Mertens 2010:77, 78). There are only a few areas where the *insula* length is known. For instance, from the excavations on Manuzza hill the basic *insula* seems to be 29.25 x 175.5 m (32.80 x 195 m in combination with the dividing streets), giving it a 1:6 proportion (Di Vita 1996:283). The system of long, narrow strips is called *per strigas*, first named so by F. Castagnoli (Fischer-Hansen 1996:336).

Where the two main orientations meet, the agora of Selinous can be found, and its trapezoidal shape is reminiscent of that of Megara Hybleia (Di Vita 1996:284; Mertens 2010:78). The agora is flanked by the *insulae* and streets of the two orientation systems but shows itself no sign of the *per strigas* system, and the planners of Selinous seem to have applied a system of zoning. Métraux (1978) calls this type of planning, where major public spaces are kept separate from private residential areas, additive. The additive method is characteristic of the Archaic period, and was later abandoned in favour of the integrative plans made famous by Hippodamus of Miletus (Métraux 1978:170, 171,181).

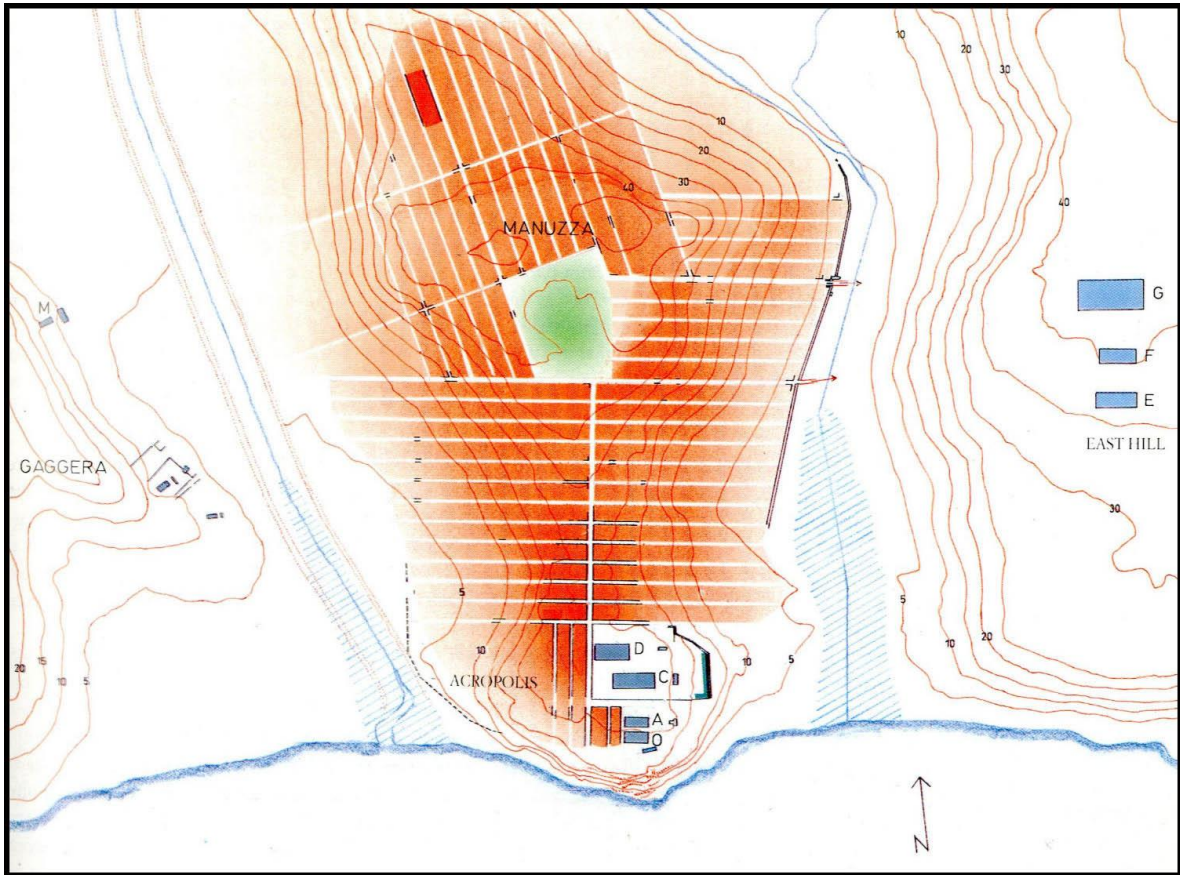


Fig. 7: Plan of Selinous.



Fig. 8: Plan of Metapontion.

## **Metapontion**

According to Eusebios, Metapontion was founded in 773/2 but archaeological evidence shows that this date is too early and a date closer to 630 has been suggested (Morgan and Hall 1996:209). Tradition has it that Metapontion was founded by the Akhaians because the Akhaians of Sybaris needed a buffer against the hostile neighbouring colony of the Tarentians (Morgan and Hall 1996:210).

The overall layout and the zoning of the different spaces was probably already in place from the seventh century (Mertens and Greco 1996:248; Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004b:281). The urban area was walled and had an orthogonal plan from the middle of the sixth century. This date is supported by the temples of Hera and Apollo (temple A and B), constructed between 570 and 530 and oriented according to the grid (Carter 2000:84; Morgan and Hall 1996:209). The main artery through the city, *plateia* IV, is 22 m wide and has a northeast-southwest orientation (Mertens and Greco 1996:248).

The earliest sanctuaries did not follow this orientation, and were laid out facing the east. It seems the orientation of the earliest temples was dictated by religious reasons, but that these were later abandoned in order to integrate the sacred area into the urban plan as a whole. This shift seems to have happened when the construction of Temple AI, which was begun in the first half of the sixth century, was interrupted and replaced by Temple AII, begun in the second half of the sixth century. Temple AI was oriented to the east, but it seems it was decided to let the urban layout dictate the alignment of sacred buildings instead, and thus AII was laid out according to the city plan (Mertens and Greco 1996:252). From the date of the grid the city also had an agora with a monumental shrine and a circular building interpreted as an *Ekklesiasterion*, which had a wooden predecessor dating from 600 (Morgan and Hall 1996:209, 210). The agora is more centrally placed than earlier reconstructions have indicated (Carter 2000:83). We can see the same type of additive planning, i.e. the division of the urban area into public and private sectors, as in Selinous. At Metapontion we also have evidence of a planned *khora*, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Poseidonia**

The colony of Poseidonia was located in the south end of the Bay of Salerno in southern Italy. No oikist or foundation date is given by the ancient sources, but the colony was probably founded around 600 (Morgan and Hall 1996:211; Pedley 1990:11). There has been some discussion as to the identity of the colonists, but according to traditions it was a project of Sybaris (Pedley 1990:27, 28).

The city itself was built on a travertine plateau, which dictated the outer shape of the city and its fortification wall (Pedley 1990:11). The date of the wall is hard to pinpoint as it was built in phases, but from the alignment of its gates with the four points of the compass it seems possible that it was planned from the beginning (Pedley 1990:34). The city plan itself is also difficult to reconstruct and date, as several areas remains unexcavated and, in excavated areas, the later phases still cover the ones relevant to the present project. The hypothetical plan is reconstructed based on the Roman-period grid and its similarity with other Archaic grid-plans from southern Italy and Sicily, such as Metapontion (Pedley 1990:36). The long, narrow blocks of ca 35 x 275 m are not typical for Roman planning, and it is possible that the basics original plan of Poseidonia was continued through Lucian and Roman periods (Pedley 1990:23; Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004b:288).

There is, however, a problem in this respect which concerns the orientation of the urban temples. Some of the earliest and later temples are not aligned with the supposed axis of the Archaic plan. The same phenomenon is discussed above at Metapontion and it may be that the Poseidonian anomaly can be attributed the same explanation of shifting trends in the orientation of religious buildings (Cerchiali et al.2004:66). The “Basilica” (Temple of Hera I) close to Porta Giustizia in the south and the Temple of Athena by Port Aurea in the north are both aligned with each other and with the hypothetical axis of the plan (Pedley 1990:35). The construction of the “Basilica” was begun mid-sixth century, and it is possible that this date, or perhaps a little later, is also valid for the city plan.

The urban area is characterised by the same long, narrow blocks as Selinous and Metapontion, and the public area was similarly earmarked and planned from the beginning. It seems, however, that the Poseidonians were a step further in terms of regularity. At Selinous and Metapontion the agora is either irregularly shaped or not centralised, but at Poseidonia the agora forms a narrow band stretching across the city (Cerchiali et al.2004:66). The strict zoning of the different areas of the urban centre is typical of the Archaic city plans, and Poseidonia is one of the clearest cases (Métraux 1978:180).

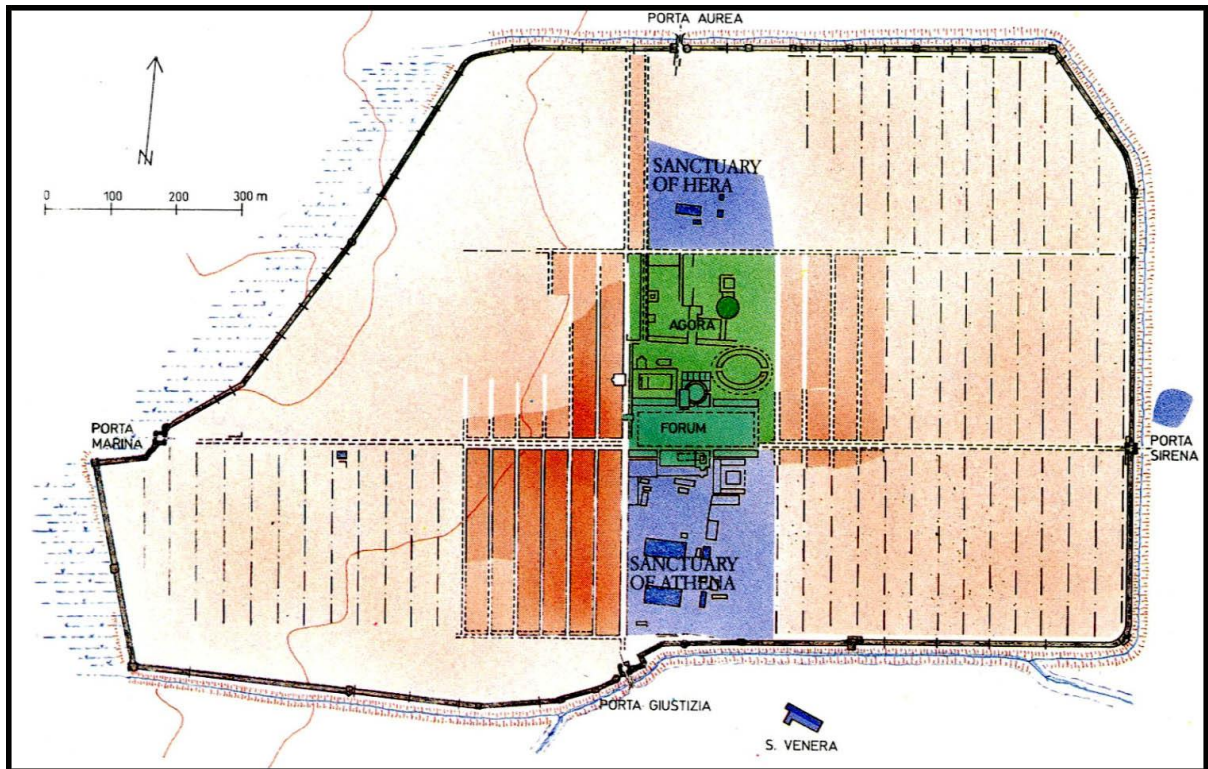


Fig. 9: Plan of Poseidonia.

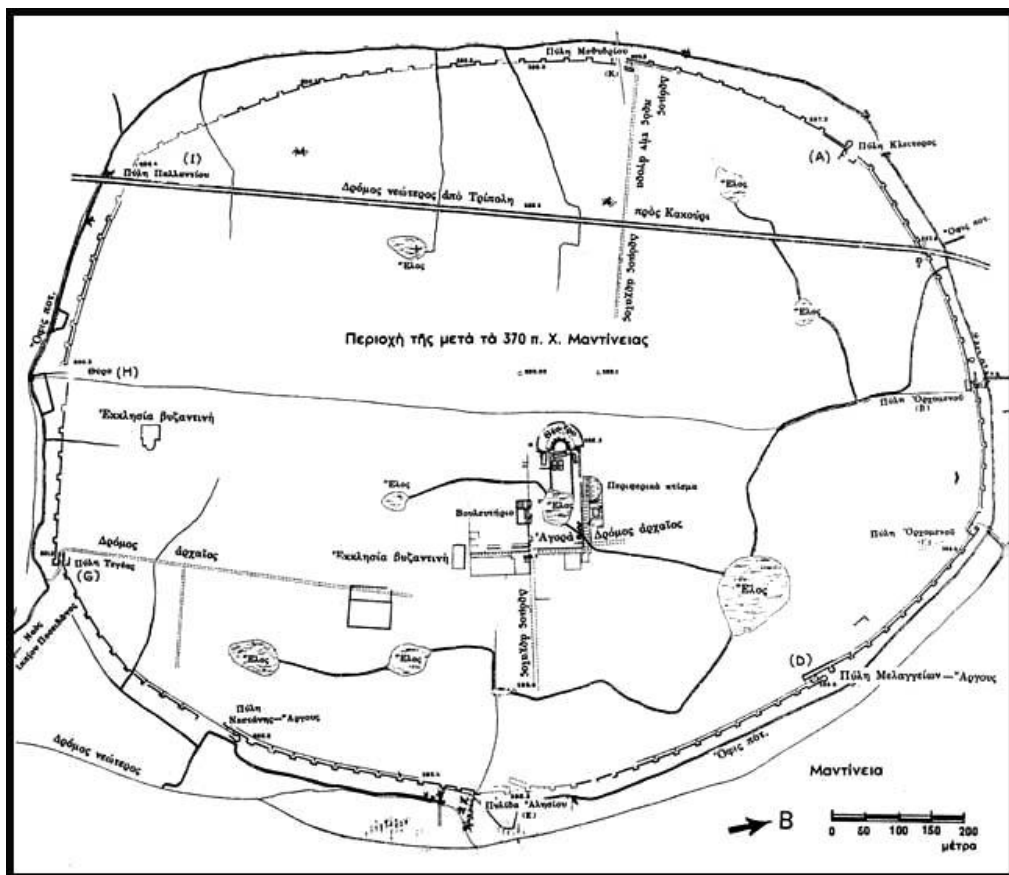


Fig. 10: Plan of Mantinea.

## **Mantineia**

The idea of a planned city has also been suggested for the neighbour and rival of Tegea, Mantineia. Though not fully excavated, the roads that have been uncovered show indications of an orthogonal plan.

The city was situated on the east side of the central plain near Mt. Barberi, and the plain joined with that of Tegea to the south. The polis of Mantineia had two distinct phases, and while the second is rather clear to us, the first is vague and hotly debated. The first phase ends when the inhabitants of Mantineia are forced by the Spartans to abandon their city in 385, and the second begins with the refounding in 370 (Paus. VIII.8.9–10, Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:239). Those dates are relatively securely established within a year or two by the King's Peace of 387/6 and of 371/0 (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:256). As with the dates, the physical remains of the second town are much easier to distinguish than those of the first (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:256).

There are some reasonable arguments for the new wall following the circuit of the old city wall. The hypothesis is that the damage done by the water the Spartans released was not complete, and due to limited time (as described in Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3–5), the Mantineians chose to incorporate the old elements into the new wall of 370. This explains why regular polygonal style, dated to before 385, is to be found in certain sections. The extant sections are built in isodomic trapezoidal broached-face style, common in the middle of the fourth century. This particular style, together with the choice of stone for the foundation only, supports the claim that the builders were in a hurry (see Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:257, 258 for a more detailed discussion). What little we have of excavated buildings within the city also supports the hypothesis of the new city was built over the old, as fifth-century foundations and retaining walls have been discovered (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:257).

The indications for preconceived city planning are the even, elliptical shape of the course of the city wall, and the few streets excavated link the gates to each other and to the agora. The agora can be found slightly to the east of the exact centre of town (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:258 – 259). We have already seen the arguments for a predecessor with a shape similar to the elliptical wall of the fourth century, but the dates of the streets and the location of the earlier agora cannot be assessed without further excavations (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:259 – 260).

According to Pausanias (8.12.7) the ruins of ancient Mantinea were to be found on the mountain of Ptolis. “Mantineus, the son of Lykaion, appears to have built his polis elsewhere, and the Arkadians still call it Ptolis to this day” (8.8.4). The results of a trial excavation in 1962 have shown Ptolis is almost certainly the hill of Gourtsouli (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:253). The word *ptolis* can be found in Homeric and Mycenaean variants of *polis*, and the dialect of the Arkadians was the closest one among the Greeks to the Mycenaean dialect (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:83). Before the Mantineians were synoikised, the settlement of Ptolis was most likely the centre of their political organization (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:263). Though the religious buildings have continuity from Geometric period to early Imperial times, the latest pottery found in a habitation context dates from the end of the sixth century (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:254–256). The evidence is the result of trial excavations only and no systematic project has been conducted, but it is tempting to see this break in habitation as connected with the construction of the urban centre of Mantinea on the plain.

## **Discussion**

We have seen from the colonial examples that the knowledge and skills necessary for planning of orthogonal grids were present in the Greek world in Archaic times. With the idea of peer polity interaction in mind, it is easy to see how such innovations could travel among the Greek cities. The concept of peer polity interaction focuses not only on the exchange of material goods, but more importantly on the flow of information (Renfrew 1986:8).

It is possible to trace a gradual refinement of the city plan from the earlier colonies to the later ones, although it would have to be adapted to the local topography (Métraux 1978:152; Mertens 2010:78). From Megara Hybleia and other early colonies, such as Kasmnai and Naxos, we can see how the *per strigas* system evolved, and the later cities were building on their experiences (Métraux 1978:130, 153; Di Vita 1996:289; Fischer-Hansen 1996:351; Snodgrass 1980:157). The different orientations of sectors and the trapezoidal agora of Megara Hybleia are reflected at Selinous, but the sub-colony had expanded the plan and given it a more orderly look (Mertens 2010:78). The additive planning can be seen in all the examples, but is most clearly reflected at Poseidonia with its centralised band zoned for public building. Exactly where these ideas originated is beyond the scope of the present study; the aim is to show how the ideas of planning were already in place at the time of the planning of Tegea.



This new type of urban building was well suited for flat plains with no previous settlement, just as the “level fields of Sicily” (Aesch. *Prometh.* 369) the planned colonies were built on. The now flat plain of Tegea consisted in ancient times of low hills, but it was still relatively even. It is not often that a city of the mainland had the chance to be planned (Ødegård 2008:220, Bakke 2008:160), because most simply expanded from the habitation core already present. At Tegea, the nine demes must have been too dispersed to simply grow together. We know from the ancient sources that it was not unusual to bring in a specialist from other *poleis* to solve political or religious crises (Snodgrass 1986:52, 53). And we have heard how the colonists needed the help of an *oikistes*, sometimes from a different city than the rest of the group, to found the colony. It is therefore not unlikely that Tegea could have asked for the assistance of someone experienced in the urban planning of the colonies.

The choice of a plain for the city of Tegea has been the object of some discussion, because we are used to sites with a naturally defensible acropolis as the focal point. But the model imported from the Western colonies is not the “acropolis-model”. The new model is not governed by the same rules as the cities with a more organic development; with a preconceived plan Tegea did not have to follow the “old” pattern. It is worth noting in context that the colonies generally had no proper acropolis (Mertens and Greco 1996:249; Polignac 1995:92). There has been some discussion as to the location of the acropolis of Tegea; the two hills of Hagios Sostis and Akra outside the city wall are the usual candidates (Ødegård 2005:211). The “high place” of Pausanias (8.53.7) associated with Zeus Klarios has been interpreted as the acropolis. But perhaps the colonial inspiration of additive planning and *per strigas* system also included the lack of a proper acropolis, at least one of the magnitude and importance we know of from Athens or Korinth.

The colony-model was fitting because Tegea was already a strong, close-knit community; a polis in the political sense but not yet in the urban sense. They were, in a way, colonists settling new soil. Also in this sense Tegea corresponds to the model, because we usually see a gap of at least a generation from when the colony was settled to the actual building of it (Métraux 1978:156). And as with many of the colonies, the most important task was the building of temples as a symbol of their collective identity. The reason may have been the same; when times were uncertain – such as times of conflict and colonisation of unknown and potentially hostile territory – the building of temples symbolically marked the new polis’ strength (in number) and its territory. Only after the citizens of the new polis felt the land was theirs to keep or the hostilities from the outside had subsided could they turn to the task of building their urban centre. A city would not embark upon extensive urbanistic projects

during unstable times, a strong collective was necessary (Østby 1995:93; De Angelis 1994:104). In the case of Tegea, the inhabitants had the confidence of their new community, represented by the temple of Athena Alea, and after they had reached an agreement with Sparta and times were relatively peaceful, they could commence the more practical project of urban planning (c.f. Ødegård 2005:216).

The same phenomenon can be seen at Mantinea: the polis formation in the political sense predated the physical city, and the choice of location fell on a site not previously inhabited (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:287). There is, of course, uncertainty concerning the urban form of Mantinea; we do not know its date or if it was in fact orthogonal. At Tegea, the results of the magnetometer survey and the surface scatter of pottery give us more to go on. Long narrow *insulae* and strictly separated zones is typical of Archaic planning (Métraux 1978:171) and speaks for a sixth century date for the plan of Tegea. This is also supported by the dates of the pottery. So there is a possibility that we are dealing with two rare cases where a strong state had the opportunity to plan their city beforehand and build it on a plain suitable for the colony-model. If so, one can easily envision how peer polity interaction, most likely in the form of rivalry, would play a part. One polis decided to make use of the large plain and use the model known from the colonies, and the other, not wanting to be any less, followed. But before the plains could be used, they had to control the hydrological situation of the area, as we shall see in the next chapter.

## ***Water management on the plain of Tegea***

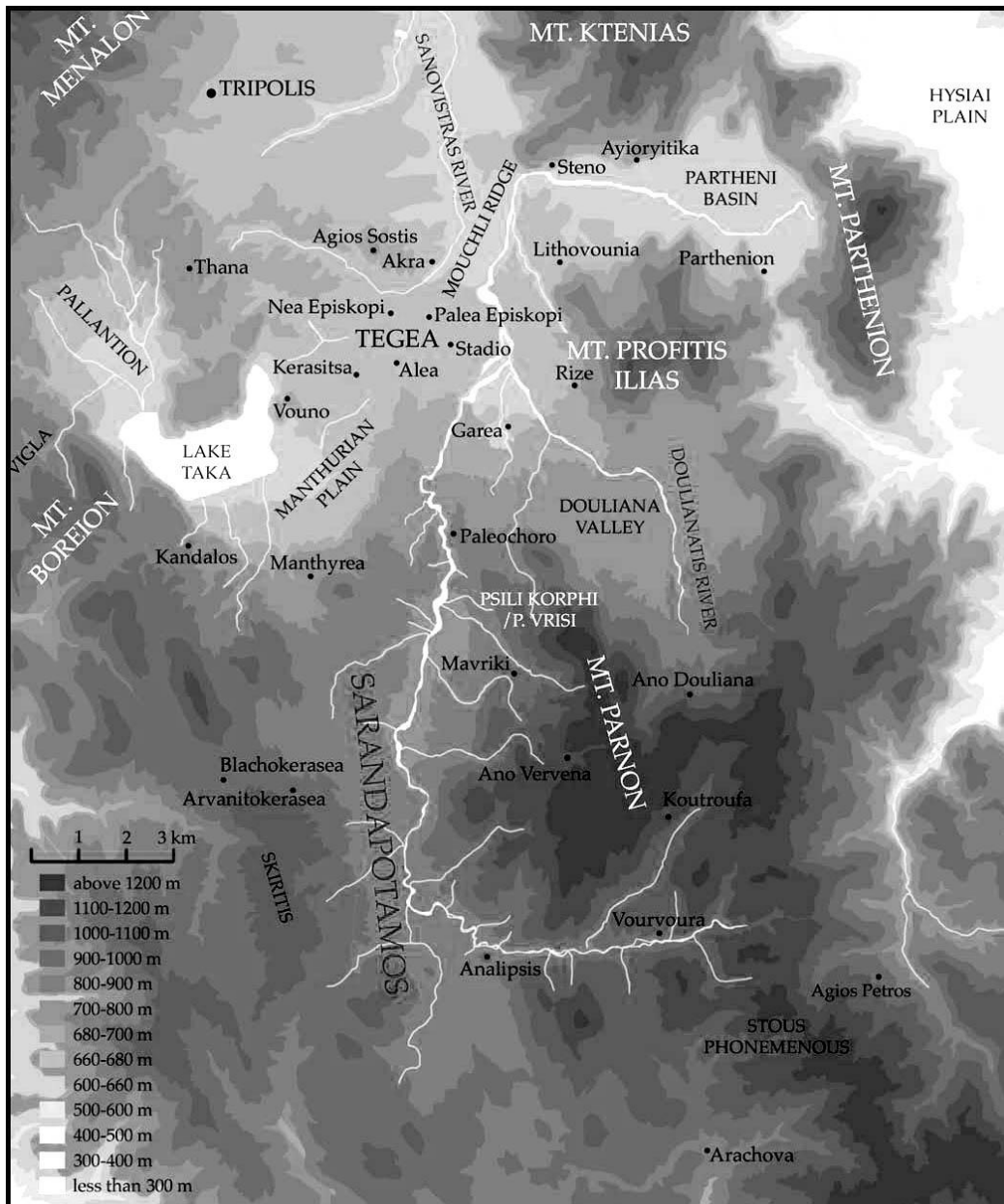
The plain of Tegea offers rich, arable soils and abundant water from perennial streams and above-average rainfall. When one thinks of the Greek landscape, it is usually dry, thin soil covered by prickly shrubs which comes to mind, not leafy trees and flowing water. The fertility of the plain must have been a great asset for the ancient city-state of Tegea. The abundance of water was, however, not always a blessing. Consider this statement from Aristotle (*Meteorologica* 1.13):

Rivers which are swallowed up prove the existence of many chasms and cavities in the earth. This happens many places, for example in the Peloponnese one finds it most often in Arkadia. The reason for this is that the country is mountainous and yet there are no outlets from the basins to the sea. Thus these parts gets filled up, and since there is no outlet, the water flowing in from above forces its way out and finds a way through to the depth of the earth.

Tegea is situated on an alluvial fan on a mountain plain, 650–700 meters above sea level, where the climate is colder and the precipitation is generally higher than on coastal plains. The area receives over 800 mm average rainfall per annum, and is therefore less troubled by summer droughts (Bakke 2008:25; Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:266) The phenomenon described by Aristotle is due to the karstic geology of the area. Karst is a limestone terrane with underground channels and drains, which are called sink-holes or *katavothra* (Crouch 1993:64). The drainage capacity of these *katavothra* is often exhausted due to the large amount of seasonal rainfall, snowmelt from the mountains, and alluvial sediments (Ødegård 2005:210). The alluvium is deposited on the plain by the Upper Alpheios, modern Sarandapotamos, the main surface river in the territory of Tegea. This river is in fact a series of streams (hence the name Sarandapotamos, “forty rivers”), which have fluctuated and changed course several times through history (Bakke 2008:29; Ødegård 2005:214; Pritchett 1965:130).

Although there have been fluctuations in river courses and amount of rainfall through history, flooding has probably always been a problem since antiquity (Bakke 2008:25; Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:268; Ødegård 2008:222). From the excavations of the temple of Athena Alea we have evidence of several episodes of flooding within the ancient period (Pritchett 1965:128; Østby et al. 1994: 140; Ødegård 2008:222), and since then a large part of

the ancient city has been covered by alluvium, resulting from numerous floods (Bakke 2008:31; Pritchett 1965:125–126). In the recent excavation of 2010, it was possible to observe how the water from a changing river course had taken with it the middle of a wall probably dating from the Byzantine period (personal observation). When Victor Bérard surveyed the area at the end of the nineteenth century A. D., he described the plain of Tegea as partly covered by marshes and standing water (Bérard 1892:536). In modern times the plain was drained to create more stable agriculture (Bakke 2008:45).



**Fig. 11: Map of the district of Tegea.**

The neighbouring city of Mantinea had similar conditions. It too was situated on a relatively flat alluvial plain, drained by sink-holes in the impermeable rock below. When the

*katavothras* are blocked by debris or otherwise exhausted by winter and spring waters, temporary lakes will form and lower areas will become marshy (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:267). Pausanias (8.7.1) tells us that the valley of Nestane in the territory of Mantinea was called *Argon Pedion*, “Fallow Plain”, due to flooding which made it unsuitable for cultivation. Thukydides (5.65.4) informs us that the Tegeans and the Mantineians had an ongoing dispute over excess water on the border between them, and that the Spartans in 418 tried to redirect the water into Mantineian territory as a diversion in battle. The Spartans used the abundant water more successfully against Mantinea in the winter 385/4, when they dammed up the river Ophis. They then released the masses of water directly into the city, which caused the houses to flood and the city wall to be destroyed (Diod. Sic. 15.12.1; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.4–5). While Xenophon says the river flowed through the city, Diodorus says it flowed *around* it. Today the river Fidhias follows the elliptical boundaries of the ancient urban area conspicuously close, and it is tempting to connect this to Diodorus’ description. Although the river course visible today is not securely dated (nor the city itself), it can still be seen as evidence of the necessity of water management in ancient times on the alluvial plains of Arkadia.

Intentional diversion of river courses for improvement of hydrological conditions has also been suggested for Tegea. Pausanias’ description of the course of the Upper Alpheios was long seen as a blunder and impossibility, but it appears he has been vindicated by later hydrological surveys (Bakke 2008:32; Pritchett 1965:123, 130). The modern course of the river forms a rough C-shape, from the southeast it flows westward past the village of Vourvoura, and passes on the eastern side of Tegea, before it again turns eastward and finally empties into the *katavotras* near Mt. Parthenion in the north (Pritchett 1965:124). The fact that Pausanias might be right was actually suggested already in 1965 by Pritchett (129–130), who writes that it would require only a slight rise in elevation to divert the river into Lake Taka in the west, instead of at Mt. Parthenion in the northeast.

At Lake Taka the remains of what is believed to be an ancient causeway has been found (Bakke 2008:96–98). It cuts a straight line from the foot of Mt. Boreion and the ridge of Kourkoueras. The causeway has been identified as the *khoma* (“dyke”) mentioned by Pausanias (8.44.4–7). Because it is situated at this important point in the hydrological situation, it has been seen as an ancient attempt to control the *katavothria*; some have even interpreted it as a parallel to Mycenaean reclamation of wetland in other parts of the Peloponnese (Knauss 1998). The causeway has never been excavated and dated, and unfortunately it has recently been destroyed by an environmental project aimed at securing the

wetland and its fauna. It is tempting, however, to interpret the causeway as an ancient project of improving the marshy conditions at Lake Taka and the hydrological conditions of the area around the city of Tegea.

Drainage is important not just for agriculture, but also for the urban environment. Roofs and pavements will collect pools of water and when these masses of water are released on the surrounding, unpaved area, it will overload the absorption capacity and change the surface drainage character (Crouch 1993:82, 35; Wilson 2000a:151). Storm-water drains are therefore needed to avoid flooding and these may also be used for waste removal (Wilson 2000a:151). The growth of larger settlements motivated innovations in the field of water management, and these advances in water supply, waste removal and drainage are in fact the reason why dense settlement is possible (Crouch 1993:19; Thomas 2000:12).

It is reasonable to suggest that the Tegeans would have had to manage the excess water in order to build their city on the plain and also to have a successful agriculture and a stable urban centre. In Tegea no evidence of urban or rural drainage beyond the causeway has been found as of yet. However, the area has so far not been excavated and such water systems may well be discovered in the future. We do have indirect evidence from the sanctuary of Athena Alea, where there was flooding early in the Archaic period and after the Roman period, but not in the period between (Ødegård 2008:222). The circumstantial evidence of flooding makes it reasonable to suggest that a system of water management was a prerequisite and did indeed exist (Bakke 2008:137; Ødegård 2008:222)

Can the hypothesis of Archaic water management at Tegea be supported with observations from other contemporary poleis? When trying to gather information on water management from archaeological sites, it becomes clear that water has received little attention from the excavators. This is also the conclusion of Dr. Dora Crouch in her book *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities* (1993:11), after having researched the topic for a decade. The neglect is particularly true of older excavations. Why have water systems not been a major concern for archaeologists? For the agricultural setting, part of the answer lies in the fact that the countryside as whole has often been less treated by classicists than the monuments of the city (Osborne 1987:13). But even when the countryside is the centre of attention, drought is seen as the biggest agricultural problem. Because “the Mediterranean climate” is defined by summer droughts and rain only in winter, sources of water have been the general focus, while drainage has been neglected (Horden and Purcell 2000:186). This tendency is unfortunate because it seems that draining away excess water has been as

important in many regions of Greece as the constant search and careful storing of water in other regions (Crouch 1993:22; Osborne 1987:44; Horden and Purcell 2000:180).

Besides the general lack of interest in water management, there is also the scholarly bias of assuming that drainage (especially of fields) is a phenomenon appearing in the Classical period. This could be due to the earliest drainage systems' lack of monumentality. When the more large-scale water systems appear "rather suddenly" (Wikander 2000:626) in the fifth century, they are often of an impressive scale and form. But it is not unreasonable to argue that these large, stone-lined canals had predecessors of a more modest nature, and that they are therefore more easily overlooked.

Because this project is dependent on excavation reports which display the aforementioned biases, the subject of rural water management will unfortunately receive less attention.

## **The Water Management of the Western Colonies**

The western colonies are again suitable analogies, as they show similarities in their natural environment, specifically their geology and hydrology. Karstic geology and alluvial plains are common denominators. Of the colonies Crouch (1993:64) visited (ca 50), almost all were on karst. The examples chosen all had uncommonly fertile soil and abundant water.

### **Selinous**

The city was located on the lower ridge between the hills of the "acropolis" and Manuzza, and flanked by the rivers Cotone and Modione (ancient Selinous River). We have already seen that the city plan proper appeared around 580–570. Some of the early streets of this plan were covered with a layer of stone or compacted clay, creating an impermeable surface (Di Vita 1996:284). There were channels lining the streets, carrying waste- and rainwater through the gates of the city-wall, ultimately leading it out to the fields or into the rivers (Crouch 1993:165). The system of urban water management was gradually refined, but some of the elements were probably present in the earliest days of the colony, even before the city plan proper (Di Vita 1996:284). The site, being situated on a ridge, had better natural drainage than the other colonies chosen as examples, nevertheless, autumn and winter experienced heavy precipitation (De Angelis 2003:181–182), and the excess water evidently created the need for drains in the urban area with its impermeable surfaces, at least.

## **Poseidonia**

The ancient site is to be found on the Sele plain, made up of alluvium deposited by the many rivers. The city itself was founded on a travertine plateau between the rivers Fiumarello and Capodifiume (Skele 2002:5) The ancient town enjoyed plentiful water supply from springs and streams originating deep in the karstic geology (Pedley 1990:32; Skele 2002:5) The abandonment of the site in late antiquity was apparently related to a malarial infestation in the wetland (Pedley 1990:17; Skele 2002:1, 5). There has been some discussion concerning the nature of the geology and hydrology of the site at the time of the foundation of Poseidonia, and a number of hypotheses have been put forward. Some scholars believe the water conditions and the related problems appeared only later, and that the situation at the time of the foundations was more favourable. Others consider drainage through human involvement a necessity for habitation on the site (see Skele 2002 for a more comprehensive discussion).

It is not yet possible to show drainage systems in Poseidonia, since neither the *khora* nor the urban centre has been fully excavated. There is, however, evidence which speaks for both the necessity and the actual presence of drainage. Archaeologist John Griffiths Pedley and geologist Jan Sevink have analysed the geological and hydrological situation, and write that the travertine on which the city of Poseidonia is founded, was formed from calcium carbonate in marshes or shallow lakes. The layer of travertine did at some point receive a secondary layer of cementation, which made it impermeable (Pedley and Sevink 1985:53, 59, 60).

At the extra-mural sanctuary at the Santa Venera location directly to the south of the urban area, we have evidence that the city founders knew of the problems this impermeable surface could cause, and the solutions. The sanctuary was in use from the sixth century, and the earliest monumental buildings are dated to the first decade of the fifth century (Johannowsky et al. 1983:293). Prior to the construction of the buildings, the impermeable surface was stripped away, and the permeable rock beneath allowed for better drainage. In addition to this, the excavators found channels dug in the travertine, stretching the entire length of the building (Johannowsky et al. 1983:299; Pedley and Sevink 1985:53, 57). The excavator is confident that this is evidence of the early Poseidonians' hydrological skills, and once excavated, the city itself will show comparable water management systems (Pedley 1990:133; Pedley and Sevink 1985:53).



## Metapontion

Ancient Metapontion was founded on a low plateau between the rivers Basento and Bradano, making it a well-watered alluvial plain (Métraux 1978:163). The polis was known for its agricultural prosperity; the coins bore the symbol of an ear of corn, and their gift to Delphi, a golden sheath of corn, was famous (Cerchiali et al. 2004:130).

Being situated close to the sea and between two rivers, the site had problems with excess water, and flooding was a major problem (Carter 2000:91). The area experienced a gradual rise in water table (Cerchiali et al. 2004:132; Mertens and Greco 1996:246), which made it increasingly swampy. Metapontion thus became uninhabitable from the late Empire until recently, and over a dozen cases of malaria are documented at the ancient necropolises (Carter 1981:167; Carter 1996:368).



Fig. 12: The *Cloaca* at Metapontion before and after rainfall.

Metapontion is known for the division of its agricultural land, discovered by aerial photography (Cerchiali et al. 2004:132; Métraux 1978:164). While the marking of the territory as a whole was preformed at the time of the foundation, the division lines were made at a later date (Carter 1996:364). The excavation at the Pantanello necropolis revealed that the division line was a road, and flanked by burials dating from 480. A black figure krater from Athens dated to 530–510 found in a deposit at the cross of the road, has been interpreted as a sacrifice to consecrate the divisions. This points towards a late sixth century date (Carter 2000:87).

Along the road there were found ditches, which has led to the hypothesis that it was a parallel system of causeways and channels (Mertens and Greco 1996:246). The long, narrow rural allotments are laid out in correspondence to the natural slope, and would therefore permit equal drainage for all the landowners (Métraux 1978:167).

The monumental drains which line the agora, kerameikos and the temenos date to the fourth century, however, “the morphology of the terrain presupposes a system of drainage at least from the middle of the sixth century” (Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004b:281; Adamesteanu 1975:247–48, 251–52). A system with drainage channels lining the streets, as found in the countryside, is entirely possible, as we have seen in Selinous.

### **Sybaris**

The city built on a row of coastal dunes between the rivers of Krathis and Sybaris, is now buried under four meters of alluvial deposits (Fischer-Hansen 2004b:296). Only one percent of the presumed city area is excavated (Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004b:296). There is some indication of urban planning at Sybaris as suggested by the two excavated areas of Parco di Carallo and Stombi (Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004b:296). The two zones show consistency of orientation, but further excavation is needed to conclude on the question of an overall city plan.

Several streams flow in the area, the water is provided by snow-covered mountains. The abundance of water ensured Sybaris’ rich agriculture, which was the basis of the polis’ wealth (Horden and Purcell 2000:286), but constant floods must have been a problem. As little is known about the natural conditions of the ancient city-state, the modern surroundings can perhaps help in painting the picture. Orville Bullitt’s *The Search for Sybaris* (1969), although hardly an archaeological report, gives an account of the modern hydrological conditions. The plain had been malarial up until very recently, and laid uncultivated (Bullitt 1969:33). When the archaeological team started excavating in the early 1960s, they had hydraulic pumps working constantly to keep water from filling up the excavated trenches, and still the artesian forces created virtual geysers wherever they tried digging (Bullitt 1969:100–133).

Although Sybaris is not the most fitting analogy in the sense that we lack secure evidence of both planning and drainage, the polis is included to show how sites with excess water were common in Western Greece, and that the lack of water management could have catastrophic consequences.

## Discussion

It has been argued that the climatic conditions have changed over the last millennia, but many also contend that although there are fluctuations, the Mediterranean climate has generally stayed the same, at least since Antiquity (Osborne 1987:29–31). We do not know for certain that water management was a prerequisite for these ancient cities but it is conspicuous that they were later flooded or turned into (malarial) swamps. Perhaps the hydrological situation was not as dire when they were founded (after all, a malarial swamp would not likely be a number one choice of location) but it is safe to say that excess water was always a problem, which means some kind of water management was needed. Because increased silting is usually considered an effect of human activity, such as agriculture (Zangger 1992:13), it can be argued that these sites, already troubled by water, reached a point where their existing form of water management was insufficient, perhaps at a time when their communities were weaker and therefore unable to cope with the situation.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, all of these sites are of the same basic grid plan. We have now seen that they also shared similar natural conditions, namely very fertile soils and copious water which at times presented a problem. Although we need more, and more securely dated, evidence of drainage from the sixth century, there seem to be a connection between the early planned poleis and locations with a necessity for drainage. After all, a preconceived idea for the layout of the rural or urban area makes it easier to incorporate a system of drainage. For instance, the orthogonal plan aided the integration of under-street drains (Wilson 2000a:164). This might be the case with Tegea's nearest neighbour Mantinea as well, as it is also a city placed on a relatively flat plain prone to flooding. It has a river possibly diverted to control the hydrological situation, and planning is an important factor when using such an area.

At Tegea it may be that the demes were separated by the many streams of the Alpheios and could not organically merge into one city. Each ancestral village may have been situated on a separate little "island", and water management would be required before the villages could come together. When this finally was decided, however, the Tegeans chose to settle on a new location and to employ a model where water management was included in the city plan, instead of trying to join together the old villages.

The water system suggested for Tegea in this present study is not necessarily a monumental one. The adjustments needed for agricultural improvement can be unimposing works, more rarely identified by archaeologists (Wilson 2000b:314). There could have been simple channels dug in the ground and filled with gravel, creating no obstacle on the surface

(Wilson 2000b:314). One can also imagine a system involving maintenance of the *katavothras*. The study of water management systems is still in its infancy and little is known of pre-Roman systems (Wilson 2000b:317). Only recently have more whole scale studies of water systems been initiated, and impressive schemes started to appear (Horden and Purcell 2000:247). Whatever the form of the scheme, water management is usually a communal project (Crouch 1993:22). It concerns not only one farmer or citizen but the area as a whole. It seems that only after careful planning could the plain of Tegea reach its agricultural potential and safely be used as the location of the Tegeans' urban centre.

# **Part II:**

# **Theory and Analysis**



## **Theoretical Framework**

The different theories selected in this study – identity, ethnic identity, invented tradition, social memory and landscape – have several similarities. They all focus on identity of a group, its traditions and its boundaries as it is *perceived* by the group in question, which is a more productive approach than any theories searching for how it “really” was, especially when studying the distant past.

### **Identity**

Richard Jenkins (1996:25) regards identity as created through a process. He argues that the same process is at work in both the construction of individual identity and group identity. Group identity, which will be the focus here, is based on similarity between its members and dissimilarity with non-members. This similarity, real or constructed, ties the group together (Jenkins 1996:104). Jenkins (1996:22, 23) states that external forces have been neglected in the theorisation of identity and directs attention to the internal-external dialectic: how we define ourselves will mutually influence and be influenced by how we are defined by others. This implies that when investigating Tegean identity, it should also be examined how outsiders defined them and, to some extent, how the Tegeans defined outsiders (to find what the Tegeans believed themselves *not* to be).

Jenkins follows Anthony Cohen (1982; 1985), who defines community as something symbolically constructed. When people create a sense of belonging to a place and to others, they mask their differences with a sheen of similarity. Although what binds them together might be imagined, it is not imaginary. The characteristics the community believes it has in common, act as symbols *of* the community as well as *for* the community (Cohen 1985:15; Jenkins 1996:106). Again we see the internal-external dialectic; what unites the collective internally is also the image they present to the outside world and how the outside world perceives them will in turn influence that self-image. Here boundaries and the binary oppositions of “us” and “them” become important (Cohen 1982:2, 3). The awareness that people from another place act differently will create a “them” and this will in turn make the perception of “us” more pronounced, glossing over any internal differences. This means community identity is as much about *inclusion* as it is about *exclusion* (Cohen 1985:14).

The success of the symbols of a community is in their ability to be meaningful to all members and the capacity of the symbols to retain their importance even when the circumstances change (Cohen 1985:14–18). A symbol must be open enough for different

people to apply their own specific meaning to it, so that a community can successfully mask its differences. This same openness gives the symbol the ability to adapt to changes in the society; the symbol seems the same but its meaning might be changed so as to fit a new agenda or ideal. Because our sources from Tegea vary in time, we have the opportunity to find both the symbols that endured, the different historical contexts to which they adapted, and hopefully also the different meanings such symbols had during those times. Maria Pretzler (1999) has provided much of the basis for the analysis for the present study on this point.

### **Ethnicity**

Thomas Heine Nielsen (1996; 1999) and Maria Pretzler (1999) have both used a very specific model of group identity when investigating the Arkadians in general and Tegeans in particular, namely the model of ethnic identity. They have both used the criteria developed by Anthony Smith (1986:23) and shown that both the Arkadians and the Tegeans can be said to be ethnic groups. Jonathan Hall (1997) has examined ethnic identity, with a special focus on ancient Greek identity. He argues that while Smith's criteria are helpful when defining group identity in general, the only criteria actually separating an ethnic identity from other group identities are the myths of common descent and a "primordial" territory. Religion, genetic traits, language and cultural forms can be *emblems* of an ethnic group but do not in themselves *constitute* one (Hall 1997:2). Note that the common descent and primordial territory need not reflect reality but is the belief and consensus of the group. So, like any other group identity, ethnic identity is a social construct and therefore open to change and negotiation through written and spoken discourse and social practice (Hall 1997:2, 19, 25).

Although the Tegeans *could* be defined as an ethnic group, this study follows Hall in saying that it is created by the same process as group identity in general. There is therefore no need to employ a *specific* ethnic model when investigating Tegean identity; theory on ethnic groups, as defined by Hall, can be employed alongside theories on group identity in general. Pretzler argues that the Tegeans were an ethnic group because they traced their ancestry back to the eponymous Tegeates. But he was not, in fact, their forefather. Tegeates gave his name only and while the same thing can be said for Arkas, there is a fundamental difference between the two cases. About Tegeates Pausanias (8.45.1) lets us know that he gave his name not to the people, but to the territory. "The *human population* still lived divided into peoples", he says [my italics]. Arkas, on the other hand, gave his name to the whole people. This people had up until then been called the Pelasgians and could trace their ancestry to the



autochthonous Pelasgos (Paus. 8.4.1; cf. Ephoros (*FrGrHist* 70 18c 6); Hdt. 8.73.; Hellanikos (*FrGrHist* 4) fr. 162; Thuc. 1.2.3). The Arkadians can therefore more securely be called an ethnic group, albeit one with a changed name.

Now, through their autochthonous forefather, they were clearly associated with a “primordial” territory. Consequently, the genealogy of the Arkadians did not fit that of the rest of the Greeks but no one claimed them to be non-Greeks (Hall 1997:47; Nielsen 1996:43). Nielsen (1996:14) says there were two Arkadian nationalities, an ethnic or regional one, most important for outsiders, and a local and political one, most important for the individual Arkadians. This may be a better use of the definition of ethnicity than Pretzler’s approach, simply because “ethnicity” becomes devoid of meaning if Hall’s definition is followed too openly. Due to the Greeks’ continued love for genealogies under changed circumstances, we end up with different, and often conflicting, layers of “ethnic” identity. It is better not to name every group associated with an eponymous character an ethnic group, as it is easy to lose sight of other types such as political identity. When examining the Tegeans, the labels “Arkadian” and “Tegean” will basically be treated as layers of identity as found in any kind of identity.

What is dealt with here is how the Tegeans *perceived themselves*. Hall (1997:2, 41) warns us of the historically positivist approach, where the myths of ethnic origins are seen as memories of actual peoples at the end of the Bronze Age. These myths of origins must be regarded as the conscious manipulation of ethnographical and genealogical traditions in order to create or bolster identity (Hall 1997:2). The process behind the creation of an ethnic group is similar to the creation of a group identity in general; Hall (1997:32) says that it is when confronted with a strong ethnic group that the ethnic identity of a group will become salient; the “us” becomes clear when meeting the “them”. And, like Cohen, Hall (1997:29) argues that the success of an ethnic identity to endure rests on its ability to adapt.

### **Invented Tradition and Memory**

If we accept that both identity in general and ethnic identity are a social construct and that this happens when confronted with outsiders – how is this done, specifically? Eric Hobsbawm’s concept of *invented tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992:1) and Hans-Joachim Gehrkes (2001:286) *intentional history* define group identity as created or strengthened by a society’s choice of its own history. Parts of the history can be deleted or rewritten and new traditions can be created in order to bolster civic pride and a sense of belonging. So in a sense, creating identity is taking history into one’s own hands.

To the Greeks, especially in the times before Thukydides, myth and history were intermingled. When creating identity, myth can be even more powerful than history. First of all, myth is ahistorical and will therefore elude scrutiny (Pretzler 1999:111) and secondly, myth gives the sense of being rooted in distant past and of describing things as they always have been. Both myth and history could be created, revised or deleted. But instead of judging this as pseudo-history and false inventions, the reasons behind the alterations should be investigated (Alcock 2002:41, 165).

Susan Alcock (2002) considers this editing of the past a vital part of the process that creates social memory, which is the collective memory of a group. Social memory implies some kind of editing in itself; due to all the different memories of the individuals within a group, a need for a form of consensus will present itself. This does not mean an “official” version is necessarily created (Alcock 2002:177) but it means, as we saw with symbols and identity, that the social memory must be open enough so as not to create serious discrepancies of interpretation and meaning within the community. The social memory must be meaningful for all the members because it will determine their solidarity to the community and who they consider to be friend or foe (Alcock 2002:1). Alcock (2002:34, 41) regards this “memorial winnowing” as a conscious strategy of bolstering community spirit and argues that it occurs principally when a community is threatened by external forces. Again we are reminded of how crucial the “others” are in the creation of “us” and its borders.

As we shall see, the maintenance of Tegean identity relied heavily upon such revisions of the past.

## **Landscape**

For Alcock, landscape and monuments are deeply connected with the creation and maintenance of social memory. She defines monuments as places, structures or objects deliberately designed, or agreed later, to provoke memories, such as cenotaphs, tombs, statues, trees, votives, and so on (Alcock 2002:28). Monuments can seem static in their appearance but they are constantly involved in influencing and modifying human experiences. Through a dialectic relationship with people, the monuments can be given new meanings and in turn influence the experiences of those in contact with them (Alcock 2002:28, 30). And as monuments are not removed from the people around them, they are also not set apart from the landscape they appear in. Alcock (2002:30) defines landscape in its wider sense as the physical environment, patterns of settlement, boundaries and frontiers, fields, cities, natural features, monuments, pathways, holy places, wilderness, and more. She does not see memory

as a direct part of that landscape but as something closely linked to it. The human landscape is where human activity takes place and what shapes the communal experience. The memories will become deeply invested in the landscape and any disturbance to those surroundings will strike at those memories (Alcock 2002:31).

Christopher Tilley treats landscape in a similar way in his *A Phenomenology of Landscape – Places, Paths and Monuments* (1994). For some archaeologists, a landscape can be simply a canvas on which human activity takes place; landscape is neutral and is used only when measuring distances and plotting information onto a map. Alternatively, the landscape is not neutral but takes an active part in human activity. The latter is the approach of Tilley (1994:25), who defines landscape as the physical and visual form of the earth which through dialectic with people creates, reproduces and transforms meaning. A landscape gains meaning when people move through it and interpret it. Whereas *place* refers to the physical landscape, *space* refers to the meaning attached to it (Tilley 1994:15). In other words, space is created when humans experience place. This means space is socially produced and because individuals and groups will differ from each other, different spaces will be produced within a single physical landscape.

These spaces ... are amenable to reproduction or change because their constitution takes place as a part of the day-to-day *praxis* or practical activity of individuals and groups in the world. ... Socially produced space combines the cognitive, the physical and the emotional [Tilley 1994:10].

Tilley (1994:15) has divided the different ways of experiencing space into five groups. These typologies of space are heuristic devices only, he warns, because a place will not contain a single meaning, consequently one place will contain several spaces, varying with the person experiencing it.

1. Somatic space is the world according to the human body. When a person looks out on the world, he or she will be the centre of that world and everything in the landscape will be relative to that centre accordingly. Distances, for instance, will be measured from that point and deemed far or near according to the human ability to move. Other examples are relative places like front/back, left/right, vertical/horizontal, top/bottom, within/beyond reach/hearing/sight and here/there polarities (Relph 1976:9; Tuan 1977:35–50; Tilley 1994:16).

2. Perceptual space is connected with an individual's memories, emotions and personality. How he/she experiences a place is coloured by what that person has been through. For instance, a place can gain positive or negative connotations if a person has had good or bad experiences in that particular place or a place similar to it.
3. Existential space is to the group what perceptual space is to the individual. The space is created and recreated through the movements and activities of members of a group. Features in the local landscape, be it the natural topography, buildings or monuments, will through social praxis be sated with sacred, symbolic and mythic space (Tilley 1994:17). The features will be given meaning and at the same time give meaning back. Space is both constitutive and constituted through a socio-spatial dialectic (Tilley 1994:17). "Boundaries are of major significance in structuring existential space both in and between places and regions. Boundaries are to do with creating distinctions and marking out social oppositions, mapping social and cultural differences and Otherness" (Tilley 1994:17). These borders, although socially constructed, can follow or be inspired by the natural features of the landscape. Mountains, rivers and coasts are observable boundaries; they define a place but imbued with meaning they also become the borders of space.
4. Architectural space will only exist when architectural place through somatic, perceptual and existential space gains meaning and becomes a space. It can be argued that this category is not actually different from other spaces connected with visible boundaries in the landscape, but architectural space is an especially efficient way of creating those boundaries. A building gives a direct feeling of being inside or outside; it is space made tangible and visible.
5. Cognitive space provides a basis for reflection and theorisation with regard to understanding the other spaces. The existential space will be the most important for the analysis, as a group will be examined – the Tegean community.

Place is fundamental to the establishment of personal or group identities. In the landscape *locales* can be created and serve as focal points for a group and its identity. A locale may be natural features or humanly created places, such as monuments, houses or settlements, and are constructed through the common experiences and symbols of the group (Tilley 1994:18, 25). It is a place which through group activity becomes an existential space.

Locales will often draw on the qualities of landscape (Tilley 1994:26), which means prominent visible features, such as mountains, will more often become locales than less

conspicuous ones. Such a feature will often be transformed from a mere place, a topographical attribute, to a locale through the means of naming the place and connecting it to a mythological or historical incident (Tilley 1994:18). In this way, the place becomes a part of social memory, which will continue to modify the space and the meanings attached to it (Tilley 1994:27). Tilley (1994:19) warns us that one must avoid spatial determinism: Place is not in itself causal; it is through dialectic with people it gains importance. For instance, some insist that the polis gained its form due to the Greek landscape. Rather, one must see landscape as one factor, and it only makes sense in connection with human actions.

As we have seen, the theories presented all see identity as socially created through a process that is as much about exclusion as it is about inclusion. This means that in the meeting with others, the identity of the group is created or crystallised, and the borders of that identity gains vital importance. Both Alcock and Tilley regard landscape as central in the identity-making process and they see monuments, myths and memory as embedded in that landscape. This means parts of that landscape, for instance borders, can both be visible and tangible, and invisible and symbolic, as will become evident when we now turn to the Tegean landscape of identity.



## ***The Landscape of Tegean Identity***

“Personal and cultural identity is bound up with place; a topo-analysis is one exploring the creation of self-identity through place” (Tilley 1994:15).

In this chapter the manner in which the Tegeans created and influenced their surroundings and the way in which the environment and landscape reciprocally influenced them, will be examined. In the words of Tilley (1994:17), “There is a socio-spatial dialectic at work – space is both constitutive and constituted”. What did the Tegeans choose to project as the Tegean image, what monuments did they erect, what stories did they tell, and how did they relate these to the space around them? The purpose is not to find the “true” history, nor to believe everything at face value (c.f. Alcock 2002:182). What is interesting is how they *perceived* themselves and why.

The main themes of Tegean tradition collected by Pretzler (1999) shall form the basis of the analysis. In addition some other myths or monuments have been chosen to illustrate some of the main points of this study. The treatment of the different spaces in Tegea will be somewhat similar to Pausanias; as we move through the landscape the myths, monuments and places constituting that space will be dealt with. The structure of this chapter is in some ways chronological because it will be argued that certain steps took place in the creation of Tegean identity in relation to the landscape. First, they would have found some common ground (literally and metaphorically), a core for their newly created identity. Second, and almost contemporary with the first step, the need for clear boundaries (again, in both senses) would be addressed. After that, the ordering of the physical environment, through drainage of the plain and building of the town, would not simply have produced a visible alteration of the Tegean landscape, it would also have had an impact on the Tegean space, their myths and their identity.

### **The Core**

Most scholars agree that the cult of Athena Alea was the focal point of the early Tegean community, even before it became a polis (Bakke 2008; Ødegård 2005; 217; Østby et al. 1994; Voyatzis 1990, 1999). As we have seen, it had ancient roots possibly as far back as Mycenaean times, and the early goddess, Alea, was not yet associated with Athena. Although little is known of this ancient deity, it has been suggested she might have had chthonic qualities (Jost 1985:373; Bakke 2008:239). In the chapter on Tegean water management, it was described how the hydrological situation around the sanctuary was especially precarious,

and that numerous episodes of flooding had occurred. Water sources were not only seen as the basis of life but also as portals to the underworld and thus places to be respected and revered. The area around the sanctuary is the natural habitat of water snakes, and snakes are common chthonic symbols. The presence of the sacred spring, a Geometric bronze figurine bearing a vase on its head (Jost 1984:373, Plate 37, Figure 3) and Geometric pottery decorated with snake iconography (Voyatzis 1990:77, Plate 29), all indicate the presence of a deity connected with chthonic powers (Jost 1985:373; Bakke 2008:239).



**Fig. 13: Handle with snake décor.**

The chthonic feel of the natural landscape would continue to be an influence at this focal point of the Tegean community, even after Alea became associated with Athena. Here it can be seen how the qualities of the natural landscape transformed a simple place into a space, a locale imbued with meaning as a result of the dialectic between the natural surroundings, its features and the people coming there (Tilley 1994:25, 26). Although Ødegård (2005:214) has convincingly argued that practical considerations dictated the decision not to include the sanctuary within the walls, an additional interpretation is suggested here: Athena Alea was never considered as a poliad goddess. Her older aspect, connected to the chthonic elements of the landscape, was more appropriate outside the walls.

From the written sources we hear that the Tegeans used to live in eight, later nine demes or villages (Paus. 8.45.1, 8.3.4, 48.6, 53.2–4; Strabo 8.3.2). The eponymous Tegeates gave his name to the people, but never physically made them one people (Paus. 8.45.1). We know that the Tegeans had a common name at least from the time of Homer, as seen in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Il.2.605). At some point these people decided to truly become one and this incident has been linked to the first monumental temple of Athena Alea at the end of the seventh century (Voyatzis 1999:143). Due to the common name it must be assumed that the Tegeans had some sort of common identity prior to this but that this identity became more focused and defined.

According to Hall (1997:32, 33), an ethnic identity will only come into existence when confronted by another ethnic group, which is usually also true for any group identity (Cohen



1982:2, 3). Several stories deal with the enmity between Tegea and their powerful neighbour, Sparta. After the Messenians were subdued, Sparta wished to expand her power even further, and looked to Tegea (Diod. Sic. 9.36.2; Dio Chrys. *Or.*17.16; Hdt 1.66). One can imagine how the loose Tegean identity suddenly acquired the appearance of a well-defined group when threatened by Sparta. What had previously distinguished the villages from each other was now downplayed in favour of a collective identity; the in-group came into existence when meeting an out-group. Because the building of a monumental stone temple is such an enormous task, both in terms of costs and of manpower, the temple erected in the late seventh century does definitely show some sort of co-operation among the Tegean demes and it is plausible to connect the incident with the unification of Tegea. That is, however, unification in the political sense; Tegea was not yet physically coming together. If this hypothesis is accepted, we can here talk of the political formation of the Tegean polis.

The temple of Athena Alea was thus the core of the Tegean state and its identity. The myths and stories pertaining to the glory of the Tegeans, especially their victories over Sparta, were displayed on and in the temple itself. The number one monument of the Tegeans, which in itself enhanced their cohesion, was further embellished with symbols of their identity through the dedications and sculptural programme. Herodotos (1.66–67, c.f. 9.26) relates how the Spartans for a long time were unsuccessful in taking Arkadia, until they received an oracle convincing them they would win if they invaded Tegea. Optimistic by the news, the Spartans, led by Kharillos, invaded bringing fetters to chain the Tegeans but ended up wearing them themselves. The fetters were then dedicated to Athena Alea and could still be seen in the time of Pausanias (8.47.2).

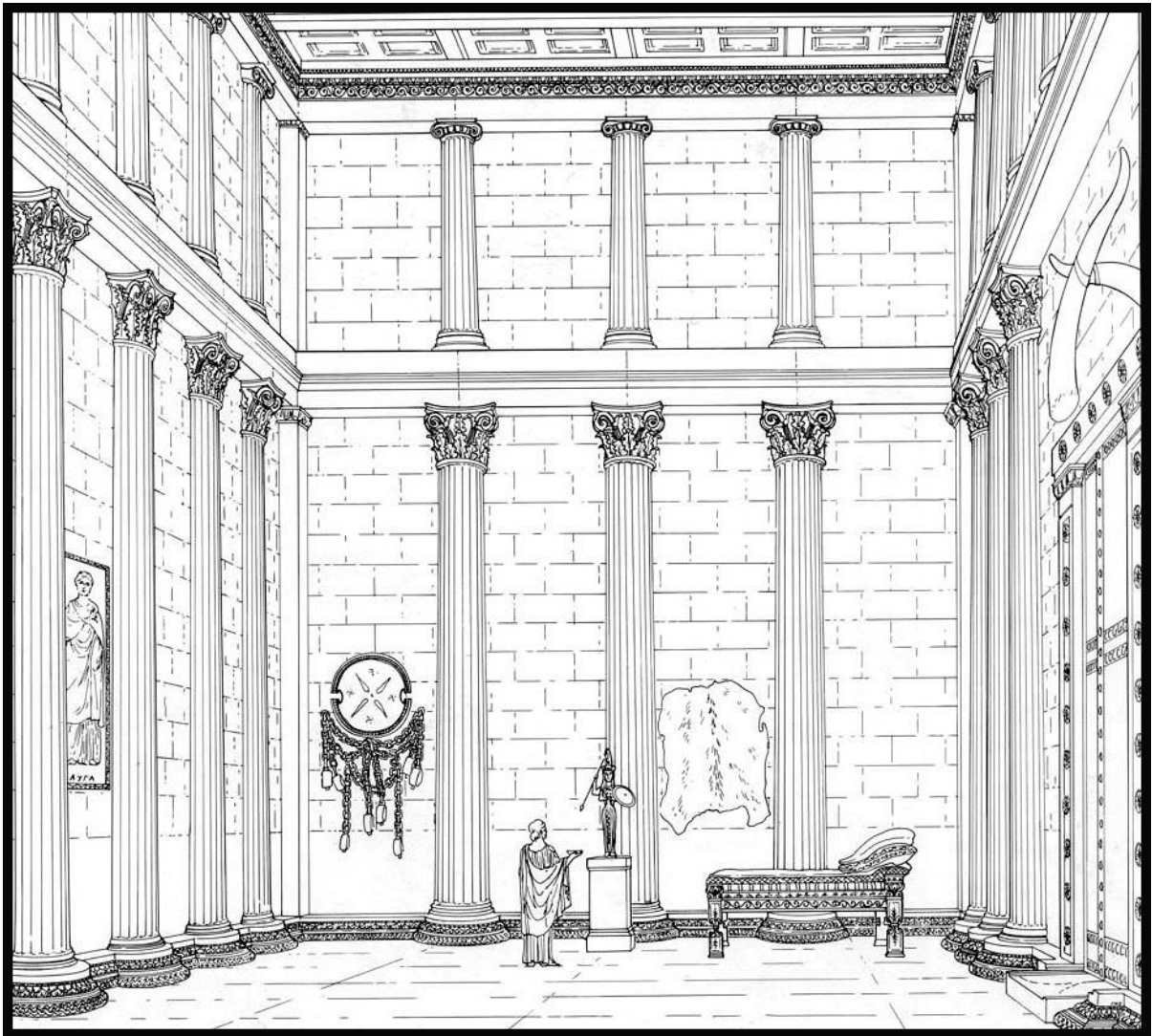
According to Pausanias (3.3.5; 7.3) this “Battle of the Fetters” occurred six generations before the treaty between Tegea and Sparta was written (the treaty is dated to mid-sixth century, see Pretzler 1999:95). Pausanias also writes that games, the *Aleaia* and the *Halotia*, were arranged in memory of this in the stadium north of the temple (8.47.4). There is some epigraphical evidence for the *Aleaia*, but none for the *Halotia* (see Voyatzis 1999:95, note 60). Between the time of Herodotos and that of Pausanias, the Archaic temple had burned down and been replaced by a Classical one, which means the fetters had either been saved or replaced (Pretzler 1999:116, 117). Either way, the dedications and the story they represented, were obviously of vital and continuing importance to the Tegeans. Their identity was bound to this victory over the Spartans, which was made tangible and visible in the mythical landscape through the display of the fetters.

In the same battle we are given the aition of an unusual epithet of Ares, Gynaikothonias – the Women-Feaster. According to Pausanias, the women of Tegea ambushed the Spartan warriors and made them take flight. When the women sacrificed to Ares, thanking him for the victory, the men were not allowed to participate. The shield of the woman who had led the attack, Marpessa (or Khoira), was displayed in the temple of Athena Alea (8.48.4–5; 8.47.2). Pretzler (1999:117) observes that since the earliest account of Marpessa can be found in Deinias of Argos (*FGrHist* 306, Fragment 4) from the third century, both the shield and the story may be more recent than the Classical temple. This could of course be the case, but the date when the myth was written down (or the earliest text that happened to be handed down to us) does not need to be any reflection of the date the myth came into existence (Dowden 1992:10).

The significance of the story can be interpreted in more than one way. First of all, it can be seen as a way of linking the special Tegean cult of Ares Gynaikothonias to this defining moment in Tegean myth-history. In this way, two parts of Tegean identity were placed together, reinforcing each other and adding dimension to the story. Emily Kearns (1991:339) interprets a similar incident in Argos (Paus. 2.20.8–9) as saying to the Spartans “Even our women can beat your men”, but the legend of Marpessa and the women can also be seen as a symbol of a truly united Tegea. The threat posed by the Spartans, as mentioned above, prompted the Tegeans of separate villages to come together and collectively face the enemy.

Voyatzis (1999:144) suggests a further possible reflection of this in the archaeology. While there has been found Lakonian style pottery dating from the ninth century, there is less in the eighth century, when a more Argive influence can be detected. Voyatzis puts forward the possibility that the apsidal buildings from the eighth century could be a sign of a weakening of Lakonian influence and the beginnings of a stronger Tegean collective. The stone temple of the late seventh century can be seen as a more formalised version of this.

Also dedicated in the temple were the hide and tusks of the famous Kalydonian boar. According to the Tegean version of the myth, the Tegeans Ankaios, his brother Epokhos, and Hippothoos, a descendant of Stymphalos (Paus. 8.4.10, 53.6), participated in the hunt. The episode is mentioned by Pausanias (8.45.2) as one of the great achievements of the Tegeans. The royal Ankaios, who also was one of Jason’s Argonauts (Paus. 8.4.10), died in the hunt before he could inherit the throne. Ankaios fought and died bravely, but it was Atalante who hit the boar first, was awarded its tusks and hide and dedicated them to the temple.



**Fig. 14: Reconstruction of the interior of the Classical temple of Athena Alea. From the left: A painting of Auge, the shield of Marpessa above the Spartan fetters, and the hide and tusks of the Kalydonian boar.**

The myth was also depicted on the front (east) pediment of the temple of Athena Alea (Paus. 8.45.6–7) and Pretzler (1999:93, 114) suggests that since not all the characters could have been recognised by their attributes alone, they may have had inscribed names. In this way, non-Tegeans could also recognise this specific Tegean version of the myth and the temple could promote Tegean identity inwards to the Tegeans as well as outwards to visitors from other parts of the Greek world.

This is, of course, the Classical temple we are talking about and one could question its relevance to the identity of the Tegeans around the time when the polis came into existence. However, the myth of the Kalydonian hunt was very old (Pretzler 1999:N. 189) and a Tegean version may have existed before the building of the Classical temple. It can be argued that the myths must already have had an important place in Tegean identity in order for them to be

deemed important enough to be displayed on the temple. Identity is a social construct; it takes time for a myth to become thoroughly embedded in the collective identity. By Roman times the myth certainly had importance, because Octavian punished the Mark Antony-supporting Tegeans by taking the tusks to Rome (Paus. 46.1, 5; 47.2; Callim. *Hymn* 3.220–21 refers to tusks in Arkadia, probably Tegea; Lucian *Ind.*14 mentions the hide of boar at Tegea).

An even harsher punishment by Octavian was the removal of the cult image of Athena Alea (Paus. 8.46.1). According to Alcock (2002:44–47) the displacement of cult images was not simply a result of Roman artistic connoisseurship, it was also a strategy that had potent symbolic meaning. In the case of Tegea, Pretzler (1999:108) points out how this polis was the only flourishing city left and by taking the cult image, Octavian set an example for all the others who had not supported him. Although this happened in Roman times and is therefore long after the period of interest for this study, it has relevance because the statue may have been the same as in Archaic times. Pausanias indicates that the statue was Archaic-looking, and was perhaps saved from the fire of 395, kept for 50 years and placed in the new temple (Pretzler 1999:116). If this was indeed the case, it shows how the statue must have been of enormous importance to the Tegeans and by removing it, the Romans took away some of the core of Tegean identity<sup>2</sup>.

The scene depicted on the west pediment of the temple of Athena Alea, and possibly on the metopes as well (*IG* V.2 78 and 79), is a recurring theme in the mythical landscape of Tegea. On the west pediment we see the Tegean hero Telephos fighting Akhilleus on plain of Kaikos (Paus. 8.45.7). The literary sources provide us with many, slightly differing versions. In epic tradition there is nothing connecting the Mysian king Telephos with the Peloponnese; the earliest writer linking him with Tegea is Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1, Fragment 29), writing after 490 (Pretzler 1999:91). By the time of Euripides and his version of the story, the main variant was in place, saying that Auge, daughter of king Aleos of Tegea, was raped by Herakles and gave birth to a son, Telephos. Aleos orders Auge to be thrown into the sea, but fate carries her to the plain of Kaikos in Mysia, where king Teuthras takes her as his wife and Telephos as his son (see the versions in Hekataios; Diod. Sic. 4.33; Eur. *Telephos* Fragment 696.6–7). When the Greeks were on their way to Troy, they landed on the plain of Kaikos where the two heroes fought. Telephos was wounded but they reconciled and Akhilleus healed him.

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<sup>2</sup> Octavian also had personal interests in taking the statue due to the Arkadian heritage of Evander.

In addition to the story being part of the sculptural programme, it was also represented among the dedications inside the temple, in form of a painting of Auge (Paus. 8.47.2). Adjacent to the temple one could see the fountain near which Auge was raped by Herakles (Paus. 8.47.4). Dugas (1924:69–71) suggested that the fountain basin from the fifth century situated less than ten meters to the north of the temple of Athena Alea is the fountain of Auge. Both the myth itself and the fountain predate the Classical temple, which may be said to justify listing the myth of Auge and Telephos as one of the possible early influences on Tegean identity. Pretzler (1999:113, 114) proposes that the popularity and importance of the myth may be due to its place in the Trojan cycle and early literary tradition. Such a well-known theme is a very effective image in the promotion of local identity outwards. The fact that this myth could be found at various places in the landscape of Tegea speaks of its significance, and moving through the landscape would bind these places together, making the impact of the myth even stronger through mutual reinforcement.

We know of many alterations of myths and their part in Tegean identity through the centuries. The most conspicuous alteration is Pausanias neglecting to mention the Tegeans heroics in the Persian War, especially considering the peak in interest in this theme in Roman times (Alcock 2002:74). Pretzler's (1999) conclusion is that all occasions where the Tegeans were allied with Sparta, including the Persian War, were downplayed in favour of anti-Spartan myth-histories. And though there may be other such cases of "disremembering" (Alcock 2002:182), there are some myths whose continuity we can be more certain of. The relationship with Sparta seems to be one of these stable themes, even if the meaning was flexible. The older, popular myths of the Greek world in general are possible candidates for mythic importance in the time around the creation of the Tegean polis as well, as they must have been potent ways of establishing a particular Tegean version in the wider Greek myth cycle and thus grounding Tegean identity, not only in the local landscape, but in the Greek landscape as a whole. This should be kept in mind when reviewing other places in the landscape of Tegean identity.

To summarise the first part of this chapter, while religion is not in itself a criterion for creating ethnic groups, it is a powerful symbol (Hall 1997:32). In this case, the ethnic group was created when threatened by another strong group. Religion, or more specifically, the temple, became an emblem of this new group and the core of new Tegean identity. The temple can both be seen as an architectural space which hosted the objects symbolizing components of Tegean identity inside (and on) its very tangible walls, and an existential

space, produced and reproduced through the movements and activities of the Tegeans (Tilley 1994:16, 17). A sacred, symbolic and mythic space was created and provided a focal point in both the physical topography and the Tegean identity.

### **The Borders and the Countryside**

The definition of borders is of vital significance in the process of creating identity (Hall 1997:32). What “we” are becomes crystallised through defining what we are not, i.e. “the others”. There are several ways of marking this, of establishing borders between the in-group and the out-group. Since de Polignac in 1984 published his work on the uses of cults in the rising poleis (although his view has been modified), it has been recognised how temples and cults can act as powerful markers of borders.

Voyatzis (1999:145) points out how this process of separating identities may be seen in a temple on the Psili Korfi above Mavriki (the ancient Tegean deme of the Phylakeans). This is the only excavated sanctuary at the borders of the territory of Tegea and was in all probability dedicated to Artemis (Bakke 2008:346; Voyatzis 1999:132). Judging from the presence of some Lakonian pottery from the eighth and seventh century in addition to Tegean-style votives, the shrine may have been frequented by both Tegea and Sparta. The cult was situated high up in the mountains close to an important route of communication between Tegea and Sparta (Bakke 2008:346; Voyatzis 1999:145). Voyatzis proposes that after the synoikism of Tegea the sanctuary became more exclusively under Tegean control and that the stone temple erected in the mid-sixth century can be read as visible Tegean claim over the territory and the nearby Dholiana marble quarries. This is an entirely plausible hypothesis, considering how important establishing clear boundaries is for a newly created identity. Claiming control of the sanctuary and monumentalizing it would not only delimit the physical territory but also mark clearly the borders of Tegean space. Such socially produced space is open to change as part of the praxis of groups (Tilley 1994:10). A change in a part of the landscape would shape the communal experience of that space, and this heightened sense of what was Tegean space would become part of the collective memory (Alcock 2002:31).

Other parts of the landscape were less clear. Ancient sources relate that the border areas of Skiritis and Karyatis sometimes belonged to Tegea, sometimes to Sparta. Thukydides (5.55.3) tells us that during the Peloponnesian War they were Lakonian, while Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.1.28) says that they were back under Tegean control in 370/69. There were probably more such incidents and by the time of Pausanias (3.10.7), the territory was once again lost to Sparta (Pretzler 1999:104). Because identity will become salient when boundaries are

disputed (Cohen 1982:2, 3; Hall 1997:32), this continuing conflict would likely have bolstered Tegean identity. The vulnerability caused by the lack of clear, physical border zones would make the need for some kind of boundary even greater.

What can be seen in Pausanias' description of Tegea is the creation of borders through the medium of myth. Inspiring narratives of opposition, with the victories over Sparta holding the prime position, ensured the unity of the Tegean collective. Even where no physical border existed, the stories would modify the collective memory and the collective sense of space (Tilley 1994:27). A definite political territory was in place early in the Classical period or perhaps in Archaic times, according to Nielsen (1996:93–94). We hear of the Tegean border in Herodotos (8.124) and Thukydides (5.65.4), both from the fifth century, which means it must already have been in place then. Pausanias (8.54.7) mentions a boundary-stone set up at the border between Argos and Tegea but its date is unknown.

Plutarkh (*Quaest.Graec.*5) following Aristotle, speaks of a treaty between Sparta and Tegea set up at Alpheios, which is taken to mean the border (see Pritchett 1965:125). The treaty is usually dated to the middle of the sixth century, but a fifth-century date has also been suggested (see Pretzler 1999:104). There has been some confusion regarding the *khoma* (see Water Management) as the border between Pallantion, Megalopolis and Tegea, as it is impossible to draw a map based on Pausanias' descriptions (8.44.5 –7). As Bakke (2008:98) has plausibly argued, the ancients would not think of borders in terms of a map. He says the *khoma* should not be seen as a line in abstract space, but like a bridge between two territories and the crossing of borders would happen as one crossed the bridge. Because there are different kinds of space, there can be different kinds of borders. Tilley's (1994:16) somatic space is relevant here; borders are felt and experienced according to the moving human body.

Second after Sparta, Mantinea has been considered a constant enemy of Tegea and it is usually assumed that it is due to this enmity that when one was allied with Sparta, the other one would turn to Argos for help (Nielsen 1996:32). Pretzler (1999:98) remarks that although the two poleis were in opposing camps several times, the only ancient writer making the conflict explicit is Thukydides, when mentioning the water dispute (5.65.4). The high mountains separating Tegea from other poleis did not form a boundary between the two neighbours, and the short distance of 16 km “almost had to lead to disputes” (Nielsen 1996:32, my translation). In Pausanias the conflict is not obvious and the only boundary marker mentioned is a round altar, but the ownership is not specified (8.11.1). Now, this is not to say that a conflict did not exist; after all, the fact that they almost exclusively chose opposite sides, says something. Perhaps they saw it as the everyday, almost obligatory

quarrelling between near neighbours (the Greeks loved a little antagonism). This opposition was perhaps taken for granted and not considered as emblematic and glorious as the hostility towards Sparta, at least not by the time of Pausanias but possibly ever since the creation of the Tegean polis.

The most obvious borders were, as mentioned, the mountains, and though they are not created by humans, they still play a part in the construction of the boundaries of Tegean space and identity. Reading the ancient sources, we get an impression of this landlocked, mountainous area generating a certain feeling of otherness, which is reflected in its people as well. This was not unique to the Tegeans but something they shared with the rest of the Arkadians. Part of being Tegean was being Arkadian (Nielsen 1996:14). Two divinities, whose special forte was herders, flocks, travellers, hunters and other people dwelling in the mountains, were said to have been born in Arkadia, Hermes and his son Pan (Burkert 1985:158, 172). The presence of the god Pan was embedded in the wild landscape of Arkadia through sanctuaries, sacred groves and sacred tortoises indigenous to Mount Parthenion (Paus. 8.54.4, 6, 7). Polybios, himself an Arkadian, says that the Arkadians had to use music, dances and sacrifices to soften the impact of the sometimes harsh climate and landscape (4.20–21).

We have now seen some examples of the more clear-cut definitions of what was inside and what was outside Tegean identity, i.e. which of their neighbouring poleis they chose to identify with, and which ones they excluded. Within the borders it can be detected a further embellishment of the Tegean mythical landscape that was not necessarily connected to the creation of boundaries, but still vital parts of Tegean identity. It has already been demonstrated how the Telephos and Auge myth held a prominent place in Tegea. According to some versions, the infant Telephos was exposed on Mount Parthenion, where he was saved by suckling a doe. The place this had happened was honoured with sanctuary dedicated to the hero (Paus.8.48.7).

Tilley (1994:18, 19) explains how a place gains significance and meaning through naming and the establishment of a mythical link. In this way, the place ceases to be a mere physical/geographical part of the natural environment and becomes a space, a locale. Unnamed spaces are blank; naming them creates the social landscape. Here can be seen yet another monument and place connected with the Telephos myth, which would serve to link a place in the countryside with the core, the temple of Athena Alea. The story would become sedimented into the landscape (Tilley 1994:33), and moving around the landscape would reinforce the narrative told by the monuments seen as a whole.



This is also true for the place the Tegeans called Wardress Hill, supposedly the place where Marpessa and the Tegean women lay in ambush when Kharillos and the Spartans invaded (Paus.8.48.4). Although the Greeks never had the same distinction between history and myth as we do, they still saw the legitimizing power of visible and tangible monuments. Wardress Hill in combination with the shield of Marpessa displayed in the temple of Athena Alea, would lend more authenticity to the story as locales in the landscape.

Pausanias (8.44.7–8) tells us about a sanctuary dedicated to Ares Aphneios (“the Abundant”) on a hill called Kresion on the Manthurean plain. This is the first monument mentioned after crossing the Pallantian border and the hill with the ruins of the sanctuary has been discovered about three km to the west of Tegea (Levi in Pausanias:483, n. 325). The myth says that Aerope, daughter of Kepheus the son of Aleos, slept with Ares. She died in childbirth but Ares saved his son, Aeropos, by making the milk flow abundantly from Aerope’s breasts. This is one of many monuments linked to the mythical royal family of Tegea and yet another example of grounding a myth in the physical landscape. Besides being the son of a god, which in itself is illustrious enough, Aeropos is significant as the father of Ekhemos, the hero who stopped the first wave of the returning Herakleidai from entering the Peloponnese. That myth will be dealt with in the section on the urban centre.

Another member of the Tegean royal past, Leukone, daughter of Apheidias, had a spring by the road named after her and a tomb “not far from the city of Tegea” (Paus.8.44.8). Tombs are especially powerful implements of grounding a myth and claiming the land; after all, they are chthonic and bound to the earth even more than any other type of monument.

The most famous tomb in Tegea was that of Orestes and the myth connected to it is of vital importance to the relationship with Sparta. The story is first told in Herodotos (1.67–68; c.f Diod. Sic. 9.36.3 and Paus. 3.3.6, 7; 3.11.10). Pythia told the Spartans that if they got their hands on the bones of the son of Agamemnon, they would be the masters of Tegea. The exact location was presented in the form of a riddle by the oracle, but a Spartan named Likhas was fortuitous when he visited Tegea. A local blacksmith told him he had found in his back yard a twelve feet long coffin, containing a skeleton of the same enormous size. Likhas immediately understood that this had to be Orestes and secretly dug up the bones and brought them home to Sparta.

This may of course be mere fantasy, but according to Adrienne Mayor (2000), the phenomenon of discovery and transportation of enormous hero bones may have a core of truth. By introducing the fields of palaeontology and Classics to each other, she was able to make some interesting discoveries. Mayor has convincingly shown how areas with large

amounts of deposited mega fossils of mammoths, mastodons and other Ice Age giants coincide with the areas of reported finds of hero bones. Tegea happens to lie in a prehistoric lake basin with Pleistocene remains (Mayor 2000:111). She postulates that both the bones of Orestes and the tusks of the Kalydonian boar were the remains of Pleistocene mammals, the latter probably the tusks of a prehistoric elephant (Mayor 2000:142). While this is a very interesting conclusion, the political implications of the theft of the bones of Orestes are even more important here.

The incident, dated to the middle of the sixth century (based on Herodotos' (1.67.1) reference to the reigns of Kroesos of Lydia and of Anaxandrides and Ariston of Sparta), has been connected with the treaty between Sparta and Tegea (see above) and the beginning of the Peloponnesian League (Plut. *Quast. Greac.* 5, *Quast. Rom* 52). Herodotos' account is perhaps based on Spartan tradition and it can be seen as describing the turning point when Sparta became the largest power of the Peloponnese (Pretzler 1999:96). The fact that the Tegeans accepted the Spartan version is also significant. Pretzler (1999:166) suggests the story implies that Tegea could only be defeated by supernatural means, so the myth provided Tegea with a divine excuse for this failure. The Tegeans showed Pausanias (8.54.4) the empty tomb of Orestes by the road from Tegea to Thyrea. This illustrates how important it was to physically embed the myth in the landscape through the use of monuments. We only know of the tomb from Pausanias but the early popularity of the story makes it possible for the monument to be much older. Locals and foreign travellers alike would pass by the monument and be reminded of how Tegea was invincible until the Spartans gained the upper hand through mystical means, and this would boost and promote Tegean identity.

The places and monuments connected with Spartan aggression and Tegean victories dotted the landscape of Tegea and served to maintain the collective memory and identity. The conclusion of Pretzler (1999:111) is that the myths connected with Spartan hostility served as a symbol for the community, and even though there could not have been any chronic enmity (as they were allied on numerous occasions), the strength of such a symbol is its ability to adapt according to the historical context. For instance, before the battle of Plataiai when the two poleis were allied and the Tegeans wanted the right of holding the wing of the phalanx, they used their victories over Sparta as a way of proving their strength and valour (Hdt.9.26 – 28). Being one of the strongest symbols for the Tegean community, it was not discarded even when relations with Sparta were good. Instead, it could be used in new ways and acquire different nuances of meaning (Pretzler 1999:117–119).

## The Plain

It has already been demonstrated that water management must have been of vital importance before the urban centre of Tegea could have been built. This study follows Bakke (2008:33–35; also Knauss 1998), who sees the hydrological adjustments of the plain in connection with the deeds of the hero Herakles. This “*Ur*-hydraulic engineer” is famous for his many river manipulations, the most famous being the diversion of the Alpheios at Olympia in order to clean the Augeian Stables, one of the Twelve Labours (Salowey 1994:77). He also conducted many a reclamation of land, making swampy areas eligible for agriculture and Salowey (1994:79), drawing on the interpretation of Servius (*ad Aeneid* 6.287), sees the Labour involving the Lernean Hydra as an expression of the drainage of Lake Lerna in the Argolid. According to Salowey, the many-headed Hydra is a metaphor for the many streams feeding the swamps. Herakles realised that the water emanating from the place where the Hydra dwelt was flooding the neighbouring cities and managed to dry it out and seal it up.

As the severed head of the Hydra would sprout two new ones, the attempt to divert one stream of the river Alpheios, modern Sarandapotamos – the many-headed Forty Rivers – would result in new streams bursting through the loose alluvial soil in another direction, Bakke (2008:34) notes. He also points out that while the modern name reflects the multitude of little streams, the ancient name mirrors a managed, collected river. This type of water management conducted by Herakles is also more explicit in other places. According to Pausanias (8.14.2, 3) Herakles came to the plain of Phenos in Arkadia, where he first constructed the sink-holes (*katavothras*) and then redirected the course of the river Aroanios (also called Olbios) by digging a channel through the valley. He remarks that in his day the river had returned to its old course – a lack of water management by the locals? The channel has in modern times been identified with a dyke or causeway, which was recorded by Sir William Gell in his *Journey in the Morea* (1823:380).

Although no comparable myth regarding Tegea is handed down to us, it may still have existed. A fragment of a seventh-century bronze disc depicting a large bird, a quadruped, and a female figure with accentuated breasts holding a poppy has been found at Tegea. This scene has been interpreted as the wetland (represented by the bird) being dried out and made fertile by the goddess (the disc itself representing the sun) (see Jost 1985:373–374). If this interpretation is correct, and the disc is indeed of local production, it demonstrates at an early date a concern and awareness of the agricultural potential of the plain being dependent upon removal of excess water.

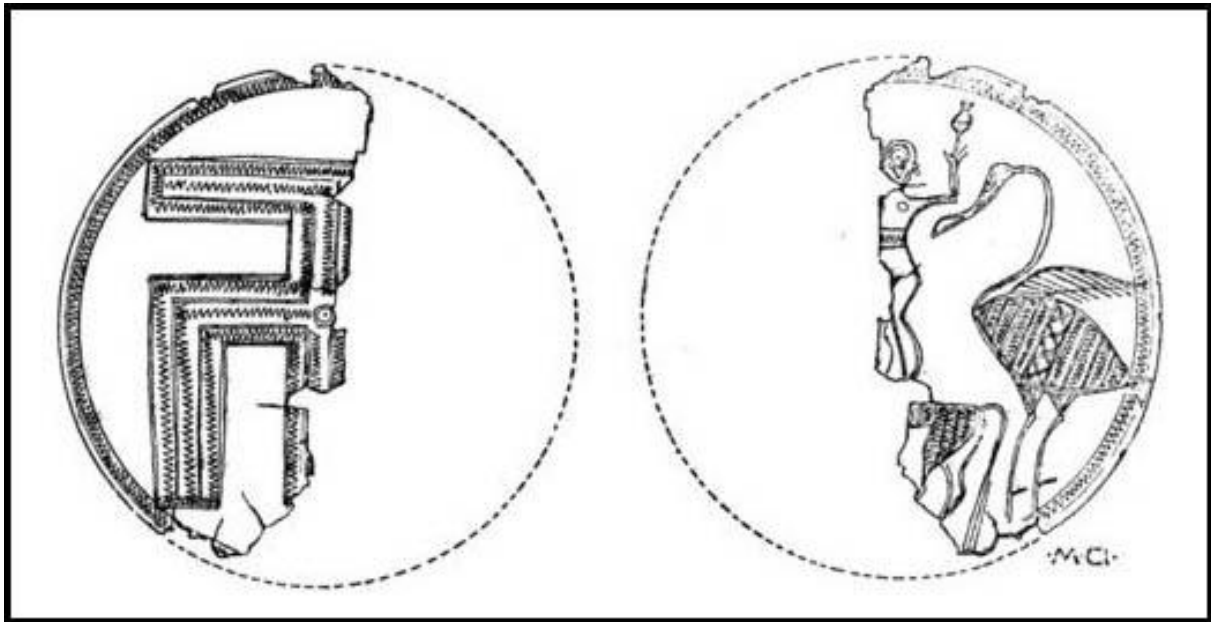


Fig. 15: Bronze disk.

The dyke or causeway at Tegea may have had a mythical engineer and the river a mythical hero cutting its many heads off. Herakles presence at Tegea, especially his connection with the fountain of Auge, can possibly be one such case, according to Bakke (2008:240). The meeting between Auge, as closely associated with the local hydrology through the fountain, and Herakles, as the hydraulic engineer *par excellence*, can be interpreted as a reflection of managing the water at a critical point (the area around Athena Alea) in the landscape, Bakke suggests. This may be taking it too far, but Bakke is to some degree supported in linking the Alpheios with the myth of the Hydra by the fact that rivers are often seen as, or associated with, snakes in myth. And considering the presence of water snakes both in the local fauna and in the iconography of the material, the myth of the Hydra would not be foreign to the Tegean landscape (ὕδρα means water snake). The water management on the Tegean plain would alter the landscape and the mythical landscape would need to change with it. The modification of ones natural environment needed to be expressed through myth.

It has been argued that the same type of water management was necessary at Mantinea before the city on the plain was built, and a passage in Pausanias (8.8.4) is interesting in this respect. Antinoe, the granddaughter of Aleos and daughter of Kepheus, led the people of the old Mantineian city, Ptois, to the new city on the command of an oracle. Her guide was a snake and for this reason the river flowing past the city of Mantinea is called the Snake. Here we have a hydrological feature associated with a serpent and in the myth the serpent is not seen as something hostile, but by the command of the oracle it is the reason why

the Mantineians could move their city down on the plain. This myth may reflect the taming of the hydrological snake – the mythical translation of diverting the course of the river around the urban centre.

When studying the planned cities of the West, it became apparent that planned grids following the natural slope of the landscape, urban or rural, could easily integrate drainage systems. No rural land division has yet been found at Tegea, but the relatively flat plain would be ideal for the construction of a rural as well as an urban grid and the sloping would facilitate drainage. This is of course at this point mere conjecture, but seeing as the urban grid was in all probability planned by someone familiar with the planning of the Western Greek cities, rural parcelling would not be unknown to him. The point here is again the impact of this major alteration of the Tegean landscape on social memory and identity. As Alcock (2002:46) notes for the Roman period, land division is not only a pragmatic economic step, it would also modify social memory. Even if no parcelling existed, the fact that the plain was now suitable for agriculture would change perception of the space of the Tegeans.

## **The Urban Centre**

The appearance of an urban centre on the previously uninhabited plain would in itself be a profound alteration of the landscape. In addition to that, the transition from living in what were probably organic, unstructured villages to the ordered space of the urban centre must have involved a major change in both the life of the individual and the dynamic of the Tegean community as a whole. In Tilley's terms, it would include both a new architectural space and a changed existential space. Alcock (2002:152) writes that living in close quarters leads to better communication, making it easier to perpetuate and strengthen communal identity. The close and pre-planned space of the city would especially offer new opportunities in the ordering of mythical landscape through the medium of monuments.

What has often been noted when discussing the monuments of a city is the importance of hero cult in the urban landscape. Pausanias (8.48.6) says the monuments of Tegeates and his wife Maira are set up in the agora<sup>3</sup>. Thus the graves of the eponymous hero and his wife, the daughter of Atlas, were placed at the heart of the city and probably received cults. As

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Levi translates *καὶ μνήματά ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Τεγεάτου τοῦ Λυκάωνος καὶ Μαιρᾶς γυναικὸς τοῦ Τεγεάτου* as “The monuments of Lykaon of Tegea and Maira the wife of Tegeates are here”, but since there was no Lykaon of Tegea and Maira is mentioned in the same sentence, it is more likely that it means “monuments of Tegeates [son] of Lykaon, as it is also translated by Levi in a comparable sentence (8.45.1). In W. H. S Jones' translation (1918), it says tomb of Tegeates, son of Lykaon.

these are mythical figures (or at least figures living a long time before the foundation of the town), the graves and cults were probably installed later.

Perhaps we are yet again dealing with the transportation of “hero” bones (see above); the Mantineians transported the bones of the eponymous hero of Arkadia, Arkas, from Mainalos to the Mantineian agora. This happened due to a prophecy from Delphi, telling them to bring the hero “home”. The Mantineians also claimed to possess the grave of Maira within their territory, but Pausanias (8.12.7) favours the Tegeans. Perhaps such a dispute over the authenticity of graves was settled by a discovery of the “real” bones in Tegean territory.

While Tegeates gave his name to the territory, the real founder of the city was Aleos. His grave is not at the agora but Pausanias (8.53.10) lists his house as one of the things seen at Tegea (so no exact position is given). It seems a little strange that the founding hero was not represented near the agora, so it may well have been that this house was related to a cult dedicated to the founder of both the city and the sanctuary and would probably have received a prominent spot within the urban space. Although Aleos is in this study treated as a fictitious character whose name was constructed from that of the ancient goddess Alea, we may still consider the founding legend a mythical translation of real events. While the synoikism may have been instigated by several powerful individuals within the villages of the Tegean community, a founding hero conforms more to the mythical recipe. One king would better serve as a symbol for the Tegean identity, binding the newly formed community more closely together.

Whereas the location of the house or cult of Aleos is uncertain, he is still represented at the agora through the story of Auge and Telephos. In one of the versions of the myth, Aleos discovers that Auge is pregnant and orders her to be thrown into the sea but right after they take her, she falls to her knees and gives birth. On that very spot there was built a sanctuary and statue dedicated to the birth goddess Eileithyia, whom the Tegeans called Auge-on-her-knees (Paus. 8.48.7). So this important myth in Tegea is represented in the countryside, the temple of Athena Alea, and in the agora, binding the Tegean landscape together. This threefold representation can also be seen when it comes to the legend of Marpessa and the women who made the Spartan army flee. In addition to being connected to a place in the countryside, Wardress Hill, and the temple of Athena Alea, Ares Gynaikothoinas, the Women-Feaster, was depicted in the agora (8.48.4). The routing of the Spartans and the Tegean victory could accordingly be seen in several places, and its position at the agora ensured its contribution to Tegean communal self-image as victors.

Another indirect triumph over the Spartans was signified by the legend of the Tegean king Ekhemos defeating the Herakleidai Hyllos in single combat. Because the sons of Herakles would establish the Spartan royal line, the conflict between the two communities can thus be traced back some time before the Trojan War and the myth can consequently be seen as the earliest of the Tegean triumphs over Sparta (Pretzler:114). The earliest mention of Ekhemos can be found in Hesiod (Fragment 19.31, 247.3) where it says that Ekhemos was lord of all of Tegea and (restored in text) Arkadia. Herodotos (9.26) is our earliest source recording the combat with Hyllos but the myth may well be much earlier. Pausanias lists the fight among the Tegean's glorious accomplishments (8.45.3) and mentions the tomb of Ekhemos and a stone slab with the combat carved in relief but not the location of either of the monuments (8.53.10). However, it is probable that a prominent place in the urban centre would have been set aside for this important hero. Visible tombs or monuments of figures connected to the territory or history cultivated the links to the past; this was a popular strategy in ancient Greece used to strengthen the community (Alcock 2001:150).

Another Athena sanctuary, Athena Poliatis, existed alongside Athena Alea, and this also played a part in strengthening the community. According to the myth, Kepheus, son of Aleos, was made a promise by Athena that the city would never be taken. She ensured this by cutting some strands of Medusa's hair and giving them as a gift to Kepheus. The Tegeans therefore called the goddess Ἐρῦμα – "Defence" (Paus. 8.47.5; c.f. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.6). This myth created a border within an existential space, connected with the architectural border of the city wall. In Apollodoros' version, it is Herakles who guarantees Tegea's safety by giving Sterope, the daughter of Kepheus, the lock of hair, because he wanted the help of Kepheus and his sons to fight the sons of Hippokoon at Sparta.

There was also a statue of Herakles, wounded from the battle with the sons of Hippokoon, but no connection with Kepheus is mentioned by Pausanias (8.53.9; Pretzler 1999:94). There have been found Tegean coins from the fourth century onwards showing Athena giving the head of Medusa to either Kepheus or Sterope (Jost 1985:367–8). Pretzler (1999:94) suggests the fifth century coin type depicting a Gorgoneion (BCM 200–203, nos. 16, 20, 22; nos. 1–2) can also refer to the gift from Athena, which means the myth may have been important from the earliest days of the city. The temple has not yet been found and besides the discovery of a relief at the agora, we have no indication of its position (Voyatzis 1990:14).

What is clear, however, is that Athena Poliatis was associated with the protection of the city. She guaranteed the security of the existential space of the Tegeans, in the same way

they were protected within the architectural space provided by the city walls. This poliad deity was probably never the focal point of the community and its identity in the way Athena Alea was, but she was vital as the goddess providing safety for the urban centre. The myth contributed to the feeling of security of the Tegean urban population.

## **Conclusion**

After Tegea became a state, a reorganisation and redefinition of space occurred, which entailed both a change in identity and in the physical landscape. Suddenly the borders became more important, at once defining the physical territory and what “we” are as opposed to the “others”. The focal point of this newly developed “we” was the sanctuary of Athena Alea, which also served as a visible focal point in the physical landscape. The groups of myths, monuments and places gathered in this chapter follow, in a roughly chronological order, what are considered to be the most important spaces which also went through the most profound changes.

The two first, the establishment of a core and of borders, were the immediate reaction to the Spartan threat. The next two, the reorganisation of the plain and the construction of the urban centre, came later, when the Spartan threat was not as imminent, but all four were either reorganised or brand new spaces. Because there is such a strong link between place and memory (Alcock 2002:27), the collective memory of the Tegeans would have changed as a result. Whatever they believed before, they would now remember themselves as one people with a common forefather (the eponymous Tegeates) and as a people who had always lived in the same area (through being Arkadians, descended from the autochthonous Pelasgos). Later, the draining of the plain would possibly be considered to be the work of a hero fighting a hydrological monster, and the foundation of the town, as well as the sanctuary of Athena Alea, was remembered as the act of king Aleos.

While it is not claimed here that all myths must contain truth, it can still be maintained that important social changes will be reflected in myth. The one group of myths or legends which stands out in this context is the one pertaining to the Spartan aggression. Real events were translated into a mythical language, and these myths in particular became symbols for the Tegean communal identity (Pretzler 1999:119). These myths could be seen in many forms throughout the Tegean landscape. Although there was probably never a single, approved version of the past (Alcock 2002:177), this particular symbol, due to its ability to adapt to changed historical contexts, continued to be of the uttermost importance to the Tegeans, from the time of Herodotos (at least) to that of Pausanias (Pretzler 1999:119). Other glories were



downplayed in favour of this memory of Tegean victory over the Spartans; bad memories – anything recalling lack of independence – were “disremembered” (Alcock 2002:182).

How this development conforms to recent polis theory will be investigated in the next chapter.



## ***Polis Theory Today and the Case of Tegea***

The first part of this chapter is a review of the general development that led to the beginnings of polis formation. An important premise here is that peer polity interaction played a vital role in polis development and had done so for some time before the ideas reached Tegea. Without implying that Tegea was merely a passive recipient of these ideas, it will be argued that many of the innovations that constituted the polis were more or less in place by the time the Tegean community became a polis. The second part is an analysis of the development at Tegea and how it conforms to the more specific hypotheses of polis theory.

### **The Definition and Use of Polis**

Many problems arise when trying to define the word and the concept of polis. First of all, should one try to construct a modern term to avoid the ambiguity of the ancient word, or should one rather except the whole range of different ancient usages, no matter how far they diverge from our modern idea? Snodgrass (1980:44) considers the ancient usage too indiscriminate and states that autonomy should be the main criteria. However, the results of the research conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre (CPC) have shown that autonomy was not prerequisite for polis status (Hansen 2007:59). Morgan (2003:5) follows the conclusion of the CPC in saying that whatever was called a polis in Archaic or Classical times was one, whether it fits the modern idea of the polis or not. Poleis could indeed be dependent on others and could even exist within the territory of an ethnos (Morgan and Hall 1996; Morgan 2003:6).

The ethnos has been equated with tribalism, and considered to be a primordial system from which the polis grew, where those who did not evolve continued to be primitive ethne (Morgan 2003:13, 14, 70; de Polignac 1995:2). But while kinship is the essence of tribalism, the shared ethnicity of ethne was socially constructed (Morgan 2003:13). The conclusion of Morgan (2003:10, 11) is that an ethnos was a socially and often politically real outcome of a process of definition, where ethnicity often sustained otherwise fragile constellations. The polis and the ethnos are not distinct from each other and mutually exclusive but are tiers of identity. Which identity was emphasised at any given period shifted with time according to changes in motivation (Morgan 2003:1). Tegea and Mantinea are in this present study therefore regarded as true poleis, even if they at times lost some of their autonomy or were affiliated with an ethnos.

Even though it has been noted that the equation between citizens and state in the Greek polis is in contrast to other ancient states (Morris 1991:26), one must be careful not to place the roots of democracy in the eighth century (Foxhall 1997:114–15; Morgan 2003:212). Morgan (2003:212) states that in Archaic times, “polis” denoted for the Greeks a place community with a settlement core but with no reference to form of political organisation.

The close relationship between the polis in the sense of community and in the sense of *asty* or urban centre (Hansen 1996:7–8) has led to a focus on urbanisation (Morgan 2003:45). Many classicists and archaeologists have come to the realisation that specific buildings are not reliable in themselves in the identification of a polis and are against a check-list approach (Morris 1991:27; Morgan 2003:48; Osborne 2009:130). One should also remember that the physical city is not exactly the same as the political community, and Morris (1991:40) goes as far as saying that “the rise of the polis and the rise of the city were anything but synonymous”.

If one wishes to find the physical manifestation of the city-state, human dynamics of settlement development and change over a wider range of aspects of community life should be at the centre of the investigation (Morgan 2003:48; Osborne 2009:130). While large-scale monumentalisation of civic space is largely a sixth-century phenomenon (Snodgrass 1991:7), Morgan (2003:74) proposes that the embellishments of civic space at least serve as benchmarks for the ideas they embody, but how far back those ideas go is unclear. The changes taking place from the eighth century need not be expressed through monumental architecture. Tobias Fischer-Hansen (1996:350) shares the view that urbanism is not in itself a sign of state formation but argues that planning is.

### **Peer Polity Interaction and the Polis “Package”**

In the discussion about the rise of the polis, problems occur when scholars attempt to find a single polis as the prime example. One must rather see the phenomenon as a development stretching across the Mediterranean, and look beyond the borders of any particular region (Morris 1987:171). Similarly, we cannot expect to find a single factor of change responsible for bringing about the polis. Snodgrass (1980:54–55) argues that if progress occurs in two or more areas of activity simultaneously, these can act together as catalysts for further development. When one area of activity advances it can, in combination with another, result in acceleration of changes in yet another area, a so-called “multiplier effect”.

Using the model of peer polity interaction when investigating the rise of the polis, means acknowledging that the development of the polis took place in many stages in different areas. No single polis can be investigated to trace the development. While many of the

hypotheses concerning the early phases of the rise of the polis are valid, it does not follow that the phenomena they postulate had to be present in every community becoming a polis. Instead, the other poleis could draw on the results, and through the course of this process the “package” that was the polis became a more clearly defined idea. It does not mean that every community in the Greek world on the brink of becoming a polis had to take the package wholesale; they adopted and adapted what they deemed fitting for them. And once the polis system was in place, it was continually in development and did not comprise a static situation.

Many of the innovations were present early in the colonies, leading scholars to postulate that the colonies triggered political and urban development in the mother cities (see Malkin 1987:262–263). The advances are often clearer in the colonies because they constituted a *tabula rasa* which would encourage rapid decisions rather than slow, organic development. It is a too simplistic model to view change as either occurring in the colonies or the metropoleis, and while the Western colonies have been utilised as analogies in this project, such a simplistic view is rejected.

### **The Dark Age and the Near Eastern Influences**

The notions of “the birth of the polis” and “the eighth century renaissance” have been modified and most scholars now see the importance of the heritage of the Bronze Age through the Dark Age, and the influence from the Near East. As Robin Osborne (2009:2) notes, “even the most startling discoveries and innovations have antecedents and would not have occurred had the previous conditions not been right”.

More light has been shed on the so-called Dark Ages and Morris in particular highlights the importance of continuity. He favours a gradualist approach, and although he agrees that the eighth century is important, he argues that many of structures were already in existence in the Dark Age. He does not imply the existence of states or cities in the Dark Age but says the collapse of the Bronze Age was not total; some nucleation and hierarchy of settlement survived (Morris 1991:26, 27).

Osborne (2009:52) points out that a parallel, but not at all as shattering, fall of the empires of Middle East (Assyria, Babylon, Egypt) occurred. Even though Assyria regained some of her strength in the tenth century, she did not recover her size. This left the Phoenician cities free and independent, but the power of Assyria prompted the Phoenicians to turn westward to the sea from the ninth century (Osborne 2009: 41). While we see a general decline in the Dark Age with fewer, poorer sites and a higher degree of regional variance and stylistic isolation, the outside contact with the Near East was not cut off (de Polignac 1995;

Morgan 2003; Morris 1987; Osborne 2009; Snodgrass 1980). Most point to metal as the prime interest for the renewed trade and the Phoenicians as the mediators of Near Eastern influences to the Greek world (de Polignac 1995; Osborne 2009:54; Snodgrass 1980:51).

Towards the end of the ninth century we see signs of a higher degree of organisation of the mainland communities, and the eighth century experienced an increase in the number of sites (Osborne 2009:64, 66; Snodgrass 1980:52). This population increase has led to some discussion. Even though Snodgrass modified his views on the population “explosion” after Morris (1987) demonstrated that the rise in number of graves after 800 had more to do with grave customs connected with social organisation, most scholars agree that there was a gradual growth (Morris 1991:34; Osborne 2009:75; Snodgrass 1991:15–16).

Another point of disagreement is the hypothesis, supported by Snodgrass (1980:35–36), of a reversion to pastoralism after the fall of the Mycenaean culture and a return to agriculture in the late ninth century. Morgan (2003:190), Foxhall (1995) and Osborne (2009:27) all find the reversal to pastoralism unlikely, but they do admit a major shift in scale in most areas. Even if Snodgrass may have taken the decline in agriculture in the Dark Ages too far, it seems he only needs to be modified (cf. de Polignac 1995:5). The increase in resources brought on by the renewed trade contacts could lead to more security and stability, which could lead to a higher degree of organisation, a new investment in land and agriculture, which in turn (or more or less simultaneously) could lead to a population increase. Although the nomadic lifestyle described by Snodgrass was perhaps exaggerated, it is not hard to see how an increase in resources would make it possible for local leaders to introduce a higher degree of organisation and perhaps some form of land distribution, or how a new sense of security could lead to investment in settlement and land.

However one chooses to see the development, by the end of the Geometric and the beginning of the Archaic period vital parts of what was to become the “Classical” civilisation were in place: the alphabet, maritime trade routes, representative art, monumental architecture, colonial foundation, military devices, and – according to most – the Greek city state (de Polignac 1995:3–4; Osborne 2009:101; Snodgrass 1980:149). The problem with this realisation of the long perspective is setting a date for the rise of the polis. One can still see the key points of change around 950, 800 and 750 (Snodgrass 1993; Morris 1991), and it boils down to drawing a line. Like any other modern definition of a period, a definite date for “the rise of the polis” must be largely artificial. Morris (1991:26) says if one has to set a date, he would choose c.700 but he stresses that many of the major leaps in the development of the polis had already been made.

We will now turn to more specific hypothesis of polis theory in combination with the analysis of the emergence of the Tegean polis.

### **The Polis Formation of Tegea**

The idiosyncrasies of Arkadia and its physical location at the very edge of what is considered to be the polis world have led ancients and moderns alike to regard the region as a cultural backwater. We must rid ourselves of this bias (Morgan 2003; Nielsen 2002). Even though it has been argued in this study that many of the early changes that led to the development of the early polis happened elsewhere, Arkadia soon came into contact with the new trends. In polis theory one usually points to some mechanisms that can be said to trigger polis formation. This section will analyse which of these elements can be said to be present at Tegea and how polis formation here relates to the general image of polis development.

### **War and Conflict**

It has already been noted how outside pressure is important in the creation of identity, and the majority of polis theorists view war and conflict as an important factor in the creation of a polis. Snodgrass (1980:101; 1991:18, 19) and de Polignac (1995:49, 151) both see the intensification (if not the creation) of hoplite warfare in connection with the renewed emphasis on arable land and territory. The defence of what was increasingly communal land was a collective effort. Even if the roots of the hoplite phalanx were present already in the Homeric epics (and must consequently have existed some time before the epics were written down), the changes in arms and armour between 750 and 650 suggest a greater investment (Morris 1987:199; Osborne 2009:165). Osborne (2009:165) considers the improvements to reflect a higher sense of cohesion among the community members.

The role of conflict in the creation and definition of communities is also emphasised by Morgan (2003:26, 114). She uses as an example the Thessalian occupation of Phokis in the sixth century, leading to the ethnogenesis of the Phokians. The Phokian victory and expulsion of the Thessalians was at the core of their charter myth and the Phokian identity was forged as an opposition to that of the Thessalians. This is very similar to the process suggested for Tegea.

We hear of the Tegeans and the rest of the Arkadians assisting the Messenians in the Second Messenian War in the early seventh century (Paus. 3.7.2; Polyb. 4.33.5). Some time after the Messenians were subjugated again, the expansionistic Spartans turned towards Arkadia, where Tegea was located at the “gates” of the region. Presumably the Tegeans did

not fare well in the Messenian War, considering their side lost, but by the time Sparta marched on Tegea, this Arkadian community was strong enough to resist the powerful enemy.

Based on the account of Herodotus (1.65.1), the Tegeans seem to have managed to keep the Spartan threat at bay for perhaps as much as a century. As Sparta was known for her military prowess, this certainly speaks for the high military capability of the Tegean community in the late seventh and early sixth century (Ødegård 2005: 221–222; Østby et al. 1994: 94). Nielsen (2002:186) considers the ability to raise, deploy and command troops to be a sign of a political community. However, conflict and war in itself is also an important factor in the *creation* of that political community; it is therefore likely that we see the very early stage of the Tegean political community take form around the time of the Second Messenian War and that the political cohesion of the community and the organisational skills necessary to fight the Spartans grew in conjunction. Hoplite warfare in itself was not enough to bring forth the polis, but was rather one factor working in tandem with the other changes.

Possibly also around the time of the aftermath of the Second Messenian War, the Tegean demes of Karyatai and the Oiatai were annexed by Sparta (Nielsen 2002:593). If so, we are here seeing the beginnings of a long line of border disputes which led to the crystallisation of the Tegean political community.

We hear of exiled or runaway Messenians who after the war were taken in by the Tegeans and granted citizenship (Paus. 3.7.2; Polyb. 4.33.5), which implies a political community with a defined citizen body. This is perhaps a premature conclusion, as Thomas Braun (1994:43) warns the report of Polybios may simply be the glossy image presented by a patriotic Arkadian, but the fact that they had an efficient army speaks for a type of organisation at least beginning to take form. The internal cohesion brought forth as a result of external pressure may have led to a community where membership was clearly defined.

Morgan (2003:204–205) highlights another aspect of warfare, namely the use of mercenaries. On the one hand, time abroad would lead to new impulses and wider contacts, but on the other, meeting with other groups would help more clearly define the soldier's personal identity, by emphasising these groups' otherness and solidifying the connection with his place of origin. Soldiers would return home with a renewed loyalty to their community, thus strengthening the cohesion of that community. Arkadian mercenaries were highly skilled and sought after and were apparently an easily identified group among other mercenaries abroad (Nielsen 1996:57, 68). In this way, they were not isolated in the Arkadian mountains but could bring home to their respective communities new trends along with a heightened sense of identity.



## **Sanctuaries**

Few scholars agree on the role of sanctuaries, but that they held a vital position in the Greek society is clear. Many consider the Greek communities as first and foremost religious communities. Snodgrass (1980:118; 1991:17) states that, apart from war, religion was the biggest single factor in political and economic life and a communal cult was at the heart of the polis.

### ***The multifunction of the sanctuaries***

Several of the major transformations of the early Greek cities can be said to be connected with sanctuaries. Morgan (2003:73, 77, 81) associates them with the earliest craft specialisation, the early monumentalisation, with written law and possibly also the issuing of coinage. One usually considers the city to be a specialist production centre but both Morgan (2003:73) and Morris (1991:38) conclude that before the sixth century this was not the case. While the growing communities in some cases attracted workmen, it was largely at the Early Iron Age sanctuaries the specialists converged and *ad hoc* workshops supplied the demand for dedications (Morgan 2003:73; Morris 1991:39). Already before the greater investment in late seventh century, the sanctuary of Athena Alea seems to have served as a centre of production, as demonstrated by the evidence of metallurgic activity. This took place at a time when no urban centre existed to fulfil that role and is in accordance with the arguments above.

Written law has also been highlighted as an important step in the development of the polis (Morgan 2003:77; Snodgrass 1980:119). Snodgrass (1980:119) stresses the democratic aspects of written law, namely how the public can be said to gain some ownership over the laws when displayed and therefore being able to pressure the leaders to reform. Morgan, on the other hand, (2003:77) maintains that the earliest written laws were connected with sacred authority, not secular. The civic and the religious were often intermingled. Morgan (2003:79) uses a later example from Tegea, where a bronze inscription from c.450 describes a deposit of silver at the sanctuary by foreigner. "The Tegeans" and the *thethmos* (some kind of magistrate) are listed as arbitrators (Thür and Taeuber 1994:no. 1). Morgan points out how the sacred and civil authority seem to blend, where the people and a magistrate negotiates the deposit but the silver is placed in the temple and protected by the goddess. It is not unlikely that the sanctuary fulfilled a similar role prior to the mid-fifth century as well.

### ***A Greater Investment in Sanctuaries***

What we see in the eighth century is the disappearance of lavish grave offerings, and an increased richness in votives at the sanctuaries. What used to be displayed in individual graves, such as arms and armour, was now dedicated to the temples of the gods and new, specific votive forms were created (de Polignac 1995:13–15; Osborne 2009:82; Snodgrass 1980:52). Although there was great variation in sanctuaries across the Greek world, there is a general trend of greater investment in them (Osborne 2009:94). The increase in votives at the sanctuary of Athena Alea in the eighth century is consistent with the development in other sanctuaries. Although the sanctuary is perhaps unique in its continuity from the Mycenaean period, it follows the general trend of a higher degree of investment, even before the construction of a monumental temple.

De Polignac (1995:38–39) follows Snodgrass in envisioning a move from pastoralism to arable farming and postulates that this new emphasis on land led to the construction of the first temples. Some sanctuaries were frequented by two or more communities to begin with and acted as mediators, de Polignac (1995:39–40) suggests, but as the tension over territory grew, one of the communities would stand out as the stronger one and claim the sanctuary. This moment, in de Polignac's (1995:40) opinion, is when the community becomes truly united, which means the actual formation of the city. Osborne (2009:96) and Snodgrass (1980:60) both agree that the appropriation of a sanctuary means claiming (cultivated) territory and they also call attention to the fact that the construction of a monumental temple is a symbol of that.

It has been maintained through this study that larger-scale agricultural activity was not possible at the time of the construction of the first monumental temple but it does not follow that the general shift towards arable farming was not felt at Tegea, although possibly to a lesser degree. There are also other valuable resources in the area which would result in a desire to protect the territory. However, the main argument here is that the outside threat represented by the Spartans was what led the Tegeans to claim their territory by constructing a monumental temple.

The architectural similarity between the different temples combined with their increasing size and sophistication show that rivalry and a mutual agreement of the rules of this rivalry was present (Snodgrass 1980:60). Mere size also reflects how this project was a major common activity and the loyalty to the community had grown strong (de Polignac 1995:20;

Snodgrass 1980:61). Akin to de Polignac, Snodgrass (1980) considers a monumental temple to be the birth certificate of the polis.

If a monumental temple can be regarded as the birth certificate of a city, it follows that the birth itself presumably must have taken place at some time before the certificate was issued; the temple serves as a *terminus ante quem* of the political community. Voyatzis (1999:144) considers the predecessors of the Archaic temple of Athena Alea to be evidence of a gradual investment of the Tegean community but at some point before 600, the political cohesion was strong enough to execute the large undertaking of constructing a monumental temple. The wealth of votives, the monumentality and the similarity with the slightly earlier Heraion at Argos shows an awareness of the style and competition of the rest of the Peloponnese and the Tegeans' eagerness to participate in the regional politics and power struggle (Østby et al. 1994:94; Voyatzis 1999:143–144). The cult statue supplied by the renowned Endoios of Athens perhaps in the second half of the sixth century also underline that Archaic Tegea was indeed not a secluded, backwards community but a significant power with “international” orientation (Nielsen 2002:181; Østby et al. 1994: 94).

The importance of the sanctuaries in polis theory can be highlighted by other examples. The temples were not freestanding projects; their construction had practical as well as symbolic consequences. The emergence of a road network in the area is dated to the late seventh century and the route to the Dholiana quarries was possibly constructed or enhanced to facilitate the temple project (Bakke 2008:115; Pikoulas 1999). The intensification of the quarries must be connected with a higher degree of unity and collaboration of the Tegean community, as the extraction and transportation of marble demands group effort. Not only did the roads make this activity possible, it must also have eased the flow of goods and services and other types of interaction inside and outside Arkadia, where the roads connected with similar networks (Morgan 2003:170; Nielsen 2002:18).

### ***The Placement of Sanctuaries***

De Polignac (1995:21–25) maintains that the placement of the temples was a highly conscious matter. While his somewhat rigid bipolar model (de Polignac 1995:24, 81) has mostly been disproved, his work is a significant contribution to the field. According to de Polignac (1995:34–36) all shrines in the space of the Greek community could work as markers. These could be symbolic markers such as at the frontier between cultivated, civilised land and the uncultivated wilderness in order to keep a balance between the two worlds, or they could be political markers, a sign of sovereignty and power. Morgan (2003:74) doubts the placements

of sanctuaries followed any set pattern but she is inclined to agree with de Polignac in seeing the shrines of any community, in however haphazard fashion, as part of a system.

It has already been suggested that the placement of the temple of Athena Alea became a peri-urban sanctuary due to the restrictions of the landscape (the difficult hydrological situation, see *The Sanctuary of Athena Alea*). An additional explanation was also suggested; the chthonic character of Alea made a location for her temple inside the city unsuitable. It seems, then, that while de Polignac was wrong about the bipolar structure of the Tegean sanctuaries, the placement may have been highly conscious and dictated by religious considerations. It has also been argued elsewhere in this study that border sanctuaries, such as that above Mavriki, received a monumental temple as a way of claiming and demarking the Tegean territory (P. 53).

By the end of the Archaic period it is clear that sanctuaries bound the community together; they connected the myths, history, rituals, traditions and the territory of the people. Often the sanctuary would be linked with the charter myth of the community, giving us a glimpse of how the polis or ethne came into being (de Polignac 1995:9; Morgan 2003:113). The sanctuary of Athena Alea is a prime example of this.

### **Hero Cult**

That hero cult came to be of vital importance for the Greek communities is agreed upon and several scholars connect them to the rise of the polis. It is usually agreed that the practice of establishing cults at Bronze Age tombs is neither ancestor cult nor hero cult in the true (later) sense (Morgan 2003:188–189; Snodgrass 1980:39). These dead were unknown people of the distant past deliberately chosen in order to invent a legendary persona (Snodgrass 1980:38). According to Christiane Sourviou-Inwood (1991:300) the authority of the tombs stemmed from the fact that the heroic period was closer to the divine realm, they were consequently mediating between man and god. To Snodgrass (1980:39, 40) this practice is connected with the intensifying rivalry over arable land and territory of the arising polis, a visible claim consolidating and sanctioning the power of the new state.

While this type of cult was employed from the late eighth century (Snodgrass 1980:38), the cults of *named* heroes, with the exception of Herakles, are unusual in the earlier period (Morgan 2003:188). Our earliest written source of this practice dates from the late seventh century, when Drakon of Athens lay down a law that gods and local heroes should be honoured together as the ancestral custom commanded (Porph. *Abst.* 4.2.). Carla Antonaccio

(1994:390) notes that the reference to custom might imply an already well-established practice. Hero cult only increased in importance and acquired a vital place in the urban space of any Greek community, playing a fundamental role in the mythical landscape of the city core as well as the territory (de Polignac 1995:148).

It has already been discussed how the Tegeans employed the tombs or monuments honouring the heroic dead as a way of binding together or separating the different spheres of the landscape. The problem is that we do not know the dates of these shrines and they may well be later inventions. However, it will be continued to be maintained that hero shrines were utilised from the beginning. Especially when constructing a wholly new city, monuments, tombs and shrines would have been vital tools in the sanctioning of this new space.

### **Formal Treaties and Foreign Policies**

While many of the polis theorists argue that a monumental temple signifies the rise of a polis, it is still difficult to ascertain the political level of this new community. One usually considers a defined citizen body to be an important criterion for a polis, along with participation in assemblies and political acts by the citizens (Nielsen 2002:35). Here a larger section will be devoted to a few pieces of evidence pertaining to this issue at Tegea; the importance of the Bones of Orestes and the treaty will be discussed in some detail. Again, it is the conflict with Sparta and the subsequent time of peaceful relations that may shed some light on the early political situation at Tegea.

When discussing the Bones of Orestes, Cawkwell (1993:368) maintains that historians have reversed the order of events described by Herodotos and points to the passage mentioning that Sparta would from then on always be the superiors of Tegea in war (Hdt. 1.68.6) as proof that the initial conflict was not resolved. The road through Tegean territory was not the only route available and Sparta could expand her power even before they had reached an agreement with Tegea. The story of the Bones does consequently not mark the shift in politics as historians have claimed, Cawkwell argues.

Cawkwell undermines both the importance of the story and the critical location of Tegea. Adshead (1986:1–2) on the other hand, describes Arkadia as “a landbridge between two superpowers”, with the Tegea-Korinth road at the centre. There were other routes but these were minor in both size and political importance (Adshead 1986:14, 19). He maintains that all the politics and conflicts of the region revolved around that important road network and the positions of the various communities along it. The later conflicts mentioned by Herodotos may well be the battles of Tegea and Dipaia, when Tegea opted to break free of

Sparta, i.e. after the earlier wars that had ended with Tegea's inclusion in the Peloponnesian League.

Adshead (1986: 30) describes the story of the Bones as psychological warfare, where the superstitious and unsophisticated Arkadians became simply too demoralised by the loss to go on resisting Sparta. This biased characteristic is outdated and it should also be mentioned that the Spartans were just as known for their superstition and religious reverence (Boedecker 1993). Although we should not forget the importance of religion in ancient Greece, the political implications cannot be undermined; the transportation of the Bones of Orestes marks the end of Tegea's long resistance and it took place in the 550s based on the dating of the kings mentioned by Herodotos. Whether one chooses to believe there was a discovery of actual bones or not, the story provided both sides with an excuse to save face. The mighty Spartans had been unable to take Tegea due to the divine protection of the heroic remains, but once removed, the Tegeans were bound to lose and had to enter into a political alliance.

The incident has been connected with a treaty between the Tegeans and the Spartans mentioned by Plutarkh (*Quest. Graec.* 5):

Who are the 'good' among the Arcadians and the Spartans?

When the Spartans had come to terms with the Tegeans, they made a treaty and set up in common a pillar by the Alpheius. On this, among other matters, was inscribed: 'The Messenians must be expelled from the country; it shall not be lawful to make men good.' Aristotle, then, in explaining this, states that it means that no one shall be put to death because of assistance given to the Spartan party in Tegea.

The translation by Jacoby (1944:16), who argued that "to make good" means to make citizen, has been generally accepted (Cartledge 1979:138) but recently objections have been voiced. Braun (1994:41) rejects Jacoby's grounds for translating *χρηστός* as citizens due to the lack of sources displaying that usage. Braun instead supports the interpretation of Aristotle and refers to the commonly used *χρηστὲ χαῖρε* on tombstones (Braun 1994:41). It was also unusual for the Greek poleis to grant citizenship to outsiders Braun (1994:41–42) argues. Adshead (1986:30) also favours the explanation of Aristotle.

When it comes to the traditional mid-sixth century date, the opposition argues that there was no immediate threat of a new Messenian revolt at that time. Braun (1994:42–43) places the treaty some time after the Second Messenian War but says a fifth-century date cannot be ruled out (either before 490, when Kleomenes was stirring up the Arkadians, or

after the battles of Tegea and Dipsaia). A fifth-century date is also suggested by Cawkwell, who argues that after the seventh century and until the early fifth the Helots were thoroughly repressed (1993:369–370). Cawkwell (1993:369) thus dismisses both the claim of Cartledge (1987:13) and that of Thucydides (4.80), saying that the Spartans regarded the Helots and the possible instigation of neighbours as a constant threat. The clause to protect the pro-Spartan party at Tegea would make sense at any time, Braun (1994:44) points out.

The argument that there was no threat of Helot revolt in the middle of the sixth century does not seem very plausible. How could the Spartans possibly know that another revolt would not occur until the beginning of the fifth century? The memory of the Second Messenian War and the Tegeans role in it (and possibly after, see above) would be enough to include such a clause in a treaty of the sixth century. And the fact that Aristotle feels the need to explain the meaning of the passage, as he does elsewhere with older texts, speaks for an Archaic date (Braun 1994:43).

Regarding the interpretation of the treaty, it is tempting to follow Jacoby, as it is clearer evidence of Tegea as a political community. Nielsen (2002:35) defines the essentials of a political community as participation in assembly and council, distinction between citizen and foreigner, and political acts by the adult male citizenry. If we follow Jacoby this implies that we are dealing with:

1. A formal treaty made between two states in mid-sixth century
2. A defined territory
3. A defined citizen body
4. A body capable of naturalising foreigners

This clearly constitutes a political community, according to Nielsen (2002:189). If, on the other hand, we are to follow Aristotle, points 1. and 2. would still be valid, in addition to evidence of a body capable of passing death sentence (Nielsen 2002:190). This is not as clear evidence of political status as the first but still enough to be classified as a political community.

What was the level of independence for the political community of the Tegeans? The loss of *autonomia* is about equal in both cases; the Tegeans either lost their right to decide who to include in their citizen body, or they lost sole jurisdiction in cases of death sentence (Nielsen 2002:394). The incorporation of Tegea into the Peloponnesian League implies some loss of autonomy, regardless of the interpretation of the treaty, because it involved military

obligations. Cawkwell (1993:365,372,374) describes the Peloponnesian League prior to the Persian Wars as an alliance based on oaths of epimachy, mutual defence (cf. Adshead 1986:31–32; Nielsen 2002:395). It is not until after the Persian Wars, or indeed not before the beginning of the First Peloponnesian War, that we encounter a full-blown League based on symmarchy, i.e. alliance of offence as well as defence, he argues.

We lack sources pertaining to the constitution of the Arkadian poleis (Nielsen 2002:218, 220), but it seems there was an on-going conflict between the oligarchs and the democrats of Tegea and one piece of evidence suggesting the Spartans meddled in Tegean politics. Polyainos (2.10.3), whose source is believed to be Ephoros (Lenschau in *RE* XI:556), says that the *aristoi* betrayed the Tegeans to Sparta in a war but does not give us any information as to which war. According to Callmer (1943:86), the incident can be connected to the defeat of Tegea at the hands of the Spartans in the battles of Tegea and Dipaia, and as a result the Spartans arranged for the oligarchs to come to power. There are several instances of Spartan support of the oligarchies of her allies, for instance that of Mantinea (*Xen. Hell.* 5.2.7).

Does this necessarily entail that Tegea was democratic from the beginning up until then? Certainly not, we know nothing about the Tegean constitution at the time before 600, when the state was presumably formed. It is tempting to place the democrats in power when the opposition against Sparta was at its strongest, in which case any alliance with Sparta would imply a strengthening of the pro-Spartan party at Tegea. This might be seen as a too simplistic interpretation, since Sparta did not always force their allies into oligarchic rule (Braun 1994:45; Nielsen 2002:396) but there was at least a tendency. If the Spartans did support the Tegean oligarchs, it would certainly support Aristotle's interpretation of the aforementioned treaty. Since Polyainos does not give a date of the war he describes, he might even be referring to the time right before this treaty, rather than the mid-fifth century suggested by Callmer. Whatever the date, the reference at least indicates that the Spartans carried out such acts.

### **Synoikism**

While synoikism is attested as a mode of state formation in the later periods, such as that of Megalopolis (Strabo 8.8.1), there is much uncertainty surrounding the alleged early cases. On one hand, the Greeks viewed synoikism as an unusual situation, brought by conquering outsiders reorganising the land they had won (Demand 1990:11, 13, 26). On the other, we have the description found in Aristotle (*Politics* 1252b27), where the model development of a



polis is the union of several villages. This has perhaps led modern scholars to believe synoikism was more common than it actually was (cf. Demand 1990). The ambiguity of the word further complicates the discussion. The instances of early synoikism described in later sources lack correlation with the archaeological material, which has led some scholars to reject the notion of early synoikism altogether, in both the political and the physical sense (Demand 1990; Morgan 2003:164). Snodgrass (1980:34) and de Polignac (1995:59) consider synoikism, in the sense of political unification, to be a real and important phenomenon in the formation of early poleis. While the reports on early synoikisms may be exaggerated, there is no need to dismiss the notion altogether.

After describing the synoikism of Elis, Strabo (8.3.2) lists other communities formed by synoikism, among them Tegea, from nine demes, and Mantinea, from five demes by the Argives. Because Strabo mentions that Elis was synoikised after the Persian War, the other communities are sometimes believed to be synoikised around the same date. The consensus is now, however, that Strabo indicates nothing about the dates of any of the communities besides Elis (Nielsen 2002:172; O’Neal 1981:335). Still, many scholars are more inclined to date the synoikisms of Tegea and Mantinea in the fifth century than an Archaic date.

Themistokles has been connected with both democracy and synoikisms in the Peloponnese, as part of his anti-Spartan activities in the area when he took up residence in Argos after his ostrakism in 471/0 (Thuc. 1.135). While Themistokles may well have tried to strengthen democracies and rouse the poleis of the Peloponnese against Sparta, Demand (1990:66–67) notes that Themistokles’ experience with “synoikism” was his relocation of the Athenians, which was flight, not a permanent move (cf. O’Neal:339). Demand (1990:66) postulates that the synoikism of Mantinea could have taken place when Sparta was overwhelmed by the earthquake of 464 and places that of Tegea right after. Her main reason for this late date is that she believes the archaeological material found at Tegea is dispersed across the plain, indicating settlement in villages prior to the fifth century. Her conclusion is of course based on the available evidence prior to the NAS and magnetometer survey.

The Mantineian synoikism is said to be arranged by the Argives and it has been suggested that they may have assisted that of Tegea as well (Dugas 1921:350; Fougères 1898:216). Fougères’ (1898:375) reasons for placing the Mantineian synoikism in fifth century were, firstly, that Mantinea had for the first time a leading role; secondly, Sparta would not have undone the synoikism if it were of great antiquity; and thirdly, an Archaic city would not have been built on a plain. The last reason reflects an out-dated view of Archaic city planning, as one of the main arguments in this study has shown. Similarly, O’Neal

(1981:339) notes that the last two reasons do not rule out the middle or late sixth century and favours a date around that time. This is also supported by the claim of Callmer (1943:67–79), who argues that Argive support is more likely before the battle of Sepeia, and sets the date of the synoikism of Mantinea in the first half of the sixth century, while that of Tegea in the seventh.

When Strabo discusses synoikism, it seems likely that he uses the physical sense of the word, not the creation of a state. In the case of Elis, it is clear that it was a state before the synoikism (Roy 1997). We do not know in what sense Strabo used it on Tegea and Mantinea (Nielsen 2002:173) but it seems probable that it is in the physical sense. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (1981:287) notes that if the synoikism of Mantinea took place in the fifth century, it did not create polis status, as we have evidence of political activities conducted by the Mantineians before this date. It can be argued that point is somewhat otiose, as any urban synoikism necessitates the existence of a state capable of deciding and executing relocation (unless it is a result of outsiders forcing them to do so). The more pertinent question is how long after the formation of the state this happens and in what manner.

According to the investigation conducted by Demand (1990), urban Elis was simply enlarged and consequently not actually a true synoikism. The archaeological evidence from Tegea and Mantinea, on the other hand, indicates that the urban centres were built on wholly new sites quite some time after they became states, i.e. poleis in the political sense. From the archaeological evidence at Tegea, this appears to have happened some time after the middle of the sixth century. What this implies is that their communities had already reached a high level of political cohesion before they became urbanised, enabling them to prepare the locations and plan the cities from scratch. Prior to construction the Tegeans had to execute a communal drainage project, and even if the drainage system could have been of modest dimensions, it had to be continually supervised, probably by some kind of appointed administrator.

The planning of a city is not simply a matter of economy or engineering but also about political power and control. The zoning which we can assume present at Tegea, based on the analogous Western colonies, entails that those in charge of the planning can decide the location and thus hierarchy of the different buildings and quarters. This will in turn have an affect on the social and political life of the inhabitants of the city. We do not know what level of sophistication existed in the Tegean urban centre but based on building fragments found in the city area from the second half of the sixth century, among them tree Doric capitals from

the late sixth century, we can assume some level of monumentality of the public buildings (Ødegård 2005:216; 2010b:19).

If there were parcelling of rural land as well, similar to that found at Metapontion, this would also have political implications. Those in charge would decide the size, location, and rules of ownership of the plots. Whether this would mean a system based on equality or if it meant that certain plots could be reserved for certain groups, there is no way of knowing yet, as we indeed do not even know if there *were* any division of agricultural land. What must be remembered when discussing land divisions, city planning and synoikism, however, is that the often assumed connection between city life and democracy on the one hand, and village life and oligarchy on the other, might not be as simple and straight-forward. Even if Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.2.7) remarked that the aristocrats of Mantinea were pleased with the dioikism that forced them to live *kata komas*, away from the demagogues of the city, O'Neal (1981:336–337) has argued that democracy at Mantinea may have antedated the first synoikism (also Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981:285). The division of land does not automatically entail equality, and synoikism cannot be automatically connected with democracy.



## ***Conclusion***

When comparing the development of Tegea with theories on the development of the polis in general, it seems that Tegea in many ways followed the pattern. As the majority of polis theorists claim, war and conflict is an important catalyst for polis formation. The threat of the Spartans was what made the identity of the Tegean community salient and this development probably started in modest scale around the time of the Second Messenian War in the first half of the seventh century, only to reach a high enough level of strength and efficiency to resist the Spartans by the time they invaded Arkadia.

In consistency with the hypothesis of a monumental temple as the symbol of the polis, the Tegean political saliency resulted in the construction of the monumental temple of Athena Alea at the end of the seventh century. The sanctuary was by then already a centre of production, and can be connected with the construction of the road network which facilitated the flow of goods and services. The fifth-century inscription in which the temple is described as a bank can be used to lend further support to the hypothesis that the sanctuary was also connected to undertakings of a more secular kind and thus fulfilling a variety of needs and functions. In addition to this, the temple clearly supports the notion of monumentality as a way of competing with other poleis; the style and size show a state eager to participate in a power play beyond the local.

The synoikism of Tegea is probably what makes this polis stand out from the rest; although Aristotle considers synoikism to be the model construction of the polis and the cases found in the written sources are many, it seems Tegea is one of the few cases of actual synoikism of an Archaic date. Here it is not the written sources who speak the clearest for such an early date; the archaeological findings suggest that the city was built after the middle of the sixth century on a location not previously inhabited and the Archaic-style grid plan suggests the city was built from scratch. At this moment, Tegea became a polis in the full sense of the word, i.e. both a political community and an urban centre in a defined territory.

It has been maintained here that this could come about due to peer polity interaction. Many of the processes responsible for the rise of the Greek polis had already happened elsewhere, and the knowledge and skills necessary to execute both the synoikism and the construction of a planned city could be borrowed from outside communities. Arkadia was not secluded, and many of its communities participated in the same type of rivalry and political games of self assertion. The proximity and rivalry between Tegea and neighbouring

Mantineia would make the other follow the synoikism of the first, in accordance with the principle of peer polity interaction.

However, it is vital to remember that synoikism is not something that could come about easily – the conditions had to be just right. Most poleis were either not as highly organised at this early point or they had previous settlements that simply could be expanded upon when an urban centre was to be constructed. Some simply did not have the means, others not the need, to arrange the building of a city on an entirely new location. It will be argued here that this is the reason most alleged early synoikisms have been disproved.

It is the conclusion of this study that the key to organising a synoikism is a strong state which for some reason is unable to merely enlarge their previous settlement to form an urban centre. The Tegean state, as we have seen, formed a state during the course of the second half of the seventh century. The ancestral villages were apparently unsuitable, perhaps because they were too far apart or separated by the many streams to organically merge into a city. The site which was eventually chosen for the city had up until then also been incompatible with urban construction. Although the Tegean community from the end of the seventh century had the organisation and cohesion necessary to embark upon major projects, such as organising proper drainage and urban construction, the wars with Sparta hindered them.

As argued above, while projects of symbolic importance such as the temple could be executed during turbulent times, more practical ones were usually put aside until peace time. Consequently, it can be said that the conflict which sparked the creation of Tegean identity and state was also the one that prevented the construction of the Tegean city. The treaty of the mid-sixth century between Sparta and Tegea did not only reflect the changed relationship between the two poleis, it is also a turning point in Tegean urban history. Once the treaty was agreed upon, the political situation was stable enough for the Tegeans to build their city.

It has already been mentioned that the Mantineian synoikism was said to be arranged by the Argives and it has been suggested that they may have assisted that of Tegea as well. On the contrary, it will be argued here that the evidence points to a Spartan involvement in the synoikism of Tegea. Perhaps not to the extent of actually arranging it, but an acceptance of it after the treaty was concluded. If we agree on the mid-sixth century date of the treaty and the interpretation of Aristotle, together with the testimony of Polyainos, the Spartans may have meddled in Tegean affairs prior to the synoikism. The pro-Spartan party was helped to a dominant position and the situation would be deemed satisfactory by the Spartans, enough so that the Tegeans could be left alone to build their city.

Perhaps it was this powerful Tegean group who had the resources and contacts necessary to hire outside specialists and arrange the communal effort necessary to make ready the plain, perhaps the parcelling of it, and the planning and building of an orthogonal city. While it has been argued, based on the principle of peer polity interaction, that ideas and innovations flowed freely in the Greek world, this kind of major undertaking demanded a unique situation. It has been maintained through the present project that early drainage may not have been as uncommon as previously thought, synoikism and a planned mainland polis may place Tegea in a special position in Archaic Greece.

Mantineia, as seen above, appears to have shared these conditions. That their synoikism was assisted by the Argives may have been a counter-strike against the treaty between Tegea and Sparta and the subsequent synoikism. If Sparta had secured the allegiance of one of the two powerful Arkadian states and helped strengthen it, this may have resulted in the major rival of Sparta to do the same for the other Arkadian polis.

These two Arkadian communities might have crumbled under the pressure of the two rivalling Peloponnesian powers, but the carefully constructed and maintained identities facilitated Tegea and Mantineia in becoming powerful poleis themselves. The myths, monuments and shrines, carefully placed in the landscape and knitted together by proximity or association, contributed to the construction of Tegean space and the cohesion of the Tegean community.

One of the questions asked in the introduction was whether the Tegean myths reflected the development of the political community and the urban centre. The foundation myth of Aleos does not seem to correlate with the archaeological evidence, as Aleos is said to be the founder of the sanctuary (but not the temple) *and* the town. However, what the myth does reflect is the strong connection between the foundation of the sanctuary and that of the polis, even if the archaeology suggests it was the polis in the political sense, not the urban sense. Furthermore, the myths surrounding Aleos and his line had an important position in the creation of the different Tegean spaces.

The myths that to a higher degree seem to echo the creation of the Tegean polis are those concerning Sparta. This theme appears to be the most important one, internally and externally. The majority of the artefacts on display in the temple of Athena Alea were connected to the Tegean superiority over Sparta, and the temple ensured that these were visible to both the local community and to the larger Greek world. The Tegeans chose to project this anti-Spartan attitude, even when the two poleis were allies. It is argued in this study that this should not be construed as disloyalty; the Tegeans viewed Sparta as a powerful

and worthy adversary and the previous victories over them showed the Tegeans own bravery and skill. The myths surrounding the Spartan invasions held such a vital position in Tegea because that hostility was what set everything in motion; new identity formed due to outside pressures and without this identity the Tegeans would not have come together to build a monumental temple at this time, or have instigated such major communal tasks as draining an entire plain and planning a city from scratch.

What can be concluded from the analyses of this study is that Tegea was far from a cultural backwater but was a leading polis in Arkadia, and in some ways a forerunner in mainland Greece. The unique situation that can be seen at Tegea, where we have an Archaic orthogonal mainland city formed through synoikism, must be considered together with the political and cultural background of the rest of the Peloponnese, indeed the rest of Greece. Many of the innovations that enabled the construction of the Tegean polis were made elsewhere and all the major episodes in Tegean history can be said to be connected with the other major Peloponnesian poleis. The interaction with the neighbouring poleis, Sparta in particular, played a vital part in the formation of the political, physical and mythical landscape of Tegea.





**Fig. 16: The temple of Athena Alea. Part of the Archaic foundations are visible at the front of the picture.**



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