CHAPTER 2
Early Greek Temples

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From the House of Rulers to the House of the Gods

The development of the Greek temple into the form it finally acquired in the Classical period followed not only a long but also a diversified trajectory. From the extant material evidence it would seem that we should seek the first stages in this long and complex process in the religious prerogatives held by the members of the new ruling elites that emerged at the dawn of the Early Iron Age after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palatial system. The members of these elites, perhaps holding the title of *basileis*, naturally derived much of their power from their bravery and skills as warriors, their possession of arable land, or their connection with trade and the supervision of the metals industry, especially that of iron. But another significant source of prestige was derived from their religious duties and their ability to offer feasts (because of their material wealth), often cultic in nature, to the community (on the early symposium see Wekowski 2014).

Communal religious ceremonies were doubtless performed inside or in proximity to these elite dwellings (Mazarakis Ainian 1997). In fact, by the eleventh century BCE, when the remnants of the palatial system had completely faded away, cult practices apparently returned to the earlier Middle Helladic scheme, which consisted of cults "celebrated at every household hearth by every head of household" (Wright 1994: 75). The Mycenaean palatial *megaron*, with its monumental central ritual hearth, which "demonstrates the priority of religion in the organization of the seat of power," may have also accommodated cult activities (Wright 1994: 58). These were presumably transferred to the more humble dwellings of the ruling nobility of the LH IIIC and especially of the Early Iron Age. Sanctuaries outside settlements were no longer controlled by some kind of central authority as in the Late Bronze Age. These changes may have marked the origin of the Panhellenic sanctuaries, which could not have been appropriated by petty "states" as previously by the palace but became instead the meeting places of the aristocracy and a neutral ground where noblemen would compete (Morgan 1990). On the other hand, numerous important and lesser sanctuaries were founded in the borders of the rising states in order to assure territorial claims (de Polignac 1995). This last model, however, cannot be applied all over the Greek world, especially not to islands, where such territorial claims did not always exist, since often the island was under the control of a single polis.

In the beginning of the first millennium (eleventh to tenth centuries BCE) the space of the living in relation to that of the gods was not clearly separated (SourvinouInwood 1993; Mazarakis Ainian 1997). There is clear evidence for cult activities in relation to dwellings of the elite, for instance at Nichoria (Unit IV1), Asine (Unit 74LM), LefkandiToumba (Popham,

Calligas, and Sackett 1993), and various sites in Crete (Karphi, Vronda, Prinias, Smari, and elsewhere) (on these see in general Fagerström 1988; Mazarakis Ainian 1997). The case of Thermon (Megaron B), despite recent research, remains problematic, though the hypothesis developed long ago that Megaron B was a ruler's dwelling that also served for cult activities still appears to be the most likely one (Papapostolou 2012).

Such activities associated with rulers' dwellings persist during the Geometric period (ninth to eighth centuries BCE), since, among others, these dwellings were often situated in proximity to a communal hypaethral cult place (e.g., Lathouriza, Eretria, Zagora, Aigeira, Emporio, Phaistos). A "ruler's dwelling" often comprised a spacious room provided with stone benches for sitting and a central hearth. Often, the evidence attests to the practice of largescale feasts. In the places where such a pattern can be observed, a contemporary temple of a polisdivinity is usually absent or a latecomer in the development of the site (Mazarakis Ainian 1997).

Towards the end of the eighth century BCE, the ruling nobility started losing its exclusivity in the management of communal matters, which now became a collective affair of the communities, or at least of a much wider proportion of the communities. It is behind such social and political changes that we should seek the emergence of the idea of the first "urban" temples, best illustrated by the case of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria. Indeed, the ritual activities once performed inside the dwellings of the ruling elite had to be transferred inside communal buildings, which may be qualified as "urban" temples.

Today it is widely accepted that the presence of a temple dedicated to the cult of a polis divinity is a clear sign denoting the rise of the polis, since its presence presupposes the existence of communal institutions (Snodgrass 1977: 25–30; Powell 1991: 195–196). Several features related to their architectural form derive from the earlier dwellings of the elites. The monumental apsidal building of the midtenth century BCE at LefkandiToumba, for instance, which presumably served either as a "palace" or as a largescale "funerary palace" was provided with a "peristyle," which from circa 700 BCE came to characterize several temples (Popham, Calligas, Sackett 1993). The peristyle (*peristasis*) consists of a series of upright columnar supports that surround an inner building, and it would become a characteristic feature of Greek architecture.

The first urban hekatompedon at Eretria took over the apsidal form of the earlier dwellings of the nobility (see Figure 2.1). Occasionally, earlier rulers' dwellings, such as the LH IIIC Megaron T at Tiryns, were converted into temples. More often, however, the new homes of the gods were built on top of (Thermon) or besides (Eretria, Zagora, Emporio) such dwellings. Additionally, a new phenomenon emerged: that of the honoring both remote ancestors and recently deceased individuals who had earned distinction through their deeds (Antonaccio 1995; Mazarakis Ainian 2004). Within the rising polis, the "Age of the Heroes" became a distant time, but it was remembered through the practice of such cults in several places of the Greek world.

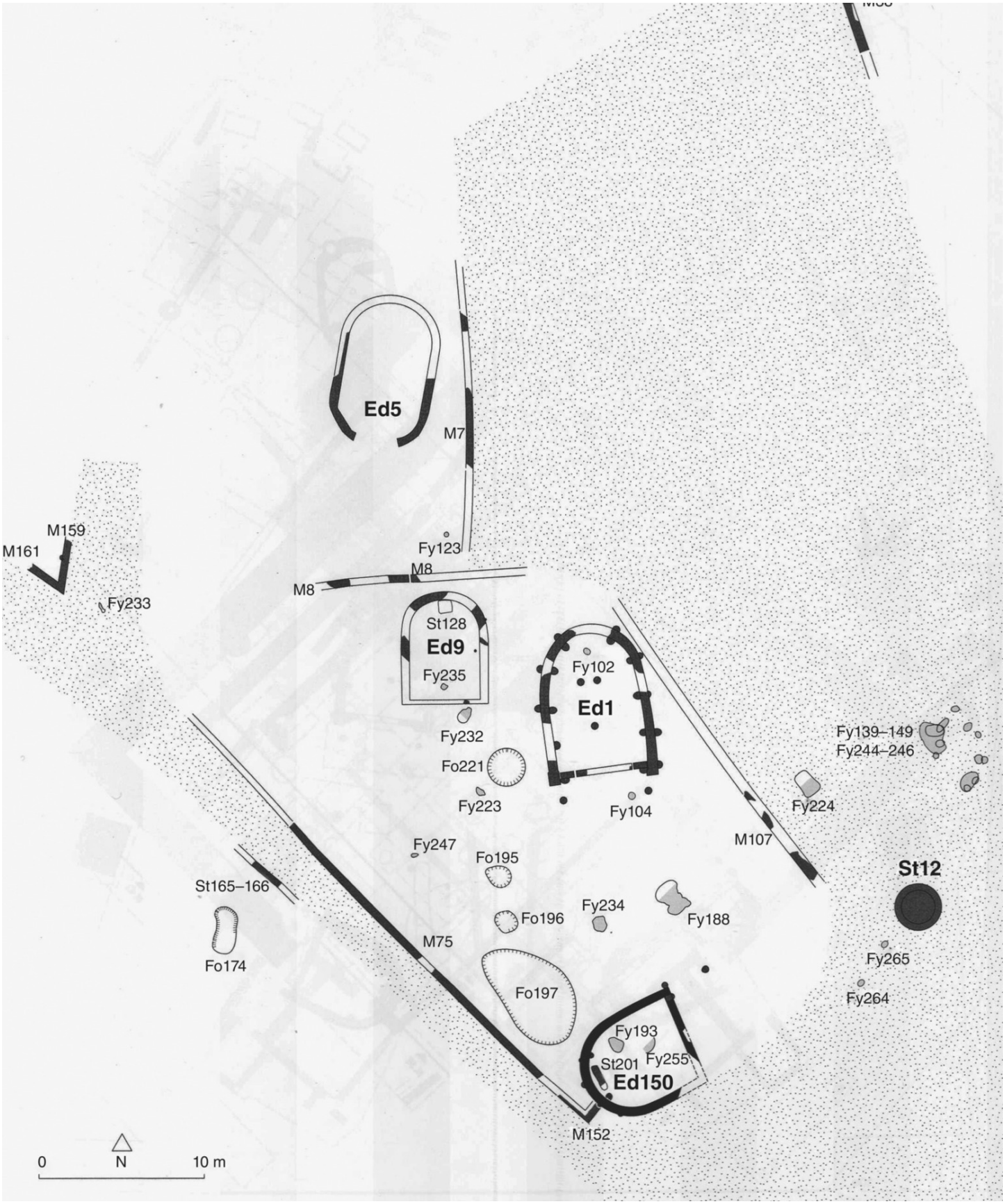

Figure 2.1 Eretria, first half of the eighth century BCE, plan.

Source: adapted from Verdan 2013, pl. 7.

The Emergence of the Greek Temple: Protogeometric Cult Buildings

The older cult buildings of the Early Iron Age have been found in suburban or extraurban sanctuaries. At Ay. Irini on Keos, cult activities continued uninterrupted within the partly reused Late Bronze Age cult building. A clay head from a prehistoric statue was reused in the eighth century BCE and was carefully positioned on a cylindrical clay base in order to serve as a cult image of Dionysus. It is not easy to know, however, whether this head was accidentally discovered or whether it was piously kept inside the Early Iron Age cult edifice from generation to generation. Even though its original significance was gradually lost (the head with the pointed chin that belonged to a female terracotta statue was perhaps regarded by the eighth century BCE as a bearded head of Dionysos), it was doubtless considered holy (Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 170, with references; Gorogianni 2011). Several other examples of cult continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age are today well documented from all over the Aegean. One of the most striking is at the oracle Sanctuary of Apollo at Kalapodi (ancient Abai; cf., Hdt. 1.46), in Phocis, where an impressive series of cult buildings from the Late Bronze Age (Temple 1, from the late 15th century BCE onwards) to the Early Iron Age and into the Archaic period has been brought to light (Figure 2.2). The fourth South temple belongs to the Protogeometric period and was apsidal, measuring 12.00 × 4.50 m, and oriented towards the west (Niemeier 2009; Niemeier 2011; Niemeier 2013).

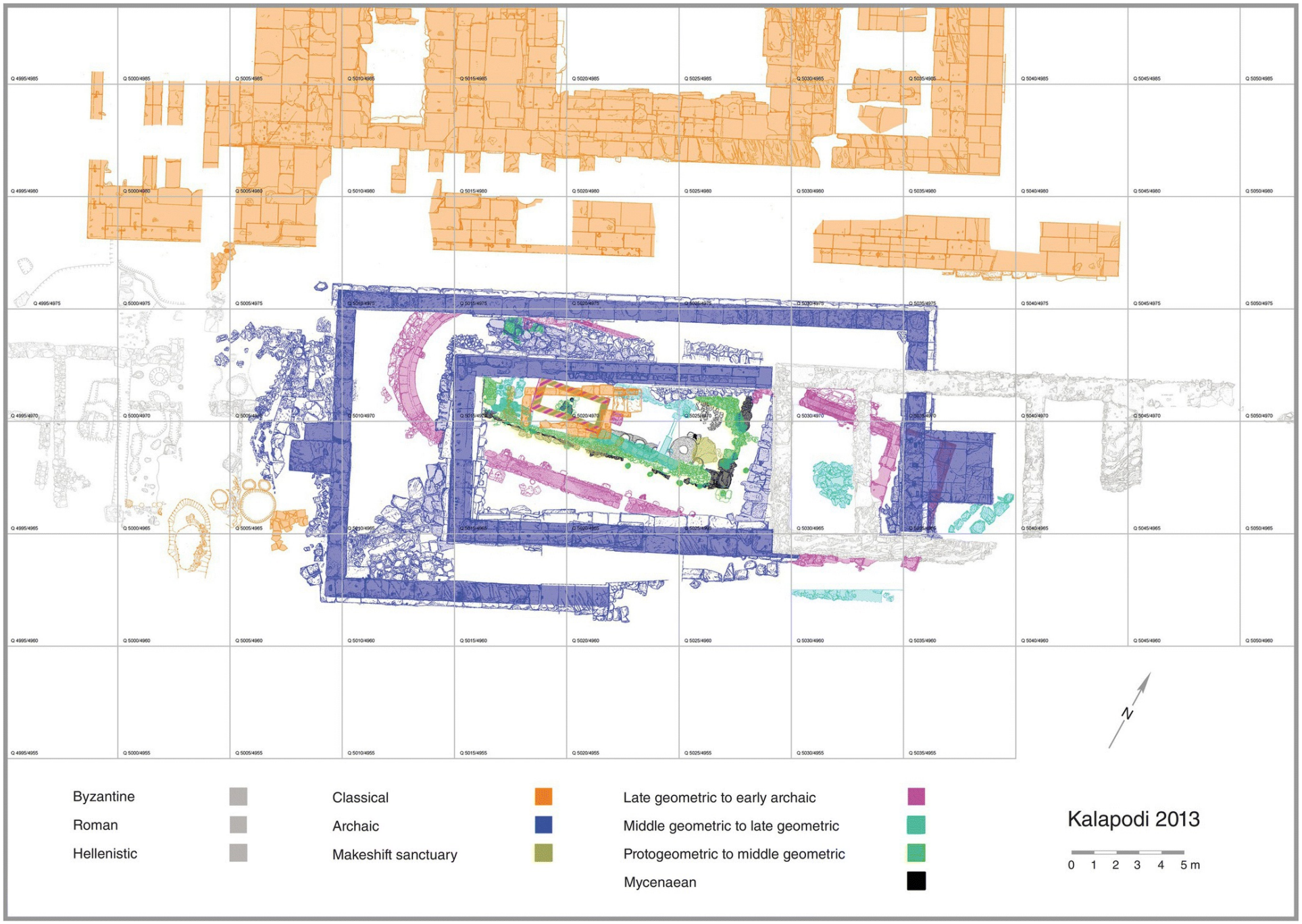

Figure 2.2 Kalapodi, South temples. Architectural phases of South temples.

Source: DAI, courtesy W.D. Niemeier.

Uninterrupted cult continuity is widespread on Crete, especially in sacred caves and rural sanctuaries. One of the earliest temples of the Early Iron Age has been found at Kommos (Temple A); it was in use from the late eleventh century up to the ninth century BCE, when it was replaced by a similar temple, B. The temple was a rather small rectangular edifice, provided with benches along the long sidewalls and a hearth, and definitely served also for the practice of ritual meals (Shaw & Shaw 2000). Interestingly, one of the earliest cult buildings of the Greek World has been found in the diametrically opposite side of the Aegean, at Poseidi on the Chalkidike peninsula, in Macedonia. This sanctuary, which later became the suburban Sanctuary of Poseidon of the Eretrian colony of Mende, revealed a very early apsidal cult building (ΣT), associated with extensive burnt sacrifices (Moschonisioti 1998). It is notable that several of these early cult buildings are found in extraurban sanctuaries that were located along important communication routes, either on land (Kalapodi) or at sea (Kommos, Ay. Irini on Keos, Poseidi) (in general, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Lemos 2002).

The Birth of the Panhellenic Sanctuaries and the Development of the Temples

Until the middle of the eighth century BCE, the sanctuaries within settlements usually had no cult buildings, while those of the sub or extraurban sanctuaries seem to have been of small dimensions. The Panhellenic sanctuaries are all already mentioned in the Homeric epics (Olympia: *Il*. 2.519. *Od*. 8.79–81, 11.581, 697–701; Delphi: *Il*. 2.519. *Od*. 8.79–81, 11.581; Delos: *Od*. 6.162–167; Dodona: *Il*. 16.233–235. *Od*. 14.327–328, 19.296–297). In the epics we also hear of a number of other sanctuaries, most of which flourished during the Geometric period. Among these is: the Sanctuary of Helikonian Poseidon (*Il*. 8.203; 20.403–405), which is probably the Geometric sanctuary with its apsidal temple, recently excavated at Nikoleika (ancient Helike) in the northern Peloponnese (Kolia and Gadolou 2011; Kolia 2011; see Figure 2.5); the sacred cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos (*Od.* 19.188–190); the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos (*Od.* 8.362–363); of Poseidon at Onchestos (*Il*. 2.506); of Poseidon at Geraistos in Euboea (*Od*. 3.177); and of Apollo in Ithaca (*Od*. 20.278). The passage in the *Odyssey* (7.80–81), in which Athena visits the "mighty house" (πύκινον δόμον) of Erechtheus in Athens is well known, as is that in the Catalog of Ships in which the goddess receives Erechtheus in her temple (*Il*. 2.549) (Crielaard 1995b: 255–262; Mazarakis Ainian 2011b; Luce 2010). These passages support the hypothesis that rulers had a privileged relation with the gods, but they also suggest an early date for the origins of cult activities upon the Athenian Acropolis, which appears originally not only to have been the seat of power but also a major habitation area of early Athens (Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998; Papadopoulos 2003).

Founded in neutral areas (including the Panhellenic ones), the sanctuaries were mostly visited by the contemporary elites, who employed them as arenas of competition and for the display of wealth (Morgan 1990). The early traditional date of the first Olympiad in 776 BCE may reflect

this social custom, with the establishment of such competitions between the members of the elite. The PanIonian sanctuary on Delos was apparently the area of competition between Naxians and Parians, though the latter do not seem to have been as affluent as the former before the middle of the sixth century BCE. This could explain why another sanctuary, dedicated to Apollo and Artemis and with a similar character and extent (at least in the Archaic period), developed in parallel with the Delian one on the small island – or perhaps peninsula at that time – of Despotiko (ancient Prepesinthos), southwest of Antiparos. Despotiko never attained the fame of Delos and seems not be have been mentioned by ancient authors. The recent excavations have proved that the sanctuary was already in use during the Geometric period and that there was perhaps an apsidal or oval cult building dating to this period beneath the Archaic cult complex (Kourayos 2012).

Altars, Cult Bases, Votives, and Dining Facilities

The focus of cult in Greek sanctuaries, since the beginning of the Iron Age, was the altar. These often preceded the construction of temples, as the wellknown long series of the Heraion of Samos and several other examples show. The ash altar of Zeus in Olympia formed the center of cult until late antiquity (Paus. 5.13.8–11); however, recent studies have proved that in the Early Iron Age there existed nearby, to the south, a spacious apsidal building, Unit 7, measuring approximately 7.78 m in width and 20–25 m in length. This monumental edifice may have been the first Temple of Zeus, destroyed in the Early Archaic period by fire. The remains of an old wooden column seen and identified by Pausanias (5.20.6–7) as belonging to the house of the legendary king Oinomaos may have once belonged to this building (Rambach 2002; Duplouy 2012: 108–109).

The hypothesis that the first temple of Apollo on Delos was a small rectangular building (Building Γ) is not unproblematic. If such were the case, one could compare it with other similar small edifices, which have been discovered in various sanctuaries of the Geometric era, like the Heraion of Perachora or the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, and which appear to have served for the protection of valuable offerings and/or the housing of the cult statue of the deity. Indeed, as well as at Keos, mentioned previously, bases for the positioning of cult images have been revealed at the first hekatompedon in the Heraion at Samos and against the back corner of the Temple of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros. In the latter, bronze cult images of the Apollonian triad were found *in situ*.

At Kalopodi, the oval South Temple of the Middle–Late Geometric period (South Temple 6, Figure 2.2) measures 13 × 4 m. Its orientation was perhaps changed from west to east, something unusual for a sacred building. The new temple contained a stone base for a wooden *xoanon* near the short west back end. The *xoanon* (cult image) would have been a wooden plank, like the one at Samos, and was destroyed in a ritual fire together with the temple and its numerous offerings, including weapons, during the second half of the eighth century BCE (Niemeier 2011). This ritual reminds us of a similar destruction of the socalled heroön at Lefkandi, some two hundred and fifty years earlier.

The cult at the Artemision of Ephesos dates back to the Protogeometric period, but the earliest cult building dates to the midseventh century BCE. The presence inside the first temple of a large, elongated base (3.95 × 1.75 m) and the incidence of several valuable jewels in the area, which could belong to a cult statue composed of perishable materials, have been considered as indications that a monumental cult statue may have been positioned here (Bammer 1990: 150–153; 1991). This reminds us of the literary description of the statue of Athena in her temple at Troy, which appears to have been seated and of sufficient size to receive the largest of Hecuba's robes (*Il*. 6.273). All this would accord well with the function of the *nêos* in the Homeric epics, namely that a cult building was regarded as the house in which the divinity occasionally resided, and was thus practically always provided with its cult image. Yet, in recent years, scholars prefer to identify the base in the temple of Ephesos with an interior altar or *eschara* similar to those of the temples of Athena at Zagora and Emporio (Weißl 2006: 192; Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 80–82). A raised mud brick altar was also incorporated inside the Late Geometric temple at Nikoleika (see later discussion).

By the Archaic period, bases for the positioning of cult images were constructed in many temples, though the actual cult statues are now usually lost. In exceptional cases, some of these statues have been preserved, though they often do not conform to what we would have expected based on our written sources and what has been considered the norm until recently. We have seen that at Dreros there are three images instead of just one. This was probably not such a rare occurrence: for instance, at the Archaic Temple of Apollo at Metropolis near Karditsa (Thessaly) a base in the interior also seems to have supported more than one statue; one of them was found almost intact, fallen in front of the base. Astonishingly, it represents an armed hoplite brandishing his spear, looking more like Ares than Apollo. Moreover, the base is located in the middle of the temple and not towards the back end (Intzesiloglou 2002).

Apart from housing the cult image, temples served as treasuries for a number of votive offerings, which were often precious. It is quite rare to unearth a temple with most of its furnishings and offerings still in place. The votive deposits, however, provide us with a general idea of the categories of artifacts that were once on display at sanctuaries, some of them surely within or in close relation to the temple. Rarely do we find these votive articles in their original position: a case in point is the Archaic South temple at Kalapodi, which was destroyed by the Persians: excavators found the weapons and chariot wheels that were once suspended from the columns of its peristyle. In the Geometric predecessor of the South temple at Kalapodi, a number of votives, including an impressive set of iron swords, were buried beneath its ruins during a ritual conflagration, which intentionally destroyed the temple (see above Temple 6). Such acts may not have been isolated and may be observed in various places and in later periods too. At Kythnos in the Cyclades, for instance, in the temple identified as that of Apollo and Artemis (?), probably built around 675 BCE, the Archaic dedications were piously placed inside the "adyton" after some destruction that disrupted the architectural history of the edifice in the late Classical–early Hellenistic period (Figure 2.3; Mazarakis Ainian 2005; 2010). Despite the fact that the reorganization of the votive objects supports the idea of an artificial "staging" of a frozen scene, the types of votive items are presumably representative of those that would have been kept inside the temple throughout the Archaic

period. Something similar may be observed in the Heraion of Delos, where the earlier cult building (I) with its votive offerings was concealed inside Temple II of the late Archaic period.

Figure 2.3 Aerial view of the temple at Kythnos. The "adyton" in the middle. [North at the top] (photo K. Xenikakis, 2014).

Source: A. Mazarakis Ainian.

The archaeological record shows that early temples often had yet another function, closely associated with the ritual activities that followed the animal sacrifices at the altar: their function as ritual dining halls (i.e., *hestiatoria*). Ritual meals are, of course, attested in the open air, too, as at Samos or Isthmia (Kron 1988; Morgan 1999: 319–320), or in relation to cult buildings, which more closely resemble houses than temples, as at the later Academy of Plato (Mazarakis Ainian and Alexandridou 2011) or Eleusis (Mazarakis Ainian 1999). A good example for dining within the temple is Kommos on Crete (Shaw & Shaw 2000). There, the presence of benches, hearths, and the numbers of animal bones, mollusks, drinking and eating vessels, as well as iron spits from the interior and the exterior of the temple, indicate the organization of ritual banquets from the Geometric period onwards, and perhaps even earlier. Another good example illustrating this function is the Late Geometric monumental temple in the extraurban Sanctuary of Iria on Naxos (Lambrinoudakis 1991). Its interior is divided into four naves by three rows of wooden columns. The presence of a hearth and benches along the

sidewalls, as well as the burnt and unburnt animal bones, attest to sacrifices and ritual banquets that were taking place inside this temple, too. The possibility cannot be excluded that one of the reasons builders started increasing the dimensions of temples during the second half of the eighth century BCE would have been the need for adequate space for participants in these sacred communal banquets.

Indeed, the first monumental temples appear towards the end of the eighth century, several of which were *hekatompeda* or "hundredfooters." In the suburban Sanctuary of Hera at Samos a series of altars has been detected, the earliest of which has been dated to the end of the ninth century, while the first hekatompedon was constructed one century later. An impressive stone bench probably ran along the long sides of the edifice, suggesting the presence of numerous worshippers, probably for the practice of ritual meals inside the temple.

At the suburban Sanctuary of Apollo at Kalapodi (Figure 2.2), a new apsidal "South temple 7" was built at the beginning of the eighth to the seventh century BCE, this time monumental in size (24.60 × 7.60 m). Another even more monumental temple was built immediately to the north. Both temples remained in use until the first quarter of the sixth century BCE. The South temple yields the remarkable discovery of fragments of wall paintings depicting hoplites in battle with which the interior was decorated during the midseventh century BCE (Niemeier 2009; Niemeier 2012). Thus, in addition to the wellknown examples of early temples with interior decoration, such as the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, the Temple of Apollo at Corinth, and the second hekatompedon of Hera at Samos, this is the fourth early Archaic temple that was decorated with frescoes (Moormann 2011: 43–44).

At Eretria (Figure 2.4), the first urban apsidal hekatompedon (Ed2) of the last quarter of the eighth century BCE encroached upon an aristocratic residential area, where largescale banquets following sacrifices around the altar (St12) would have taken place throughout the eighth century BCE. The apsidal and oval edifices in this area appear to have been the dwellings of the members of the elite. One of the apsidal edifices (Ed150) may have had a communal function from the beginning, however, perhaps serving for the performance of communal ritual banquets. This hypothesis mainly rests on two arguments: the orientation of Ed150 towards the altar and the presence of a clay base at the back of the building, upon which the foot of a large Attic Middle Geometric II krater was placed. Ed150, which was built in the beginning of the Late Geometric period, was still in use when the hekatompedon temple (Ed2) was built towards the end of the same period. It is not ascertained whether Ed1 (the socalled Daphnephoreion) was also still in use at the same time, though the excavators argue that it was not. If, however, Ed150 continued to serve as a banqueting hall after the construction of Ed2, it is not easy to accept that the new edifice also served for such ritual banquets. The monumental temple doubtless served for positioning and keeping safe the valuable votive offerings, a few of which were found fallen on the floor, though no evidence for a base for a cult statue was uncovered. In any case, it is today beyond doubt that the sanctuary with the monumental temple of the polisdivinity of Eretria developed within the habitation quarter of the elite, as was suggested long ago (Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 57–61, 102–103; Verdan 2013). Whether it served also for the practice of ritual meals is a question that cannot be answered on the available evidence.

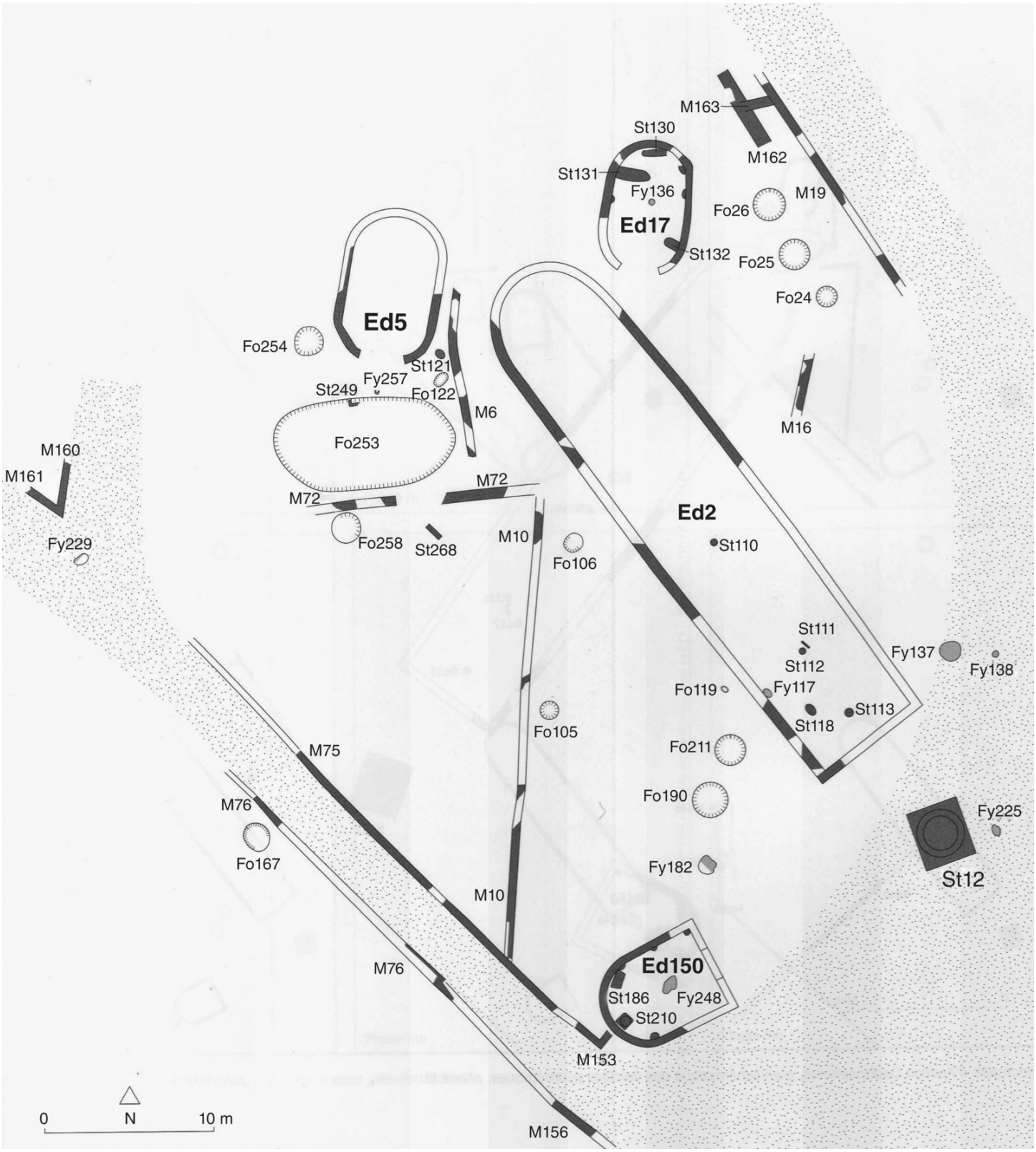

Figure 2.4 Eretria, second half of the eighth century BCE, plan.

Source: adapted from Verdan 2013, pl. 8.

The Early Use of the Peristyle

Such monumental temples, like the ones at Samos, Kalapodi, or Eretria, were doubtless

impressive, both in their general exterior appearance and in their interior furnishings and decoration, and illustrate what could be built and dedicated to the gods in the period between the late eighth and early seventh centuries BCE. Another monumental temple of Apollo, surrounded by a peristyle of wooden posts, was found in southern Euboea, at Zarakes. Both the estimated monumental dimensions of the Late Geometric temple and the stoa of wooden posts provide a possible indirect link with the much earlier "heroön" of LefkandiToumba. Indeed, the existence of posts surrounding edifices is a typical characteristic of Geometric architecture both in Euboea and Oropos across the gulf (Mazarakis Ainian 2001); the explanation of the origins of the genesis of the *peristyle* of the Greek temple could lie in this feature (as will be discussed). Even in remote places, such as the mountainous rural Sanctuary of Artemis Aontia at Rakita (Ano Mazaraki), in Achaea, monumental but "idiosyncratic" temples started being built. Here, a Late Geometric apsidal hekatompedon with back adyton and with an unusual peristyle, where the wooden columns stood on independent stone bases (instead of a continuous stylobate), was found. The five columns of the porch surround the façade in a semicircle (Petropoulos 2002).

This unusual arrangement is repeated in the horizontally curved front of the originally apsidal Late Geometric temple at Nikoleika (ancient Helike), probably to be identified with the temple of Helikonian Poseidon mentioned in the epics (*Il*. 8.203; 20.403–405) (Figure 2.5). The curve is a continuous stylobate formed with ashlar blocks for the support of the wooden columns. Perhaps this unusual feature represents a local Achaean architectural style. The discovery approximately in the center of the temple, of a square altar of mud bricks (approximately 1.30 m wide, 0.59 m high) is important. The altar was in place several generations before the construction of the temple and was subsequently incorporated into it with respect when the latter was built (a Protogeometric structure may have existed towards the east, though the cult at that time may have been performed in the open air). It is not yet known whether the spacious temple (width approximately 7 m, preserved length 8 m, estimated to be about 20 m) stood within a settlement. An apsidal edifice was recently partly excavated nearby, to the northeast, but it is not clear whether it belongs to the sanctuary or to a surrounding settlement (Kolia and Gadolou 2011; Kolia 2011: 203).

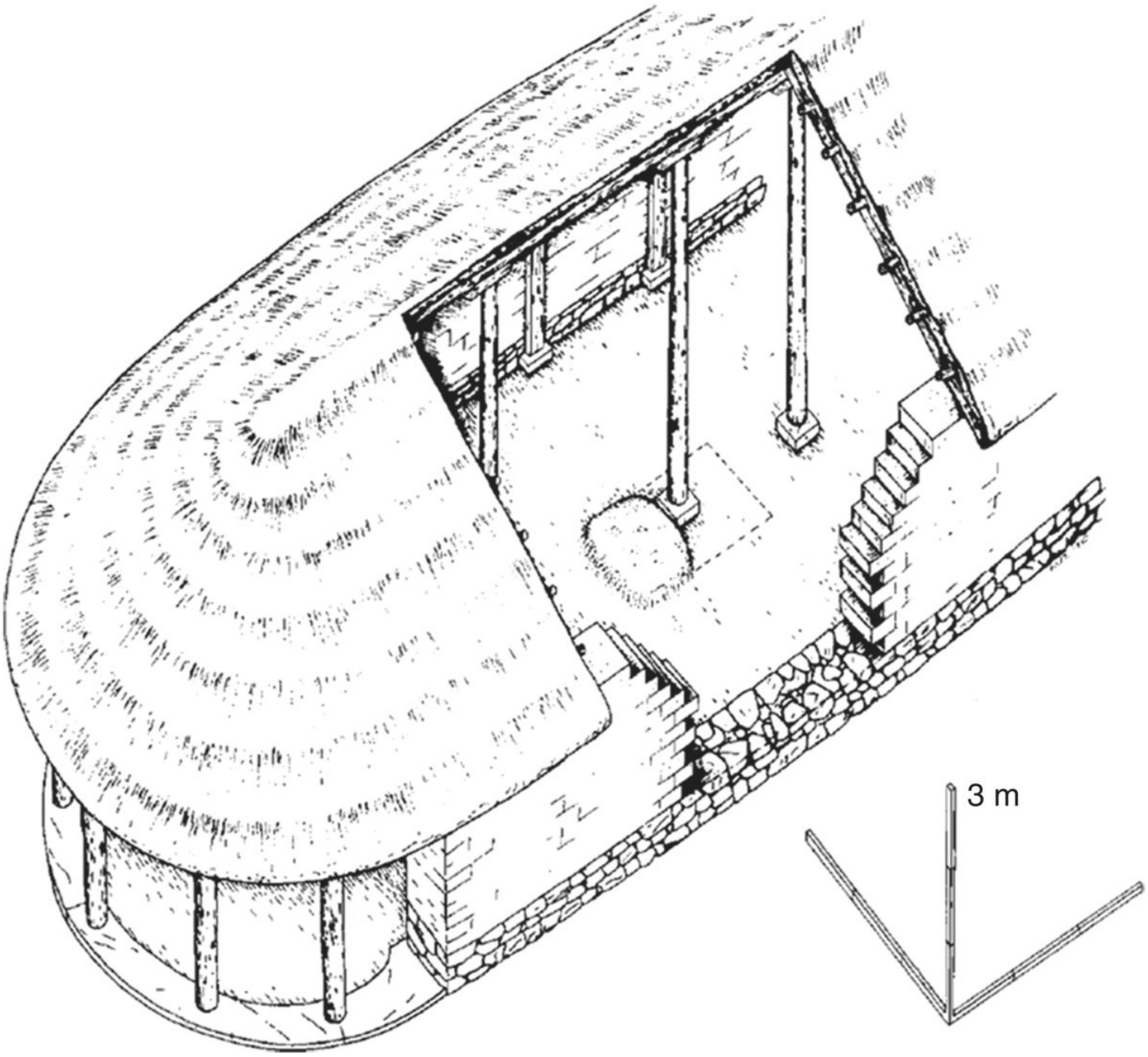

Figure 2.5 Nikoleika, temple, reconstruction.

Source: adapted from Kolia 2011, fig. 46.

The Peristyle in the Early Archaic period

The seventh century saw major innovations in architectural forms, both in the secular and the sacred context. Temple architecture is characterized by monumentality, the use of worked stone, the invention and use of roof tiles, the adoption of the peristyle by several temples. The Temple of Apollo at Corinth and the temples with a peristyle at Isthmia, Argos, Thermon, Samos, and Ephesos are typical of this architectural bloom. In the Northeast Peloponnese, around 700 BCE and into the first half of the seventh century BCE, we observe innovations and experimentations in temple architecture and also a great advance in the choice of materials and

in building techniques, together with an increasing communal investment of wealth, leading to the construction of monumental temples. The Temple of Apollo at Corinth was built with dressed stone blocks and was covered with the earliest clay roof tiles of the Iron Age. The first securely identified peripteral temple in the Corinthia was constructed one generation later at the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. This temple, decorated externally with colored panels, would have been an awesome sight. It should be underlined that the case of Isthmia is highly instructive for our understanding of the rise of Greek sanctuaries, providing as it does the opportunity to observe how it evolved from the Protogeometric period openair sanctuary down to the early Archaic period (Morgan 1999). The roughly contemporary peripteral temple of the Argive Heraion at Prosymna is based on a terrace, founded on a massive terrace wall built in pseudocyclopean masonry, which can be dated to circa 700 BCE. It has been suggested that the chosen masonry might reflect the will of the Argive people to emphasize their heroic ancestry (Wright 1982).

Gradually the peristyle became one of the main characteristics of the Greek temple. The question is whether it first appeared in the Northeast Peloponnese, in Ionia, or in Sicily, or even whether its origin can be related to a common source. The data seem to indicate that its appearance was not a homogeneous phenomenon. The origin of the Ionian peristyle should be sought in the East, that of the northern Peloponnese, in Egypt, which likely also provided the inspiration for the Doric temple. The case of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos is quite instructive. Beneath the temple dated to the reign of Kroisos, the remains of an older peripteral temple came to light, which can be placed in the middle of the seventh century BCE (Bammer 1990; 1991; Kerschner and Prochaska 2011). The interior columns, as well as those of the peristyle, were made prior to the temple walls, suggesting that they might have also aimed at its protection from the weather conditions. This reminds us of the peristyle of the socalled heroön at Lefkandi, dating from about three centuries earlier, which might have had a purely functional role. Similar stoas, formed by wooden posts, surrounded apsidal and oval buildings in the eighth century BCE at Eretria and Oropos (Mazarakis Ainian 2001). The examples that have been noted here suggest that the peristyle has its roots in domestic architecture. How and why this functional element of Greek monumental architecture acquired a symbolic character, which generally limited its use to temples, at least in the Archaic period, remains an open question.

Yet at the same time that we witness such major advances in building materials and techniques, as well as in architectural forms, in other areas of Greece we observe a conservatism that makes the Archaic period in these areas not much different from the Geometric period that preceded it. Some temples of the Archaic period with an unusual design are the temples of Apollo at Soros and at Metropolis in Thessaly (see in general Morgan 2003) and the Temple of Demeter at Hypsile on Andros, and there are many more. Moreover, in some sanctuaries, temples that had been constructed in the Geometric period and were still in use during the following centuries would have appeared very old fashioned already by the end of the seventh century BCE. As typical examples, we could cite the apsidal temple at Ano Mazaraki, surrounded by its awkward peristyle and front porch, the first temple of Athena at Old Smyrna, or the socalled Sacred House at Tourkovouni. The case of Soros in Thessaly is also eloquent

of such variety and is presented in more detail here.

The Temple of Apollo at Soros

Soros, in Magnesia, Thessaly (in the suburbs of modern Volos), is usually identified with Archaic–Classical Amphanai but is occasionally linked to Pagasai as well (Eur. *HF* 392; Strabo 9.435). Here, an interesting temple *hestiatorion* of the Archaic period, dedicated to Apollo, has been investigated (Milojčić 1974, figs. 22–37; Mazarakis Ainian 2009; 2011c; 2012). The suburban sanctuary was delimited by a temenos wall, a long portion of which was uncovered at the east end (T15). It is provided with a rectangularstepped entrance, 2.00 × 2.60 m, similar to that of the adjacent temple.

The temple is an oblong oikos, measuring 22.42 m (24.32 m, porch included) × 8.33 m (Figure 2.6). The walls are preserved to a maximum height of approximately 1 m, but it seems likely that the remaining superstructure would have been constructed with mud bricks. The pronaos (Room B), with its stepped entrance, was added at a later period, perhaps at the same moment that a side square room (Γ) was built at the southeast of the temple's façade. The pronaos was literally blocked with numerous stone offerings of the Classical period (stone bases, some bearing inscriptions; three statues of children, including a crouching boy; a relief stele representing Apollo and a young worshipper; a Panathenaic amphora of 336–35 BCE). A secondary entrance was located in the middle of the north long wall. The roof of the cella, formed by Laconian roof tiles, was supported by a row of 10 wooden posts resting on rectangular stone bases. In the interior (Room A), between the sixth and seventh base, there was a hearth. A channel for liquid offerings was recovered at the southeastern corner, carved in the rock. It passes underneath the cella's threshold and communicates with the large cavity found in the pronaos, which contained numerous mollusks (mostly murex shells). This channel looks a lot like the one found on Delos in the early Archaic "Oikos of the Naxians" (see later discussion). A pishaped stone bench ran alongside the walls; it is 0.45 m high and initially was about 0.50 m wide, but subsequently its width was doubled.

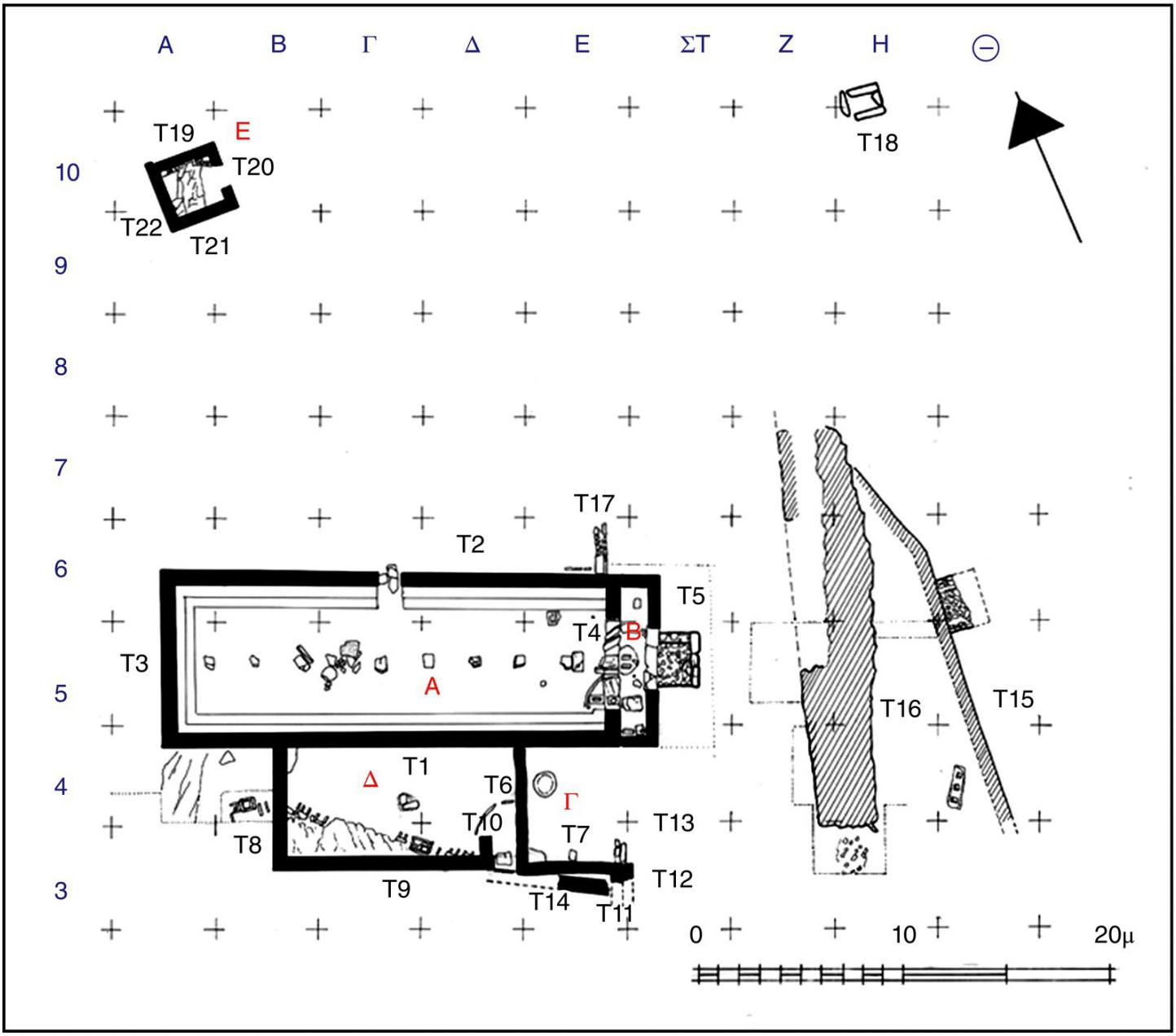

Figure 2.6 Soros, Sanctuary of Apollo, topographical plan.

Source: A. Mazarakis Ainian, G. Chiotis.

Beneath the floor of the temple, which was of beaten earth, several cavities were uncovered in the soft bedrock. Moreover, several thin disk slabs were encountered, removed from their original position. Both features seem to belong to an original phase of the sanctuary, and they bring to mind various Cycladic parallels, such as Xobourgo on Tenos (Kourou 2011), Melanes (Lambrinoudakis 2005), and Sangri on Naxos (Lambrinoudakis 2001; Gruben and Lambrinoudakis 2002). Moreover, before the construction of the Archaic temple there was a small oikos measuring 3.40 m on a side (Building E), which may have been constructed in the seventh century BCE. Its function has not been elucidated yet, though it is not impossible that it may have served for the housing of the cult image and, subsequently, when the temple hestiatorion was constructed, as a treasury. Indeed, since Building E remained in use alongside the Archaic temple its function may have been altered in the course of time.

On the south side of the Archaic temple, a separate room, labeled Room Δ, was added rather late in the history of the sanctuary. A series of cists made of slabs were found set one next to the other in a row beneath Room Δ. At the eastern edge of the cists, an enigmatic semicircular construction, formed by vertical slabs, was uncovered. Approximately in the center of the row of cists, a rough stone structure was encountered near the bedrock, surrounded by several Archaic female terracotta figurines, a bronze mesomphalos phiale, and a number of small metal offerings. This area may have been the focus of cult prior to the construction of Room Δ. Indeed, it seems that in the late Classical period the area was leveled with a fill consisting of earth and finds from the interior of the adjacent temple and the surrounding area. The material, dating from the late Archaic until the late Classical period consisted mostly of plain cooking and storage vessels, though miniature vases, fragments of small and large female clay figurines, several bronze jewels, and other small artifacts, as well as animal bones and sea shells, were also found. It was perhaps at that time that the sculptures and inscribed bases, as well as a Panathenaic amphora, were collected and placed inside the porch, which was then blocked; as a consequence of this, it is likely that access to the main building was achieved only through the entrance of the northern wall. The sanctuary was abandoned in the early third century BCE, either because of the synoecism of Demetrias (founded 294 BCE) or owing to natural causes (possibly an earthquake of 265 BCE attested in the area).

Temples as *Hestiatoria*

The Sanctuary of Apollo at Soros is a good case study that illustrates not only the great variety in the architectural layout of Greek sanctuaries during the Archaic period and their survival in later periods, but also the diversity in the function of preClassical temples all over the Greek world. The plan and general characteristics of the temple of Apollo at Soros is very close to what one observes in the late eighth to early seventh century BCE, but here we are more than one century later. Templehestiatoria are mostly characteristic of the Early Iron Age (see Drerup, who already in 1969 considered early temples as halls of gatherings around the hearth), but the evidence from Soros proves that in the late Archaic period in Thessaly such hybrid temples could still be in fashion and were appropriate for how the temples were used.

Templehestiatoria were also *en vogue* in sanctuaries more "centrally" placed within the Greek world, such as in the Cyclades, both during the Geometric and early Archaic periods. The impressive marble Archaic "Oikos of the Naxians" on Delos and its Early Iron Age predecessor (the socalled PreOikos) most probably served such a composite function as well (Courbin 1980; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 180–181). Interestingly, the Delian edifice presents a drainage system between cella and pronaos at the west, which reminds us of the feature uncovered at Soros. Moreover, the roughly similar dimensions of the Oikos, and the presence of a secondary door at the north, are noteworthy (though at the Oikos of the Naxians there was a third entrance at the east, facing the probable older Temple Γ).

Also similar in type are the Late Geometric and early Archaic Naxian temples at Iria on Naxos (phases II and III, respectively), which served also as hestiatoria, judging by the presence of spacious benches and a large eschara within each edifice. The dissociation between temple

and hestiatorion here was achieved in the later Archaic period, when the marble Ionic Temple IV was constructed and separate structures were built next to the propylon to the temenos, around 570 BCE (Lambrinoudakis 1991). Interestingly, the Archaic temple of Demeter at Hypsile on Andros can be regarded as an unusual templehestiatorion. It is a rather small anta temple, furnished in the interior with stonebuilt benches along the three sides, two built tables, and a base presumably for the cult statue set against the bench of the back wall (Televantou 1999; 2008).

These few examples show that besides the more conventional and widespread function of the temple in Geometric and Archaic Greece, as described in most textbooks, there are others doubtless more diversified than previously thought (for some useful recent handbooks see Hellmann 2006; Lippolis et al. 2007). In other words, the archaeological data are varied and point towards the existence of a large variety not only in the architectural forms of early Greek temples but also in their function. This variety has often been underestimated in studies dealing with the rise of sanctuaries and the nature of early temples. The scholarly investigations of more recent years in the study of the Greek periphery give us a better understanding of the numerous and highly interesting diversity in the actual practice of Greek religion.

FURTHER READING

On this topic, Morgan 1990, de Polignac 1995, and Mazarakis Ainian 1997 are fundamental. Reports and studies of specific buildings are listed in the references. For discussion of the placement of early temples, see the essays in Alcock and Osborne 1994, and de Polignac 1995.

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