

Arkadian Temple-designs

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Many Arkadian cults and cult-places clearly go back to a very early period, and the popularity of individual deities was somewhat different from the rest of Greece. Artemis is by far the most frequently mentioned, followed by Demeter and Kore, and Pan and Apollo among the male deities. Many known Arkadian temples are small in scale, and sometimes unorthodox in design. The long, narrow plans seem to have been determined by basic structural considerations, being designed to avoid excessively long spans for the interior crossbeams; any enlargement of the overall area of the building was generally achieved by increasing the length more than the width. Small temples discussed are: the Psili Korphi temple above Mavriki, the successive temples of Artemis on the Gortsouli hill north of Mantinea, the temple of Artemis Mesopolitis at Orchomenos, the small temples on Mount Kotilon above Bassai, the temple above Kondovazena, and those near Dimitra and Vachlia and on the acropolis at Stymphalos. The narrow interiors of the peripteroi at Alipheira and Orchomenos, and in the early temple of Athena at Tegea, are also noted; and interpretations are suggested for the plans of the temple of Artemis at Lousoi and of the Asklepieion at Pheneos.

Several papers presented in this seminar have emphasized the fact that by the time of Pausanias, whose account of Arkadia is our best ancient source for the study of the region, many Arkadian cults and cult-places were already very old; and this often remains true even when the extant buildings are of more recent date, e.g. in the case of the Mount Aphrodision temple above Kondovazena and the temple, probably that of Athena, on the acropolis at Stymphalos.¹ Moreover, some of the extant temples, even if not themselves early, at least seem to have been influenced by early predecessors. Thus they can still assist in following the evolution of early Arkadian, and indeed of other early Greek temple-designs in the period prior to the appearance of large *peripteroi*; and this evolution, in

1. These sites are discussed in the papers by Y. Pikoulas and H. Williams in this volume.

Arkadia as elsewhere in the Greek world, seems to have been determined in large part by basic structural considerations. In short, these early temples were not yet "architecture, as distinguished from mere building";² the chief aim of the builders was to ensure, on the basis of practical experience rather than some abstract theory, that their buildings would remain standing for a reasonable length of time. We also encounter in Arkadia designs of quite unorthodox type; here too, I would suggest, practical considerations originally exerted a good deal of influence.³

Before turning to these aspects of my subject, however, I note that, at least for Pausanias, the precincts, temples, altars, sacred spots and revered statues of goddesses are considerably more numerous than those of male divinities. Among the goddesses, Artemis far outnumbers all other deities, of either sex; in next place numerically is Demeter, alone or with Kore, along with the Great Goddesses, whom Pausanias identifies with the Eleusinian pair,⁴ and after them Athena and Aphrodite, with Hera well behind these last two. Among the male divinities, Pan (perhaps not surprisingly in Arkadia) and Apollo head the list, followed by the cluster of Asklepios, Zeus, Hermes, Poseidon and Dionysos; these last five trail all the major goddesses except Hera. Moreover, many divinities appear in an unusual guise, for example, Demeter linked with Horse Poseidon, the Mistress at Lykosoura who was the daughter of Demeter and Horse Poseidon,⁵ as distinct from the Eleusinian Kore, daughter of Demeter and Zeus,⁶ and Black Aphrodite near Mantinea,⁷ the origin of whose name had clearly been long forgotten. Pan is said to be the most powerful of the gods in accomplishing men's prayers and requiting the wicked for their misdeeds.⁸ Again, among the interesting features of the *agora* at Megalopolis, Pausanias saw "an enclosure of stones and a *hieron* of Lykaian Zeus. There is no entrance into the *hieron*, but its contents, which can be seen, consist of altars of the god, two tables, two eagles, and a stone statue of Pan named Oinois".⁹ When we add to the above examples others such as the Strangled Artemis near Kaphyai and the statue of Athena at

2. G.G. Scott: "Architecture, as distinguished from mere building, is the decoration of construction"; quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary s.v. "Architecture."*

3. In this paper I am concerned chiefly with the proportions of early temple-plans and with plans of unorthodox or unusual type; the origin and earliest forms of the columnar orders belong to a later phase of the development of Greek temples.

4. Paus. 8.31.1.

5. Paus. 8.1.5-8 and 31.1. Horse Poseidon actually had an altar at Lykosoura: Paus. 4.37.10.

6. Paus. 8.37.9.

7. Paus. 8.6.5.

8. Paus. 8.37.11.

9. Paus. 8.30.2-5.

Teuthis with a purple bandage round her thigh (an expiation for the hero Teuthis having stabbed her in the thigh at Aulis),¹⁰ it is perhaps not surprising that Arkadian temple-architecture also falls outside the Greek mainstream.

In fact, in Arkadia what we may call ‘mainline temples’, that is, the ones that are likely to get into the handbooks (e.g., the Hagios Elias temple near Asea and those of Apollo at Bassai, Alea Athena at Tegea and Asklepios at Gortys), are the exception rather than the rule. Thus the small marble temple high up on Psili Korphi above Mavriki, excavated by Rhomaios, is certainly quite unlike the contemporary mid-6th century Doric that we find at Corinth; and the capitals with necking-mouldings are no more canonical than the triglyphs with ogival crowns and the regulae and mutules without guttae.¹¹ It has been remarked that some of these features find their closest parallels in the West Greek Doric of Sicily and Magna Graecia;¹² but I have argued elsewhere against any direct architectural connection between Arkadia and the Western Greeks, preferring to regard the many unusual features of the Mavriki temple as illustrations of a specifically Arkadian tradition in archaic Doric, to which early Ionic architectural decoration contributed several details.¹³ This Arkadian tradition continued to some extent in the temple of Athena and Poseidon at the top of the pass over Mount Gravari (Fig. 1), between the plain of Asea and the territories of Pallantion and Tegea.¹⁴ Here Rhomaios discovered both an original and a 5th-century replacement cornice of Ionic type;¹⁵ moreover, the Gravari temple, by virtue of its southward orientation toward the road over the pass and its noticeable deepening of the pronaos, has something of the strong emphasis on the front, or entrance, end of the building that we find in the second Pronaia

10. Paus. 8.23.6-8, 28.5-6.

11. Rhomaios 1952, 1-25; see also Winter 1991, 203-4 figs. 4-5, after Rhomaios. My discussion of the larger temples noted in this paragraph now needs to be modified in the light of Erik Østby's publication of the temples at Pallantion (especially Temple C, the large peripteros mentioned below: Østby 1990-91, 69-88 with figs. 31-50, 67 and pl. IV, and 109-18) and his discussion of early Arkadian temples (*ibid.* 285-391; see also his paper in this volume) with new photographs and detailed drawings of the Mavriki temple, which I now accept as prostyle rather than amphiprostyle (*ibid.* 309-27 and 306-9 figs. 177-80), and the *peripteroi* at Orchomenos (327-38 and 323-9, figs. 182-8), Gravari (338-50 and figs. 189-95), Hagios Elias (350-60 and figs. 196-8) and Alipheira (364-81 and figs. 199-207). Early Doric capitals are analysed in detail in Tables I-III following *ibid.* 192. I retain the term “Mavriki temple” rather than “temple of Artemis Knakeatis”, because the location of the temple, as Pritchett (1999, 134-6) has noted, is difficult to reconcile with the statement of Pausanias, 8.53.11.

12. See Barletta 1990 on her series of “Ionian Sea Doric” monuments.

13. Winter 1991, 213-8.

14. Rhomaios 1957, 125-44.

15. Winter 1991, 206 fig. 7.

temple at Delphi and the temple of Athena at Paestum.¹⁶ This frontal emphasis is, of course, a typical feature of Ionic temple architecture.¹⁷ In addition, in the Gravari temple, as at Mavraki, variety of detail rather than consistency was clearly the order of the day, for there were at least two patterns of necking-rings in the capitals and two forms of crown to the grooves of the triglyphs. Yet the proportions of the Gravari peristyle and cella are closer to those of the emerging canonical Doric than those of the Hagios Elias temple near Asea;¹⁸ and the Gravari cella is certainly quite different from those of the temple of Athena at Alipheira, the archaic temple at Tegea as interpreted by Prof. Østby, and the peripteros in the lower city of Orchomenos (length : width about 4 : 1 at Alipheira, even without the adyton, the other two both about 3 : 1).¹⁹ Incidentally, at Orchomenos the columns and capitals differed in both size and form, suggesting, though not proving, a period of construction extending over a considerable number of years.

It seems evident that earlier Arkadian temple-builders in general favoured long, narrow interiors, whether to simplify the construction of the ceiling and roof or for some other reason. Thus the temple of Artemis Mesopolitis, just to the south of the *agora* at Orchomenos,²⁰ consisted of a prostyle pronaos and long, narrow cella, the overall proportions being 3.33 : 1, very close to the 3.25 : 1 of the cella plus pronaos in the Orchomenos peripteros; and the proportions of the core of the temple of Athena at Alipheira (cella plus adyton), and of the unfinished peripteros at Pallantion,²¹ were even more elongated (some 4.78 : 1 and 4.33 : 1 respectively). Probably the builders of these two temples were trying

16. Gruben 2001, 95 figs. 71, 72, and 269 fig. 202.

17. Winter 1991, 217.

18. For the first detailed excavation see Holmberg 1941; plan reproduced as Winter 1991, 207 fig. 8.

19. Gravari, Rhomaios 1957; Alipheira, Orlandos 1968; Tegea, Østby 1986; Orchomenos, Blum and Plassart 1914, 81-4; see also Winter 1991, 201 fig. 2, 198 fig. 1, 202 fig. 3. My continuing reservation about the 18-column flanks of the early temple of Athena at Tegea proposed by Østby does not imply any disagreement with the logic of his arguments. If one grants the existence on the part of the Tegea designer of some direct acquaintance with the temple of Hera at Olympia (or *vice versa*), then Østby's interpretation is perfectly reasonable. If, however, one regards early Arkadian Doric as a series of strictly local experiments in Doric, devoid of any influence from Olympia, then the proposed arrangements at Tegea, while they may indeed still be correct, cannot be supported by analogies with Olympia; in other words, the question turns on the extent of inter-regional influences at this early period, when builders were not really trained architects, but simply master stonemasons or contractors who rarely, if ever, had reason to venture outside their home territory.

20. Blum and Plassart 1914, 74-9; Papachatzis 1980, 225 fig. 192.

21. Østby 1991, fig. 1 p. 45 (plan), fig. 4 p. 48 (photo).

to make the overall area and bulk as impressive as possible, by adding to the length of the buildings without increasing the width to the point where interior supports would be required. This explanation receives some confirmation from the study of three smaller Arkadian temples: two temples explored by Leonardos in 1891, near Divritsa (now Dimitra) and Vachlia,²² and the temple on the acropolis at Stymphalos (Fig. 2), first cleared by Orlandos in 1925 and recently excavated in more detail by the Canadian team.²³ The Stymphalos temple measured some 5.80 x 11.50 m, Leonardos' buildings ca. 5.50 x 16.80 m and 5.90 x 8.70 m respectively. Thus the overall area of the larger buildings was increased by extending the length : width ratio from less than 1.5 : 1 to more than 2 : 1, the Divritsa temple, the largest of the three, having a length about three times its width. In excavating the temple at Divritsa Leonardos unearthed a head of Athena and a bronze krater inscribed KOPAI, "to Kore".²⁴ On the basis of the latter find he identified the sanctuary as that of Eleusinian Demeter mentioned by Pausanias;²⁵ the head of Athena does not necessarily conflict with this identification.

Also small in scale and narrow (both probably over 2 : 1 in proportions) are the two successive temples of Artemis uncovered in the Greek excavations on the western flank of Gourtsouli hill to the north of Mantinea (Fig. 3); these two temples were of very simple construction, surely with mudbrick superstructure.²⁶ In this same group of relatively small buildings of simple construction may be included the two buildings in the depression on the summit of Mount Kotilion above Bassai, where again the larger structure is longer and narrower in proportion than the smaller.²⁷ In its extant form, the prostyle temple close to the modern highway in the territory of ancient Methydriion, long identified with the temple of Horse Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias, is a later, monumentalized version in canonical form of the earlier tradition of small temples.²⁸

Probably the most curious of known Arkadian temples is that of Artemis Hemera²⁹ overlooking the plain of modern Kato Lousoi, with the imposing mass of Mount Chelmos rising to the east. (Fig. 4) From Byzantine times onward, a series of churches and chapels was built over the ruins of the temple.³⁰ I have

22. Leonardos 1891.

23. Williams and Schaus 2001. See the paper by H. Williams in this volume.

24. Papachatzis 1980, 277-8 n. 6.

25. Paus. 8.25.2-3.

26. Karagiorga 1963; Papachatzis 1980, 218 fig. 184.

27. Kourouniotis 1903, pl. 11; Papachatzis 1980, 369-70 figs. 403-6.

28. Paus. 8.36.2; Papachatzis 1980, 327 figs. 319-20, after Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann 1911, figs. 7-8 p. 33.

29. Or Hemerasia, according to Paus. 8.18.8.

30. Original excavation: Reichel and Wilhelm 1901. The most recent investigations at

attempted elsewhere, on the analogy of Hekatompedon II at Samos and the archaic Didymaion, to explain the strange plan as derived from a shorter and narrower archaic predecessor, the mudbrick walls of which were reinforced by internal and external buttresses, the later and larger temple being then embellished with separate colonnades along the side walls.³¹

I now turn to two temples excavated more recently, and definitely *not* seen by Pausanias: the temples of Asklepios at Pheneos and (probably, according to Dr. Pikoulas) of Artemis on Mount Aphrodision, at the top of the pass between the Erymanthos and Ladon watersheds; both temples were uncovered in Greek excavations.³² The former sanctuary was presumably destroyed before Pausanias' time by the flooding of the Pheneos lake; the latter was not seen by him because his route from Psophis took him further west along the Erymanthos valley. Architecturally, the interesting aspect of the Mount Aphrodision sanctuary for the present discussion is that although it was clearly an important cult-centre, eventually, as Pikoulas has shown, boasting a peripteral temple as well as subsidiary buildings and a fountain, a cella of simple, and typologically early, plan served throughout the history of the precinct; the ruins of this cella are now in part covered by the chapel of Hagios Petros.

At the beginning of his tour of Mantinea, Pausanias³³ mentions "a double temple, divided just at the middle by a partition-wall. In one division of the temple," he says, "is an image of Asklepios by Alkamenes, while the other division is sacred to Leto and her children ... (with) images by Praxiteles ...". If the statue by Alkamenes was made for the temple seen by Pausanias, the building cannot have been later, and was quite possibly earlier, than the late 5th century. Pausanias does not say whether the partition-wall ran crosswise, as in the Athenian Erechtheion (also described as "double", 1.26.5), or lengthwise; however, it seems to me likely that the Arkadian building was divided lengthwise, so that the contents of both divisions could be seen from the common entrance porch. In that event the Mantineian building probably resembled the two rooms side by side in the Asklepieion at Pheneos. (Fig. 5) One of these rooms was the 'temple-room' proper, with colossal statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at the back, while the other room apparently also served some cultic purpose, and contained

Lousoi by V. Mitsopoulos-Leon and G. Ladstätter have shown that there were no columns at the western end of the temple, but rather the solid back wall of an adyton, which was entered from the cella through a door in the wall behind the base for the cult-statue.

31. Winter 1991, 212-3.

32. Pheneos: Protonotariou-Deilaki 1961-62; Mount Aphrodision: Kardara 1988. The identification as a temple of Artemis was proposed by Y. Pikoulas at the seminar; see the summary of his paper in this volume.

33 Paus. 8.9.1.

statues set on a pedestal at the back. In front of the statues in this second room stood a table for offerings, in the same pattern as that found by Orlandos in the Asklepieion at Alipheira.³⁴ For all we know, sacred buildings with rooms side by side, as at Pheneos and (in my opinion) at Mantinea, may have been fairly common in smaller communities which lacked the resources for building monumental temples and subsidiary structures. In any event the Asklepieion at Pheneos forms an interesting contrast to the Asklepieion at Gortys, which must have been a major centre for the worship of Asklepios, and so was rich enough to afford a temple of Pentelic marble and statues of Asklepios and Hygieia by Skopas.³⁵

I close by noting that from Byzantine times onward one, or a series, of churches or chapels, of various dates, have been built over the ruins of many of the temples mentioned in this paper, often in rather out-of-the-way locations. The choice of site for these successor buildings can of course be explained as providing a handy source of building materials, or as attempts to exorcise the pagan spirits, or as a combination of these considerations. Yet I think it likely that for these later builders their work was in some sense a fulfilment of two speeches of the Apostle Paul, who said to the Lykaonians of Lystra: "We are bringing you good news, telling you to turn from these worthless things to the living God who made heaven and earth and sea ... In the past he let all nations go their own way, yet he did not leave himself without testimony, ... giving you rain from heaven and crops in their seasons." And to the Athenians: "The God who made the world and everything in it...made the nations of men...and set the times and exact places for them. And he did this so that men would seek him and perhaps reach out for him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us."³⁶ I take my stand with Paul, and with what I conceive as the intent of those later builders.

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³⁴ Papachatzis 1980, 286 fig. 273, after Orlandos 1968, fig. 120 p. 180.

³⁵ Paus. 8.28.1.

³⁶ *Acta* 14.15-17, 17.24 and 26-27.

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Fig. 1. Mount Gravari temple from south. (Photo: author.)



Fig. 2. The acropolis temple at Stymphalos. (Photo: Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens, Stymphalos excavations.)

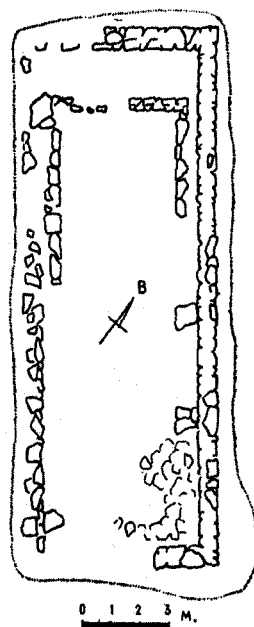


Fig. 3. Plan of the Artemis temples on Gortsouli hill, Mantinea. (After *ArchDelt* 18, 1963, B 1 Chron., fig. 1 p. 88.)

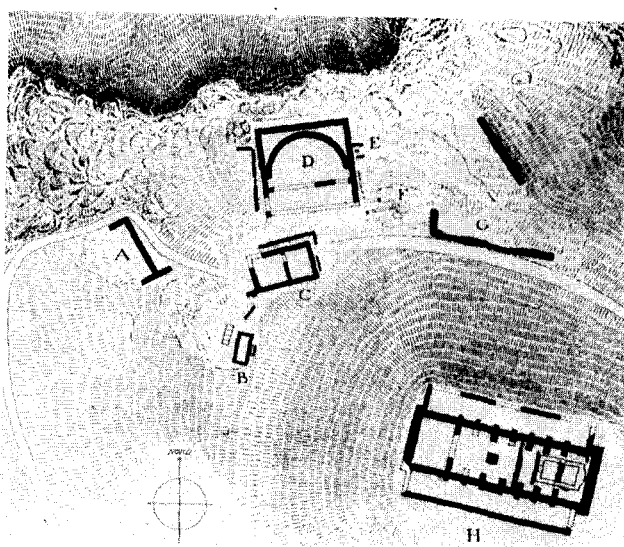


Fig. 4. Lousoi, state-plan of the Artemis precinct. (After *ÖJh* 4, 1901, fig. 6 p. 16.)